

DONOR PORTRAITS IN LATE MEDIEVAL VENICE c.1280-1413

By

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Abstract

Although the donor portrait was extremely popular throughout Europe and mainland Italy during the late Middle Ages, the few art historians who have addressed the subject have concluded that the motif was not popular in fourteenth-century Venice. The political structures of Venice and its citizens' supposedly innate abhorrence of public expressions of individuality in the Republic are often cited as reasons for the absence of individual donor portraits; the examples that have survived are commonly interpreted as direct reflections of state or communal values.

This dissertation challenges these previous conclusions and poses the following questions: Was donor portraiture popular in Venice, and in what forms? And how did the appearance and function of donor portraits in Venice compare with those from Europe and Byzantium? The evidence examined here includes a catalogue of 83 examples dated approximately between 1280 and 1413. I have attempted to reconstruct the social, political, and physical environments for these examples, and for those images that have been lost through centuries of changing trends and political upheaval. Through case studies of donor portrait subjects from a cross-section of Venetian society, including doges, nobles, *cittadini*, confraternity groups, and patrician women, it becomes clear that such images were, in fact, popular in late medieval Venice and that they were mostly intended for public viewing. Furthermore, the fact that donor portraits are rarely mentioned in the extant documents suggests that such imagery was considered conventional and that it posed no significant threat to the ideology of the Venetian state.

Further examination of these visual documents, and analyses of socio-historical developments in the period indicate that donor portraits in Venice, like similar portraits in

Byzantium and mainland Italy, mainly reflect personal concerns about family, status, wealth, and salvation. Their physical appearance likewise suggests that these images were intended for display within the confines of city parishes and that ultimately, in this context, donor portraiture in late medieval Venice was no more likely to reflect state ideologies than donor portraiture in other parts of Europe.

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Abbreviations

ASV	Archivio di Stato, Venice
ANT	ASV, Archivio Notarile, Testamenti
PSM	ASV, Procuratoria di San Marco, Commissarie
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice
BCV	Biblioteca Correr, Venice
MC	ASV, Maggior Consiglio

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Chapter 1: Introduction, What is a Donor Portrait?

The term “donor portrait” is a familiar one in the study of medieval art history; it is often used interchangeably with “votive” in reference to images where the donor kneels before the Virgin and child or before a standing saint. The phrase emphasizes an individual’s role in creating the image and refers to those images where the donor’s identity is recorded through inscriptions or indicated by other markers such as heraldry. Donor images are often interpreted as celebratory and commemorative in function. On the other hand, in so-called “votive” examples, where the donor’s identity is often lost, the images are interpreted as expressions of spiritual humility. This emphasizes the portrait’s function as a petition for grace or as an expression of gratitude for grace received.¹ The perception of donor portraits as celebratory is rooted in Burckhardian notions of individualism in the late Middle Ages which have been embraced by art historians like John Pope-Hennessy. On the other hand, scholars like Millard Meiss have advocated the interpretation of votives as primarily spiritual in function.² Ultimately both terms position the image’s principal significance as resting on the absence or presence of the donor’s identity.³

¹ See Patricia Simons, “Women in Frames” in *The Expanding Discourse* eds. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard (Oxford, 1992). 41. Cited in Susan Steer, “Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)” (M.A., University of Warwick, 1999). 5.

² Jacob Burckhardt, “Das Portrait,” in *Beitrage zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*, ed. H. Trögel (Stuttgart & Berlin, 1911). See also John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (London, 1966). and Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: the arts, religion and society in the mid-fourteenth century* (Princeton, 1951).

³ This is connected to the early interest in issues of secure attribution and the compiling of complete catalogues for known artists. These studies fostered an interest in the individual and the culture of individualism, which was also seen as the embodying ideology of the Renaissance by Jacob Burckhardt. See Jacob Burckhardt, *Italian Renaissance Painting according to Genres* (Los Angeles, 2005).

Such imagery was an exceedingly popular investment of lay and clerical money. Indeed, the presence of donor portraits throughout medieval Europe, in contexts both sacred and secular, indicates that such images were expressions of a relatively common practice of purchasing and commissioning art in the period.⁴ Through an examination of contracts and commissions of Renaissance altarpieces, Christa Gardner von Teuffel has recently concluded that it was the patron (by her definition: the person who provided the money for an object) who determined the final appearance of an altarpiece.⁵ Although many images containing donor portraits were no doubt commissioned and overseen during the lifetime of the donor, extant documents recording the details of commissions from this period are extremely rare. Images could also be requested and money was often provided for funerary monuments and other commissions in an individual's testament. In most early cases, the testator left no instruction in his or her testament other than a formulaic request for a "*tumulus honorabilis*" or for a "*tabola*".⁶ When money was left for a painting, the amount was often small. This suggests that such paintings could be modest affairs and that sums were left as a contribution to projects that would be

⁴ Peter Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, 1993). 87.

⁵ Christa Gardner von Teuffel approaches the issue from the point of view of the Renaissance; however, many of the same issues and conditions can be applied to the commission of altarpieces in the Late Middle Ages. Von Teuffel also concedes that more work needs to be done to clarify the conventions of contractual language. See Christa Gardner von Teuffel, "Clerics and Contracts: Fra Angelico, Neroccio, Ghirlandaio and Others: Legal Procedures and the Renaissance High Altarpiece in Central Italy," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999).

⁶ See the testament of Doge Francesco Dandolo ASV, PSM, Misti, Commissarie, Busta 173. "Corpus ayten nostrum sepeliri volumus apud fratres minoris Sante Marie de Fratribus de Venetiis ubi fiat nobis tumulus honorabilis atque decens, tamen cum quam minori pompa et vanitate fieri possit, salvo in hoc quod condecet pro honore Ducatus."; See ASS (Siena) Not. antecos., no 25, 97v, 1334.xii.4. Cited by Samuel Kline Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore, 1997). 251, fnnt. 28.

completed at a later date.⁷ In both cases, the final decision was in the hands of the executor who could choose to add portrait figures or saints at his own discretion.⁸ Although artists often developed inventive solutions to iconographic and compositional problems themselves, it is accepted that most artists in the period continued to work within a standard symbolic and religious language. Consequently, in matters of art patronage the identification of a fixed “donor” or “patron”, like the attribution to a single artist, is often inadequate in determining how an object reached its final appearance.⁹ The complexities of usage and patronage are not adequately represented by these terms, and it is important to recognize that they carry associations that affect how we understand the objects to which they are applied.¹⁰ However problematic the existing terminology is, this dissertation does not propose new definitions for “donor”, “patron”, “votive”, and “portrait”. Although I will refer to images interchangeably as “votives” or “donor portraits”, the latter, more general term will be most often used.

⁷ The complex monetary system of the late Middle Ages in Italy differed according to region but generally functioned on a system of “pounds and shillings” or *denari* and *soldi*. Larger (often silver) money was called *lira* and still larger (often gold) pieces were called a *ducat* or *florin*. See Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, eds. Wendy Wilkinson; Sarah Tolley (London, 1986). Samuel Cohn Jr. cites examples of testators who left between three and ten *lire* for panel paintings in early *trecento* Tuscany. This is significantly less than the 300 gold *ducats* given by Domenicino Lion for the altarpiece of the church of S. Antonio di Castello, Venice in 1356. See Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 251.

⁸ For a discussion of the tomb monument of Doge Michele Morosini in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice see Holly Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*, (New York, 2006). 137-8. In the monument the doge and dogaressa kneel before a crucified Christ. Although the doge is presented by his patron saint, the Archangel Michael, it is John the Baptist, the patron saint of the couple’s only son, Giovanni, who presents the dogaressa. Other examples of local funerary monuments with similar use of John the Baptist, such as the tomb of Fina Buzzacarina in the baptistery of the Duomo in Padua, are more clearly related to the function of the building in which it is situated.

⁹ Jill Caskey has recently addressed similar issues of agency in medieval art patronage. See Jill Caskey, ““Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art,” In *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford, 2006). 196.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 197.

Aside from use as comparative examples, this dissertation will not deal extensively with portrait cycles, putative portraits in narrative scenes, effigies, freestanding sculpted portraits, or portraits in illuminated manuscripts. Rather, the focus of the following discussion will be on painted panels, relief sculpture, and mosaics containing kneeling donor portraits in Venice and its lagoon territories dating from approximately 1280 to 1413. These *termini* represent the dates of the first extant donor portrait in Venice and of the donor portrait decorating the tomb monument of Doge Michele Steno, the last doge elected in the fourteenth century. These donor portraits are collected in a catalogue (**Appendix II**) of 83 extant and recorded examples. Of these examples, 56 are defined as relief sculpture, 23 are panel paintings, and four are mosaics; 37 of the total relief sculpture containing donor portraiture were intended for the façades of churches, confraternities, and private or civic palaces in the city.¹¹ The remaining 19 examples were part of tomb monuments, altarpieces, and icons. A total of 23 examples in the catalogue are categorized as panel paintings; 18 of these were originally altarpieces and an additional two can be characterized as icons. The remaining three panel examples formed a part of tomb monuments or functioned as sarcophagi lids for the remains of local *beati*.¹² Four examples of donor portraiture in the catalogue are associated with a doge; three of these were a part of larger ducal tomb monuments and the final example decorates the baptistery of S. Marco.

¹¹ See Appendix II.

¹² *Beati* Giuliana de Collato of S. Biagio and Cataldo, Giudecca; and Leone Bembo of S. Lorenzo, Castello

History and Tradition of the Donor Portrait in Europe

In extant examples of donor portraiture from Western Europe, it is immediately clear that this diverse genre of imagery encompassed not just small-scale anonymous kneeling figures in altarpieces, but also full-scale standing figures holding models of churches and chapels or genuflecting at the feet of sacred figures. Donors were represented in a myriad of ways: by themselves, with a spouse, with kinsmen and women, or as an anonymous member of a tertiary religious or corporate group. The iconography and composition of these arrangements were emphasized through different physical contexts, as well as by the various religious and socio-political concerns of the donor. For instance, those works commissioned by a wealthy or elite donor were most likely to be depicted in the prominent areas of a church: the apse, the presbytery arch, or on the high altar.¹³ This is particularly true of Early Christian and Byzantine churches, where portraits of standing or kneeling donors often shared the apse mosaic with sacred figures.¹⁴ The carved façades and tympani of the Romanesque and Gothic churches of Northern Europe

¹³ Indeed, the products of elite and royal patronage have dominated the historiography of medieval patronage. See Caskey, "'Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art," 195.

¹⁴ Two notable Roman examples include the portrait of church patrons Pope Honorius (625-38) and Pope Symmachus (498-514) on either side of S. Agnese in the apse of S. Agnese fuori le Mura, Rome (c.625). On S. Agnese's right, Pope Honorius offers a model of the church, and on her left Pope Symmachus holds a book. Also, the apse mosaics of the church of S. Maria in Domnica, Rome (c.818) depict the Virgin and child enthroned with the kneeling figure of Pope Paschal (817-824). The pope holds the Virgin's foot in his hands as she gestures toward him; a throng of angels clad in white, are crowded in the background. For more on church mosaics in Rome from the medieval period see Walter Fraser Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome: From the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries* (Greenwich, 1967).

likewise often included prominent donor portraits.¹⁵ According to Pope-Hennessy, donor portraits in early thirteenth-century Italian panel paintings were primarily of male clerics.¹⁶ However, by the fourteenth century, donor portraiture in panel paintings and icons had also become extremely popular among the female monastic and lay communities in Europe. In this context, such images were more likely to be depicted on a smaller scale to the holy figures, or separated by the frame, so as not to intrude on the sacred scene.¹⁷

The most familiar iconography of the donor portrait, one that is seen in all media and contexts in Western Europe and Byzantium, is that in which the donor is depicted standing or kneeling at the foot of the Virgin and child. A saint, usually one to whom the donor had a particular devotion, is sometimes depicted presenting the donor to the Madonna.¹⁸ This was represented through the saint's gesture toward the donor, which could include taking him by the hand, placing a hand on his back or head, or simply pointing toward him. In the standard late medieval composition it is the Virgin who plays the central iconographical role, although standing saints were also common. This iconographical development is seen to be, in part due to the tradition of Marian

¹⁵ The münster in Basel (c.1019) is an example of this. On the façade, the cathedral patrons King Henry II and Queen Cunigunde of Luxembourg are depicted standing over the central portal. Also, on the western portal known as the St. Gall portal, a donor is depicted presenting a model of the portal to St. Gallus while his (deceased?) spouse is presented to St. Gallus by another saint who takes her by the arm.

¹⁶ Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*. 133.

¹⁷ Medieval institutions established their own aesthetic conventions and patronal categories. See Caskey, "'Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art,'" 194. Also see Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Donors in the Frames of Icons: Living in the Borders of Byzantine Art," *Gesta* XLV (2006): 194.

¹⁸ It is, of course, extremely difficult to recreate the motives for the choices of saints in particular images. To some degree we can assume that name saints of the donor or members of his or her family made their way into such images, but there is also the possibility that such images also depicted saints associated with tertiary groups to which the donor may have belonged, or to whom the donor, or a member of his family, prayed in a time of need.

veneration in Byzantium and to the widespread popularity of the cult of the Virgin Mary in the west.¹⁹ Although a donor portrait could take on a variety of postures in the portraiture of previous centuries, by the fourteenth century the kneeling posture of the donor was codified iconography. The kneeling posture of the donor in such late medieval imagery is furthermore echoed in contemporaneous images of the three magi – the first to venerate and offer gifts to the Virgin and child.²⁰ In addition, the iconography of the kneeling donor was a direct reflection of that important medieval act of bearing witness to an event or a liturgical drama.²¹ In a legal sense, the act of witnessing transactions, documents, punishments, and public events was a central part of medieval life, and donor portraits reflect this experience.²²

The issue of physiognomic likeness in this form of medieval portraiture is still a contested one. As Georgia Sommers Wright has recently argued, an interest in naturalistic depiction should not be confused with an interest in capturing a likeness, which was rarely attempted or even thought necessary.²³ Although, this is partially due to the media commonly used in medieval art forms, which restricted the degree of naturalism that could be achieved, portraiture in this period was also less about idealization and more

¹⁹ For more information on Marian imagery in medieval Europe see Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, 1994). and Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculpture of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972).

²⁰ For more on the development of the iconography of the three magi in Western art during the late Middle Ages see Emile Mâle *Religious Art in France. The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, trans. Marthiel Mathews, 6th ed. (Princeton, 1986). 20, 30, 65-66. See also Moshe Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1987).

²¹ Mâle, *Religious art in France. The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*. 65-66.

²² John Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge, 2000). 209-10. For more information on the significance of gestures and the concept of witnessing in medieval society see Moshe Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*.

²³ Georgia Sommers Wright, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth-Century," *Gesta* 39 (2000): 3.

about being memorialized in a time-honoured way. The conventional signifiers of identity in portraiture were typically read in costume and family heraldry.

Greco- Roman and Early Christian portraits

The extent to which these images enjoyed a popularity that extended across class boundaries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not new, although their higher survival rate may, at first, suggest that it was. Indeed most portrait types common in the Middle Ages were already well established in the Greco-Roman and Early Christian period. Although the widespread commemoration of individuals through portraiture in the Greco-Roman era was not restricted to one social class, it was obviously dependent on a donor's financial resources. Thus only rulers, wealthy citizens, and civic authorities could generally afford to commission marble portraits to honour individuals.²⁴ In ancient Greece and in Republican and Imperial Rome, portrait busts and coins were key political tools used by military heroes and would-be leaders to promote their authority and legitimacy.²⁵ In Early Christian examples from Rome, Ravenna, Porec, and Constantinople, bishops, popes, and emperors included portraits of themselves and their

²⁴ There is evidence of more diverse social representation of class through portraiture in the funerary portraits of the catacombs, and even further back in Egyptian mummy portraits. Susan Walker, *Ancient faces: Mummy portraits from Roman Egypt* (New York, 2000). In northern Europe the main form of portraiture before the *quattrocento* according to Harald Keller was in effigial sculpture and tomb monuments. See Harald Keller, *The Renaissance in Italy: painting, sculpture, architecture* (New York, 1969), 77. And Harald Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters," *Roemisches Jahrbuch fuer Kunstgeschichte* III (1939):229-356.

²⁵ Susan Walker, *Greek and Roman portraits* (London, 1995), 12-13. Walker, *Ancient faces: Mummy portraits from Roman Egypt*.

family members in their grandest public building projects (Fig 1).²⁶ These portrait images were given pride of place in the mosaic decorative programmes of some of the most spectacular building projects in early medieval Europe. Above all, they were meant to underscore the donor's spiritual, financial, and social involvement in the community. Even in cities of relatively minor importance, such visual declarations by the leading citizens of the area were not considered unusual.²⁷ Unlike most other European cities of comparable wealth and size, Venice had no ancient Roman foundations; however, the portrait vocabulary of the ancient and early Christian world was equally significant in the Venetian Republic.²⁸

Byzantium

In the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, the imperial portrait was an important part of the social, political, and religious life of Byzantium. Images of the imperial family decorated mobile objects and icons, as well as the walls of churches. Although the two iconoclastic periods between 730-87 and 814-42 had a somewhat negative effect on later imperial portraiture, examples from the tenth and eleventh centuries survive both in Constantinople and on the fringes of the empire.²⁹ After the fall of the Latin kingdom and

²⁶ Other earlier examples in mosaic include the donor portraits of Bishop Euphrasius in the apse of the basilica in the Istrian town of Porec (c. 550) (Fig.1); the portraits of emperor Justinian and empress Theodora in the side walls of the presbytery of S. Vitale in Ravenna (c. 540-48); the mosaic portrait of Pope John VII (c.705-7) in his funerary chapel dedicated to the Virgin against the inner façade wall of Old St. Peter's in Rome (now preserved at the Museo Petriano, Rome and in a seventeenth-century drawing by J. Grimaldi).

²⁷ For examples see Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Wien, 1992).

²⁸ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity: the Venetian sense of the Past* (New Haven, 1996).

²⁹ Notably, the imperial portrait of emperor Alexander (912/913) in the mosaics of S. Sophia and the tenth-century portraits of emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963-69) and his family in the north apse of the Pigeon House Church in Cavusin, Cappadocia.

the restoration of the Byzantine Empire under the Palaiologan emperors in 1261, portraiture gained in popularity. However rich in cultural achievement the Palaiologan period was, it did not produce lasting or stable rule in the region; by the end of the century Serbia had broken away from the empire and was followed shortly thereafter by Bulgaria and various Greek states.³⁰ The empire gradually succumbed to piecemeal fragmentation, infighting, economic crisis, and the rise of competing capital cities.³¹ The churches of these new centres were decorated with portraits in a variety of forms: donor, triumphal, funerary, dynastic, imperial groups, clerical/conventual groups, and genealogical trees.³²

Many of these innovations are documented in Serbia where portraits of local kings and nobles were erected in narrative scenes or on their own, as in the church of the Virgin at Studenica c.1208 (Fig. 2), and in the church of the Ascension, Milesevo, c.1237.³³ The popularity of portraiture among Serbian nobles was partially the result of the rapid social, political, and economic expansion among civic and ecclesiastical authorities. By the fourteenth century, feudalism was rapidly developing in Balkan communities and the increased political, economic, and juridical power of the local nobility corresponds with

³⁰ See Slobodan Curcic, *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire: Papers from the Colloquium Held at Princeton University*, ed. Doula Mouriki (Princeton, 1991).

³¹ Angeliki E. Laiou, "Byzantium and the Neighbouring Powers: Small-State Policies and Complexities," In *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557) Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. Sarah Brooks, 42-53 (New Haven, 2006). 46.

³² Sophia Kalopissi-Verti has recently categorized Palaiologan art patronage as either imperial, aristocratic, ecclesiastical, or non-elite. See Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Patronage and Artistic production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period," In *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557) Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. Sarah Brooks (New Haven, 2006). 76. And Tania Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971). 96-7.

³³ *Ibid.*, 117, 143.

the increased presence of elite portraits in the region's churches.³⁴ In this period, nobles were less likely to found monasteries than in previous centuries, but they were more likely to restore old churches and monasteries or to decorate their walls with immense family portraits, like those seen at the church of St. Nicholas at Psaca (Fig. 3). Full-scale donor portraits, with the subjects holding a model of the church or monastery, became popular in these churches and were a means of intimately attaching the donor and his family to the gift. In addition to these elite forms of portraiture during the Palaiologan period, a tradition of donor portraiture was established at all levels of society, including the emerging middle and merchant classes. Sophia Kalopissi-Verti discusses this type of accessible art patronage using as examples twelve churches from the thirteenth century in various outposts of the Byzantine Empire. In such cases, portraits of elite individual patrons were erected in the apse of the church, while the names and contributions of less exalted members of the community were recorded in inscriptions and in more modest forms of portrait imagery.³⁵

In icons and movable objects as well, donor portraiture experienced a revival in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As in the ninth century, donors were often depicted on mobile objects at a smaller scale to the holy figures, and icons with donor portraits of sovereigns and nobles became more common than before.³⁶ Tania Velmans suggests that these trends originated on the peripheries of the Byzantine Empire where

³⁴ Ibid., 126.

³⁵ See Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece*.

³⁶ See Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues", 122. See also, Nancy Sevcenko, "Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as represented in Byzantine Works of Art" in *Byzance et les Images*, (Paris, 1994). And Doula Mouriki, "Portraits de donateurs et invocations sur les icônes du XIII^e siècle au Sinai," *Etudes Balkaniques. Cahiers Pierre Belon* II (1995).

the increased production of icons hastened the spread of new tastes in portraiture.³⁷

Examples of such imagery from the Palaiologan period in the collection of St. Catherine's monastery in Sinai can be seen to represent a cross-section of trends in icon production in this period (Fig.108).³⁸ A recent study of thirteenth-century icons containing donor portraiture at Sinai, conducted by Doula Mouriki, suggests that donor portraiture was a widespread phenomenon in the period. The 23 icons containing donor portraits at St. Catherine's comprise approximately five percent of the total number of extant icons from the thirteenth century. The monastery's collection contains two types of portraiture: the actual portrait of the donor with inscription and those containing a written invocation.³⁹ Most of these icons were offerings to the monastery from an international roster of Syrian, Georgian, Egyptian, and Greek monks, and were meant to be displayed publicly either on an altar or on the feast day of the depicted saint.⁴⁰ This offering to the spiritual well-being of the congregation was also a means of securing salvation for the donor by personalizing an object through portraiture and inscription.⁴¹ In this period, donor portraiture was developing along parallel lines in both Latin Europe and Byzantium. A shared intellectual climate and growing fear of the Turkish incursion, combined with extensive commercial and diplomatic relations, the geographic proximity of Byzantine territory to Latin ones, as well as the physical presence of Latins both as immigrants and

³⁷ Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues", 133.

³⁸ Weyl Carr, "Donors in the Frames of Icons: Living in the Borders of Byzantine Art." and Mouriki, "Portraits de donateurs et invocations sur les icones du XIIIe siècle au Sinai."

³⁹ Mouriki, "Portraits de donateurs et invocations sur les icones du XIIIe siècle au Sinai," 105.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 131-2.

⁴¹ Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues", 134.

conquerors in the Greek and Slavic regions of the empire, were all factors that contributed to similar artistic developments and a free circulation of images.⁴²

By the thirteenth century, the manufacture of and trade in sacred images was no longer exclusively Byzantine. In late medieval Venice, particularly after the Fourth Crusade, icons were extremely popular and they still decorate many of the city's churches including S. Marco, S. Giovanni in Bragora, and S. Maria Mater Domini. Charles Davis has recently argued that these icons were made in Venice or its colonies for Venice, not imported as spoils from Constantinople.⁴³ Beyond the manufacture of icons in Venice, the larger influence of Byzantine culture on Venetian arts production in this period is a subject that has defined much of the art historical literature.⁴⁴ The influence of Byzantine arts in Venice has contributed to the positioning of Venetian art as separate and distinct from the rest of mainland Italy when, in fact, Venice was not exceptional in medieval Italy for its embrace of Byzantine art forms.⁴⁵ Although many art historians, including Otto Demus, have identified a "hybrid" or "Byzantinizing Gothic" style in Venetian art of the Middle Ages, Hans Belting has recently suggested that a Byzantine aesthetic was adopted as an official state style in *trecento* Venice for its symbolic rather than its inherent value.⁴⁶ According to Belting, Byzantine imagery was transformed into a symbol

⁴² Ibid., 145-6.

⁴³ There were no highly venerated Marian icons in Venice before the Fourth Crusade. See Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago, 1994). 75. Also see Charles Davis, "Byzantine Relief Icons in Venice and along the Adriatic Coast: Orants and other images of the Mother of God," *fondamentaArte* (2006).

⁴⁴ Giorgio Vasari was one of the first to note a "Greek" style in Venetian painting. Although this was a pejorative reflection by Vasari, it is echoed much later by pioneering art historians like Cavalcaselle and Pallucchini.

⁴⁵ Hans Belting, "Bisanzio a Venezia non è Bisanzio a Bisanzio," in *Il Trecento adriatico: Paolo Veneziano e la pittura tra Oriente e Occidente*, eds. Francesca Flores; Gentili D'Arcais, Giovanni (Rimini, 2002). 71.

⁴⁶ Otto Demus and Ferdinando Forlati, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*, Dumbarton Oaks studies, 6 (Washington, 1960). 189. See also Hans Belting, "Dandolo's

of the Republic both in the city and in its new colonies after 1204, and was intended to visually legitimize Venice's self-appointed role as heir to the Byzantine Empire.⁴⁷ Belting uses as an example the mosaics of the crucifixion in the baptistery of S. Marco, which he sees as a Venetian reinterpretation of the *deesis* iconography of Byzantium.⁴⁸ Similarly, the popularity in Venice of moveable painted panel and relief carvings containing donor portraits, inscriptions, and standing saints recalls the Byzantine icons of Sinai.⁴⁹ Likewise, the conventions of a double funerary portrait, as seen in the tomb of Michael Tornikes and his wife in the Kariye Djami (Chora monastery) in Constantinople (Fig. 4), and portraits in narrative scenes depicting the death or translation of the body of a king, as seen in the chapel of St. Simon Némanja at Sopocani (Fig. 5), are regularly echoed in medieval Venetian monuments.⁵⁰ Because Byzantium is often considered the main cultural influence of late medieval Venice, these approaches to donor portraiture particularly in the Palaiologan period, will form an important comparison throughout this dissertation.

Dreams: Venetian State Art and Byzantium," In *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557) Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. Sarah Brooks, 138-149 (New Haven, 2006) and Belting, "Bisanzio a Venezia non è Bisanzio a Bisanzio," 76,78.

⁴⁷ Maria Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage," *Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995): 479.

⁴⁸ Likewise the mosaic above the tomb of Doge Michele Morosini in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo c.1382 (cat. no. 4); the relief carving at S. Eufemia (cat. no. 22) and the relief carving from S. Maria Celestia (cat. No. 53) all use a similar iconography. Belting, "Bisanzio a Venezia non è Bisanzio a Bisanzio," 78.

⁴⁹ Images of donors kneeling in prayer at the foot of a holy image were much more widespread in Western Europe where retables, diptychs, and illuminated manuscripts were often adorned with portraits of their donors. However, in Byzantium one often finds objects with donors that are moveable and small in scale, corresponding with a need for donors to own objects of piety and to individualize them. See Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues", 134.

⁵⁰ In the example cited from the Kariye Djami, Michael Tornikes and his wife are depicted in the monument as a monk and a nun. This need to be modestly represented may be reflected in the portraits of the dogaressa on ducal tombs of Venice. Likewise, the putative portraits in narrative scenes on the Pala Feriale, the Porta S. Alipio, S. Marco, and in the narratives on altarpieces, like the death scenes in the polyptych of S. Chiara or Leone Bembo may reflect this influence. Ibid., 139. Paul Atkins Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, (New York, 1966).

Northern Italy

The other important comparative culture for the development of donor portraiture in fourteenth-century Venice is in the court culture of its Northern Italian neighbours. Although donor portraiture was the preferred means of expressing issues of posterity, family lineage, and concerns for one's eternal soul, there were many other forms of portraiture in the period. These include effigial portraiture, coins, historical and *uomini illustri* cycles, among others.⁵¹ However, for the lower strata of society, these expensive options were simply impossible. Instead, the moneyed merchant and elite classes of Northern Europe gravitated toward commemorative portraiture embodied in the kneeling donor portrait or votive image. In medieval Italy, such images were equally popular among the wealthy merchants of the communes as with the aristocrats of the signorial courts. They ranged from simple frescoes of one standing saint with a kneeling donor, to large-scale fresco programmes in family chapels with scenes from the lives of saints, and portraits of kneeling members, both living and deceased.⁵²

In northern cities like Verona, Padua, and Milan, where ruling families developed an elaborate chivalric culture, this type of imagery enjoyed a significant popularity

⁵¹ Fourteenth-century examples in Northern Italy include cycles in the Sala dei Giganti in the Loggia of the da Carrara palace in Padua, the palace of the Scaligeri in Verona, and in the palace of the Visconti in Milan.

⁵² These two options are particularly evident in the church of S. Anastasia in Verona where the elaborately planned fresco programme in the Cavalli chapel (to the right of the presbytery) by Altichiero, is juxtaposed with various scattered frescoes of single saints and kneeling donors throughout the rest of the church. For more on the Cavalli chapel in the church of S. Anastasia see Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*. See also Plinia Pettenella, *Altichiero e la pittura veronese del trecento* (Verona, 1961). 18, 20. Pettenella seems to equate the popularity of donor imagery (which she sees as a courtly form of art) with the wealth of the signorial courts and implies that one type of social system necessarily begets particular forms of art. She particularly sees similarities in artistic style and taste between the Scaligeri and Visconti courts that shared not only cultural ties but also familial ones. This does not seem to take into account the demand for votive imagery among the merchant and middle class.

among the court's inner circle. In Scaligeri-ruled Verona, for instance, close advisors to the Scaligeri, such as the physician Aventino Fracastoro and nobleman Guglielmo Castelbarco, figure prominently in donor portraiture decorating the city's major churches. Fracastoro's tomb (c.1368), which originally contained a donor portrait in the lunette above the sarcophagus, was placed prominently on the façade of the Franciscan church of S. Fermo (Fig. 6).⁵³ A fresco donor portrait of Guglielmo Castelbarco, with an architectural model in his hands, still decorates the presbytery arch of the same church (Fig.7).⁵⁴ Earlier, Castelbarco's tomb (c.1320), complete with effigy, carved canopy, and donor portrait was erected near the main entrance of the Dominican church of S. Anastasia (Fig. 17). These portraits are visual indications of Castelbarco's patronage of both churches. The chapel adjacent to S. Anastasia, dedicated to S. Pietro Martire (it is more popularly known as S. Giorgetto because of the frescoes of S. Giorgio in the chapel) is also the result of a commission from inside the Scaligeri court. The fresco programme in the chapel was commissioned by German mercenary soldiers hired by Cangrande II della Scala (ruled 1351-59) as a personal regiment of bodyguards (Fig. 8). The programme (c.1354) is organized along three decorative tiers: at the level of the dado, the knights' war-horses are displayed wearing the colours of their owners; on the second and central tier, the kneeling knight is presented by S. Giorgio and other saints to the Virgin and child; on the top tier, the personal heraldry of the soldiers is depicted. As a decorative

⁵³ Although the sarcophagus and canopy of Fracastoro's tomb monument are still on the entrance façade of S. Fermo, the original fresco lunette containing a donor portrait is currently located in the Museo Castelbarco, Verona.

⁵⁴ Giuseppe Gerola, "Il Ritratto di Guilielmo Castelbarco in S. Fermo, Verona" *Madonna Verona* 1-2 (1907-08).

programme, the chapel is the perfect expression of courtly culture since it ties together chivalric concepts of familial pride, feudal loyalties, and chaste devotion.⁵⁵

In Padua and Milan, the city's elite is depicted in similar votive fashion. In such images, it is the individual or family's connection to the ruling power that is emphasized through the subject matter, style, and medium. In these centres, the northern chivalric and courtly culture was embraced as the ultimate mark of a sophisticated and cosmopolitan taste. Furthermore, the scale and media of the projects make a statement about the wealth of the patron and the importance of his family. At this social level, a simple wall painting that could easily be painted over, once it no longer attracted the veneration of the congregation, was not enough to secure one's place in society for posterity. In Padua, family chapels, elaborate tomb monuments, and complicated fresco programmes, like those still extant in the Oratorio di S. Giorgio, commissioned by Raimondino di Lupi in the 1380s, (Fig. 9) were fashionable among the city's elite; in this example the male members of a family are depicted kneeling before holy figures (Fig. 81). Although such projects were for ostensibly private family chapels, they were also accessible to the public through regular open masses.⁵⁶

Much has been written about the art patronage that resulted from Padua's proto-Humanist culture in the fourteenth century, but an interesting example of fourteenth-

⁵⁵ For more on the cultural connections between Germany and Northern Italy in the late Middle Ages see Aldo D. Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry & Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1991). 174-5.

⁵⁶ See Laura Jacobus, "Giotto's Annunciation in the Arena Chapel," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999). Jacobus discusses the role of the Annunciation image in the Scrovegni Chapel in relation to devotional practices of the feast day of the Annunciation on March 25th. Every year a procession was held in the city, starting at the Palazzo della Ragione and ending at the ancient Roman arena near the chapel. Jacobus explores the level of public access to the frescoes of the Arena Chapel, which was opened for public masses on important feast days.

century votive imagery in Milan has been relatively overlooked.⁵⁷ In Milan, votive imagery, with its visual emphasis on the female half of the family, seems to embrace, at least artistically, a more inclusive view of lineage than its Scaligeri and Carrara neighbours to the east. Two examples of this may be found in the fresco cycles of the Mocchirolo chapel (c.1376), now located in the Pinacoteca Brera, Milan (Fig.109a-b), and the Oratorio di Santo Stefano Martire (c.1369) in Lentate sul Seveso (Fig.110a-b).⁵⁸ Stefano Porro, a diplomat, aristocrat, and close advisor to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who traveled widely in northern Europe and was made a *conte palatino* by Charles IV in 1360, commissioned both chapels. In both fresco programmes, Stefano Porro is depicted along with both the male and female lines of his family.⁵⁹ This style of votive imagery is more in keeping with votives of Northern Europe in the same period and may reflect closer cultural ties between Milan and its transalpine neighbours, rather than with its Italian neighbours to the east.⁶⁰

For the more humble middle and merchant classes of these northern centres, donor and votive imagery seems to have been not only a viable option for moderate

⁵⁷ For Padua there is also a vast literature that argues for an increased interest in the antique culture under the da Carrara in the fourteenth century. During this time Padua developed a court culture that strongly adhered to proto-humanist ideals. See, for instance, Theodore Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," *Art Bulletin* 34 (1952): 95-116; L. Montobbio, *Splendore e Utopia nella Padova dei Carraresi* (Venice, 1988); Benjamin Kohl, *Culture and Politics in Early Renaissance Padua* (Aldershot, 2001).

⁵⁸ At the time of writing, the Oratorio di Santo Stefano Martire was closed for restoration.

⁵⁹ See Alfredo Bosio, *Storia di Milano [dalle origini al 1859.]* (Milano, 1958). 69-70. For more information on the complex position of women in Italian families see Diane Owen Hughes, "Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in early Modern Italy," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 (1976): 25, 36.

⁶⁰ One example from the late 1300s is a votive fresco containing both male and female lines in the church of S. Pieter in Basel. Another example from France is the slightly later epitaph belonging to sepulchral monument of Jean Jouvenel des Ursins and his wife Michèle de Vitry (c.1443) in which the couple are joined by their eleven children. It is now preserved in the Musée National du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny. See Victor Schmidt, "Diptychs and Supplicants: Precedents and Contexts of Fifteenth-Century Devotional Dyptychs," in *Unfolding the Netherlandish Dyptych: Essays in Context*, ed. John Oliver Hand and Ron Spronk, 14-31 (New Haven, 2006) 23.

artistic patronage, but a desirable one as well.⁶¹ The extant visual evidence from the medieval churches of Verona and Treviso, for instance, indicate that friars sold or leased surfaces inside the churches to patrons who would commission a painting of a favourite saint or sacred figure. Increasingly, these images were accompanied by kneeling donor portraits and toward the end of the fourteenth century, the paintings became slightly more elaborate and included more sacred figures.⁶² Such frescoes were so common that they were often painted over when they no longer attracted prayers and candles from the congregation.⁶³ The remnants of overlapping frescoes containing anonymous medieval donor portraits in the Veronese churches of S. Zeno and S. Anastasia makes this practice clear (Fig. 61).⁶⁴ It is evident that votive imagery was a popular motif across class boundaries, although it expressed itself differently as a function of different social needs. Ostensibly, such imagery functioned at all socio-economic levels as a spiritual outlet, but for the elite of the signorial courts, it also served to underscore connections with the ruling family and issues of lineage and wealth. For the lower strata of society, votives

⁶¹ James Grubb, *Provincial Families of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1995).

⁶² See Louise Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, 2004). For more on the processes of art patronage within the Franciscan church see Louise Bourdua, "Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages" (PhD, University of Warwick, 1991). Also see Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 252. Cohn discusses the increase in testamentary commissions for such images in Central Italy in the years after the Black Death. His analysis of the documents indicates that testators were more likely to be specific about the sacred figures and the placement of saints and portraits toward the end of the century.

⁶³ See *Motti e Facezie del Piovano Arlotto* ed. G. Folena (Milano-Napoli, 1995): "And going around with the master mason, examining which figures to leave and which to destroy, the priest spotted a Saint Anthony and said: 'Save this one.' Then he found a figure of Saint Sano and said: 'This one is to be gotten rid of, since as long as I have been the Priest here I have never seen anyone light a candle in front of it, nor has it ever seemed to me useful; therefore, mason, get rid of it.'" Cited by Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 244.

⁶⁴ This is particularly visible on the left transept wall of S. Anastasia, and on the right and left walls before the presbytery in the church of S. Zeno.

served to satisfy a desire for posterity, not only before God, but also before the larger community.

Reviewing the Historiography

Despite an uninterrupted tradition of donor portraiture in Western Europe since the Greco-Roman period, there remains an absence of significant scholarship on this subject for the late Middle Ages in Italy. Medieval donor portraiture is often discussed only as the religious precursor to the secularized individual portraiture that developed in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The reasons for this are complex ones, stemming from the Vasarian art historical model, which favours artist biographies, individual oeuvres, and subjective quality in objects of study.⁶⁵ The piecemeal condition of many of the surviving medieval donor portraits renders them less easily accessible, and less immediately exciting than the elite decorative fresco programmes that survived intact alongside. These humble images were largely ignored in the historiography, in favour of art objects that more easily identified and more clearly proclaimed their importance and value.⁶⁶ In Verona, for instance, the focus has been almost entirely on Altichiero's fresco cycle in the Cavalli chapel of S. Anastasia (Fig.10), despite the large number of

⁶⁵ This is true in the study of Paduan art of the *trecento* where the focus has been on the proto-humanist leanings and art patronage of the Carrara court. See Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting. The Local Schools of North Italy of the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. IV (The Hague, 1924). 206. Van Marle writes, "If we cast a glance at the art of...painting and design in Padua and Verona during the fourteenth century, we discover that it was again in the former of these two cities that the artistic development was the greater." See also Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, ed. Julia Conaway Bondanella; Peter Bondanella (Oxford, 1998).

⁶⁶ See Joseph Archer Crowe, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, and Tancred Borenius, *A History of Painting in North Italy, Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Ferrara, Milan, Friuli, Brescia from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth century*, 2d ed. (New York, 1912). Van Marle, *The development of the Italian Schools of Painting. The Local Schools of North Italy of the Fourteenth Century*. Most recently, John Richards in his 2000 monograph on Altichiero referred to medieval votive images in Veronese churches as a "rash". See Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*.

anonymous votive imagery in the city's medieval churches. Medieval donor portraiture in Central Italy has received hardly more attention than that of its northern neighbours.⁶⁷ As in Northern Italy, the most spectacular fresco programmes containing donor portraits have dominated the literature for their perceived contribution to elite artistic and cultural development, rather than for their reflection of wider social shifts.⁶⁸ Anonymous votive images are positioned as banal and perfunctory images that serve to illustrate the naïvely spiritual beginnings of a genre that would reach its apex of cultural and intellectual sophistication in the following centuries.

Pioneering Renaissance scholars like John Pope-Hennessy, Harald Keller, and Jacob Burckhardt understood late medieval donor portraiture as an indication of a movement toward secular individualism.⁶⁹ Similarly, Dirk Kock's 1971 Ph.D. dissertation on Italian donor portraiture in painting from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries is predicated upon the idea that these images lie at the very beginning of the Renaissance

⁶⁷ See for instance Aby Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (Los Angeles, 1999). 114-15. The author jumps from a discussion of Giotto's kneeling portraits in the Bardi chapel to Ghirlandaio's work in Santa Trinità, forgoing a discussion of the intervening century and a half of donor portraiture; See also Enrico Castelnuovo, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società," in *Storia d'Italia*, ed. Ruggiero Romano; Vivanti Corrado (Turin, 1973). In this essay donor portraiture of the fourteenth century is only discussed insofar as it relates to fifteenth-century examples.

⁶⁸ Cohn draws attention to the ambivalence among art historians toward the medieval donor portraits and the lack of adequate studies that seek to explain the popularity of donor images in the *trecento*. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 271. Although Cohn is particularly concerned with Central Italy in this statement, it is one that is also true of Northern Italy and Venice.

⁶⁹ Pope-Hennessy, for instance, saw the motivation for such imagery as being primarily an increased wish to commemorate oneself for posterity. See Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*. 257. Burckhardt, "Das Portrait."; Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters." Burckhardt, *Italian Renaissance Painting according to Genres*. See also Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 247. The author refutes the use of a Burckhardian notion of individuality, as an explanation for an "...increasing desire to leave a mark for posterity"

tradition of painted portraits.⁷⁰ Although Kock's catalogue of images successfully conveys the remarkable breadth of popularity enjoyed by the genre in the late medieval period, it is not exhaustive, nor does it distinguish between the different forms of portraiture that fall under the general "votive" rubric.⁷¹ Rather, his dissertation addresses the chronological development of donor representation in the late medieval period and examines the development of different iconographic treatments, compositions, and contexts with little interpretation.

One notable treatment of donor portraiture in the Middle Ages is Millard Meiss' seminal monograph *Painting in Siena and Florence after the Black Death*. Meiss suggests that the first bout of plague in 1348 resulted in art commissions that were familiar, conservative, and strictly spiritual, and that votive imagery was an important part of this movement. In other words, the burgeoning interest in individual and proto-humanist thinking that supposedly expressed itself in an interest in ancient forms at the end of the thirteenth century was halted by the catastrophe of plague, resulting in art that was concerned mostly with the imminent salvation of one's soul.⁷² Although this is a hypothesis that has been strongly contested since Meiss first posed it in 1951, it has initiated debate around the cultural meaning of donor images created in this period.

⁷⁰ I am grateful to Anna Huber for her help in obtaining and translating this dissertation. Dirk Kocks, *Die Stifterdarstellung in der italienischen malerei des XIII-XV Jahrhunderts* (Köln, 1971).

⁷¹ The breadth of the project is so extensive, in fact, that a monograph on the entire topic in Italy for the period is ultimately unsatisfactory. Kock's definition of a donor as "the representation of a human being in a religious scene," is emblematic of the underlying problems of the study, which grapples with, but never fully resolves, the definition of a donor and suffers from a general lack of critical analysis as a result. Ibid.

⁷² See Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: the arts, religion and society in the mid-fourteenth century*. 31. See also Miklos Boskovits, *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento, 1370-1400* (Firenze, 1975). 46. Boskovits likewise argues for a return to a "more fervent religiosity" in art.

Samuel Cohn has recently taken the middle ground, between Burckhardtian and Meissian approaches to understanding art production in this period. In his book, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death*, Cohn argues that in *trecento* central Italy, the testamentary evidence suggests that new views of lineage, self-remembrance, and earthly fame were taking hold in the decades following the Black Death. Cohn is clear that, unlike Burckhardt, he does not attribute this to a simple revival of ancient individualist behaviours, but rather, to the psychological effects of the plague on *trecento* society.⁷³ In the period following the Black Death, testators were more likely to commission paintings in which they are depicted alongside sacred figures and identified by inscriptions and/or coats of arms.⁷⁴ Furthermore, according to the amounts left for the commission of paintings in the testaments of the early *trecento*, such objects were relatively affordable and accessible to middle-class patrons. By the end of the century, this “pseudo-democratic” vision of familial and self-remembrance was replaced in central Italy by patrician cultural hegemony, as the patchwork fresco decoration of churches in Florence were whitewashed to make way for more expensive and elaborate fresco cycles paid for by elite families.⁷⁵ Cohn’s work redresses an oversight in the field and provides a plausible explanation for changes in *trecento* painting as a reflection of the turning away from old mendicant forms of piety toward an interest in the “...preservation of their

⁷³ Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 277, 288. See also Boskovits, *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento, 1370-1400*. 171.; and Hans Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion* (New Rochelle, 1990). 7. Both scholars have argued for a period of transition in which paintings were increasingly seen as less iconic and more aesthetic objects. This line of reasoning may explain, to some degree, the increased number of donor portraits in the period, which suggests a less rarified and distant relationship between patron and painting.

⁷⁴ Before the Black Death, testators were less specific in their demands when leaving money for paintings, preferring to indicate a general preference for the Virgin Mary. See Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 259

⁷⁵ Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 278.

memories and the salvation of their souls through human means formerly [before the Black Death] deemed only of ephemeral value..."⁷⁶ In other words, such images represented a societal shift that gave more importance to the individual's active responsibility for his or her spiritual salvation, over the more passive and uncertain dependence on the prayers of the community.⁷⁷ Although the insights of earlier art historians remain valuable to the expansion of the discipline, there continues to be a dearth of interest in donor and votive imagery in Northern Italy. Venice in particular, which thrived culturally and economically in the *trecento*, provides an interesting case study for Cohn's hypothesis.

Venice and the Donor Portrait: The Tradition and its Problems

The bulk of art historical projects in Venice concentrate on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century subjects; this is partially due to practicalities such as the number of surviving objects and extant supporting documents. In comparison, the scholarship addressing *duecento* and *trecento* artistic developments in Venice has focused, with few exceptions, on the architecture and decoration of the basilica of S. Marco, the *Palazzo Ducale*, and the catalogue of works attributed to known artists like Paolo Veneziano.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ See Ibid., 288. This is at variance with Millard Meiss's conclusion that increased demand for sacred art in the 1370s and 80s was a return to the ascetic values of the *duecento*. See Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: the arts, religion and society in the mid-fourteenth century*. 70-73.

⁷⁷ Thanks to John Osborne for pointing out that precisely the same thrust was made in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries by the Cluniac reform movement. This shift in thinking may have also been influenced by the concept of purgatory, which was re-affirmed as a central teaching of the Catholic church at the Council of Lyon in 1274.

⁷⁸ For studies on the decoration of S. Marco see Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Chicago, 1984). Demus and Forlati, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*. and Otto Demus, "Oriente e Occidente nell'arte veneta del duecento," in *La civiltà veneziana del secolo di*

This has changed somewhat in recent years with the research of art historians like Debra Pincus and Jürgen Schulz, who have done much to promote the study of fourteenth-century Venetian art and architecture.⁷⁹

Some of the most influential studies of *trecento* art in Venice may still be found in the first comprehensive surveys of art in the region. The main goal of art historical surveys by scholars like Raimond Van Marle and Joseph Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle was to establish the characteristics of various regional schools of painting in Italian art, and thereby to facilitate their further study and preservation. Although these volumes have been absolutely essential to the demystification of Venetian art and ultimately successful in their aim to establish a Venetian school of painting, there have also been some long-standing conceptual consequences. The narrative of these surveys often positioned medieval Venetian art and architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a conventional expression of Byzantine aesthetic qualities.

The cultural contact between Venice and Byzantium in this period is understood to be one of remarkable longevity and endurance, a circumstance that led to a perception of Venice in the Middle Ages as peculiarly introverted and separate from the concerns that influenced mainland Italy and Europe.⁸⁰ As a result, Venice has traditionally suffered from comparison with mainland centres like Padua and Florence, where scholars

Marco Polo (Florence, 1955). See also Michelangelo Muraro, *Paolo da Venezia* (University Park, 1970). for his seminal work on the oeuvre of Paolo Veneziano.

⁷⁹ Debra Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (New York, 2000).; Jürgen Schulz, *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice* (University Park, 2004).

⁸⁰ See Van Marle, *The development of the Italian Schools of Painting. The Local Schools of North Italy of the Fourteenth Century*. 58-9. The author states: "It is only natural that this art which was current throughout the rest of Italy, should sooner or later replace in Venice the conventional Byzantinism, which had elsewhere been abandoned since the beginning of the fourteenth century. That Venice was so backward in following this example is in part due to its interrupted intercourse with Byzantium, and in part to its distinctive political life, which isolated it in a very special way from the rest of the peninsula."

perceived progressive humanist leanings that would reach fruition in the Renaissance. The continued cultural connection with Byzantium in this period was thus seen as a disadvantage for Venetian art, one which held it back from achieving the levels of artistic innovation reached by mainland cities of similar size and economic stature. The ‘otherness’ of Venice -its Byzantine roots and its introverted, pseudo-democratic politics – became a popular trope in the study of medieval Venetian art history, one that is often used to explain the absence or presence of characteristics in Venetian art in the period. Recently, the expanding body of work, tracing and debunking the long-standing “Myth of Venice”, has contributed to a new type of art historical scholarship for fifteenth-and sixteenth-century Venetian art, one that has become conscious of the effects of this mythology.⁸¹

The study of portraiture in Venetian art has been affected by these shifts in the discipline. Though Van Marle briefly mentions Paolo Veneziano’s panel painting for the 1339 tomb of Doge Francesco Dandolo in the Frari (Fig. 11) as the first instance of portrait iconography in Venice, he makes no mention of donor portraiture as a genre worthy of note in *trecento* Venice.⁸² When donor portraiture is mentioned in one of the surveys of Italian art, it is in a similar vein. Even in more specific monographs on the subject of portraiture in European and Italian art, the medieval donor portrait receives surprisingly scant attention. John Pope-Hennessy, another pioneer in the field of Italian

⁸¹ See John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano, *Venice reconsidered: The history and civilization of an Italian city-state, 1297-1797* (Baltimore, 2000).

⁸² See Van Marle, *The development of the Italian Schools of Painting. The Local Schools of North Italy of the Fourteenth Century*. 17-19. Van Marle does not mention examples of similar donor iconography in the region, for instance the ancona (c.1310) from the church of SS. Maria e Donato, Murano, which depicts the *podestà* Donato Memo and his wife on either side of St. Donato (cat. no.12), or the tomb of Doge Jacopo Contarini c. 1280 (also originally in the Frari – now no longer extant) which depicted the doge and his wife flanking the Virgin (cat. no.75).

art history, mostly overlooked medieval donor portraits in his 1966 monograph on Renaissance portraiture. Instead, his point of departure in the development of the genre was the collective or group portraits of the late fifteenth-century Venice by Vittore Carpaccio and Jacopo Bellini.⁸³ Pope-Hennessy regarded such images as the beginning of a revival of a pictorial tradition that emphasized the importance of fame, posterity, and remembrance. The fact that social status and individual concerns are so closely equated with portraiture is at the root of this ambivalence toward overtly religious medieval donor portraits in the art historical literature on Venice. Although the historical scholarship on Venice has established that the fourteenth century was a period of remarkable social and political transition, ideologically motivated reasons are continually given to explain a supposed lack of portraiture in Venice before the late fifteenth century.

In her 1989 monograph entitled *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, Patricia Fortini Brown devotes only cursory attention to the state of painting in the fourteenth century, and comments that:

...although examples are known in the fourteenth century, it [single donor portrait tradition] was not as well established in Venice as it was elsewhere in Italy until the 1470s. Probably for the same reasons that underlay the suppression of individual glorification we can find only a few scattered instances of full-sized donor figures in larger scenes before that period.⁸⁴

⁸³ He states “the vogue of the collective portrait grew and grew...status and portraiture became inextricably entwined, and there was almost nothing patrons would not do to intrude themselves in paintings; they would stone the women taken in adultery, they would clean up after martyrdoms, they would serve at the table at Emmaus or in the Pharisee’s house...the only contingency they did not envisage was what actually occurred, that their faces would survive but their names go astray.” See Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*. 22-23. See also Andrew Martindale, *Heroes, ancestors, relatives and the birth of the portrait* (The Hague, 1988). Martindale looks at portraits of leaders and collections of portraits as genealogies and mementoes, but not at medieval donor portraits.

⁸⁴ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1989). 231.

Brown suggests, rather, that the group portraits favoured by confraternities provide strong visual evidence of a “communal ethic” in a city that continually sought to contain and suppress individual distinctions within a group context.⁸⁵ Closer examination of Brown’s sources for these conclusions leads us to a 1977 Ph.D. dissertation by Susan Moulton, entitled *Titian and the Evolution of Donor Portraiture in Venice*. As is suggested by the dissertation title, the main concern of the project was to establish the use of the donor portrait genre by Titian in the sixteenth century. As such, Moulton sums up medieval examples of donor portraiture in Venice with the following comments:

In contrast to the rest of Europe, no established traditions of donor portraiture as such existed in Venice prior to 1470. Historical circumstances account for this virtual lack of portraiture in Venice. The rigid strictures against the glorification of individual citizens inhibited the development of the genre in Venice while it flourished elsewhere in Europe. Those portraits that did exist were painted in the centuries-old Byzantine style of rigid, stereotyped imagery and evidenced little individuality.⁸⁶

Here, Moulton repeats three of the most common *topoi* used to analyze Venetian art of the fourteenth century: Venice’s inherent separateness from developments in the rest of Europe and Italy, its continued cultural attachment to Byzantium, and its staunch commitment to a social ideology that restricted personal display and overt self-interest.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Ibid., 226.

⁸⁶ Susan Moulton, "Titian and the Evolution of Donor Portraiture in Venice" (PhD, Stanford University, 1977). 23.

⁸⁷ Moulton comes to these conclusions through the work of Harald Keller who confirms her view on Venice. See Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters," 229-356. See also Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*. 210. The author states: "...Altichiero’s earlier reinvention of the role and status of donors in votive contexts and ultimately derives from it the lack of curbs on the celebration of the individual, often interpreted as a Proto-Renaissance concept, must also be understood as an integral feature of signorial societies, in sharp contrast with the republics of Venice and Florence, where such vainglorious display on behalf of an individual was disliked and discouraged...and where no amount of gratitude felt by the state for the service of a given

Likewise, in his book *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*, Peter Humfrey has suggested that, despite a few donor portraits in altarpieces extant in Venice, Venetians were less inclined than their mainland contemporaries to include such portraits in altarpieces, because it was “desirable for patricians not to indulge in displays of excessive pride or luxury.”⁸⁸

On the other hand, the tendency of Venetian patricians in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to express individual interests through public portraiture has been the subject of some important studies.⁸⁹ Allison Luchs’ monograph, entitled *Tullio Lombardo and Ideal Portrait Sculpture in Renaissance Venice*, explores the development of the sculpted portrait bust in late fifteenth-century Venice. However, Luchs also relies heavily on the perception that Venetians were averse to individual portraiture before the late fifteenth century due to specific socio-political pressures in the city.⁹⁰ Luchs connects the revival of portrait busts in Venice with an increased concern for social status among Venetian patricians in the period, and yet implies that such anxieties were impossible in

individual could eradicate the basic mistrust of exceptional men, even of exceptional men within the body politic.”

⁸⁸ Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*. 104, 106-7.

⁸⁹ Notably Alison Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and ideal portrait sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490-1530* (Cambridge, 1995). ; Katherine T. Brown, *The Painter's Reflection : Self-Portraiture in Renaissance Venice, 1458-1625* (Firenze, 2000). ; Castelnovo, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società."; Irving Lavin, "On the Source and Meaning of the Renaissance Portrait Bust," *Art Quarterly* 33 (1970).; Thomas Martin and Alessandro Vittoria, *Alessandro Vittoria and the portrait bust in Renaissance Venice: remodelling antiquity*, (Oxford, 1998).; Martindale, *Heroes, ancestors, relatives and the birth of the portrait.*; Moulton, "Titian and the Evolution of Donor Portraiture in Venice".

⁹⁰ Luchs is largely concerned with freestanding sculpture monuments in the city, which were frowned upon by the government in the period. See Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and ideal portrait sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490-1530*. 2, 4-5. It is also worth noting that in his 1969 survey of Renaissance art in Italy, Harald Keller disagrees strongly with the hypothesis that a lack of portrait busts in Renaissance Venice was linked to its Republican culture. Unlike Alison Luchs, Keller does not ideologically separate the tradition of painted portraits in Venice from sculpted ones. See Keller, *The Renaissance in Italy: painting, sculpture, architecture*. 77-79.

the strictly Republican society of fourteenth-century Venice.⁹¹ Because there are so few art historians currently working on *trecento* Venice, this assumption is rarely challenged. One exception is Raneé Katzenstein's 1987 Ph.D. dissertation on the *trecento* liturgical manuscripts of S. Marco, which drew attention to this issue and to its effect on the study of medieval Venetian art:

According to one of these myths, which asserted that the Republic was free from political factions, Venetian society discouraged promotion of individual interests in favour of those of the Republic. No doubt this accounts, at least to some extent, for the rarity with which the role of individual patrons.... in the creation of Venetian art during the Middle Ages has been considered.⁹²

Susan Steer's Master's thesis entitled *The Donor Portrait in Venetian Art c.1300-1450* attempts to remedy this oversight and is the only recent study of donor portraits in medieval Venice.⁹³ Although Steer convincingly argues that ducal funerary monuments were not meant to be public statements for the glory of Venice, she also suggests that donor portraits of private citizens in Venice are at a smaller scale than holy figures, because of a "Venetian reluctance to indulge the desire for ostentatious commemoration of the private individual."⁹⁴ Apart from Steer's research, most art historians have almost

⁹¹ Again, this is an idea that has deep roots in the historiography. Catherine King echoes some of this sentiment. Though King equates portraiture with class and status concerns, she expressly excludes Venice from such anxieties in her discussion of effigial figures of Neapolitan nobles: "The Republican ethos in Venice and Florence discouraged the commemoration of individuals by effigial sculpture, whereas feudal traditions of Naples encouraged the portrayal of the dead." See Catherine King, *Renaissance women patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550* (Manchester, 1998). 3.

⁹² Raneé A. Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in Mid-Trecento Venice" (PhD, Harvard University, 1987). 14.

⁹³ Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)".

⁹⁴ Steer disagrees with Debra Pincus' assertion that ducal tombs reflect state over individual concerns. See Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. Debra Pincus, "The Fourteenth-century Venetian Tomb and

completely overlooked medieval donor portraiture in favour of studying portrait examples from later periods. As in the art history of central Italy, social historians have taken the lead in the study of medieval donor portraiture, a fact that simply highlights the need for more systematic art historical scholarship on the subject.

The most recent of these studies is Holly Hurlburt's 2006 monograph entitled *The Dogaressa of Venice, 1200-1500: Wife and Icon*. Although the book looks at the changing role and political significance of the dogaressa in Venetian society through an examination of mostly textual sources, dogaressa donor portraits are introduced as additional sources to establish her arguments.⁹⁵ Hurlburt is, to my knowledge, the only scholar to have published recently on votive depictions of the dogaressa as a motif in late medieval Venetian art. She discusses the public significance of these images as reinforcing the role of the dogaressa in Venetian society, not only as a consort but also as a patrician woman.⁹⁶ Though Hurlburt sheds some much needed light on the function of donor portraiture in *trecento* Venice, it comprises only a part of her argument and does not, for obvious reasons, address other types of donor portraiture in the city.

The Catalogue

Italian Mainland traditions," in *Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien*, ed. Jorg Garms, Angiola-Maria Romanini (Wien, 1990). Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)". 54.

⁹⁵ See the section on votive images in Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*. 131-39. It is interesting to note that the study of medieval donor portraiture in Central Italy has also been greatly facilitated by the testamentary work of historians like Samuel Cohn Jr. (See note 56 above)

⁹⁶ Ibid.

The obvious starting point for this discussion is with the physical evidence: Do the surviving examples of donor portraits from fourteenth-century Venice support or belie previous conclusions regarding the early popularity of the genre in the city? In an attempt to answer this question, I have collected and catalogued 83 images of Venetian donor portraits (**Appendix II**). Of the known images documented in this catalogue, approximately half depict the donor alone or with a spouse and are often accompanied by an inscription; the other half of the extant images represent donors *en masse*, either as a corporate or a religious group. In the former scenario, the emphasis is more likely to be on individual career, family, and posterity. The latter is more in keeping with the general perception of Venetian communal interests in the period. Identifying the donor(s) in both cases is difficult since the original marks of identification have not always survived. Identification, where possible, is obtained by an examination of the combined factors of inscriptions, written documents, provenance, iconography, costume, and heraldry in order to reconstruct the circumstances of a commission.⁹⁷ In addition, knowledge of the medium and technique used for these images will be essential to understand their original function, since a relief carving on a church façade functioned in a different manner than a painted altar panel in a church. There are 56 examples in the catalogue that can be categorized as sculpture (relief); another 23 are panel paintings; and the remaining four are mosaics. This indicates that, for the most part, these images were erected on façades and viewed publicly.

⁹⁷ Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins, *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Kirkville, 2001). 1-2.

Due to the de-consecration and de-commissioning of parish churches in the Napoleonic and the early Austrian period between 1797 and 1819, many of the extant images collected in my catalogue are now scattered in museums and collections throughout Italy and elsewhere. However, if these images can be seen to represent accurately only a fraction of what originally existed in the late Middle Ages, the simplest conclusion is that donor portraiture existed with equal popularity in late medieval Venice as in the rest of medieval Italy. The relatively large number of images in my catalogue should constitute more than enough examples to provide the basis for sound hypotheses about the genre in Venice. However, in comparison to mainland centres like Verona and Treviso, where hundreds of examples from the *duecento* and *trecento* are still extant, and in many cases also *in situ*, the genre seems at first glance to have been more popular on the Italian mainland. There are a number of factors that contribute to that perception.

During the fourteenth century, Venice and Scaligeri-ruled Verona profited equally from eastern and transalpine trade routes. Though the cities adopted differing political systems, they both enjoyed a degree of civic wealth that allowed art production in various forms to flourish. However, by the early fifteenth century, the tides of Veronese fortunes had turned, and Venice quickly outdistanced and ultimately conquered its mainland rival, politically, economically, and culturally. The result was that art patronage in Verona slowed, while in Venice it reached new heights. In the centuries that followed the conquest of Verona in 1405, the medieval churches of that city lost most of their wealthiest patrons and could not afford to replace their old decorative programmes. In Venice, on the other hand, medieval churches were rebuilt and “improved” in record numbers. The result is a comparative dearth of medieval artwork in Venice and an uneven

perception of the city in that period, in comparison with its nearest neighbours. The medieval donor portraits that managed to survive the rebuilding and redecoration mania of wealthy Venetian art patrons after the fourteenth century, were further endangered during and after Napoleon's reign in the city. During the church reforms and later under the Hapsburgs, Venetian churches and confraternities suffered mass de-consecration, demolition, and divestiture; as a result, many examples of donor portraiture from the *trecento* were destroyed, sold, or lost, and the medieval landscape of the city was changed forever.⁹⁸ Although it is tempting simply to attribute perceived artistic differences in these cities to differing political systems or climates, these arguments continue to uphold notions of Venetian separateness in the Middle Ages; this characterization needs to be reconsidered.

Structure and Method

The purpose of this study is to integrate the evidence collected in the catalogue, into its historical context. In the following chapter, a discussion of the larger social, economic, and political climate of Venice in the fourteenth century will establish a backdrop for a more thorough discussion of the images. Issues of pertinence for medieval Venetians such as the effects of plague, the threat of political coup, the wars with Genoa and Padua, the tightening of requirements for service in government, and the transitional development of a patrician or noble elite will be discussed, in order to situate the rest of this project in its proper historical context. The third chapter collects and analyzes

⁹⁸ See Alvise Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*, 2 vols. (Milano, 1972).; David Laven, *Venice and Venetia under the Hapsburgs, 1815-1835* (Oxford, 2002).

examples of donor portraits of the doge and other state officials. I will examine and reconstruct the contexts in which such images were found, how they originally looked, and the degree to which the donor's connection and service to the state is visually emphasized. Chapter four focuses on the patronage and portraits of Venice's emerging noble class and wealthy *cittadini* in the fourteenth century and explores the myriad ways in which their class and connections are visually emphasized through this type of portraiture. Chapter five examines the group portraits of confraternity and monastic bodies in *trecento* Venice, with respect to the locations, function, and reception of this type of donor portraiture; of specific note is the actual degree to which individual interest was excluded in such commissions. Chapter six looks at donor images of women and uses both lay and conventual portraits of women to explore their changing legal and social status in *trecento* Venice.

Through this structure, I am seeking to avoid simply creating a prologue to the Renaissance.⁹⁹ By doing this, the intention is not to imply that the genre definitively began and ended within the time parameters set here, but rather that this was one period of substantial popularity for the genre, and one that may provide ample sources for a historical reconstruction of fourteenth-century society in Venice. I have focused on a specific period in a specific region, and attempted to avoid generalizations about the chronological development of the genre in greater medieval culture. However, comparison will often be necessary to clarify if and how Venice developed along similar or different cultural lines from the rest of Europe and Byzantium in the fourteenth century.

⁹⁹ See Kocks, *Die Stifterdarstellung in der italienischen malerei des XIII-XV Jahrhunderts*.

Methodologically, I am not seeking to revise chronological art historiography, but rather, through micro-historical study of Venetian donor portraiture to reconstruct how, when, and why certain shifts occurred in medieval society. My study will concentrate on the developing social structure of fourteenth-century Venice. As a starting point, I will use the research of social historians like Stanley Chojnacki and Dennis Romano, whose explorations of social classes in Venice during this period were particularly helpful to my examination of donor images.¹⁰⁰ Many scholars working in the field have addressed how the connections between class and portraiture were visually and textually manifested.¹⁰¹ Donor images are therefore important documents, which demonstrate how donors perceived themselves, and how they perceived those people, places, and things to which they were most intimately connected. Allied to this is also, perhaps, the most necessary consideration – how a donor wanted to be perceived by others through images.¹⁰² The elite classes across medieval Europe had certain tastes in common that were not only vastly different from those of the lower classes, but also served to visually support their

¹⁰⁰ See Stanley Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata," in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della serenissima*, eds. Girolamo Arnaldi; Giorgio Cracco; Alberto Tenenti (Roma, 1991).; Dennis Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State* (Baltimore, 1987).; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981). The public propaganda of Venice, created centuries ago, co-existed with a reality that included and incorporated space for individual and smaller community expression through processions, positions of power in each sestiere etc; art patronage may have worked along similar lines. Although there was an official state art patronage, there were also other outlets for art patronage in the city that were available to people at different levels of society and provided an outlet for individual expression. This is already proven to be the case at the social level by these historians and it is a topic that needs further exploring for art history of the same period. Donor portraiture fits into this pattern in Venice, the degree to which it was approved or disapproved; controlled or ignored by the state is a matter of discussion.

¹⁰¹ See Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece*. 43.; Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London, 1985). Both scholars address the connection between style and social class in art patronage and the degree to which the style of an object, reflects the social status or aspired social class of the patron. Both also address the issue of cultural reception in different regions, for instance the differences between cosmopolitan and more mainstream or provincial tastes.

¹⁰² Catherine Harding, "Images of Authority, Identity, Power: Facade Mosaic Decoration in Rome during the Later Middle Ages," *RACAR Revue d'Art Canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 23 (1997).

claims to control, power, and dominance. The degree to which Venetian patricians adopted these tastes in the fourteenth century is an intriguing point of exploration.

With these factors in mind, the basic questions of this dissertation remain simple: were donor portraits popular in fourteenth-century Venice, and in what form? Who commissioned them and why? Were they instigated by motives, functions, and tastes that were different from those of mainland Italy and Byzantium? Do they reflect particular social, political, or even topographical changes in fourteenth-century Venice at all? This dissertation will demonstrate that, despite conclusions to the contrary in the literature, such images existed and that they were popular in fourteenth-century Venice. I am also seeking, through an investigation and analysis of the catalogue of images, to explore who commissioned such objects, where they were placed, and to what purpose. I suggest that, since donor portraiture is an anthropological constant, not particular to a specific time in history, its rise in popularity in Venice does not reflect a Proto-Renaissance development, or a direct psychological reaction to the catastrophe of the Black Death, but rather that it is a reflection of political, social, spiritual, and topographical struggles of the time.

Chapter 2: Venice in the Fourteenth Century

In 1275, Martin da Canale recorded one of the city's first public spectacles in his famous chronicle of Venice, *Les Estoires de Venise*. The event was held in Piazza S. Marco, in 1253, in honour of the recent election of Doge Ranieri Zeno (1253-68). The festivities lasted several days and included a tournament between two sons of the old noble Venetian houses, Tiepolo and Ziani.¹ The courtly aspect of this spectacle was an important turning point in the social and cultural history of late medieval Venice. It indicates a shift in perception, not only by the city's official head of state - the doge, but also by the members of the city's oldest patrician families. With this event, and indeed with the general public splendor that marked his entire *dogado*, Ranieri Zeno made a clear statement about how the role of the doge and the city of Venice was to be perceived, not only by visitors to the city, but also by Venetians of the late thirteenth century. How this courtly environment at the end of the thirteenth century affected the way that Venetians saw and represented themselves in the following centuries is an important part of understanding the use and function of donor portraits in the city.

The elaborate chivalric pageantry of the Zeno spectacle, with its emphasis on inherited privilege and courtly customs, is not strictly in keeping with the clichéd images that we have about medieval Venice, the city that Francesco Petrarch described as

¹ See Martino da Canale, *Les estoires de Venise: cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275* ed. Alberto Limentani (Firenze, 1972). 130, 128-131. The fact that the chronicle is written in French indicates the degree to which Northern courtly culture influenced the city. For a list of the 'old' and 'new' noble houses of late medieval Venice and an explication on the differences between these families see Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata."

“solidly built on marble but standing more solid on a foundation of civil concord.”²

Though it is clear that Petrarch had idealized at least the structural foundations of Venice, the image of the city that he paints for his reader is a familiar one: an egalitarian island Republic in a sea of corrupt hereditary dynasties. But by the late thirteenth century, the doges and *dogaresse* found themselves at the heart of a fabulous court life befitting any hereditary prince and princess on the European mainland. The members of this court were, for the most part, made up of the men of various old Venetian families whose ancestors had served the Republic in important government positions for generations. These men, though mainly descended from sea-faring merchant families, increasingly imitated the courtly tastes and behaviours of the mainland courts and saw themselves as noblemen. These were trends that they no doubt witnessed on their business and diplomatic travels, or that were carried directly to Venice through news accounts, objects, and the romantic stories told by itinerant troubadours. But Venice was not a hereditary principedom or a signorial court; it was a long-standing Republic and all of its self-confidence was based on this fact. The lengthy social and political compromises that grew up around the jostling for the preservation of the Republic, on one hand, and an increasing desire among the ruling elite for the privileges and accoutrements of aristocratic life, on the other, deeply affected how the fourteenth century would unfold socially, politically, artistically, and even spiritually in Venice. The reality, as evinced by Zeno’s courtly spectacle, was that Venice was changing quickly, and indeed, by the mid-*duecento*, a seismic social shift was already underway.

² Francesco Petrarch, *Letters from Petrarch*, trans. Morris Bishop (Bloomington, 1966). 234.

Already by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Republic had cemented its position as a great maritime power. It had consolidated trading links not only with Byzantium, but also with the *souks* of Egypt and the Middle East, and in 1204 managed to further enrich itself by orchestrating the overthrow of the capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople.³ Venice was amply rewarded for its daring in the Fourth Crusade and had obtained not only a swath of colonies along the Mediterranean coast and islands and in Constantinople itself, but also an enormous share of spoils from that great city. The century following the sack of Constantinople was, thus, marked by an increase of self-confidence on the part of the Republic, which expressed itself primarily in displays of wealth and power. This was the period in which social, political, and cultural interests came together to form the famously impenetrable and “Most Serene” Republic of Petrarch’s imagination. This is, of course, the myth of Venice, not the reality, because in the years that followed the sack of Constantinople, Venice also faced some of its biggest social and political challenges. The overthrow of the Byzantine emperor and the capture of Mediterranean colonies came with responsibilities. Following the Venetian siege of the Dalmatian city of Zara (Zadar) in 1203, distrust and frequent violent rebellion in that city and others like it along the Dalmatian coast were common. As Venice grew in wealth and maritime power, tensions with its main trading rival, Genoa, also became openly hostile. During the fourteenth century, the Mediterranean was increasingly divided between the two great merchant cities that eyed each other with growing suspicion and jealousy.

³ For more on Venetian trade in the East see Wilhelm Heyd, Maxime Furcy-Raynaud, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age* (Leipzig, 1923).; Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983).

These events outside of Venice were matched by social events of equal importance within the city. The most important of these was the so-called *Serrata* or closing of the *Maggiore Consiglio* in 1297. The closing of the *Maggiore Consiglio* to all Venetians except those whose family members had held a position in the council before that date effectively codified Venetian social hierarchy. It created an elite oligarchy made up of noble families or houses (*case*), which would form all policy in the city from that point on. It was the ultimate political legitimization of the members of Venetian noble families whose courtly behaviour, as recorded by Martin da Canale, indicated an increased identification with the world of mainland and French aristocracy.⁴ The fourteenth century in Venice can thus be seen as a consolidation period for the Republic, one during which the city adjusted its established social and political institutions in order to accommodate new social needs and to survive intact as a Republic without succumbing entirely to the signorial trends that were already sweeping through northern mainland Italy.⁵

The fourteenth century in Venice arrived under less than auspicious circumstances. The 1260s were tumultuous years of conflicting interests in the city during which the *popolo* rioted (1265). To counter the threats of such riots, provisions were written into the statutes prohibiting unauthorized assemblies. The attempted coup of 1310, fronted by nobleman Bajamonte Tiepolo, demonstrated how vulnerable the Republic really was. Another attempted coup in 1355, this time by a serving Doge,

⁴ For more information on the connection between the self-fashioning of social classes and varying tastes in Byzantium see Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons.*; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece.*

⁵ By the early fourteenth century, many of the communes on the mainland were dissolved and taken over by families of signorie who ruled through hereditary dynasties. See Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia dall'11 al 16 secolo* (Venezia, 1961). 87.

Marino Falier, showed that by the mid-century, these social tensions were not yet diffused, and also demonstrated that noble Venetians were not immune to the lure of signorial rule that had destroyed the *communes* on the mainland.⁶ Indeed, the entire century in Venice was marked by conflicts, upheavals, and crises: the attempted coup in 1310 by Bajamonte Tiepolo was followed by war on the mainland with Ezzolino della Scala in 1339; Black Death, in 1348; resumed hostilities with Genoa, in the 1350s; revolt in Zara, in the 1350s; the attempted coup by Doge Marino Falier, in 1355; revolt of Crete, in 1364; open war with Genoa in nearby Chioggia, from 1379-81; the threat of Visconti invasions, from 1388-90; another bout of plague, in the 1390s; and increased hostilities ending in a brutal war with Padua, from 1399-1405.

Maintaining stability amidst this atmosphere of unrelenting crisis was thus the simple aim of the Venetian government for most of the *trecento*. This was achieved in a number of ways, but most famously through a greater regulation of movement between social classes. Simultaneously, the development of complex networks of power, which overlapped through the classes, provided a means of greater control. Under these conditions, the outlets of personal expression available to Venetians were, in some ways, under greater restriction. The social stability of late medieval Venice is a matter that many scholars have attempted to explain. In the late fifteenth century, Gasparo Contarini posited the explanation that patrician Venetians secured the stability of the Republic, and their place in it, by guaranteeing the lower classes of Venice “justice, peace and plenty“, through effective administration of the *Maggiore Consiglio*, civil service positions for the

⁶ Notably, Verona, Mantua, and eventually Padua. See Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 4.

cittadini, protection for the poor against harassment by the rich, ensuring adequate food supplies, and offering relief for the poor through charity.⁷ Scholars through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries perpetuated this view - clearly one of the earliest manifestations of the Myth of Venice.⁸

Recently, the view has shifted to include other overlooked aspects of life in Renaissance Venice that may have contributed to this remarkable stability. The studies of social interactions within the six *sestieri* of Venice have recently become a topic of study. The socially heterogeneous nature of Venetian parishes meant that rich and poor intermingled with regularity; this intermingling is increasingly understood as a factor that served to mitigate any potential class tensions in the city.⁹ Venetian involvement in their parishes was extensive. Parishioners elected their priests and church procurators, and they policed their streets on behalf of the government and themselves. With these modes of self-government, each *sestiere* represented an island of interest, not necessarily associated with state ideology, since even the *sestieri* were assigned a *capo di sestiere* from the nobility to oversee the neighbourhood. These men appointed the *capi di contrate* and the *signori di notte* to enforce the peace and security of the neighbourhood at the street level.¹⁰ As such, Venetians at all levels of society were afforded, at least in the confines of

⁷ See Gasparo Contarini and Lewis Lewkenor, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (Amsterdam, 1969).; Brian S. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice; the social institutions of a Catholic state, to 1620* (Oxford, 1971).

⁸ Including Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, trans. M.J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955) Vol. VI, 194-209.

⁹ This is a concept that has been agreed upon by almost all major social historians of Venice during this period. See Frederic Chapin Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973). Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. 3-8, 146, 298-301.; Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 8.

¹⁰ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 20.

their own *sestiere*, a degree of autonomy that, on the surface, appeared to keep major social conflicts at bay.

Frederic Chapin Lane has suggested that the laws of government were established to control the *cittadini* by meeting their basic political and social needs through governmental positions like the Grand Chancellor.¹¹ Edward Muir later suggested that old civic rituals were adapted to reflect the new social hierarchy and state ideology in Venice in order to control public expression. This codified the concept that acceptance of the social hierarchy would ensure the future honour and stability of the state and its inhabitants.¹² Guido Ruggiero has argued that governmental controls over non-elite Venetians also included the use of fear and violence to contain any possible social discontent among Venetians in this period and later.¹³ On the other hand, Dennis Romano's monograph, entitled *Patricians and Popolani*, has attributed the relative stability of Venice from the fourteenth century onward to a complex social system made up of vast networks and points of contact between Venetians who freely intermingled in different spaces in the city such as parish churches, confraternities, and marketplaces.¹⁴

¹¹ The position of Grand Chancellor was one of a handful of positions available to non-nobles in the Venetian government. See Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*.

¹² See Edward Muir, "Images of Power: Art and Pageantry in Renaissance Venice," *American Historical Review* 84 (1979).; Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. A visual manifestation of this can arguably be seen in the mosaic decoration of the baptistery of the basilica of S. Marco. In this mosaic, the Doge Andrea Dandolo kneels at the foot of the Crucifixion and is accompanied by the *Maggiore Consiglio* chancellor Benintendi Ravagnani and a young unidentified nobleman. Patricia Fortini Brown has argued that the figures of the doge, the chancellor, and the young nobleman are representative of the offices held rather than the actual individuals. Indeed the position of *Maggiore Consiglio* chancellor was traditionally reserved for a non-patrician *cittadino*. Fortini Brown argues, that in this image we see the social harmony of a working Republic. Patricia Fortini Brown, "Committenza e arte di stato," in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della serenissima*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi, (Roma, 1991), 800.

¹³ Guido Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice*, (New Brunswick, 1980).

¹⁴ Martin Gaier has suggested that in Venice, where there was no constitution of laws, all decisions were taken in cases of precedent and often had some value as a law. Conventions were therefore followed by most with spontaneous will, almost as if they were written. This argument also circumvents the troublesome gap that lies between the creation of a law and the actual application and following of it. In

This, according to Romano, gave at least the appearance of a degree of social contact and fluidity that assuaged any social malcontent that may have formed among the lower classes.¹⁵

The Closing or “Serrata” of the Maggiore Consiglio

The *Serrata* of the *Maggiore Consiglio* in 1297 marks more than the codification of a social class structure in late medieval Venice. It marks the end of true Republicanism in the city. With the ratification of the new requirements for holding *Maggiore Consiglio* office, Venice aligned herself irrevocably with the hierarchical laws of mainland courtly society, while attempting to maintain the appearance of a Republic. Whether this was the result of mere fashion or of new and unforeseen social needs, the result was a century distinctly preoccupied with solidifying, adjusting, and determining what the new criteria would be for the ruling and noble elite in Venice. In 1297, two hundred names were chosen, identifying the families whose commitment to the governing of the state in the *Maggiore Consiglio* was long-standing and well-documented. Though the men from these families were automatically admitted to the possibility of holding office in the *Maggiore Consiglio*, the process of collecting and determining eligible names went on for some time afterward.

In 1319, membership was determined strictly at the discretion of the *avogatori del comun* which examined the credentials presented by the applicant and decided

other words, just because there was a law does not mean that it was always followed to the letter. See Martin Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento* (Venezia, 2002). 100.

¹⁵ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*.

unilaterally on their sufficiency for admission into the oligarchy. Shortly afterward, this process was seen to allow too much power to rest in the hands of the *avogatori* and by 1323, the applicant family was required to provide absolute proof of patrilineal eligibility. This tightening of the rules of admission privileged those whose ancestors had served in recent memory, and barred older, equally respectable families whose service had died out or whose lineage had never included a doge. Although such rules could never bar the famous *case vecchie* or “old” nobles from service, there were many other families which suddenly found themselves relegated to a lower stratum of society after 1297.¹⁶ After the conclusive *serrata* in 1323, it appears that these final regulations were accepted and the formal oligarchy was solidified. However, around four decades later, conflict and discontent among the city’s nobles regarding the criteria that constituted legitimate membership surfaced again.

In 1367, a law was introduced reaffirming the electoral process of entry to the *Maggiore Consiglio* and insisting on equal treatment for all nobles. This development sought to reduce the practice of informal favoritism among the “old” nobility in awarding office. It suggests an interesting struggle for power within the *Maggiore Consiglio* between the interests of the “old” nobles, who were accustomed to using their position in government to reward favourite clients and friends, and the “new” nobles who were only

¹⁶ The so-called *più nobili* or *case vecchie* in Venice had long-standing service to the state, and names that reoccur in the lists of doges from the foundation of the city. According to Stanley Chojnacki the names of the *più nobili* established in 1297 are as follows: Morosini, Querini, Zeno, Dandolo, Gradenigo, Giustinian, Michiel, Falier, Badoer, Baseggio, Bellegno, Contarini, Soranzo, Corner, Dolfen, Zorzi, Polani, Tiepolo, Zane, Barozzi, Sanudo, Ziani. See Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata," tab 2-A. as cited in Pietro Giustinian, *Venetiarum Historia Vulgo Pietro Iustiniano Iustiniani Filio Adiudicata* eds. Roberto Cessi; Fanny Bennato (Venezia, 1964). ser 18; 276 nrr.22/26.

just finding their footing in these privileged environs.¹⁷ Almost a decade later, in 1376, the requisites of membership were further narrowed to exclude the illegitimate sons of nobles.¹⁸ The new proposition presented to the *Maggiore Consiglio* suggested that the security and honour of the Venetian state and the solemn privilege of holding office in the *Maggiore Consiglio* would be upheld by refusing entry to the illegitimate sons of the nobles with women of low birth.¹⁹ Again, such tightening of the rules is a clear attempt to stymie the established interests of the ‘old’ nobility, and to curtail their continued domination of the council. This is also a significant development indicating the degree to which Venice had embraced the culture of European aristocratic courts. The preoccupation with family was a hallmark of noble behaviour in Northern Europe where lineage was of paramount importance, and it is the key to the structure of ‘new’ nobility in Venice.²⁰ The crucial shift in qualification for the *Maggiore Consiglio* and all offices elected by it was that one’s patrilineage was no longer the only issue in membership to the nobility, but now one’s matrilineage had become important as well. Between 1367 and 1370, new legislation for entry into government positions extended the qualifications

¹⁷ Although the family names that fall under the “new” rubric are subject to change throughout the *trecento*, Chojnacki establishes the following names as a base of prominent “new” nobles in the *Maggiore Consiglio*: Adoldo, Agrinal, Arian, Avonal, Balestrieri, Boccole dalle, Boninsegna, Buora, Calergi, Caresini, Cavalli de, Cignona, Condulmer, Conti di, Dente, Favro, Garzoni de’, Ghezzo, Gomberto, Goso, Guoro, Honoradi, Lambardo, Lanzuol, Lion, Lippomano, Malis de, Mare da, Mesti de, Moio, Negro, Orso, Papacizza, Paruta, Pencin, Pigli de, Pollini, Porto da, Renier de, Sol dal, Stornado, Stornello, Surian, Vendramin, Verardo da, Vignati, Vizamano, Zaccaria. See *Ibid.*, tab 1-C, 657. as cited in Giustinian, *Venetiarum Historia Vulgo Pietro Iustiniano Iustiniani Filio Adiudicata*. ser 18 p. 276 nrr.22/26.

¹⁸ The restrictions on “illegitimate” children of the nobility entering in the *Maggiore Consiglio* was also a means of restricting the power of the ‘old’ nobles, whose offspring were able to enter government on the strength of their well-established names. It is most likely that the laws of 1376 were meant to curb this continued influence. [ASV, *Maggiore Consiglio* reg. 20, Novella c171v] as cited by *Ibid.* See also Chojnacki, “La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata,” 691.

¹⁹ ASV, *Maggiore Consiglio* reg.19, Novella c171v; ASV, Avogaria di Comun reg. 14, Parti in material araldica, c. 3, October 26 1277.

²⁰ Chojnacki, “La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata,” 691.

beyond a family history of involvement in government, to the private lives of nobles. This process fused the public and private dimensions of social experience for Venetian nobles, and created a new noble culture in the city.²¹ It was only in 1414 that a ledger was first kept recording all the noble entries into the *Maggior Consiglio*, a fact that, in the view of Stanley Chojnacki, underscores that the century after the *serrata* was one of continual social consolidation and flux.²²

The effect of this new social struggle on women was dramatic. The growing emphasis on matrilineal ties can be seen clearly in the negotiation of dowries, which rose exponentially in value between 1341 and 1380, with the median amount of a dowry increasing from 385 to 1000 ducats during this time.²³ Marriage between nobles and *popolano grande* families was not uncommon in the *trecento*. Although nobility was determined along patrilineal lines, intermarriage went both ways, and by the fifteenth century, 5.6% of noble marriages were with *popolani*.²⁴ Not only did well-dowered *popolano* women marry nobles (a pattern seen throughout Western Europe), but also noble women in this period occasionally married *popolano* men. The latter was considered a less expensive alternative to a noble marriage or a convent, and the other alternative, spinsterhood, was considered to be an economic drain on the patrilineage.

Despite the advantages of intermarriage, many nobles viewed the practice as an insidious threat to their position. Marco Corner's marriage to a *popolano* woman was raised as an objection to his candidacy for the dogado in 1365. It was feared that her

²¹ Ibid., 690-91.

²² Stanley Chojnacki, "In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factias in the Fourteenth-century," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R Hale (London, 1973).

²³ Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata," 691-2.

²⁴ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 51.

family would attempt to insinuate itself into the *Maggiore Consiglio* through the doge.²⁵ The ‘new’ nobility was concerned not only about the continued influence of the ‘old’ nobility in the council, but also about incursions from the *popolano*. Indeed the new nobles may have had cause to worry, since their position was by no means secure, and marriage between a *popolano* woman and a noble man had many advantages for her father. Not only would his grandchildren become nobles, but also connections with noble houses would also open doors to political favours and “grazie” (state-sponsored favours) from his noble kinsmen.²⁶ This oblique access to power through marriage, according to Dennis Romano, indicates a certain social fluidity in the *trecento* which accrued political and economic advantages in both directions, allying patricians with those immediately below them, and vice versa.²⁷

Based on their service to the state during the war of Chioggia with Genoa, in 1381, the senate voted to admit thirty new nobles to the privilege of membership to the *Maggiore Consiglio*. Although the criteria were ostensibly the individual’s service during the war, there were almost as many other factors at work, for at least 11 of the 30 seem to bear noble names, indicating that they were possibly from illegitimate branches of established noble families, or that they had significant connections with noble families. Unfortunately, the official documentation recording the original criteria upon which these nobles were selected is lost.²⁸ After the war of Chioggia, many patrician families sustained significant financial losses and were forced to sell their family palaces. Others

²⁵ Romano sees this as a “shift away from the freewheeling, unstructured associations of the *Trecento*”. Ibid., 155.

²⁶ These could include official pardons or exemptions from established rules of conduct.

²⁷ Ibid., 63.

²⁸ Marin Sanudo, “Le vite dei dogi,” in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, eds. Giovanni Carducci; G. Monticolo, (Città di Castello; Bologna, 1900-1902). 739-40.

made vast fortunes by speculation. This caused a reshuffling of power at both civic and parochial levels; at the civic level this ended the domination of the ‘old’ nobility in ducal elections. A doge from one of these old families was not elected again until 1612.²⁹ The induction of the thirty new families also initiated a significant shift of power at the local level, since prominent families lost their right to a voice in parochial affairs at a state level. The increased intrusion of the state in the private lives of individuals, following the war with Genoa, occurred as patricians wrapped themselves in the mantle of the state and used their government influence to win favours and increase their power.³⁰

Old and New Nobility; Cittadini and Popolani

After 1297, Venetian society was divided into three basic strata: the nobles of the *Maggiore Consiglio* were members of the oldest and most powerful families; the *cittadini* or *popolo grande* were men who held themselves above manual labour and could claim Venetian ancestry. They also occupied certain bureaucratic posts in the government. Everyone else made up the *popolo menudo*: an undifferentiated mass.³¹ The markers of nobility in *trecento* Venice were not always clear ones according to Stanley Chojnacki. The difficulty in identifying who was “noble” in *trecento* Venice fundamentally resulted from the fact that, for most of the century, the government did not impose rigorous procedures to delineate and identify the characteristics that made up the dominant class.

²⁹ Doge Marcantonio Memmo ruled from 1612-1615.

³⁰ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 154-55.

³¹ See Pompeo Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della repubblica* (Bergamo, 1905).

The tightening of the criteria for entry to the *Maggiore Consiglio*, effected in January 1367, was a bid on the part of “new” nobility to control the power of the “old” nobility (22 families) who still occupied 42 percent of the offices elected by the *Maggiore Consiglio*.³² The problem for the “new” nobility was how to elevate their recent status to a level equal with those of the older nobility who had established themselves in government for centuries. For these “old” nobles, their surname alone was a sufficient indicator of their status, but for the “new” nobles there was still some confusion in distinguishing them from the *popolani*. It is possible that the title *nobilis vir* was introduced to remedy this situation, and to set the patricians apart in a more concrete way. The fact that, in private documents, nobles almost always used the title “*nobilis vir dominus*”, whereas *cittadini* rarely used their official honorific “*circumspectus et providus vir*”, makes it difficult to determine who belonged to which class and to determine how much class-consciousness even existed in the period. As mentioned before, the most acute class-consciousness was paradoxically among the nobility; however, both noble and wealthy commoners did use the term “*dominus*” (lord, master) to describe themselves. This indicates that, although there were official distinctions made in this early period after the *serrata*, social distinctions between noble and wealthy *cittadini/popolani* were not as important as they would become by the end of the century.³³

The honorific *nobilis vir* had two distinct significances that shed light on the peculiar character of nobility in *trecento* Venice. The first was juridical, indicating, above

³² Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata," 686.

³³ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 37-38.

all in public documents, that the man was a part of the government and therefore belonged to the noble class. The second was historical or cultural, used as an honorific to honour a man who was not necessarily from a noble family.³⁴ The unsystematic use of titles in fourteenth-century Venice reflects the complexities of the evolving political and social situation in Venice after the *serrata*, as the communities struggled to define themselves within a new social context.³⁵ Because names were also not always a clear indicator of nobility, it is difficult to discern exactly why some people are referred to in records as “*nobilis vir ser*” or “*ser*”. The vagueness around the distinctions within the Venetian nobility is probably a reflection of the greater confusion among Venetians about who was noble and who was *popolano*.³⁶ This reflects the imprecise lines of socio-political differentiation that made people who straddled different classes difficult to distinguish in this period.³⁷ The possibility that people with what appeared to be a noble surname were in reality *popolani* who had adopted the names of their masters, or were members of an illegitimate noble branch, further complicated matters.

It is also possible that the secretaries who registered names did not always make distinctions between noble and *gente* of the commune. In the register of names for the *Raspe dell'avogaria di Commun*, the records do not appear to make distinctions between noble and non-noble names, a fact that may indicate that there was some confusion among the secretaries as well.³⁸ It is clear then, that the context of the appellation must be

³⁴ Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata," 682.

³⁵ Ibid., 679.

³⁶ Ibid., 681.

³⁷ One wonders how a notary for the *avogadori di comun* or a regular Venetian would have distinguished men from the margins of the nobility from a true noble. Surnames could not have been a consistent way of determining nobility in this period. See Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 680.

considered when determining its meaning and significance. Its presence is by no means a clear indication of nobility in the period but, on the other hand, its absence does not necessarily mean that the person was not of a noble house.³⁹

For non-patricians, this new situation was an ambiguous one. The *cittadini* found themselves in an interesting position. Although they were excluded from the increasingly exclusive patriciate, in many cases they were indistinguishable, both in their eyes and in the eyes of most Venetians, from the newly formed nobility. Although opportunities to achieve honour for their sons and for their families were severely restricted by this new social structure, there were also certain provisions made for those *cittadini* whose wealth and ancestry made them important to the state. Certain positions of authority in the government were thus reserved for this second class; most notably the position of Grand Chancellor and other offices in the chancery were monopolized by *cittadini*.

The *scuole grandi* also played an important role in providing prestigious offices for the *cittadini*. Offices in these *scuole grandi* were eventually reserved for *cittadini* and,

³⁹ Stanley Chojnacki posits three possible explanations for the indiscriminate use of the appellation, *nobilis vir*, in documents, which after the *serrata* should have been a jealously guarded honorific, especially among the “new” nobles. The first possibility is that notaries were not given specific instructions for its use. This seems unlikely in a city where great importance was assigned to documentary transactions regulated by government. The second possibility is that notaries, secretaries, and other Venetians were clear about who was noble and who was not, and that titles were therefore superfluous. In this case, surnames and other aspects of self-representation were all that was needed to indicate nobility. However, the systematic use of appellatives in the fifteenth century indicates that there were subsequent attempts to correct the ambiguities in the documents from the century before. The third and most probable explanation for these inconsistencies, according to Chojnacki, is that they simply reflect an internal ambiguity about what constituted nobility in the century after the *serrata*, which was a period of extreme social change and flux. Nobility in *trecento* Venice was thus expressed in diverse ways during the century after the *serrata*: antiquity of the house, size of the house, capacity of survival, and activities in the government. Because many of the families admitted to the *Maggiore Consiglio* after 1297 lacked some of these marks of nobility, the situation was often one of confusion. The result was a form of social anxiety and urgency on the part of “new” nobles to establish their legitimacy through all available means, including controlling and curtailing the power and patronage of “old” nobles in the *Maggiore Consiglio* and protecting their own interests and that of their legitimate heirs. See *Ibid.*, 683-684.

as Brian Pullan has suggested, provided an outlet for their political ambitions.⁴⁰ The *scuole* redistributed wealth in the city through dowries and alms and created a feeling of good will among the members, which aimed to quiet any discontent among the non-governing classes. By the mid-fourteenth century, in addition to the prestigious *scuole grandi* there were more than 50 trade guilds – an ideal focus for the *popolani menudo*'s social and professional aspirations. The guilds were controlled by the government in the *giustizieri vecchi* in order that they not become a meeting place for instigators of discontent. This successfully separated artisans in the city while simultaneously appeasing them.

The difference between many of the men belonging to one of the two upper classes of Venice was, during this early period of social consolidation, negligible in comparison to what it would later become.⁴¹ Although concrete differences between noble patricians and *cittadini* were hard to find in the fourteenth century, the climate of extreme status consciousness and increased exclusivity necessarily affected the development of personal associations and the open formation of private (non-governmental) networks in which Venetians traditionally came into contact with one another. The result was the establishment of new institutions and networks through which the new *status quo* could be securely upheld and the lower classes contained and appeased.

⁴⁰ Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: the social institutions of a Catholic state, to 1620*; Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 7-8.

⁴¹ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 11.

Venetians and Display: The sumptuary laws

The fourteenth century was also the period during which the sumptuary laws of Venice were introduced in order to control luxury and ostentation in clothing, jewels, and celebrations.⁴² Martin da Canale noted the sumptuous display that had become increasingly popular in Venice by the mid thirteenth century. By 1299, excesses among wealthy Venetians had reached such heights that the first regulations came before the *Maggiore Consiglio*. On May 2, 1299, the *Maggiore Consiglio* sanctioned a law regulating wedding ceremonies and wedding gifts, and checking extravagance in dress at all levels of society except in the ladies of the ducal palace.⁴³ This was the first of many statutes effected in the fourteenth century, a testament to the continuing interest in individual display and ostentation among Venetians who could afford it. The *Maggiore Consiglio* repealed the statute on February 8, 1306 and only the restriction against strings of pearls worn in the hair was retained.⁴⁴

⁴² Though the sumptuary laws do not address themselves explicitly to one class in Venetian society – the same stuffs were denied to all persons regardless of social class- it can be assumed that such items of luxury as are mentioned in the laws were of a level of luxury that applied only the wealthy. Interestingly, the fines for nobles and plebeians were different; nobles on average paid more for offences.

⁴³ The statute forbade giving or receiving wedding gifts save ‘*pladenate*’ or goblets, which Mary Margaret Newett assumes were filled with jewels and coins. The number of adult guests at a wedding feast was restricted to forty. The bride was also restricted in her clothing. She was permitted ornament that was not allowed on other women in the city, including expensive head or hair ornaments, pearl borders on her sleeves and dress, and a dress with a long train. Other men and women in Venice were not allowed to have more than 2 fur cloaks and one cloak lined in silk; ornament borders were strictly forbidden, as were the length of trains on women’s dresses and pearl hair ornaments. Existing garments could be kept in their original length but nothing was to be made contrary to the law under penalty. See Cesare Foucard, *Lo statuto inedito delle nozze veneziane nell'1299* (Venezia, 1858). Cited by Mary Margaret Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Historical Essays by members of the Owens College Manchester*, ed. T. Tout ; J. Tait (Manchester, 1907).

⁴⁴ [ASV, *Maggiore Consiglio*, Reg, Capricornus, XV.32] as cited by Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," 263.

Clearly, such laws were not always successful. The push to control excessive display in the city was an issue once again in 1334. On June 20th of that year, an extensive act was passed that restricted almost all types of clothing, ornaments, and costly trimmings. Wedding feasts and banquets were again restricted in the number of guests. Even the garments of corpses (except for doctors, lawyers, knights, and physicians) were restricted in order to ensure burial in sober garments. The only people who were exempt from most of these clothing restrictions were brides and children. However, as Mary Margaret Newett has pointed out, the wording of the act was unclear and full of exceptions.⁴⁵ Within two years, there were calls for the repeal of the law and in 1339 the measure was rescinded.⁴⁶ However, certain clauses, which limited the length of a train on ladies dresses, forbade ladies to bring their maids to weddings and other feasts, and continued to forbid the wearing of pearls as hair and clothing ornaments were retained.

With the coming of the Black Death in 1347-48, the *Maggiore Consiglio* actually forbade dark clothing and veils among the rich and the relatively young.⁴⁷ But by 1360, the government had returned to a policy of policing extravagance among its citizens, and wedding feasts, dresses, ornaments, and other objects of luxury came, once again, under legislation and scrutiny.⁴⁸ Newett suggests that the attempts to control the conspicuous

⁴⁵ For example, old dresses were often left and worn as they were. See [ASV, Senato, Misti, reg. 16, fol. 157, June 20 1334] cited in Ibid.

⁴⁶ According to Newett, Ser Ziani Baduario proposed the repeal. The repeal in 1339 was as follows: *Cum ordines facti occasione nuptiarum et ordinarum expensarum, que fiebant tam in pannis, quam ornamentis et aliis, inducant confusionem et impedimentum civitati, sicut est omnibus manifestum, et sicut etiam officiales ad hoc constituti asserunt.* See [ASV, *Maggiore Consiglio*, Delib. Spiritus, Reg. XXIV, 97] as cited in Ibid., 265, 267.

⁴⁷ This law was rescinded in 1365.

⁴⁸ Newett points out that the wording of the document is couched in a peculiarly Venetian mixture of religious and commercial sentiment: *Quia incipium omnis sapientie, et fundamentum cuiuscumque regiminis, est timor Dei, in quo qui ambulaverit multiplicatur, et qui ab ipso diverterit est quasi impossibile prosperari; et sicut notum est in civitate nostra hodie plusquam in aliqua parte mundi, fiunt multe vanitates*

signs of luxury and excess in wealthy Venetians, both in the fourteenth century and afterward, were due to a deeply held pious observance and repugnance toward outward forms of pride, which were interpreted by the state as marks of social and state decline.⁴⁹

Such strictly religious explanations for the preoccupation with controlling items of luxury in Venice are only partially satisfying, since the religious tone of these documents can also be understood as mere rhetorical convention. The urge to protect the Republic from decline through control of decadence may have had other less moralizing and more economic incentives. It has been suggested, for instance, that these restrictions may have been a means of preventing tax evasion among the upper classes who, like their mainland European counterparts, had a tendency to invest in luxury objects and treasures as a means of retaining their wealth.⁵⁰ An argument can be made, therefore, that the government attempted to stem this trend toward hoarding prestigious goods, and to encourage, through increased legislation, the circulation of hard money in the Venetian economy.⁵¹

et expense inordinate, circa sponsas et alias mulieres et dominas, in quibus pro certo Deus graviter offenditur, et multis illicitis lucris et pravis aperitur via, et etiam status noster proinde redditur minus fortis, quia pecunia que deberet navigare et multiplicare de tempore in tempore iacet mortua, et convertitur in vanitatibus et expensis predictis; et etiam sicut de facto visum est et videtur multas adversitates et angustias ab aliquibus temporibus citra Deus nobis permisit, a quibus et voluerimus nostros defectus cognoscere ipse per suam misericordiam et pietatem preservabit et defendet imposterum: Vadit pars, invocata Christi gratia, a quo omne donum perfectum est, quod super vanitatibus et expensis predictis provideatur prout inferius declaratur, &c. [ASV, Senato, Deliberati Misti, Reg. XXIX, 64] cited in Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," 269.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 258-9.

⁵⁰ In the economy of the Middle Ages, there were three basic ways to deal with one's money: to invest, spend, or to hoard it. The last is a particularly interesting trend which involved the collecting of a type of treasure trove of jewels, cloth, coins, and other precious objects for display which granted the owner greater prestige. This was an important form of investment not only in one's wealth but also in one's public reputation.

⁵¹ Thank you to Georg Christ for pointing out this possibility to me and the possibility that the rise of competitive decadence among wealthy Venetians was at times considered a threat to the solvency of the state, especially as poorer nobles increasingly stretched their limits in order to compete with wealthier ones.

Peripheries and Boundaries: Defining Public Space

Other controls on public display involve the erection of public monuments. Since the *duecento*, the *Giudici del Piovego* and the *Provveditori di Comun* enforced regulations regarding the uses of public space –the so-called *leggi edilizie*. These laws not only limited the building of new monuments and structures in the street and other public spaces, but also controlled building into ‘*spazio aereo*’.⁵² These regulations were often invoked in situations where new buildings or church extensions were called into question, or disputed by the people living in the *contrade*; however, it is interesting to note that in cases where the builder had some access to seats of power in Venetian government, such considerations were easily overcome.⁵³ Though much has been written about the restrictions against personal display in Venice, it is interesting to note that in the history of the Republic, there was never a law prohibiting citizens (other than the doge) from erecting statues or busts in the city.⁵⁴ Though Dennis Romano has suggested that

⁵² Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 75.

⁵³ Romano and Gaier present opposing views on this issue. Romano cites examples of disputes in *trecento* in Venice in which private interests were increasingly subordinated to the public /common good and protected by the *giudici del piovego* who ruled on issues of encroachment between private and public space. Romano cites a 1305 case between the parish of S. Maurizio and residents in the area who wanted a vacant lot adjacent to the church turned into a *piscine*. Though the residents claimed the area was publicly owned, the church claimed that it belonged to the diocese. Eventually after evidence was collected, the area was declared public. However, this incident may also be interpreted as a dispute between the state and the church in the city, rather than between public versus private good. Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 11, 23-4. Martin Gaier on the other hand interprets these situations differently and cites examples under the *giudici*, in which private interest was considered in neighbourhood disputes. Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 75-76.

⁵⁴ The Maggiore Consiglio in 1413, a year after Michele Steno’s death, approved the first law clearly restricting the self-celebration of a doge in images. The laws restricted the doge from erecting his family heraldry in painting or other form anywhere on or inside the Palazzo Ducale. This was deemed a necessary control after Doge Steno erected his heraldry not only in the ducal palace but also on monuments throughout the city and its territories, including the campanile of S. Giovanni Elemosinario and the orologio

traditional parochial attachments suffered, as Venetians came increasingly in this period to associate their well-being, honour, and prestige with the state, rather than with the parish, the evidence both visual and documentary does not support his argument.⁵⁵ Martin Gaier has recently argued that parish church façades of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflect the continued personal interest of Venetian patricians in their neighbourhood church. I would likewise suggest that in the fourteenth century, regardless of changes that sought to bind the oligarchy to state, rather than individual concerns, parish churches continued to be sites of importance for elite Venetians.⁵⁶

Romano has argued that the lack of a Venetian *contado* on the mainland meant that the Venetian nobles had no official feudal holdings and that, as a result, nobles did not see their social status as connected to any particular topography, but rather to the well-being of the state.⁵⁷ However, there is evidence that Venice sought to establish feudal holdings in colonies obtained after the Fourth Crusade. Maria Georgopoulou has noted that, in the early thirteenth century Venice made the city of Dyrrachium (Durazzo) a duchy and established hereditary fiefdoms on the islands of Corfu and Naxos for

di Padua. This regulation was written thereafter in all of the *promissione* of the doges. Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 99, 102-3.

⁵⁵ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 11.

⁵⁶ In the *trecento* it seems that through various disputes, the *guidici* were attempting to establish precedents and general principals for future case. In 1328 an official statement declared that, “all canals, sandbars, and land are public and common and ought to be preserved and maintained publicly and communally unless public documents or legitimate claims to the contrary are made.” *quod omnia kanalia rivi piscine calles vie palludis kaneta barreni et terre publica sunt et comunia et in publico et comuni sunt conservanda et detinenda nisi publicis instrumentis aut legitimis probationibus contrarium constet deum pre oculis habentes*. [ASV, Giudici del Piovego, Busta 3, Codex Publicorum, Sentenza LX, 436-55] as cited by Ibid., 35. Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*.

⁵⁷ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 6.

Venetian nobles.⁵⁸ Furthermore, in 1211, 152 Venetian *feudatarii* were granted hereditary fiefs in the Cretan countryside and were given urban estates in the capital city of Herakleion.⁵⁹ By the fourteenth century Venice was turning its attention to the mainland on either side of the republic, seeking either to collect land holdings - notably in Treviso in the 1330s, and along the Istrian and Dalmatian coast, where the doge was also known as the Duke of Dalmatia and Istria - or to control routes of trade. Venetian concepts of periphery and boundaries were undergoing extreme change at this time, and were neither entirely eastward-oriented nor introverted. Venice's territorial acquisitions in the Aegean included Negroponte in 1383, Argos and Nauplia in 1388, Mykonos and Tino in 1390, and from 1394 to 1402, Athens, as well as a number of other cities along the coast which sought Venetian protection from the Turks. The boundaries of Venice were rapidly expanding in the fourteenth century, both within the city and without.

Parish churches and 'Campo' politics

Dennis Romano has also maintained that Venetian nobles, unlike their counterparts in Padua, Genoa, and Florence, lacked a significant interest in their neighbourhoods and parish churches.⁶⁰ In fact, much of the artistic patronage of Venetian patricians in the fourteenth century and later was played out in the over 70 parish churches and convent churches in the city – a physical testament to the continued social

⁵⁸ See G.T. Dennis, "Problemi storici concernenti i rapporti tra Venezia i suoi domini diretti e le signorie feudali nelle isole greche," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. A. Pertusi (Venezia, 1973):219-35. Cited in Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage," 480, fn. 157.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 481.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

importance of neighbourhoods in late Medieval Venice. These churches, which officially belonged to the diocese and not to the state (as S. Marco did), were venues of art patronage where the individual needs of patrons could find greater expression. This was heightened by the long-standing tradition, in Venice, of many of these parish and convent churches “belonging” to old families. In many cases, families had been instrumental in the founding of these churches and they fiercely protected their continued rights to patronage for centuries afterward. In the fourteenth century, Venetian nobles held on, with ever-greater tenacity, to their family’s *jus patronatus* over churches in the city, and the city continued to consistently rule in favour of private interests in land disputes.

The degree to which parishes and their *campi* were considered public space is an interesting question for a city that has only a handful of large overtly public spaces. The parish churches and their *campi* are private antechambers in comparison to S. Marco, the *piazza* that Napoleon called the “finest drawing room in Europe”. This is a famous acknowledgment of the beauty of the piazza but it also, significantly, refers to its function as the most public space in the city. In the Middle Ages, the smaller parish churches and *campi* were far less accessible than they were in the eighteenth century. As such, they represented the first private layer of the medieval city and, therefore, the dominion of those who had no place in the public governing of the city. Beyond the parish and the *campi*, the topography of the city in this period was further defined through a system of still more private *cortili*. In the Middle Ages, the degree of autonomous administration of the Venetian parishes by its parishioners was unusual in septentrional Italy; the parishioners themselves appointed their parish priests and procurators. The prototype for

this semi-independence from the bishop was, of course, S. Marco itself.⁶¹ Since the parish priests from this period did not seem to come exclusively from one social group, it is probable that this prestigious profession was open to the *popolani* as well as to the nobles at the *sestiere* level.⁶² Venetians especially looked to the parish clergy for absolution of their sins and for intercession on behalf of their souls after death. Though the mendicant orders had reached immense levels of popularity in Venice, as in the rest of medieval Italy, their popularity did not seem to diminish the traditional importance of parishes in the city.⁶³ Generally, Venetians went to the Franciscan and Dominican churches such as S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and SS. Giovanni e Paolo and to the *scuole* to participate in religious exercises and pageants, but they always went home to their parish to take the sacraments and perform the vital ceremonies of baptism, confession, marriage, and burial. The wills of *trecento* men and women very often left money for masses or gifts to their local parish church, as well as the to larger mendicant congregations for the salvation of

⁶¹ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 15.

⁶² "It is possible, using the list of parish priests compiled by Flaminio Corner in his *Ecclesiae venetae antiqua monumenta*, to gain a general sense of the social composition of the clergy. An examination of Corner's list for the period 1297 to 1423 yields the names of 488 parish priests. Of these 488 individuals, 111 (22.7 percent) have noble surnames, possibly indicating noble status; 358 (73.4 percent) have either no surname or non-noble surnames. The names of 19 individuals (3.9 percent), including names such as Nicolaus Iustus and Guido de Bernardo, are ambiguous and do not fit clearly into either category (not counting monastic churches that enjoyed parochial rights). The major problems that make these conclusions merely tentative are first, that *popolani* often had the same surnames as patricians; second the list contains the names of *plebani* (plebanus=parish priest) men who reached the top post in parishes. It is possible that nobles reached that position in greater numbers. Therefore the list may not faithfully reflect the social composition of the parish clergy as a whole." See Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 91.

⁶³ The Franciscan and Dominican communities were the most prominent mendicant congregations in Venice in this period and received vast amounts in gifts and donations from parishioners. Henrich van Os, Joanna Cannon and Ann Derbes have explored the effect of different forms of mendicant spirituality on artistic styles at length. See Joanna Cannon, "Dominican Patronage of the Arts in Central Italy: The Provincia Romana c. 1220-1320." (PhD, University of London, 1980). 272-328. Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (New York, 1996). 16-17.

their souls.⁶⁴ This function made these churches of continued importance in the fabric of the city during the many crises of the fourteenth century. The effect of this function on individual artistic commissions in the city's parish churches was profound.

The continued involvement of citizens in their parish churches could also take a more tangible form in various artistic commissions initiated by parishioners. Small objects as well as large-scale projects, commissioned for these churches by local families, were necessarily an investment in the recommendation of one's soul and the souls of loved ones to the protection of the saints, the Virgin, and to God; images and dedications indicate that name saints and plague saints were particularly popular guarantors and witnesses to the good deeds and spirituality of donors. Objects included vestments and vessels for the altar and mass, money toward the restoration of existing altarpieces, or the commission of a new altarpiece for the high altar and side chapels of the church, or even the construction of an entire chapel.⁶⁵ By such means wealthy *cittadini*, whose family might not have enjoyed the exclusive *jus patronatus* of their parish church, could express their piety, status, and their aspiration to be singled out from the masses in a number of ways. Interest and patronage of neighbourhood parish and convent churches did not recede as the state grew stronger. In fact, the opposite was true as Venetians sought new ways to express individual desires and concerns through artistic and monetary donations to their parish churches, which was a form of investment in reputation (and salvation) that did not fall under the jurisdiction of sumptuary laws. The gifts of these types recorded in

⁶⁴ Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, "*Sopra le Aque Salse*" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age* (Rome, 1992). vol. 1.

⁶⁵ For instance the chapel of S. Nicoletto (built behind the church of the Frari in 1332, rebuilt in 1582 and destroyed c. 1806) initiated by senator Nicolo Lion in thanks for deliverance from an illness. Lion was miraculously saved from death by eating lettuce that came from the friars' garden. Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*. vol. 2, 377-379.

the wills of *trecento* Venetians as bequests to parish churches, and those commissioned during a patron's lifetime, indicate that individual citizens' active interest in the concerns of their immediate neighbourhood and parish in the fourteenth century were not yet (and perhaps never really would be), completely subordinated to the interests of the state. Rather, private and public concerns seemed to co-exist with relative harmony in the parish churches of late medieval Venice.

Artistic commissions increased during or after bouts of the plague, which approximately halved the population of Venice between 1338 and 1442.⁶⁶ Though there are few surviving documents in Venice from the plague of 1348, those that do exist indicate that the clergy at every level wrestled with the civil authority, in defence of the proper direction of tithes resulting from the numerous deaths. In addition, these documents are the only ones recording the relationship between the clergy and the plague in the fourteenth century.⁶⁷ The numbers of extant documents rise exponentially for the fifteenth century. The government's initial handling of the crisis involved the appointment of a temporary committee in 1348 to address the situation. However, it was not until 1423 that Venice initiated a consistent and systematic policy of controlling contact with affected zones, through the foundation of the *Lazzaretto vecchio* hospital off the Lido.⁶⁸ The period of recurring plague in the fourteenth century also saw the

⁶⁶ Mueller demonstrates that there was a mortality crisis and a slow demographic recuperation. In 1338 the population of Venice was approximately 110-120 000; by 1442 it was approximately 85,000. In 1348 during the Black Death the population was approximately halved to 50-60 000. In Verona in 1325 the population was 35 000-40,000; in 1409 the population was 14,800; and in 1509 it was 42,000 Reinhold C. Mueller, "Aspetti sociali ed economici della Peste a Venezia nel medioevo," in *Venezia e la Peste: 1348-1797*, ed. O. Pugliese et al. (Venice, 1979), 94.

⁶⁷ From September 15, 1348 Niero in Pugliese et al., ed., *Venezia e la Peste: 1348-1797* (Venice, 1979). 287.

⁶⁸ In 1429 the *Maggiore Consiglio* thought it necessary to add no less than 80 single rooms to the Lazzaretto. Small donations to the Lazzaretto flowed in due to the indulgence of Eugenio IV in 1436 in

foundation of new *scuole* or confraternities in the city, a testament to the increased need not only for more individual expressions of piety, but also for communal ones.⁶⁹ Changes in patronage and spirituality during and after the Black Death have been well studied for central Italy through a systematic examination of wills and art from the period.⁷⁰ A similar comprehensive study for Venice would be extremely useful in tracing the minute shifts and seismic changes resulting from this crisis. Valuable information would undoubtedly emerge from further research in this area including: tracing a possible increase in public spirituality, changes in visual arts, changes in monetary gifts, and donations, changes in the number of building projects initiated, and in the number of *scuole* founded in the period.

The continuation of a belief in the evolution of Venice, throughout the fourteenth century, as moving toward increased identification with the state and state values, does not adequately take into account the transitional nature of the city in the late Middle Ages. The rapid change of the period brought about increased conflict and crises, and did not seem to break the tenacious hold of the parish churches on the lives of Venetians. As islands of semi-independence in official Venetian state ideology, these parishes, rather than diminishing in importance, appeared to function as private microcosms within the

favour of hospitals. In 1438 the procurators of S. Marco were nominated the administrators of the Lazzaretto and under their administration the hospital received no less than 28,000 ducats in 1462 and more than 108,000 in 1508. Thank you to Jane Stevens for clarifying the options for patronage of Lazzaretti in the period. Ibid., 104.

⁶⁹ The Venetian Republic in the fifteenth century organized penitential processions on the 21st of July in piazza S. Marco involving the clergy, the *scuole grandi*, and the *battuti* who whipped themselves while chanting the *lauda sacra*; the people invoked divine aid for themselves by local processions; street altars were erected where they celebrated solemn masses. The principal of popular piety was to pray close to the area of misfortune to speedily facilitate divine protection. Ibid., 287.

⁷⁰ See Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: the arts, religion and society in the mid-fourteenth century.*; Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy.*

official public state. Although mini- governing bodies controlled by the state increasingly managed Venetian neighbourhoods, their parishioners continued to manage their churches independently with little interference from the government. Though there is evidence to suggest that, in the *trecento*, the Venetian state was beginning to redevelop the city's topography to create a more unified and easily monitored city, the survival of private parish interest means that an alternative venue of art patronage in the city always existed, one that need not always express the communal ideology.

Chapter 3: Doges and Procuratori

Portraits of doges and other state officials are easily identifiable by appearance or inscription. Of the examples collected and discussed in this dissertation, approximately 20 percent are loosely connected to men in service of the Venetian state. Such men can sometimes be identified through their costume, which identified their position in the government hierarchy and could range from the famous red *corno* and cloak of the doge to the distinctive crimson (*cremesino*) or purplish red (*pavonazzo violazzo*) robes of other top government positions.¹ In most cases the original polychrome of relief sculpture does not survive. It is difficult, therefore, to determine which details of dress were painted onto sculpted donor portraits from this period.² However, a doge's official costume is easily recognizable to modern eyes whereas a dogaressa, whose position was more politically ambiguous, is less clearly identified unless accompanied by her husband.³ In general, men were more likely to be extravagantly dressed in donor portraiture than women in this period.

Such images were not exclusive to one genre or medium, and there appears to have been no marked increase or decrease in their popularity throughout the fourteenth

¹ The men who held top positions in the Venetian government generally wore robes in these colours made of velvet, damask brocade, and possibly with fur trim. See David Chambers, "Merit and Money: The Procurators of St. Mark and their Commissioni 1443-1605," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997): 26.

² In Venice this mode of distinguishing profession and status through dress is more subdued than comparable examples in Northern Italy. For instance, in the altarpiece by Lorenzo Veneziano now in the chapel of the Rosary in the church of S. Anastasia in Verona, Cangrande della Scala is depicted kneeling at the foot of the Madonna in robes of extreme sumptuousity and luxury while his wife Taddea da Carrara is depicted in a nun or matron's habit. In donor images of a similar level commissioned in Visconti-ruled Milan, both men and women are depicted in the fashionable garments of their time.

³ Indeed they have been referred to as a "peacock and peahen". See Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)". 42.

century. On the contrary, the numbers of surviving or recorded examples range in date from late thirteenth century to the early part of the fifteenth century; in other words, they remained steadily popular. At first glance, it appears that most donor portraits from the late Middle Ages conform to visual tropes indicating gender, profession, social status, and age. The presence of the portraits or inscriptions of the names of donors were, at their purest, testimonies of faith before Christ, the Virgin, and the saints. Such visual invocations were presumably intended to record and remember the donation and to implore the highest protection.⁴ However, such images could also represent a number of less morally exalted interests.

Individual portraits in tomb monuments and sculpture are considered forms of public portraiture reserved for the rare monuments of doges, famous military heroes, and others who could rightfully be claimed by the state and by the community at large. Those who have studied the subject have perceived an almost direct link between politics and the rise of individual portraiture in the city, particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵ During that period a rise in competition for high office in Venice and a more opulent aristocratic lifestyle among patricians, is understood to have given rise to an interest in individual portrait sculpture.⁶ Medieval donor portraiture rarely makes an appearance in such discussions, and those public images of doges, heroes, and government officials that are extant from the Middle Ages are discussed almost

⁴ Castelnovo, "Il significato del ritratto pittorico nella società," 12.

⁵ See Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and ideal portrait sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490-1530*. 9, 17. Luchs suggests that patrons began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to abandon group portrait imagery with their confraternity or the other members of their office in favour of individual sculpted portrait busts. She also suggests that previously such portraits would have been painted and enjoyed privately.

⁶ Ibid.

exclusively as images purely “for the honor of Venice”.⁷ Although the city’s patron saint, Mark, is only ever depicted with the doge in the context of basilica S. Marco or on the façade of the *Palazzo Ducale*, the presence of the doge in a public space seems to indicate, for many scholars, an immediate political significance that overrides any possible individual or familial concerns. Indeed, most public art of the period has been interpreted as having a larger state or communal significance. Therefore, in those images where the two concerns find simultaneous expression, the opportunity is greater to explore the actual degree to which government and individual interests overlapped.

The Sleeping State: portraiture and ducal tombs in private

In fourteenth-century Venice, ducal tomb monuments were not hidden in private family mausoleums or crypts; they were not even, in most cases, situated in officially private family chapels. This was not the custom in Venice for many practical and topographical reasons. The established custom was to consider the funerals and tombs of doges as a private matter that was ultimately paid for and decided by the deceased doge’s family and estate executors. With the exception of those ducal tombs located in the Basilica of S. Marco, the majority of ducal tombs before the fourteenth century were located in local monasteries like S. Giorgio Maggiore, S. Cipriano di Murano, or S. Croce.⁸ In these environments, ducal tombs were monuments that underscored the doge and his family’s patronage of the church and its monastic community.

⁷ See Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 1.

⁸ See Andrea Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe* (Venezia, 1966).

The earliest ducal tombs were modest affairs, sometimes including inscriptions or made from luxurious materials, but generally rather inconspicuous objects.⁹ This may have been a conscious emulation of early Byzantine practices in which sarcophagi contained little decoration beyond a cross.¹⁰ However, by the late thirteenth century, the tombs of doges began to reflect the ostentatious court culture that they had enjoyed during their lifetime.¹¹ The trend for doges to be buried in one of the two great public mendicant churches in Venice has been interpreted as reflecting an increased public emphasis on the importance and longevity of the state through the person of the doge.¹² However, this may also reflect a larger mainland trend since rulers throughout Western Europe in the thirteenth century increasingly chose burial in the public space of mendicant churches.¹³ The rapidly changing trends in the iconography and decoration of wall tomb monuments in Italy during the Middle Ages can also be attributed to the need to proclaim a family or an individual's presence.¹⁴ This argument is further strengthened by the fact that the Franciscan church of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and the Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, both of which were founded in the thirteenth century and expanded throughout the fourteenth, were growing in popularity among Venetians in this

⁹ A typical example is the tomb of Doge Domenico Contarini (d.1071), which according to Sansovino, was decorated with rich marbles such as porphyry and serpentine. Ibid., 52.

¹⁰ Funerary chapels were often elaborately decorated with scenes from the Passion and Resurrection of Christ but the sarcophagi itself were usually without figural decoration. See Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues", 134.

¹¹ The courtly spectacle of court life in Venice is recorded by contemporary chroniclers like Martino da Canale (see Chapter 2), but this new lifestyle is also reflected in Doge Marino Morosini's (1249-53) elaborate plans for a funerary chapel in S. Salvatore decorated with mosaics. Ultimately, he was interred in S. Marco in a sarcophagus that imitated an early Christian style. See Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*. vol.1.,163. Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima, et singolare, descritta in XIII. libri.*, ed. Giustiniano Martinioni (Venetia, 1663). 121.

¹² See Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 105,120, 148-165.

¹³ The tomb monuments of the Angevin kings of Naples and the ruling families of Rome are examples of growing opulence and display of political power.

¹⁴ Gerhard Schmidt, "Typen und Bildmotive des Spätmittelalterlichen Monumental Grabes," in *Skulptur und Grabmal* (1990), 19.

period, who regularly congregated there to listen to preachers and attend special masses. These churches provided the perfect public venue for monuments that sought to convey messages about power, status, and longevity to their viewers. Whether this message was intended to strengthen the prestige of the state, or of the individual and his family, is a debated question.

Debra Pincus has argued that the tomb of Doges Jacopo (1229-49) and Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268-75), (Fig. 12), placed prominently in front of the Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and in 1431 raised to the façade, reflects the increased significance of the ducal tomb as a public monument of ideological importance for the office of the doge and, by extension, the state.¹⁵ I would suggest rather, that this ducal tomb and its successors, both in placement and decoration, continued throughout the *trecento* to emphasize primarily familial concerns. Indeed, the trend for ostentatious and elaborate ducal tomb monuments is intimately connected to the growing wealth and class-consciousness of the Venetian patriciate, which increasingly emulated mainland aristocratic tastes and trends. Aside from the placement of these funerary monuments, personal and familial concerns are also clearly reflected by the presence of personal saints, family coats of arms, and in the inclusion of portraits, not only of the doge, but of the dogressa as well.

¹⁵ "It is important to emphasize that we are dealing here not with the glorification of individuals, but with the glorification of individual power as it is enlisted in the service of state development." Pincus, "The Fourteenth-century Venetian Tomb and Italian Mainland traditions," 398. See also Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*, 14-35. For early description of the placement of the Tiepolo tomb see also da Canale *Les estoires de Venise: cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, 124-126. Andrea Dandolo, "Chronica per extensum descripta," in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. Ester Pastorello (Bologna, 1938-58).

Among the examples of ducal tomb monuments containing donor portraiture, the tomb of Doge Jacopo Contarini (1275-1280) and his wife Jacobina was erected away from the public gaze in the cloister of the church of the Frari; likewise, the tomb of Doge Francesco Dandolo (1328-1339) and his wife Elisabetta Contarini Dandolo (Fig.11) was located away from the common gaze in the chapter house.¹⁶ The Contarini tomb, although no longer extant, is known to us through later accounts and descriptions (cat. no.75). Notably, Sanudo records that “*a i Frati Minori fu seppellito in un’Arco marmorea, la quale gli fu fatta nel Chiostro dov’era lavorato di Musaico, e il Doge e la Dogaressa in ginocchioni...*”¹⁷ The original monument, as described by Sanudo, may have provided the model for the later Dandolo tomb, in which Francesco Dandolo and Elisabetta are urged forward by their name saints and move gradually closer to the Virgin and Child in psychological and physical space (cat.no.1).¹⁸ The presence of personal name saints in the Dandolo image emphasizes the private nature of the monument and the special patronage connection between Francesco Dandolo and the church of the Frari. Indeed, Dandolo had made a significant personal contribution toward the construction and decoration of the

¹⁶ The tomb of Doge Jacopo Contarini was destroyed in the early part of the nineteenth century (1818–20) when part of the Frari cloister was destroyed to make way for the new state archives.

¹⁷ “...he was buried in a marble vessel which was made for him in the cloister of the Minorite friars where it is worked with mosaics (which show) the Doge and *Dogaressa* on their knees.” My translation. See Sanudo, “Le vite dei dogi,” 572. The tomb is known through accounts like Flaminio Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae, antiqua monumenta nunc etiam primum editis illustratae* (Venezia, 1749). vol. 6, 300.; Giustinian, *Venetiarum historia vulgo Pietro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*. 191. Giustinian mentions the tomb and transcribes the inscription but does not describe it. The inscription reads as follows: *ANNO DOMINI MCCLXXX INDITIONE VIII MENSE APRILI DIE VI INTRANTE. HIC REQUIESCIT DOMINUS IACOBUS CONTARINUS INCLITUS DUX VENETIARUM ET DOMINA IACOBINA EIUS UXOR DUCISA*” “Passing on the sixth day of April, 8th indiction, 1280. Here lies Jacopo Contarini, renowned doge of the Venetians, and the Dogaressa Jacobina, his wife.” As cited and transcribed in Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 82.

¹⁸ Bourdua, “Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages”. 205-06.

Franciscan church.¹⁹ Overtly political saints like St. Mark are deliberately eschewed in this pious context, in favour of saints with more particularly personal meaning to the couple. Furthermore, familial ties that existed between the Dogaressa Elisabetta Contarini Dandolo and the late Doge Jacopo Contarini may have naturally led to the use of the Contarini tomb as a model for the Dandolo tomb.²⁰ As executor of her husband's will, Elisabetta may have wished to visually emphasize that important familial connection.²¹ The Dandolo tomb itself, with its innovative narrative relief carving, attracted considerable attention, and its "noble" aspects were compared with the sarcophagus of the four virgins in Aquileia.²² The most overtly political features of the Dandolo monument are found in the language of the tomb's inscription and, possibly, in its position in the chapter house of the monastery. Indeed, the latter fact is often interpreted as an oblique reference to the doge's role as a head of state.²³ However, in my view, the

¹⁹ See Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae, antiqua monumenta nunc etiam primum editis illustratae*. 278. Likewise the elaborate tomb monument of Doge Ranieri Zeno (1253-1268) in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, little of which survives today, was accompanied by large sums left to the church for construction of the campanile, the front portal, and the monastery refectory. The tomb itself was initiated before the doge's death and was probably a raised tomb with a lunette arch above. See Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 63.

²⁰ In his 1339 will Francesco Dandolo specifically requested that he be buried with his wife Elisabetta and that his tomb be such as would honour the office that he held. See Brown, "Committenza e arte di stato," 793. By choosing to model their tomb after that of her ancestor, who was also a doge, Elisabetta Dandolo was able to honour both familial and civic connections. Although Elisabetta Dandolo (d.1348) requested burial in the Frari, in the nineteenth-century, when Francesco Dandolo's tomb was opened, her remains were not found with her husband's. Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe*. 109-110.

²¹ See Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*. Hurlburt suggests the importance of webs of connections and networks of lineage may have been more important to the deceased and his/her executors than we immediately realize today.

²² The Dandolo tomb was possibly influenced by the tomb of Odorico da Pordenone, which was commissioned for a Franciscan church in Udine in 1331. See Bourdua, "Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages". 180.

²³ The political significance of this placement was underscored when the tomb of Doge Giovanni Gradenigo (1355-1356) was also placed in the chapter house of the Frari. This was noted by Giustinian, *Venetiarum historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*. 249., Sanudo, "Le vite dei dogi," 641., and Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe*. 127. The original tomb, no longer extant, is also recorded in a drawing by Jan Grevembroch, "Monumenta Veneta ex antiquae rudibus,"

position of the tomb in the chapter house has been somewhat over interpreted, for it can just as easily be deduced that Francesco Dandolo - as a major contributor to the construction of the church, completed in 1338 - wished to have his *jus patronatus* underscored through this explicit positioning. On the other hand the inscription, although it refers to the house of Dandolo with pride, emphasizes Francesco Dandolo's public activities and achievements as doge:

*LAUDIBVS INNVMERIS/MERITISQVE PATENTIBVS/ISTE FRANCISCVS
VIRTUTE NITENS/CLARISSIMA PROLES DANDVLA QVEM
GENVIT/PATRI[A]E VENERABILIS HVIVS DVX FVIT ILLVSTRIS ♦QVI
LIBERTATIS AMORE/EDOMVIT FASTVS TVMIDOS/ET VINCLA
RESOLVIT/MARCHIA QVIS DVDVM/NIMIVM QVOQUE PRESSA IACEBAT
TERVISMA QVIDEM ♦VICINAQVE CASTRA SALINIS ATTENTATA
RVIT ♦CLARIS/DVM/REXIT HABENAS/ QVAQVE DECVS TERRAQVE
MARI/SUCCESSIBUS AUXIT FECIT ♦ AT UNDENO SOLII PRESIGNIS IN
ANNO/DECESSIT FELI DOMINI TUNC MILLE TRECENTOS TERDENOSQVE
NOVEM/PH[O]JEBUS DEVOLUERAT ANNOS ♦ LUXQVE NOVEMBRIS ERAT
CUNCTIS CELEBERRIMA SANCTIS ♦²⁴*

The wording of the inscriptions accompanying ducal tombs in this period has been seen as evidence for the increasingly politicized and public nature of such monuments in this period. However, such increasingly detailed epitaph inscriptions, which publicly celebrated the doge's personal virtues and concrete achievements for the Republic, were

Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jocobi Sen., f. anno 1754., MCC Gradenigo-Dolfen, Venice, 1754, vol.1, c. 26.

²⁴ "This Francesco resplendent with virtue, with countless praises, and evident merits/ who was bred by the most illustrious house of Dandolo/ was illustrious Doge of this venerable country/who for love of liberty quelled the rebellious pride and loosened the bonds/ under which the Marca-Trevigiana lay oppressed for too long a time/ And who having attacked the cities near the famous salt ponds, subjugated them/ While he reigned, and with brilliant successes increased the glory by land and by sea/ he made the Veneto and his country more fearful for the enemy/ but in the eleventh year of his august throne/he died in peace, then Phoebus had run the course of one thousand three hundred and thirty nine years of our lord/And it was the day of November most venerable to all the saints." As transcribed and translated by Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 116.

also an extension of the well-established eulogy or *laudatio* tradition in the city.²⁵

Furthermore, tomb inscriptions emphasizing the achievements of a doge's reign are not inconsistent with a more general message of family pride. Rather the contrary, since these achievements added further lustre to family prestige.

Arguably, the late *trecento* tombs of Doges Giovanni Dolfín (1356-1361) (Fig.13) and Michele Morosini (1382-1382) (Fig.14) in the Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo suggest more overt public intentions. Both tombs conform loosely to the visual formulae established by the tombs of Jacopo Contarini and Francesco Dandolo in that they also include portraits of the dogaressa as well as the doge and various saints of personal importance. These two elements continue to underscore the individual and familial nature of the monuments. Where they differ from the earlier examples is in their physical context, for both were prominently located in the *cappella maggiore* of the church. In his will of 25th July 1360, Doge Dolfín expressed a desire to be buried in the *cappella maggiore* of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, a request that was no doubt strengthened by a bequest of 100 ducats toward its construction which was begun in his lifetime (cat. no. 3).²⁶ The original Dolfín tomb was erected as planned, and in addition to an elaborately carved sarcophagus containing kneeling donor portraits of the doge and his deceased wife Dogaressa Caterina Giustinian, it also originally included an elaborate fresco above the tomb chest. This fresco was described by Giannantonio Moschini in 1815, as also

²⁵ See John McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideal of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill, 1989). 40,111.

²⁶ “*Item pro anima nostra libras quinquaginta grossis, de quibus dimittimus monasterio Sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli fratrum predicatorum de Veneciis, ubi elgimus sepulturam nostram in cappella magna ecclesie nove, ducatos centum pro fabrica ecclesie.*” [ASV, Procuratori di S. Marco, Citra, busta 229, Commissaria del Doge Giovanni Dolfín, July 25th 1360]. As cited in Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 151.

including kneeling donor portraits: “*Sopra l’urna vi si osservava dipinta a fresco e conservata la figura di Nostra Donna a cui lati stavan ginocchioni il doge e altra figura di donna...*”²⁷

It was to the continued benefit of the Dominicans to encourage this type of high profile commission and patronage; indeed Dolfin’s commission was followed and copied some decades later by the equally grand tomb of Doge Michele Morosini, also in the *cappella maggiore* of the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (cat. no. 4).²⁸ Morosini’s tomb was surmounted with a mosaic lunette depicting the kneeling donor figures of the doge and dogaressa, who were also probably originally depicted in the damaged fresco above, of which only vague traces now remain. Although coats of arms decorate almost all surviving ducal tomb monuments from this period, it has been noted that the Morosini tomb gives unusual importance to the family coat of arms by its placement in the “sacred” field of the crowning gable.²⁹ Pincus suggests that the individual concerns of the doge were sublimated to his official function; however, this use of family heraldry, along with Morosini’s donor portrait, reflects a growing desire in the latter half of the fourteenth century for personal and familial prominence.³⁰

²⁷ “Above the urn one saw the figure of Our Lady painted in fresco which is preserved, and at either side were the kneeling figures of the doge and another lady.” My translation. See Giannantonio Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia all’Amico delle Belle Arti*, (Venice, 1815-17). 148. By about 1815 the Dolfin tomb was shifted to an adjoining chapel and its fresco was obliterated by the carved structure of Doge Andrea Vendramin’s tomb. All that remains today is a sliver of fresco on the right edge of the Vendramin tomb.

²⁸ Morosini was one of the wealthiest men in Venice. A census of personal wealth taken in 1379 to calculate obligatory loans to the government to finance the war with Genoa records that only 5 individuals had a property value of 35,000 lire di grossi or more. Morosini’s assets were valued at 38,000 lire di grossi

²⁹ Debra Pincus, “The Tomb of Doge Nicolo Tron and Venetian Renaissance Ruler Imagery,” in *Art, the Ape of Nature, Studies in Honour of H.W. Janson*, ed. Moshe Barasch (New York, 1981). 130.

³⁰ Susan Steer has also come to the same conclusion regarding the visual evidence extant in ducal tomb monuments. Indeed Steer points out that although the *promissione* of Morosini [BMN 1382, 357 x 265 mm; cod.lat x 189] contains a portrait of the doge as most other *promissione* of the period do, it also

Pincus argues that an increased tendency among doges in the *trecento* to choose these ‘public’ churches as fitting places for their tomb monuments indicates a public identification with the state. However, this conclusion may not adequately take into account the subtle visual navigations that occurred between familial and public duties. If the *cappella maggiore* of SS. Giovanni e Paolo can be considered ‘public’, then many doges in the period did not choose to be buried publicly. Besides Francesco Dandolo and Giovanni Gradenigo (1355-56) who were both entombed in the chapter house of the Frari, Giovanni Dolfin’s successor Doge Lorenzo Celsi (1361-1365) chose rather to be entombed in the convent church of S. Maria Celestia, where he and his family enjoyed significant and long-standing patronage privileges.³¹ These privileges are reflected in the relief carving that comprises the only extant part of Celsi’s original tomb monument, which was destroyed by fire in 1569 (Fig. 15). In it Celsi is depicted alone, kneeling before the holy trinity (cat. no. 54).³² Doge Andrea Contarini (1367-1382) also chose a private burial in his family chapel in the Augustinian monastery of S. Stefano.³³ And at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, when interest in making a civic monument of the doge should have been at its height, Doge Michele Steno (1400-1413) returned to the small parish church of S. Marina for burial. Although this latter tomb was destroyed

contains, more unusually, the Morosini coat of arms at the bottom of the page. See Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)".

³¹ See Brown, "Committenza e arte di stato," 807. Brown cites Sanudo who describes Doge Lorenzo Celsi in his *Vitae*: "*Questo doge fu molto splendido e largo. Teneva nella sua cortili ogni sorta d’uccelli da spassarsie darsi piacere con quelli e certe bestie contrafatte, ch’era una bella cosa da vedere teneva etiam di molti belli cavalli e corsieri e cavalcava molte fiata per Venezia con molti gentiluomini in sua compagna.*" Sanudo, "Le vite dei dogi," 660.

³² After the fire this relief from Celsi’s tomb was salvaged and given pride of place above the nun’s grate where it was drawn by Grevembroch and later noted by Tommaso Archangelo Zucchini in his 1785 "Guida". See Jan Grevembroch, "*Monumenta Veneta*" (1754)," MCC Gradenigo-Dolfin, Venice, 1754, II.

³³ What remains of Contarini’s tomb can be seen today in the cloister of S. Stefano. See Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe*. 141.

along with the church in the early nineteenth century (apart from Steno's effigy which is now in SS. Giovanni e Paolo), it is preserved for us in Jan Grevembroch's eighteenth-century drawings, as equal in grandeur to any seen in the *cappella maggiore* of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Fig.16; cat. no. 6). The monument, as recorded by Grevembroch, included an elaborate architectural canopy, carved tomb, and inscription, with a mosaic lunette of the kneeling Doge Steno and Dogaressa Marina Gallina, presented to the Madonna by their name saints, Michael Archangel and S. Marina.

Indeed, toward the end of the *trecento*, ducal burial in spaces with personal and familial significance was more popular than ever before, suggesting a highly complex relationship between church and patron. In *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*, Debra Pincus dedicates a chapter to the Tiepolo tomb declaring that "nothing in the history of Venetian ruler tomb display prepares one for the public placement of Tiepolo's tomb 'before the door' of the Dominicans...", and citing it as a "dramatic" break with the tradition of ducal tombs that came before.³⁴ But a recent book by Martin Gaier, on the church façades of Renaissance Venice, effectively counters this suggestion. In his 2002 monograph, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, Gaier points out that, because in 1234 Jacopo Tiepolo granted part of his land to the Dominicans for the construction of their church, the Tiepolo family had claim, by Venetian tradition, to its *jus patronatus*, a claim that was put forth by the family on a number of occasions.³⁵ This goes some way toward explaining the prominent

³⁴ Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 17.

³⁵ In 1578 a descendant of the Tiepolo and a prominent Venetian, Paolo Tiepolo (1523-85) was elected by the Dominican monks as the protector and procurator of their convent. At his death in 1585, he left the enormous sum of 1000 ducats for the erection of his tomb above the door of SS. Giovanni e Paolo on the

placement of the tomb, which Martin da Canale in 1275 described as a family, rather than a ducal tomb.³⁶ In fact, façade tombs of church founders were relatively common in medieval Venice, and the founder's descendants eagerly defended their perceived right to subsequent *jus patronatus*.³⁷ Other examples of façade tombs dedicated to a church's founder include the Trevisan family sarcophagus of Marco Trevisan (d.1202) on the façade of the now demolished church of S. Tomasso dei Borgognoni on the island of Torcello, which also included an unambiguous identifying inscription: *edificator et fundator hujus monasterii et loci*.³⁸ Similarly, the façade of the old church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, according to Martin Gaier, originally contained three important tombs, those of doges Sebastiano Ziani (1172-1178) and Domenicino Michiel (1117-1130), and of the *cittadino* Pietro Civran (c. 1363).³⁹ The façade of the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore was also reportedly dedicated to the memory of Doge Tribuno Memo (979-991), its original

façade of the church. In 1604 Paolo's brother Bernardo requested burial near his brother's tomb. See Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 48-9.

³⁶ See Canale, *Les Estoires de Venise: cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dale origini al 1275*. 124-27; 352-55. "Laurens Teuple...fu enseveli a Freres prescheors un samedi, en une tumbes ou qisoit son pere, li noble dus mesire Jaque Teuple" According to da Canale the brother of Lorenzo, Giovanni Tiepolo, Count of Cherso, was also placed in the same tomb. As cited in Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 185 fnt. 23. Indeed it is possible that the Tiepolo tomb only gained importance as a ducal tomb and monument to the persona of the doge in the fifteenth century when an inscription emphasizing the burial of Doges Jacopo and Lorenzo Tiepolo (no mention of Giovanni) along with the Tiepolo arms and the ducal corno was added to the tomb. The tomb inscription was also added to Pietro Giustinian's 1358 chronicle, probably in 1431 when the tomb was raised from the ground to the church facade. For more on the inscription see Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 171-75.

³⁷ Almost all Venetian churches once included open cemeteries in the campo where members of the congregation and their families were buried. See Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 32.

³⁸ "Here rests the builder and founder of this monastery." My translation. See Ibid., 37-38. The Trevisan family tomb can be seen on the façade of the church in an early print by Tironi-Sandi. The inscription is recorded in [BCV cod. Gradenigo-Dolfin 221., Fasc. V s.p. recorded]

³⁹ Ibid., 51, 26. Wolfgang Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*, 2 vols. (Venezia, 1976). Vol.1, cat. no. 102.

founder.⁴⁰ The continuity of the connection between churches and families into the sixteenth century was made clear when both the Michiel and Civran families rushed to defend their family tombs during the church's rebuilding by Andrea Palladio in c.1566.⁴¹ Similarly in Verona, the tomb of Guglielmo da Castelbarco (c.1320) was prominently erected over the external door to the cloister of S. Anastasia (Fig.17). It is no coincidence that Castelbarco was a significant patron of the church and contributed financially to its construction.⁴² The argument for increased state identification in the placement of the Tiepolo tomb in 1249 is rendered tenuous when set against the possibility of a larger tradition of founder's tombs in the city and the Veneto.

In addition to founder tombs, ducal patronage of a church may have also been expressed in this period through portraits above the portal of a church or a monastery gate. One possible example of this is the image of Doge Andrea Contarini (1367-82) who kneels to the right of a scene in which S. Martino presents his cloak to a beggar, while an unidentified monk kneels to the left (Fig. 18; cat. no. 74). Although the relief carving is now on display inside the *Scuola* Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista in Venice, very little is known about the carving's provenance. The presence of St. Martin on horseback is a

⁴⁰ Debra Pincus argues that the tomb of Sebastiano Ziani was in the cloister of the monastery not on the façade, and that although Ziani commissioned an elaborate tomb while he was still living it was not meant to play a role in the public space of the city. Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 168.

⁴¹ The effigy is all that's left of the fourteenth-century tomb of Pietro Civran, the senator and "capitano al mar" who served under Doge Andrea Dandolo. The inscription that we see today was added in the seventeenth century when Civran's family restored the monument. The original inscription was recorded by Cicogna Emmanuel Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols. (Venice, 1824-53). Vol. IV, 607. Cicogna copied earlier transcriptions by Lorenz Schrader, *Monumentorum Italiae quae hoc nostro saculo & a Christianis fosita sunt, libri quatuor* (Helmstedt, 1592). 309. and Francesco Sansovino & Giovanni de Stringa, *Venetia, Città Nobilissima e singolare, descritta in XIII libri* (Venezia, 1604). fol.169 r.ss. See Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 26. And Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*.

⁴² Castelbarco was a major patron of both the Dominicans and Franciscans in Verona. See Gerola, "Il Ritratto di Guilielmo Castelbarco in S. Fermo, Verona."

curious aspect of this piece. Since there is no record of a similar panel associated with the parish church of S. Martino in Venice, the presence of the saint may indicate the personal devotion of the doge, or the commemoration of a pilgrimage journey.⁴³ The presence of the monk indicates that it possibly belonged to one of the city's monasteries. In addition, the presence of the unnamed doge, whom we assume to be Andrea Contarini based on the date in the inscription, may indicate that it decorated some part of the Augustinian church and monastery of S. Stefano, where Contarini had a particular patronal interest and where he was eventually buried. More clues to the original context of this image may be found in the gothic inscription, which states:

*GRACIA DEI IN ME VACUA NON FUIT SET GRACIA EIUS SEMPER IN ME
MANET ? CCCLXX * DIL EXISTI IUSTICIAM ET ODIISTI INNIQUITATAM
PROTEREA DEUS TUUS OLEO LETICIA*⁴⁴

The use of the past tense and the conversational style of the language perhaps indicate that this once formed a part of a tomb monument, perhaps that of Contarini himself; however, Doge Andrea Contarini died in 1382 and the inscription suggests the 1370s.

Another possibility is that the relief commemorates Contarini's testamentary bequest to a local monastery.

⁴³ The more obvious reasons for a donor's choice of saints involve his/her personal affiliations. These saints include name saints, saints of a confraternity, trade, or church. However, the choice of saint is sometimes less obvious and may reflect special private and familial devotions that relate to a sacred image or relic preserved in a private oratory, a vow made during battle or sickness, or a pledge of gratitude made on pilgrimage. The most popular major pilgrimages of the late Middle Ages were to St. James (Compostella); St. Nicholas (Bari) St. Martin (Tours). See Emile Mâle, *The Gothic image: Religious Art in France of the thirteenth century* (New York, 1958). 324-325.

⁴⁴ "The grace of God was never absent from me but his grace remained always in me 137* you have enjoyed justice and you hate injustice because of which your God anoints you with joy." Transcribed and translated by Georg Christ.

An earlier precedent in the area for this type of donor portraiture, in which the deceased donor is depicted above the portal or entranceway of a church, can be seen in the tympanum of the Franciscan church of S. Lorenzo in Vicenza c. 1342-44 (Fig. 19). As the first example of a tympanum carrying votive sculpture in the Veneto, the image of Pietro “nan” da Mareno, the famous money-lending dwarf, member of the Scaligeri court, and honorary Venetian citizen is presented kneeling at the foot of the Virgin and child.⁴⁵ Donor portraits in Medieval Venice were also to be found on church façades, usually above portals in the tympanum area, as was also regularly seen in the Romanesque church sculpture of Northern European centres and on the façades of the city’s *scuole*.⁴⁶ The public nature of this placement, which was clearly not avoided in Venice more than anywhere else, is a probable testament to the city’s relationship with its parish churches and monasteries. Private citizens and individuals in Venice who founded, decorated, and supported many of these buildings as genteel churches or community gathering places commonly patronized these institutions.⁴⁷

There is no doubt that such monuments sought to publicly advertise the honour incumbent upon the position of doge, but to what purpose? It is clear that a doge in one’s family added lustre to a family name or “house” and immediately precluded any insinuations about one’s right to service in the *Maggiore Consiglio*. This was extremely

⁴⁵ Bourdua claims that this is the first tympanum sculpture in the Veneto to carry votive or donor portraiture and that it is the first example of a Franciscan sculpted façade in the region. She also looks extensively into the documents surrounding the commission, one of the best preserved in the region. The funding for the project was carried out by the procurators of Venice who oversaw the fulfillment of Pietro’s wishes as spelled out in Pietro da Mareno’s will. See Bourdua, *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy*; Bourdua, “Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages”. 110.

⁴⁶ For more on Romanesque sculpture see Meyer Schapiro and Linda Seidel, *Romanesque Architectural Sculpture* (Chicago, 2006).

⁴⁷ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 13.

important in light of the struggle among the “old” and “new” noble families. In the context of the mendicant, convent, and parish churches of post-*serrata* Venice, it is equally arguable that these ducal monuments were erected not only in honour of the office, but also for the honour of the noble family to which the doge belonged. The long-standing tradition of association between the doge’s family and the doge’s tomb means that the two were inextricably connected in the eyes of the viewer, for whom tombs held dynastic allusions that underscored lineage and ancestry. Thus the doge, even after death, did not belong to the state but to his family.

Toward the end of the fourteenth century, ducal tombs made increased use of aristocratic visual vocabulary.⁴⁸ Louise Bourdua has already noted that the sarcophagus of Doge Francesco Dandolo in 1339 drew attention for its innovative narrative relief and was, in its own time, compared in its “noble” qualities to other prominent tombs in the area, such as the 1331 tomb of Beato Odorico da Pordenone in the church of S. Maria del Carmine, Udine, or the sarcophagus of the four virgins in the basilica of Aquileia.⁴⁹ This use of the word “noble” to describe a ducal tomb in fourteenth-century Venice, is an interesting indicator of the perceived qualities of “good”, that is, aristocratic, taste. In the period, its use in relation to the tomb of a Venetian doge seems to indicate that despite professed Republican ideals, noble qualities and aristocratic tastes were something of value to people at elite social levels in the city. This may indicate, increased emulation of the mainland signorial court life; indeed, as Debra Pincus points out, the inscriptions accompanying the ducal tombs of the fourteenth century seemed increasingly to make

⁴⁸ Marian iconography and Gothic lettering in inscriptions were prominent features of ducal tombs in this period. See Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 161.

⁴⁹ Bourdua, "Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages". 180.

reference to the elevated and noble persona of the doge, as well as his contribution to state glory.⁵⁰ Or this may simply indicate in Venice, as in the rest of Europe, an equal vulnerability to new fashions and tastes in iconographic images, genres, and saints. The degree to which donor portraiture can be considered to be part of a larger aristocratic taste is an interesting question. In the Dandolo tomb monument, the donors are no longer relegated merely to the passive and remote space of a witness; rather, they interact with the holy figures as active devotees. In the panel painting by Paolo Veneziano, the Virgin looks toward the dogaressa on her left but points to the doge on her right, while the Christ child leans toward Francesco Dandolo with a gesture of benediction. This composition is seen as a common template for the type of donor portraiture that “persisted in Venice for several hundred years”.⁵¹ For the fourteenth century, this is somewhat true, but the original source for this donor portraiture iconography can also be seen in the earlier (1310) panel in the church of SS. Maria e Donato on the island of Murano (Fig.20; cat.no.12).

In the Murano panel, two of the most important iconographical elements of the Dandolo tomb are already evident: the presence of the donor’s name saint and the depiction of the spouse on the opposite side of the composition. The main difference between this panel and the Dandolo tomb is the sense that Donato Memo and his wife are less active in the scene. Both in the diminutive scale of the Memo portraits and S. Donatus’ lack of acknowledgement toward his devotees, the couple are relegated to silent witnesses rather than participants. Furthermore, the kneeling pose and the psychological

⁵⁰ Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 161.

⁵¹ Raimond van Marle and Charlotte van Marle, *The Development of the Italian schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1923). Vol. IV, 17-19.

position of the donor in these compositions recall one of the most important functions of government officials in medieval Europe – witnessing. The act of witnessing or transacting was important, both in a legal sense (documents), and also in the sense of presence at or participation in important events. It was an integral aspect of upper class life in the Middle Ages that was easily translatable to images of kneeling donors.⁵²

Religious and governmental sentiments are possibly conflated in certain cases where the official position of the donor is underscored. Memo's official position within the state and his loyalty to the Republic are necessarily called to mind.

Issues of agency are integral in a discussion of such monuments. For it is not only the patron and his/her executors who handled the commissions and decided how they would appear, but also the church or convent in which they were to be placed. It is clear that for monuments intended for S. Marco, the procurators had ultimate authority in determining how the monument would look and where it would be placed, but this was also true of the city's parish and convent churches. The decoration of parish churches in Venice was under the jurisdiction, not only of a parish priest, but also of an elected lay procurator from the community. This system was, of course, an imitation of the procurators of S. Marco, and it meant that smaller city churches also sought to control the decoration of their communal spaces. Though the procurators were often from families of standing in the *contrade*, potential patrons nonetheless had to apply to these procurators with their project proposals. Louise Bourdua has established that for commissions in the Franciscan churches of the Veneto during the *trecento*, the friars, likewise, had to approve new decorative or building projects. In such cases, it seems that the decoration of

⁵² Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*. 209-10.

churches was not envisaged as an engineered or unified programme, devised entirely by the needs of the friars alone; rather each separate commission was conceived of as a unit, and the decorative results were generally intended to express power, wealth, piety, fealty, and in some cases competition – in other words, the interests of the patron.⁵³ Funerary monuments were not always left entirely to the discretion of the family. In some cases, for instance, the Lupi family chapel dedicated to S. Giacomo (now S. Felice) in the church of S. Antonio in Padua, the family was entrusted with the direct commission of work from artisans; however some wills also left these decisions entirely to the friars who determined the commissions, arrangement, and in some cases the final appearance of the project.⁵⁴

The doges of the *trecento* were just as likely to express their support for a church or convent through the donation of choir books, missals, antiphonaries, and other accoutrements of mass. Single donor portraits kneeling in the standard votive manner were not unusual in such manuscripts during the fourteenth century. One of the earliest of these is the choir book or antiphonary from the convent church of S. Domenico di Castello, which contains a portrait of Doge Marino Zorzi (1311-12), now in the Museo Correr (Fig.21). Doge Zorzi and an anonymous Dominican monk are depicted kneeling on either side of the standing S. Domenico.⁵⁵ This portrait of a doge indicates the importance of the private patronage of doges and other patricians in furnishing the city's convents and churches with the accoutrements needed for masses. In his testament, Zorzi left money for the construction and foundation of the convent of S. Domenico and a

⁵³ Bourdua, "Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages". 36.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 43.

⁵⁵ Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting. The Local Schools of North Italy of the Fourteenth Century*. Vol. IV, 92.

nearby hospital, and he expressed a wish to be buried in the church that he founded, or if that was impossible, in the Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.⁵⁶ His second request was granted, and Doge Marino Zorzi was finally laid to rest in the cloister of the convent attached to SS. Giovanni e Paolo.⁵⁷ As we have seen in the case of Doges Francesco Dandolo and Giovanni Dolfín, where tombs, ducal or otherwise, were commissioned for the interior of the mendicant churches there was usually some further patronage of the church in the form of monetary donations.

Although the use of SS. Giovanni e Paolo as a ducal and patrician mausoleum toward the end of the fourteenth century is often interpreted as overtly reflecting political motivations, it is important to note that the burial of doges in or near monastic communities was a long-standing tradition in the city and not necessarily linked solely to changes in the office of the doge.⁵⁸ Indeed, it is more likely that these tombs were erected in the same spirit as those ducal tombs of centuries past, that is, as expressions of familial commemoration and patronage. If examples of ducal tombs in S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and SS. Giovanni e Paolo stand out today, it is because they survived the church suppressions and demolitions of the nineteenth century, whereas other great medieval monasteries such as S. Croce and S. Maria dei Servi did not.⁵⁹

The Waking State: ducal tombs and official portraits in public space

⁵⁶ Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe*. 102-3.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 102-3

⁵⁸ Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*.

⁵⁹ For a reconstruction of the churches and monasteries lost in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*.

Although it is clear that, in the tomb monuments, the body and image of the doge became the focus for a greater struggle between the state and the family over the doge's legacy, there are many cases where this claim is less ambiguously in favour of the state. This is particularly notable in the portraits of the doge that were erected in, on, and around official buildings like S. Marco and the Ducal Palace.

The Basilica di San Marco

The one place where such state commemoration was not ambiguous, either visually or physically, was in the ducal tomb monuments of S. Marco. Of the six ducal tombs (one is actually for a dogaressa) located in the basilica of S. Marco, only one contains a votive or kneeling donor portrait: the tomb of Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo (1339-1342) located in the north-west corner of the narthex (Fig. 22; cat.no.7). Unusually, the doge is presented on the left of the Virgin by his name saint Bartholomew, while the figure of St. Mark takes the place of honour to her right.⁶⁰ Apart from the presence of a name saint and a donor portrait, all other visual references that could be characterized as personal or familial are absent. There is no portrait of the Dogaressa Maddalena Contarini Gradenigo (she requested burial in the Frari), and the inscription makes no mention of Gradenigo's family as other tomb inscriptions had done:

⁶⁰ Pincus identifies the saint who presents the doge to the Madonna as St. Mark, but this would be contrary to the established visual tradition of being presented to the Virgin by one's name saint or a saint of particular personal importance. Furthermore the saint who stands on the opposite side of the Virgin appears to hold a book, which although closed, is a more convincing indicator of the Evangelist. See Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 128-29.

MORIBVS INSIGNIS*RECTI BASIS*INDOLE CLARVS*CLARIOR ET
MERITIS*PATRIJ SERVATOR HONORIS* CLAUDITVR HOC TVMVLO
GRADONICO BATHOLAMEVS DVX FVIT IS VENETVM*QVAR TO
DEFVNCTVS IN ANNO.⁶¹

The circumstances around this tomb are slightly unusual since Gradenigo made no special provision in his will for burial and had ruled for only three years when he died. Debra Pincus suggests that, contrary to the tradition of families bearing the expense of ducal tombs, it was the state that paid for Gradenigo's tomb.⁶² Other reasons for the erection of Gradenigo's tomb in this honoured position are imprecise. Although Otto Demus has suggested that all doges buried in S. Marco were patrons of the church in some way, Wolfgang Wolters has countered that Gradenigo's contribution to the basilica is unclear.⁶³ However, Gradenigo's role in another civic project may account for the presence of his tomb in the basilica, and for the presence of St. Mark on the front of his tomb – a political choice of saint that does not appear in this position on any other ducal tomb of the *trecento*. In 1340, just one year after his election as doge, Bartolomeo Gradenigo proposed an ambitious plan to enlarge the *Palazzo Ducale*. The object of this project was ostensibly to accommodate the new *maggiore consiglio*, but also to reflect the new aristocratic lifestyle among the city's elite. The plan drew from both the traditional civic *palazzo* architecture and the princely style of the mainland, and it was completed in an

⁶¹ Outstanding for his morals/ providing the firm foundation for justice/renowned for his character/even more renowned for his merits/conserver of the honour of the country/ Enclosed in this tomb, Bartolomeo Gradenigo, Doge of Venice/was dead in the fourth year [of his reign]. Transcribed and translated in Ibid., 126-7.

⁶² In contrast, Gradenigo's successor Andrea Dandolo (1342-54) makes his wish to be buried in S. Marco explicit in his will, although he leaves the final decision up to the *procuratori* who had final jurisdiction over the site and arrangement of tombs in the basilica. See Vittorio Lazzarini, "Il testamento del Doge Andrea Dandolo," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 7 (1904): 143.

⁶³ Demus and Forlati, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*. 46. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. 190.

extraordinarily short amount of time.⁶⁴ Perhaps this contribution to the Venetian state was considered reason enough to grant Gradenigo honourable burial in the state church.

However prestigious burial in S. Marco may have appeared, the trade-off was clearly to renounce any personal overtones in one's funerary monument. Perhaps that is why S. Marco was not a popular burial choice among doges and their families. Apart from the founders' tombs of Doge Vitale Falier (1084-1096) and the Dogaressa Felicia Michiel located on either side of the narthex entrance, and a handful of eleventh and twelfth century doges whose tombs no longer survive, only four doges in the entire history of the Republic are buried in the basilica, all of them between 1253 and 1355.⁶⁵ Immediately after Doge Andrea Dandolo's (1342-54) death and burial in the baptistery of S. Marco, the *promissione* of his doomed successor, Doge Marino Falier (1354-55) explicitly and without any stated reasons, prohibited the future interment of doges in the basilica.⁶⁶

Scholars have given various explanations for the small number of doges buried in the state church: Otto Demus suggested that only those doges who contributed to the building of the basilica were allowed interment there. Wolfgang Wolters, on the other hand, detected a more private and familial attitude toward burial in the city, which

⁶⁴ The project was proposed, initiated, and completed in just over forty years, a remarkable feat considering that it was not unusual for building projects to remain unfinished for centuries. Giorgio Perocco mentions the urgent nature of the project, which was decided in only eight days in December 1340, by a group of elected officials under penalty of fine for every extra day taken. Perocco compares the urgency of these deliberations with a declaration of war. Giorgio Perocco, "Il Palazzo Ducale, Andrea Dandolo e il Petrarca," in *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, ed. Giorgio Padoan (Venice, 1976). 172-3.

⁶⁵ Da Mosto has suggested that Doges Domenico Selvo (d.1086-7), Vitale I Michiel (d.1101-2), and Ordelafo Falier Dodeni (d.1117-8) were also buried in the atrium of S. Marco. See Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe*. 53-9.

⁶⁶ After the elaborate tomb monument of Andrea Dandolo, the *promissione* of the infamous Doge Marino Falier (1353-55) included a ruling that doges should no longer be interred in S. Marco and that personal memorials were no longer allowed in the basilica. See Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. 257.

resulted in interment elsewhere.⁶⁷ It has also been suggested that the absence of a monastic community to pray for the soul of the deceased may have been another deterrent.⁶⁸ Whatever the reason, it is clear that when it came to burial in S. Marco most doges and their families had other priorities. Although Debra Pincus has suggested that the interdict on burial in S. Marco allowed for public burial and commemoration of the doge elsewhere in the city, in fact, ducal burial in other sites had never been abandoned for S. Marco. For the most part, doges in this period seemed to prefer to patronize the churches and convents that connected them to their *contrade* and family networks, rather than to the state. Ducal tomb monuments erected in this context were less about the office of the doge than about asserting the status of patrician families in their neighbourhoods. Similarly, being a doge toward the end of the fourteenth century was desirable, not because it granted significant political power or jurisdiction – in fact the opposite was increasingly true in the *trecento* – but, rather, because it secured a family's place in the city's social and political history. The much discussed concept of the lineage of doges was a civic ideology that found expression in the decoration of the Sala del Gran Consiglio and other state venues, but in reality it was far removed from the immediate needs, desires, and personal interests of the Venetian elite.

For other officials in this state environment, the portraiture possibilities were slightly different. Although the extant evidence suggests that individual portraits of specific procurators or magistrates were impossible, there is one relief carving, now in the

⁶⁷ See Demus and Forlati, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*. 46.; Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. 190.; Pincus, "The Fourteenth-century Venetian Tomb and Italian Mainland traditions," 146-7.

⁶⁸ Thanks to John Osborne for pointing out this possibility.

Museo Correr, that depicts government officials. The relief panel depicts (possibly) Doge Michele Steno (1400-1413) kneeling with his magistrates at the foot of the enthroned Virgin (Fig. 23; cat. no. 40).⁶⁹ The original provenance of this unusual *ancona* is unknown, but the portrait of the doge surrounded by magistrates seems to indicate that it may have originally been intended for a chapel in the ducal palace or possibly in S. Marco. The depiction of government officials in a group is a particularly rare manifestation of the donor portrait genre in Venice. This example, and a similar relief *ancona* in the chapel of S. Pietro in the basilica (Fig.24), are the only extant examples in this context. In both, the figures are identified primarily by their official robes almost as if to underscore that their patronage and their presence is only important as a representation of their office in the state government. Such images underscore the impression that their patronage is not only meant as a contribution to their secure place in purgatory, or to the conservation of their names for posterity, but also to emphasize that their commission is also in the name of the state.

Young patrician men on the political ascendant in *trecento* Venice, such as Andrea Dandolo, often held a position as one of the procurators of S. Marco before their election to the *dogado*. This fact is seen to be a crucial element, particularly in Dandolo's case, in cultivating patronage links with the church while later serving as doge. The position of procurator was a position of symbolic and practical importance, second only to that of the doge himself; once elected, the position could be held for life. Procurators were responsible for administering properties of the state around S. Marco (*de Supra*) and

⁶⁹ Wolfgang Wolters identifies Doge Steno from his *promissione* portrait. See Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. cat. no. 153.

state properties on either side - *de Citra* and *de Ultra* - of the Grand Canal.⁷⁰ Election to this position was seen as a stepping-stone to the dogeship, and indeed, between 1348 and 1500, only three doges had not previously held the post.⁷¹ The procurators of S. Marco (*de Supra*) had the privilege of overseeing and caring for the state's most symbolically important church. The degree to which the procurators of S. Marco actually supervised and patronized artistic projects in the church is a question of some debate. Although Demus has made a case for a high degree of involvement on the part of the procurators, Ranée Katzenstein has suggested that in fact the procurators were nothing more than efficient bureaucrats who expedited rather than initiated any of the artistic programmes in the church.⁷²

However, the relief *ancona* located in the *cappella* S. Pietro of S. Marco seems to indicate otherwise. The icon-like relief depicts St. Peter with the keys symbolizing his role as caretaker of heaven, while two procurators kneel on either side wearing the velvet purse containing their keys of office (Fig.24; cat. no. 9). The use of conventional donor portraiture in this *ancona* suggests that proprietary feelings toward S. Marco on the part of procurators were not out of place.⁷³ Very little is known about this simple *ancona*,

⁷⁰ It is difficult to ascertain if there were distinctions in prestige between these positions since men from both later became doge. See Chambers, "Merit and Money: The Procurators of St. Mark and their Commissioni 1443-1605," 29.

⁷¹ Based on an analysis by Sansovino between 1275 and 1578, two-thirds of doges had formerly been procurators. See Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima, et singolare, descritta in XIII. libri*. (Venice, 1663) vol.1, 299-305; vol. 2. 'Cronico Veneto'. As cited in Richard J. Goy, *The House of Gold: Building a Palace in Medieval Venice* (Cambridge ; New York, 1992). 32.

⁷² Katzenstein points out that Demus bases his assumption on an edict of 1258, which merely stipulates that the mosaicists at work on the church must employ two apprentices and teach them this craft, and that they were not to accept work at another location until the work on S. Marco was finished. [ASV, procuratoria de supra, S. Marco, b 78, proc 182.] See Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in Mid-Trecento Venice". 16.

⁷³ Upon taking the oath of office, procurators were given their *commissione* and a velvet purse containing the key to the office of his procuracy, which were returned to the state at his death or election to doge.

except that it was probably intended for this chapel, and based on style, it is dated to c.1300.⁷⁴ It was certainly in its current position when Jan Grevembroch drew it in 1759, at which time, the brief inscription (indicating which saints' relics were in the *cappella*), now lost, was still intact (Fig.25).⁷⁵ The presence of the *ancona* in this particular chapel, located on the north choir side of the high altar of S. Marco, is the key to its significance. The *cappella* di S. Pietro was traditionally considered the domain of the church, while the opposite choir chapel of S. Clemente was considered the domain of the doge. According to Otto Demus, the mosaics of the chapels correspond to this difference in function and tenure, the former emphasizing the "prehistory" of the Venetian church, and the latter representing the connections between ducal history and the relics of St. Mark.⁷⁶ As the official protectors of both the tangible and intangible legitimacy of the church, the procurators of S. Marco are appropriately depicted as patrons in this particular space.

The Palazzo Ducale

The church of San Marco was not the only location open to state portraiture.

Second only in spiritual, rather than civic, significance to S. Marco was the ducal palace.

⁷⁴ In this case, I have accepted Wolters date of 1300 as a *terminus ante quem*; however, in this case it is possible that the *ancona* dates to between 1231 and 1260, when there were only 2 procurators serving. In the 1260s, the number was increased to four and by 1319, to six. By 1443 there were 9 procurators in total. In addition, the style of the piece seems indebted to the style of Byzantine icons. This style of relief icons was very popular in Venice at the end of the thirteenth century and can also be seen in the *ancona* of Donato Memo (c.1310) in SS. Maria e Donato, Murano, and in the relief carving of the Virgin and child with donor Andrea Zeno (c.1390) in S. Domenico, Chioggia. See Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. cat. no 4.

⁷⁵ The inscription according to Grevembroch was as follows: *HIC SVNT RELIQUIAE S. PETRI. S MATEI. S. JOHANIS EVANGELE. S BARTOLOMAE. S. LUCE.* "Here are the relics of Sts Peter, Matthew, John the Evangelist, St. Bartholomew and Luke" See Grevembroch, "Varie Venete Curiosità sacre e profane opus Jo. Grevembroch (1759)," 65/l. MCC, Gradenigo-Dolfin, 1759, 65/l.

⁷⁶ See Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*. Vol.1, 55. Thomas Dale, "Inventing a Sacred Past: Pictorial Narratives of St. Mark the Evangelist in Aquileia and Venice, ca.1000-1300," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994).

In 1340, under Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo, the achievements of the Republic were visually celebrated in an ambitious scheme to renovate the doges' official residence, one of the city's most public and politically significant buildings, where patrician men met and determined the laws of the Republic.⁷⁷ The impetus for this enlargement was ostensibly to house the expanded Great Council after the *serrata*, but it was not unusual in this time of heightened nationalism and inter-city rivalry, for Italian cities to rebuild or renovate their civic palaces.⁷⁸ The addition of a new wing to the ducal palace enabled an elaborate new decoration of the city's most important governmental room, the Sala del Gran Consiglio. Instead of a local Venetian painter the committee in charge of the decoration of the Sala chose Guariento d'Arpo, a Paduan artist who had worked extensively in fresco for the Carrara court on the mainland.⁷⁹ The programme executed by Guariento, in this most important of ducal palace rooms, carried a great deal of significance for the room's function: the upper portion of the north, south, and west walls between the windows contained portrait pairs of Venetian doges of the past and present, and somewhat unusually, space was also left for the portraits of approximately 200 years worth of future doges. Beneath these portraits was a narrative sequence, depicting the *Discordia* of 1177, between Pope Alexander III and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, in which the Venetian doge negotiated peace to a conflict that had upset most

⁷⁷ Debra Pincus, "Andrea Dandolo and Visible History: The San Marco Projects," in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy 1250-1500*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (1990), 191.

⁷⁸ Andrew Martindale, "The Venetian Sala del Gran Consiglio and its Fourteenth-century Decoration," *The Antiquaries Journal* (1993): 79.

⁷⁹ There are two other works firmly attributed to Guariento in this period. The first is a polyptych originally for a Paduan convent dated to 1344; the second is a badly damaged fresco lunette now in the Eremitani but originally above Jacopo da Carrara's tomb in the church of S. Agostino in Padua, dated to 1350-51. Guariento is also thought to have decorated the Carrara chapel in the Reggia and the hagiographic cycle in the presbytery of the Eremitani in the 1350s or 60s. See Francesca Flores D'Arcais, *Guariento D'Arpo* (Milan, 1974).

of Western Europe. The focus of the fourteenth-century programme was the east wall, which once contained an enormous fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin or *Paradiso*. The building and decorative programme was finished by the 1380s when it was handed over to the *procuratori* of S. Marco to be put to civic use. The *Discordia* narrative is a historical one, but it was given a fantastical Venetian flavour that exaggerated Venice's role in the negotiated peace of 1177. It was used to confirm certain Venetian and ducal privileges; the legendary Doge Sebastiano Ziani was depicted as a prince, equal in stature to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and to Pope Alexander III, in his ability to facilitate a peace between the two great men. This episode was considered a turning point in Venetian history as the Republic increasingly sought a more prominent role in international politics and trading.

The addition of these images to the newly enlarged Sala del Gran Consiglio indicated a new perception of the office of the doge as a symbol of Venice itself. In the *Discordia*, the doge embodies the mediating, just, and wise qualities of Venice. This was underscored on the top register of the fresco programme with a series of ducal bust portraits. Beginning with the earliest doges, the portraits pair generations of men with one another in a quasi-dynastic lineage of Venetian Republican glory that was meant to extend indefinitely into the future. The inclusion of this gallery of ancestors emphasizes not the individual doge, but rather the longevity and power of the *dogado* as a symbol of civic glory. This type of portrait imagery was becoming increasingly popular in Western Europe, where examples were most often found at mainland princely courts. In France, both St. Denis and the Great Hall, or Salle des Pas Perdus of the French kings included a form of dynastic portraiture that underscored the longevity and power of a lineage of

rulers, but this trend in portrait cycles was also popular in an ecclesiastical setting. Cycles of papal images decorated S. Paolo fuori le Mura and old S. Pietro in Rome, and the church of S. Piero a Grado in Pisa, in grand statements of papal longevity and authority.⁸⁰

Even closer to Venice, in the mainland territory of Treviso, the Dominican chapter house at S. Niccolò was decorated in 1352 by Tommaso da Modena with an elaborate ‘portrait’ cycle of distinguished Dominicans. Beneath the portraits are medallions containing the names of the Dominican provinces and of the masters-general of the order. Like the portrait cycle in the Venetian Sala, the chapter house cycle at Treviso optimistically leaves blank space for the addition of future Provinces.⁸¹ The Dominican portraits, like the ducal ones, present a chronologically united image of the institution they represent in the space where the most important decisions of the institution were made.⁸² Debra Pincus might argue that in Venice this form of official portraiture, glorifying the institution of the *dogado*, had already found expression in ducal tombs, which by the *trecento* had become less emblematic of a specific individual or family and more a “piece of state apparatus...”, built for the honour of the city and its greatest public institution. I suggest that such imagery could be read in this manner only within these

⁸⁰In the late Middle Ages, it had also become popular for Northern Italian princes and nobles to decorate their residences with portraits of historical and legendary people from ancient, biblical, or courtly history. The *Sala di Viri Illustres* in the Paduan Reggia of the late *trecento* certainly fits this tradition, as do similar earlier cycles of famous men painted for Robert of Anjou at the court of Naples in 1332, and for Azzo Visconti, who in 1340 commissioned a cycle of illustrious pagan princes which included Charlemagne and himself. In Verona, the Scaligeri palace was decorated with an elaborate cycle of medallion portraits of historical men atop a historical narrative of the ‘Jewish War’. The Venetian Sala was decorated in keeping with this fashion. See Martindale, “The Venetian Sala del Gran Consiglio and its Fourteenth-century Decoration,” 29. Frederic C. Lane, “Enlargement of the Great Council,” in *Studies in Venetian Social and Economic History*, eds. Benjamin Kohl; Reinhold Mueller, (London, 1987): 237-73. See also Mommsen, “Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum illustrium in Padua,” 113.

⁸¹ Robert Gibbs, *Tommaso da Modena: Painting in Emilia and the March of Treviso* (Cambridge, 1989). 68.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 72.

public institutions.⁸³ Venice, in the decoration of its civic council hall, was committed to propagating a myth of itself as a just and glorious Republic that united, in its civic structure, the best of all types of government.⁸⁴ In this environment the person and office of the doge is elevated to a status, equal in noble dignity to emperors and kings.⁸⁵ The portrait cycle of doges in the ducal palace programme reflects this change, conceptualizing the doge not as an individual, hereditary prince but as an institutional one at the service of his court. This did not necessarily translate to non-state settings.

In the Piazza S. Marco – the most obviously public part of the state complex- the display of a doge in portrait was strictly controlled. In the context of the piazza, the only acceptable representation of the doge was kneeling before the lion of S. Marco. Between 1404 and 1536, three doges - Michele Steno, Francesco Foscari, and Andrea Gritti - were represented in this manner (Fig. 26).⁸⁶ The small freestanding sculpture of Doge Antonio Venier kneeling (1382-1400), now in Museo Correr, may have been a part of a larger arrangement originally above an interior portal in the ducal palace that may have also included the Steno family heraldry (Fig.27; cat. no. 39).⁸⁷ In fact, before the *quattrocento*, a formal decree had never been issued prohibiting, in any way, the display of the doge's own effigy or heraldry in public.⁸⁸ The *dogado* of Doge Michele Steno, was marked by

⁸³ Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 1-2.

⁸⁴ David Rosand, "Venetia figurata: The Iconography of a Myth," in *Interpretazioni veneziane: Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. David Rosand (Venice, 1984). 177.

⁸⁵ Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. 115-116.

⁸⁶ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 100.

⁸⁷ Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. Vol. 1, 220. ?

⁸⁸ As in Florence, where in 1329 a decree was issued prohibiting members of government to affix on public palazzos and gates to the city "aliquam picturam seu sculpturam alicuius imagines vel armorum in muro, lapide vel pariete" Giovanni Gaye, *Catoggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, 3 vols. (Firenze, 1839-40) 473s. Cited in Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 100.

his penchant for raising his family heraldry, both in and on the ducal palace and throughout Venice and its territories.⁸⁹ In a move similar to that taken after Doge Andrea Dandolo's death, edicts were produced after Steno's death in 1413, to control any future wanton placements of family heraldry outside of the ducal palace.⁹⁰ Steno's love of displaying his family heraldry, during the thirteen years of his reign, seems to indicate that familial expressions were, by the end of the fourteenth century, if not approved of, at least tolerated even in locations belonging to the state.

Andrea Dandolo: A Case study of Ducal Patronage and Donor Portraiture

Doge Andrea Dandolo reigned in a difficult period of war, uprising, and plague before succumbing to the Black Death in 1354. Although unpopular during his tenure as doge (1342-54), today he is seen as one of the most intellectual and patriotic doges in the history of the Republic. A recent article by Hans Belting on Dandolo's art patronage in Venice continues in this tradition. Belting describes the doge as a Venetian nationalist threatened by mainland noble culture, and argues that the Byzantine style of Dandolo's

⁸⁹ A free-standing portrait of Michele Steno kneeling before the lion of St. Mark was erected over the balcony of the south façade of the ducal palace during his reign. The sculpture was destroyed during the French occupation and is now only recorded in Grevembroch's 1754 drawings where one can see the Steno heraldry consisting of a single star. Steno also raised his coat of arms on the torre dell'orologio in Padua and on the façade of the campanile of the church of S. Giovanni Elemosinario in Venice. In the case of the collapsed campanile of S. Giovanni Elemosinario a provision of funds for rebuilding are noted among trade matters in senate proceedings from this period. [ASV Senato Misti, reg. 45 (copia), f.62v., 21 Luglio 1400.] As cited in Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500* (New Haven, 2000), 119. See also Alberto Rizzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia: corpus delle sculture erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della sua laguna* (Venezia, 1987). 339, SP 51. Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 103.

⁹⁰ Although the restricted display of family heraldry with the ducal corno was thereafter written into every ducal *promissione*, relatives of the doge were expressly excluded from these restrictions. Martin Gaier notes that the Grand Council did not dare go so far as to restrict the privilege of the doge to erect his heraldry in his own house, but that they wanted to avoid that in future he could erect it "*fuori case*" as Steno did. Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 103.

projects formed an official art style that was meant to reflect Venice's unique identity and history.⁹¹ Belting also notes that Byzantine hybridism in Venetian art of the *trecento* was found mainly in state art, and that private art in the city favoured Gothic or Giottesque idioms.⁹² The degree to which Andrea Dandolo's S. Marco projects reflect a purely nationalist ideology both in style and in intention, will be the subject of the following case study.

During his reign, Dandolo gathered around him a circle of eminent humanists including his Grand Chancellor Benintendi Ravagnani and Francesco Petrararch. Through his writings and public projects, he fostered the notion of Venice as a paragon of European republics: stable, aristocratic, and a place where its citizens contentedly accepted the social hierarchy.⁹³ In addition to his writings on the history of Venice in the *Chronica Extensa* and *Chronica Breva*, Dandolo's reign was marked by a considerable amount of art patronage in the basilica of S. Marco. This patronage included new liturgical books, the re-fitting of the Pala d'Oro, the Pala Feriale by Paolo Veneziano, and two serpentine marble columns on either side of the high altar, between which a curtain was hung to conceal and reveal the altarpiece. He also commissioned an elaborate mosaic decorative programme for the chapel of S. Isidore and a large-scale donor portrait of himself in the baptistery of S. Marco; at his death his tomb monument was eventually placed in the latter space. The scale, style, and ambition of these projects are significant clues to the reconstruction of Dandolo's motives. Although Debra Pincus has viewed

⁹¹ Belting cites Dandolo's September 7, 1354 letter to Petrararch in which he "...felt his patriotism threatened and did not want to sacrifice it to the Italian menace." See Belting, "Dandolo's Dreams: Venetian State Art and Byzantium," 147.

⁹² Ibid., 140

⁹³ Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. 304.

these projects as reflections of a larger context of state glorification, I suggest that Dandolo's S. Marco projects may also reflect something more complex taking place in the city.

The mosaic of the crucifixion decorating the east wall of the baptistery in S. Marco includes one of the most audacious donor portraits in fourteenth-century Venice. It depicts Dandolo kneeling in his ducal robes at the foot of the crucifixion with his Grand Chancellor, the *cittadino* Benintendi da Ravagnani, and a young unidentified nobleman (Fig. 28; cat.no.8). This combination of Byzantine *deesis* iconography and donor portraiture would be emulated in Venice on ducal tombs (Fig. 14; cat. no. 4) and convent church facades (Fig. 101; cat. no. 53 and cat. no. 22). The portraits are also reminiscent of the mosaics of royal donors seen in the Byzantine churches of Serbia and Croatia and even of the imperial portraits in S. Vitale, Ravenna.⁹⁴ Though the three portraits have been interpreted as symbolic of the combined offices of government in the Venetian state, it is more likely that, like other donor portraits of this period, they represent the specific individuals involved in the commission.⁹⁵ Although Dandolo's noble and youthful (clean shaven) physiognomy conforms to the general conventions of doge portraiture in the early fourteenth century, the use of naturalistic details in the mosaic portrait of Dandolo, though probably not intended to convey an exact likeness, underscore his participation in the patronage of the church not only as doge, but also as an individual. This naturalistic treatment of the physiognomy of significant donors is also a hallmark of mainland

⁹⁴ This image is unique in Venice and seem to be in the spirit of the thirteenth-century Genesis mosaics in the narthex of the same church, which are believed to have been copied from the fifth or sixth-century Cotton Genesis (London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B VI).

⁹⁵ Brown, "Committenza e arte di stato," 800.

aristocratic courts.⁹⁶ A similar interest can be seen in Verona, where the distinctive features of donors Guglielmo Castelbarco and Friar Gusimero in the Franciscan church of S. Fermo, (Fig. 7) and in Vicenza, where the physiognomy of the dwarf, Pietro da Manero, above the central portal of the church of S. Lorenzo (Fig. 19) is neither idealized nor remote.⁹⁷ In placing his portrait in the prominence of the baptistery, a building project that he oversaw during his years as a procurator, Andrea Dandolo makes a similar visual statement about his personal contributions to the location; just as Fina Buzzacarina, the consort of Padua's ruler Francesco "il vecchio" da Carrara, would do only a few decades later in the baptistery of Padua's duomo (Fig. 89). Andrea Dandolo's donor portrait in the baptistery of S. Marco indicates that donor portraiture as a means of connoting personal interest in a space had spread from purely familial and private contexts to official state spaces. This portrait along with Dandolo's other projects in S. Marco commemorates his extensive personal patronage of the church.

Indeed, his patronage was both generous and manifold. In an effort to beautify the high altar of S. Marco, Dandolo not only commissioned the everyday altarpiece of S. Marco, the so-called Pala Feriale, by local artist Paolo Veneziano, but also commissioned a re-setting for the revered Pala d'Oro. His role in the latter project is underscored in a long inscription added to the Pala, which gives a history of the piece as a work under the care of a succession of doges:

⁹⁶ Generally ducal portraits in this period, in all media, including ducal *promissione* and other manuscripts containing portraiture, depict the doge as clean-shaven, with a thin long nose. In Caresini's *Cronaca* (c.1383-1386, 305 x 220 mm, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. It VII, 770) a series of eight doges are depicted, beginning with Andrea Dandolo. Each one (except the last, the patron, Doge Antonio Venier) conforms to this stock idealization.

⁹⁷ Bourdua, "Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages".

*...post quadrageno quinto post mille trecentos Dandulus Andreas preclarus honore ducabat nobilibusque viris tunc procurantibus almam ecclesiam Marci venerandam iure beati de Lauredanis Marco frescoque quirino tunc vetus hec pala gemis preciosa novatur.*⁹⁸

In this commission, as with the Marciana service books for S. Marco commissioned some decades later, the doge's long-standing patronage of the church is made explicit.⁹⁹ These projects, though an acknowledged part of Dandolo's larger campaign to embellish the high altar of S. Marco, are also indicative of a wider convention of altar patronage in the churches of the Veneto. This convention saw elites obtain and cultivate the *jus patronatus* of chapels and altars in most of the region's significant monastic churches. In the church of S. Antonio in Padua, for instance, documents record a continual negotiation between the Franciscan friars and local patrons over the decoration of the high altar and the provision of vestments, chalices, missals, and other accoutrements of mass.¹⁰⁰ In Verona, Cangrande II della Scala commissioned a panel for the high altar of S. Anastasia that included his donor portrait and that of his wife Taddea da Carrara (Fig. 51). Andrea Dandolo's patronage of the high altar of S. Marco is thus very much in keeping with a general expression of elite church patronage in the area. Indeed, the right of the doge to exclusive *jus patronatus* of S. Marco was underscored by Dandolo in the *pro cappellanis ecclesie Sancti Marci venetarum*, dated to June 6, 1353, in which, as Debra Pincus notes,

⁹⁸ "In the year 1345 the honourable and eminent leader Andrea Dandolo along with the noble procurators of the blessed church of Mark Beatus, Loredan and Marco ? Querini sought to correctly honour this old panel which was (decorated) with precious gems." My translation. Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in Mid-Trecento Venice". 233. For more information on the Pala d'Oro see John Osborne and David Buckton, "The Enamel of Doge Ordelafo Falier on the Pala d'Oro in Venice," *Gesta* 39 (2000).

⁹⁹ Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in Mid-Trecento Venice". 233.

¹⁰⁰ See Bourdua, "Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages".

Dandolo refers continually to the ducal right to determine construction, decoration, and burials in S. Marco.¹⁰¹ In addition, although Andrea Dandolo is generally discussed in the literature as a proto-humanist, Raneé Katzenstein points out that these commissions, which were intended to create a unified stage for the celebration of mass at S. Marco, combined with his interest in acquiring relics for the church, suggest rather more personally spiritual pursuits.¹⁰² The distinctly spiritual turn in Dandolo's art patronage is made more poignant in light of the spectre of plague that continued to devastate the city in re-occurring bouts, and eventually claimed Dandolo's own life.

His request for burial in the church that benefited from so much of his patronage is yet another reflection of the personal ties Dandolo sought to establish and cultivate with the state church of S. Marco. Unlike previous doges buried in S. Marco, Dandolo made a specific request for the placement of his tomb: he requested not that it be placed among the other doges in the narthex, but in the chapel dedicated to S. Giovanni Evangelista in the north transept of the church.¹⁰³ Although he had to leave the final decision to the *procuratori*, who chose to place him instead in the peripheral baptistery, the request is an extraordinary one since it would have placed his tomb in a position of honour to the right of the high altar. Though Pincus identified this as extraordinary because of the visual associations that would be made between the doge and the

¹⁰¹ Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 133.

¹⁰² This is Katzenstein's response to scholars like Hugo Buchthal and Fritz Saxl who lamented that Andrea Dandolo's art patronage did not reflect his humanist leanings Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in Mid-Trecento Venice". 245-8.

¹⁰³ *Item eligimus sepulturam nostram in ecclesia Sancti Marci ubi melius placuerit Domino et procuratoribus Sancti Marci, sed libenter vellemus pro consolatione anime nostre esse in Cappella Sancti Joannis Euangeliste et quad ibi fiat sepulcrum in loco decenti et secundum honorem ducatus, in ornatum et non deformitate ecclesie*. In Lazzarini, "Il testamento del Doge Andrea Dandolo," 143.

evangelist, there is yet another aspect of this placement that is remarkable.¹⁰⁴ Elsewhere in medieval Europe, similarly prominent placement of tombs was the exclusive right of royalty or major church patrons. In Naples, for instance, the tomb of Catherine of Hapsburg (1295-1323), the first wife of Charles, Duke of Calabria, was set to the right of the high altar in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore.¹⁰⁵ In Venice, there was no church more prominent or symbolically important than S. Marco, not even the official cathedral, S. Pietro, which was located in a remote part of Castello. These facts make Dandolo's request even more remarkable. Furthermore, Dandolo's tomb with its elaborate canopy, effigial sculpture, and sarcophagus carved with scenes from the life of S. Andrea and S. Giovanni Evangelista, emulates the courtly style of ruler tombs seen on mainland Italy and in Northern Europe. Similar tomb monuments had already become the norm in established court cultures like Scaligeri Verona and Carrara-ruled Padua (Fig.29).¹⁰⁶ Through Dandolo, these characteristics became the norm in Venice as well; although carved sarcophagi had been introduced well before Andrea Dandolo's tomb, his was the first ducal tomb to contain an effigy. It is telling that most ducal tombs that followed in the *trecento* also contained effigial sculpture. The circumstances surrounding the inscription that was to accompany Dandolo's tomb monument are also interesting. The inscription that can still be read today beneath the sarcophagus is very much in keeping

¹⁰⁴ Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 135.

¹⁰⁵ Julian Gardner, "A Princess among Prelates: A Fourteenth-Century Neapolitan tomb and its French Connexions," *Roemisches Jahrbuch fuer Kunstgeschichte* 23 (1988).

¹⁰⁶ Examples can be seen in the tombs of Ubertino and Jacopo da Carrara (1345 and 1350 respectively), which were originally placed in the church of S. Agostino where the da Carrara family had particular patronage rights (both are now in the church of the Eremitani, Padua). The tomb of Cangrande II della Scala in the churchyard of the Scaligeri family church of S. Maria Antica, Verona and the tomb of Guglielmo da Castelbarco on the façade of S. Anastasia, Verona are similarly decorated.

with other ducal inscriptions in its mention of honourable deeds performed for his country. It states:

*Ingenivm penetrans/ Modvs ataqve profaminis alti/ nobilitatis opvs/ morvm series
qve venvsta/ honores/ et qvia clara sonat popvlis sva gesta per orbem plvra sinit
calamvs merito recitanda notare/dandvla qvem soboles peperit generosa/dvcatvm
Andream omnimoda venetvm ratione/merentem septima dumvq dies septembris
mille tre[c]entos [q]vatvor at decies iam qvinque dedisset obivit¹⁰⁷*

However there was a second epitaph, written by Francesco Petrarch at the request of Chancellor Benintendi Ravagnani, which was not used:

*En domus Andrae Veneti Ducis iltima quanta est/Alta sed assurgens apiritus astra
tenet./ Publica lux jacet hic, et quartum sidus honorum/ Stirpis Danduleae Gloria
prims Ducum./Hunc animi vigilem temeraria Graecia sensit/Et levis antiquo
redita Creta jugo./ Hunc comes Albertus Tyrolis nostra perurgens/Vastatis
propriis qui meruit veniam./ Hunc Justinopolis fervens et Jadra rebellis/
Pertimuere trucem, percoluere pium./Hic Januam bello claram, pelagoque
superbam/ Fregit ad Algerium, servitioque dedit./ Justus, amans patriae, magnos
cui fecit amicos/Ingenio praestans, eloquio omnipotens.¹⁰⁸*

¹⁰⁷ “This small space of a cold tomb contains the limbs of that valorous one whom the venerable army of virtues never deserted. Tenets for him were probity, judgment, penetrating intelligence, moderation and deeds of nobility of high renown, and noble work. He secured for the country long-lasting honor for which he is worthy of memory. And because his shining deeds resound to the nations throughout the world, The pen allows the recording of many meritorious things worthy of recounting Andrea, whom the noble house of Dandolo gave birth to, Worthy in every respect of the Venetian state. When the seventh day of September, in one thousand and three hundred and fifty four had passed, he died.” Translation and transcription by Debra Pincus. See Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 138-143.

¹⁰⁸ “Behold the final home of Andrea, Doge of Venice, how great it is! But his rising spirit occupies the stars on high. The public light lies here, and the fourth constellation of honors. The first glory of doges from the line of Dandolo. Him reckless Greece perceived as alert of mind and fickle Crete, returned to its ancient yoke. Of him, Count Albert of Tyrol, threatening our territories earned forgiveness after his own had been laid waste. Seething Capodistria and rebellious Zara greatly feared him when grim, revered him when kind. He smashed Genoa, famed in war and haughty at sea, near Alghero, and gave it to subjection. Just lover of his country, for which he made great friends, extraordinary in talent, all powerful in eloquence.” Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae, antiqua monumenta nunc etiam primum editis illustratae*. v.10,131. as cited and translated by Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 144-45.

It has been suggested that Petrarch's epitaph was not used because it arrived too late; however, the possibility that it was rejected as unsuitable is also plausible.¹⁰⁹ In contrast to the subdued praise and conventional language of the final epitaph, Petrarch's epitaph is an encomium in honour of a great ruler in the ancient tradition. The latter is in keeping with Dandolo's own self-fashioning as a courtly prince.

His testamentary request that his wife, the Dogaressa Francesca Morosini Dandolo, be allowed burial with him in S. Marco, is further evidence of Dandolo's perception of the role of the doge. This separates him from the other doges buried in S. Marco, none of whom planned equally elaborate tomb monuments or made similar burial requests. The absence of the dogaressa from the other ducal tomb monuments of S. Marco, both physically and in portrait or even name, indicates that the basilica, although sometimes appropriate for a doge, was not considered an appropriate place for a dogaressa's interment.¹¹⁰ The body of the dogaressa, even more than the body of a doge, was the property of her husband's or her father's family, never the state and, as such, its presence in the state church could only invoke dangerous familial associations.¹¹¹

Like many other *dogaressa*, Francesca Morosini Dandolo (d.1373) was named an executor of her husband's will along with his brother Simone, his sons and, unusually, his sister.¹¹² At her death several decades later, she requested and was granted burial in the family tomb at S. Giovanni in Torcello. However, the fact that Dandolo wanted his wife to be buried in S. Marco along with him suggests that he saw S. Marco as a family chapel

¹⁰⁹ Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. 190. Dandolo, "Chronica per extensum descripta," XXVIII.

¹¹⁰ The one possible exception is the tomb of Dogaressa Felicia Michiel in the narthex of the church, which is, along with that of her husband Doge Vitale Falier (1084-96), considered to be a founder's tomb.

¹¹¹ For more on the burial of the dogaressa see Chapter 6 or Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*.

¹¹² Lazzarini, "Il testamento del Doge Andrea Dandolo," 142-3.

for the doge. Again, this would not have been unusual on the mainland where churches and oratories often functioned as mausolea for ruling families. The Scaligeri of Verona had the church of S. Maria Antica, and the da Carrara of Padua were traditionally entombed in S. Agostino. Later in the century, the baptistery of the Duomo of Padua, also housed da Carrara ruler tombs. In Venice, the location of the dogaressa's interment was often symbolic of family and personal interests, a fact that is underscored by the inclusion of her portrait in these monuments. As such, one can only imagine what the reaction to Dandolo's request must have been. Indeed, he had no option but to leave the final decision for both the placement of his tomb and the permission for his widow's burial with him, to the *procuratori*, who denied his wishes on both counts. Reaction to Dandolo's burial request is further revealed by the edict written into his successor Doge Marino Falier's *promissione* of 1354, which prohibited personal memorials of doges in S. Marco. Susan Steer has made the plausible suggestion that Dandolo's ostentatious and proprietary art patronage in S. Marco, particularly his donor portrait and tomb monument, may have contributed to the prohibition.¹¹³

The attempted coup of Marino Falier only a year later makes a pertinent postscript to the case study of Andrea Dandolo. It indicates that in this transitional period in the republic, while the new elite struggled to consolidate, there was still potential for despotic rule by one of the "old" noble families. On the mainland, most of the communal governments had already fallen under the rule of one family, and in Venice two attempted coups within fifty years of one another, in both cases instigated by members of old nobility, had been narrowly thwarted. As the new noble families gained their footing in

¹¹³ See Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)". 23.

government the opportunities for doges' to express personal interest in state contexts, as Dandolo had done, were increasingly curtailed. Taken together, Dandolo's art patronage in S. Marco, the high altar in San Marco, his prominent donor portrait in the mosaics of the baptistery, the ambition of his intended tomb monument, as well as his embrace of courtly northern European tastes in its execution, all indicate a personal interest in representing himself not just as an elected leader of the republic, but also as its noble ruler with explicit patronage rights to the civic church.

Even in his family concerns, Andrea Dandolo's actions were those of a man determined to establish himself on a par with aristocratic conventions. Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan points out that Doge Andrea Dandolo's 1353 testament is powerful written proof of his feeling of responsibility, not only to his family members but also to the larger *casada* of Dandolo. In it, he makes provisions for his closest family, including his widow but also – significantly – for the members of his lineage in need:

*item dimittimus ducatos CC. dividendos inter pauperes viros et feminas de ca Dandolo. Residuum vero dividatur in duas partes quarum una detur nostris pauperibus de ca Dandolo*¹¹⁴

Indeed, there is significant evidence that suggests that Andrea Dandolo was more than casually interested in styling himself as the head of the *ca*' Dandolo. One way in which he did this was to develop a Dandolo family compound at Ca'Farsetti in the parish of S. Luca. In doing so, he visually established the family seat of a noble Venetian house of

¹¹⁴ "As well we give 200 ducats to divide between the poor men and women of the Dandolo clan. The rest, however, should be divided in two parts of which one should be given to our poor of the Dandolo clan." See Lazzarini, "Il testamento del Doge Andrea Dandolo," 139-41. Crouzet-Pavan, "*Sopra le Aque Salse*" *espaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol. 1, 398.

doges. Dandolo's actions, in the first half of the fourteenth century, are a harbinger of the Grand Canal family palaces and compounds that would dominate the fifteenth century and have traditionally been identified as beginning with the Contarini Ca'd'Oro and Doge Francesco Foscari's Ca'Foscari.

Though Doge Enrico Dandolo and his son Falier built Ca'Farsetti on the Grand Canal between 1200-1209, the ownership of the *palazzo* and its *magazzini* had been parceled out to various family members in the lineage, by the time Andrea Dandolo came of age. More than a century later, over a period of five years Doge Andrea Dandolo, though not a member of the Enrico/Falier branch of Dandolos, forced the parcel owners to surrender their shares to him. By 1357, three years after his death, all of the parcels of Ca'Farsetti were finally joined to the ones that Andrea had acquired between 1344 and 1351.¹¹⁵ Jürgen Schulz suggests that because Falier Dandolo did not need the Ca' Farsetti when he built it in 1209 - his father was doge at the time which meant he could live in the ducal palace, and his brother, Fantin, was in the church - the value of such compounds was, above all, display.¹¹⁶ The reasons for Andrea Dandolo's purchase and curation of the land as a symbolic family seat was in keeping with his general tendency to style the doge as an aristocratic position that, like its mainland contemporaries, relied on blood ties, lineage, property, and courtly tastes to assert its consequence.

¹¹⁵ Ironically, Andrea Dandolo was forced to surrender the property that he had acquired to his own son Fantin in 1351. See Jürgen Schulz, "The Houses of the Dandolo: A Family Compound in Medieval Venice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 52 (1993): 403.

¹¹⁶ Nor is there any evidence that he developed the lot as an investment income since a valuable stretch of commercial street on the Salizzada S. Luca was left undeveloped. Andrea Dandolo likewise did not need the palace to live in or for extra income.

The notion that depictions of the doge were exclusively a reflection of the office that he held, to the exclusion of any private, familial, or personal concerns, relies on basic assumptions that exclude any yearnings for commemoration, longevity, and family pride. The uses of donor portraiture in the monuments dedicated to the doge in this period were, most often, reflections of these intimate concerns. Even Andrea Dandolo's donor portrait in the baptistery of S. Marco is a commemoration of his extensive personal patronage of the church. Its presence in S. Marco indicates that donor portraiture, as a means of connoting personal interest, had spread from purely familial and private contexts to official state spaces. That such ducal imagery developed concomitant with an emerging status-consciousness among the city's elite is significant, not only for the men who held the ducal office, but also for those who aspired to it – the patriciate class itself.

Chapter 4: Donor portraiture and the “Nobili di Venezia”

In the catalogue of images associated with this dissertation, approximately 48 of the 83 examples can be categorized as individual male donor portraits. Of this total, nineteen - eleven of which are the portraits of doges discussed in the previous chapter - can be positively identified, by name as men from the patrician class of Venice. An additional five can be identified, through various means, as *cittadini* or *plebani* (parish priests). The remaining 24 donor portraits are of unknown men. Some aspects of these images, particularly costume, heraldry, and inscriptions, reflect the prevailing attitude toward “noble” self-representation in the city. Likewise, the aesthetic tastes, political sympathies, and social concerns of the doges were representative of their patrician class. This chapter will not only focus on the issues surrounding the appearance and function of such donor portraiture, it will also explore the various social, political, and topographical factors that contributed to this particular expression of individual interest in *trecento* Venice.

The increasing overlap between the semi-autonomous neighbourhood space and the controlled state space of the city, in the fourteenth century, provides a backdrop for this discussion. Despite the prevailing assumption that Venetians resisted expressing personal interests through portraiture because of their Republican social values, there was no law against portraiture in the city at this time.¹ If we accept the view that Venice

¹ Peter Humfrey suggests that despite a few donor portraits extant in Venice, Venetians were less inclined than their mainland contemporaries to include donor portraits in altarpieces. See Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*. 104, 106-7.

exercised a rabid and pathological control over images that could be construed to be individually aggrandizing, it is clear that donor portraiture did not fall into that category. Donor portraits were extremely popular throughout Western Europe and Palaiologan Byzantium, and affluent Venetians were susceptible to fashions that were standard elsewhere. The effect of unwritten social codes and *mores* is difficult to establish. A wealthy Venetian would have wished to exhibit sophisticated tastes, not only in his style of entertaining, home, and clothing, but also in his art patronage. Images of individual patronage decorated not only tombs, but also church portals, altars, and entrance gates to private *palazzi* in fourteenth-century Venice; their existence indicates that displays of family or individual pride, wealth, and power were part of the normal transactions and compromises of art patronage in the city. Since most of the extant portraiture does not contain any overt state-related imagery, it is difficult to argue that a Venetian, in his personal patronage, held his duty to the state foremost in his mind.²

Campi and Contrade: The Neighbourhoods of Medieval Venice

Medieval Venice was a city made up of a complex web of island neighbourhoods divided first into six *sestieri*, which in their turn were divided into smaller parishes called *contrade*. These *contrade* were linked to one another by an increasingly intricate network

² The exception may be in images of Venetian citizens who were residing outside of Venice. Often in such cases their Venetian citizenship is emphasized in the inscription. One could acquire Venetian citizenship and live outside the city. In such cases citizenship was considered a particular honour and one that came with a number of privileges. For more on being a Venetian citizen in the Middle Ages see Stephen R. Ell, "Citizenship and Immigration in Venice 1305 to 1500" (PhD, University of Chicago, 1976).

of *ponti, calli, rii, cortili*, and *campi*.³ The labyrinthine nature of the city in this early period, and its organic approach to urban planning meant that contact between Venetians, at all social levels, was often a question of physical proximity.⁴ In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the journey between *sestieri* - from Dorsoduro to Castello, for example - was no insignificant matter. Such a journey required a commitment of time, energy, and patience at levels even greater than those needed today.⁵ This notion of space and distance meant that in the period before the wealth and expansion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Venetians were still very much focused on their local *contrade* as the site of their most significant social and spiritual encounters. Central to these encounters within the *contrada* were the parish churches, and the *magazzini* and workshops that belonged to the economy of a neighbourhood's largest *palazzi*.

Together, the parish church and the *palazzi* of the area's leading families provided a focal point for the spiritual and social needs of the community, one that functioned separately from the state's economy and protection, which by the 1220s was publicly concentrated around the Rialto, S. Marco, and the Arsenale. Although the traditional view has been that the importance of Venetian neighbourhoods declined as power was

³ Bridges, streets, canals, courtyards, and fields (squares).

⁴ For more on the networks of social interaction between Venetians at all social levels see Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. Also, for the topographical expression of these networks in late medieval Venice, see Crouzet-Pavan, "*Sopra le Aque Salse*" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. See also Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*. 112. Howard attributes the density of Venetian urban space to a shortage of building space, to the piecemeal and gradual process of building in the city, and to a possible Venetian preference for the urban model seen in Eastern merchant cities.

⁵ It is interesting to note that in testaments from the *contrada* of S. Barnaba in Dorsoduro dating between 1360-80, testators provide funds not only for distant pilgrimages to Rome, Assisi, and Compostella but also, in almost equal numbers, for urban pilgrimages to convent churches in the *sestieri* of S. Marco and Castello eg: S. Maria Celestia, S. Maria della Carità, S. Trinità, S. Lorenzo, and S. Marco. Though this is undoubtedly a reflection of differences in wealth and personal interest, it can also be seen as a perception of distances within Venice itself. See Crouzet-Pavan, "*Sopra le Aque Salse*" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol. 1, 591, fnt. 107.

centralized in the governmental structure after the twelfth century, the significance that neighbourhoods continued to have in the fourteenth century should be re-evaluated.

Through the system of restructuring in the city, the neighbourhoods of Venice, rather than losing their previous isolation in favour of a unilaterally centralized government, continued to function as sites of social, economic, and spiritual encounters for members of its community.

By the first half of the fourteenth century, Venice had grown to limits that would remain unchanged until the sixteenth century. During this time the scattered settlements of the lagoon were brought together to make one city, and the open lagoon formed the city's walls.⁶ According to Jürgen Schulz, new statutes defending right of way and public property brought the maintenance of streets, bridges, and waterways that had previously been left to lay and ecclesiastical owners, under centralized administration.⁷ The privately owned *cortili* and *domus de serzentibus*, which had once formed the locus of domestic and commercial life within the *contrada*, lost much of their original function, as new public ways began to redirect the flow of the city and to connect the *sestieri* more easily. Within these topographical changes, Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan identifies two spaces that made up social relations in the city: the first was more narrow and neighbourhood specific, it was the space that made up daily life and was used by everyone on the social ladder; the second was the larger concept of the city as an entity, used by and belonging to an elite, but by its very existence relegating those intermediary spheres of contact to

⁶ Jürgen Schulz, "Urbanism in Medieval Venice," in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy: Athens & Rome, Florence & Venice*, ed. Anthony Molho et al. (Ann Arbor, 1991), 422-23.

⁷ Ibid.

decline.⁸ Toward the end of the fourteenth century, the *campo* was reduced in many of its commercial functions in the parish, and was supplanted in these roles by the markets of S. Marco and the Rialto; however, the *campo* continued to stimulate daily parochial life through social and spiritual functions that operated on a plane separate from political ideologies. The increased number of disputes between state and private interest in the matter of urban planning in the fourteenth century attest to these growing pains. Private individuals and institutions commonly financed local land reclaims and disputes in this period were often settled on the side of individual interest. This suggests that the ties between urban space and its traditionally private proprietor were still intact, and that land reclamation was not conceded based on a “grand urban vision”, but decided on site-specific considerations.⁹ Family palaces began to take a more cohesive form, and relationships with the parish church were strengthened in order to allow for a fuller expression of local patrician and wealthy *cittadino* sentiments of ownership in their community. How donor portraiture functioned and was displayed within these topographical tensions is the subject of the following discussion.

Private Palazzi

Next to the parish church, the most important buildings in the *contrade* were the private *palazzo* and *domus de serzentibus* belonging to the neighbourhood’s prominent families. The latter building contained apartments centering around a courtyard

⁸ Crouzet-Pavan, “*Sopra le Aque Salse*” *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol.1, 508-9.

⁹ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 75. See also Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*. 112.

(*cortile/corte*) that were rented to lower and middle class Venetians. They were not only residences but also colonies of artisans, tradesmen, and other workers who rented their living and trade space from *palazzo* owners. As such, the *corte* formed a potent symbol of status and patronage in the community. Although Venetian patrician families could express themselves through dense properties and family complexes (like the Dandolo compound near S. Luca), family patrimony was not always entirely located in one *contrada*.¹⁰ The internal relations inside a family “*casa*” were such that those sharing a particular name could live on either end of the city and have little or no contact. On the other hand, marriage alliances between lineages could forge close connections between families living in different *contrade* or different *sestieri*.

In the Middle Ages, Venetian families increasingly built family compounds made up of attached or nearby *palazzi* in various *contrade* in the city. Using as his case study, the Dandolo compound near the *contrada* of S. Luca, Schulz has recently suggested that increased family solidarity in Venice induced lineage groups to live together.¹¹ In the case of the Dandolo, for example, the properties were not jointly owned or managed as an enclave; rather they seemed to fragment and disperse as the family grew and each holder was able to rent, sell, or bequeath the property as he chose.¹² Schulz suggests that the property had more representational value to these men; as the largest and grandest (stylistically) in the compound, it exhibited the wealth, security, and power of the owners

¹⁰ See Ibid., Vol. 1, 390. and Schulz, "The Houses of the Dandolo: A Family Compound in Medieval Venice."

¹¹ Schulz, "The Houses of the Dandolo: A Family Compound in Medieval Venice," 406-7.

¹² The idea that family solidarity was the impetus behind such compounds is upheld in some ways in the sixteenth century when childless Marco Dandolo bequeathed the palace to relatives on the stipulation that they retain his name and adopt the arms of the Dandolo degli Zii. See Ibid.

for public view, and established its owner as the head of the family.¹³ Indeed, the family palace was the public representative of a family's ancestral tradition as well as its past and future status in the city.¹⁴ The family palace as the embodiment of a family's reputation in Venice was made clear when the Tiepolo *palazzo* was razed to the ground, in a gesture symbolic of the dishonour visited upon the Tiepolo name after the attempted coup in 1310.¹⁵ Although family palaces changed hands frequently and were often owned by different branches, in Venice, prominent palaces attached to prominent men continued to retain their symbolic importance.

As the Venetian patriciate began to conceive of itself as a distinct class, its members embarked upon a process of self-fashioning and display that involved, among many things, a new palace type reflecting their status, wealth, and power.¹⁶ Though many could not afford to invest in this way, those who could, built palaces that were larger than previous ones with expansive halls, wider arcades, richer materials, and finer masonry. The example of the famous Ca' D'Oro on the Grand Canal in the parish of S. Sofia is evidence that, at least by 1417-33, similar expressions of political, social, and economic ambition were not considered out of place. Richard Goy has interpreted the unprecedented private flamboyance of Marin Contarini's *palazzo* with its gilded façade, as an unambiguous statement about the longevity and prestige of the Contarini *casade*, in a period where Marin's father Antonio, sought the position of doge. Goy suggests that the

¹³ Ibid.: 407.

¹⁴ Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*. 134, 168.

¹⁵ The spolia from the Tiepolo palazzo was erected on the church of S. Vio in Dorsoduro in honour of the day – the feast day of the saint – on which Venice was 'saved'. See Schulz, *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice*. 37.

¹⁶ Ibid., 34.

magnificent *palazzo* was planned as the future family seat of the *casade* of a doge.¹⁷ The prominence of the diagonal striped gold and blue of the Contarini coat of arms on the *palazzo* façade was a part of this message to Marin's contemporaries. This message was hindered and then co-opted by Francesco Foscari, who defeated Antonio Contarini in the 1423 election of the doge, and who later built an ostentatious family *palazzo* of his own on the Grand Canal.¹⁸

Deborah Howard has described the façade decoration of medieval palaces as advertising "... trading or military success and... the family's claim to history and lineage."¹⁹ Along with the family coats of arms, kneeling portraits of the owner were sometimes seen above the palace entrance from the street in this period. Although Martin Gaier wonders at the lack of self-celebratory portraiture on the façades of private *palazzi* in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Venice, there are extant examples of portraiture originally intended for medieval palace façades.²⁰ The degree to which these may be understood as "self-celebratory" is an important question. What is clear is that the five donor portraits described in the catalogue were meant for public viewing. These five were originally intended to decorate the entrance portal to the *cortile* (Figs.30-4; cat. no. 11, 60, 70, 79, 81) and a sixth, once decorated the façade of the Palazzo Ducale itself (Fig. 26; cat. no. 83). Passing under such a doorway or gateway to the courtyard beyond, either

¹⁷ Antonio was made a procurator of S. Marco under Doge Tomaso Mocenigo. These dreams of a grand palazzo fit for the *casade* of a doge were disappointed by Francesco Foscari who defeated Antonio in the ducal election of 1423. Foscari himself built Ca' Foscari on the Grand Canal in the 1450s, ostensibly with the same view in mind as the Contarini a few decades earlier. See Goy, *The House of Gold: building a palace in medieval Venice*. 244.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*. 149-50.

²⁰ See Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 98. And Rizzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia: corpus delle sculture erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della sua laguna*. 41.

as a guest, tenant, employee, or family member, placed one under the protection and patronage of the owner. One of the prime areas of contact between these two environments was the *cortile* of the *domus de serzentibus*, which functioned in Medieval Venice, as a social place where Venetians mingled and lived together as neighbours and economic partners.²¹ The decoration of the entrance or gateway publicly identified, not only the owner of a *palazzo*, but also marked the liminal space between public and private domains.²² It is probable that the Gothic portal, now at the entrance to the *calle del paradiso* in the parish of S. Maria Formosa (Fig. 30; cat. no. 11), was originally the portal for a *cortile* of a private *palazzo*.²³ The *calle del paradiso* is an extant example of a probable *domus a serzentibus* located *ad pedem planum*, which was initially integrated into the *cortili* system comprising a series of houses, shops, and studios connected to the principal house. It is characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century model in which space is divided vertically with the principal house and family situated above.²⁴ In its present position, the portal can be traced back to at least 1754, when Jan Grevembroch recorded it in his collection of drawings (Fig. 30a).²⁵ Whether or not it was originally

²¹ Witnesses whose evidence is based on the fact that they lived in the same *cortile* demonstrate this closeness. Documents record statements made by neighbours of the defendant. See Crouzet-Pavan, "*Sopra le Aque Salse*" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol.1, 502, fnt.120.

²² Although the decoration on many of the city's *palazzo* portals are no longer extant, Antonio Vucetich's drawings indicate that the majority of Venetian *palazzo* portals were originally decorated simply with a *scudo* containing the family *stemma*. See Antonio Vucetich, *I palazzi, le case storiche e gli avanzi storici di Venezia, Sestiere di Dorsoduro. Parrocchia dell' Angelo Raffaele* (Mestre, 1896). And Antonio Vucetich, *Portali artistici e storici di case veneziane* (Venezia, 1898).

²³ Deborah Howard suggests a connection between the steep gables of Venetian street doorways and those seen on the facades of Umayyad palaces such as Mshatta in Jordan. See Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*. 146.

²⁴ Crouzet-Pavan, "*Sopra le Aque Salse*" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol.1, 507, fnt.138.

²⁵ Grevembroch, "Monumenta Veneta ex antiquae rudibus, Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jacobini Sen., f. anno 1754.," II, no. 35613. For more on the *calle del paradiso* see also Giuseppe Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziana* (Venice, 1863). 480-82. Paulo Maretto, *L'Edilizia Gotica Veneziana* (Roma, 1960). 60-61.

intended for this position, marking the entry into the narrow *calle* between two *palazzi* in Castello, is a subject of debate.

Also subject to debate is the date of the relief, which is carved on both sides. On the side facing the *cortile* (the only side depicted in Grevembroch's drawing), two donor figures kneel on either side of the Maria della Misericordia. The side now facing the bridge that leads to Campo Santa Maria Formosa depicts the Maria della Misericordia, this time with only one kneeling donor. Both sides also contained coats of arms associated with the old noble Mocenigo family, and the 'new' Foscari family of Venice. Because of the heraldry and the two donor figures on the *cortile* side of the arch, Grevembroch identified the relief as a visual commemoration of the marriage alliance of Pellegrina Foscari and Alvise Mocenigo in 1491.²⁶ Though it is an interesting and even plausible suggestion, there is no evidence to confirm it. By contrast, the side of the relief facing the *ponte del paradiso* has received much less attention, though Wolfgang Wolters has dated it stylistically to the late fourteenth century.²⁷ Again, there is little information available about the image and its donor, although a recent renovation has revealed the Mocenigo coat of arms placed prominently in roundels on either side of the Virgin.

Grevembroch's drawings have preserved at least one other example that may be dated to around the same period. This example was, by 1754, located above the entrance to the *cortile* of the *fabriche* of the Zappa family in the parish of SS. Ermacora e Fortunata (S. Marcuola) in Cannaregio (Fig.31; cat. no. 60). It differs slightly in style from the *calle del paradiso*, and is less overtly Gothic, but the basic formula is similar: a

²⁶ Grevembroch, "Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudibus, Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jocobi Sen., f. anno 1754," II, no. 35613.

²⁷ Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. cat. no. 68.

donor kneels before a saint or the Virgin and child and is flanked by family heraldry.²⁸ In it St. George is depicted trampling the dragon beneath his warhorse as he directs his spear to the creature's throat. To the side of the central image, a donor kneels atop a shield bearing an unidentified coat of arms.²⁹ In addition, there are at least three other extant examples of donor imagery from this period above a *palazzo* entrance gate (Figs. 32-4; cat. no. 70,79, 81). Although there is even less known about these fragments, which are today scattered around the city, their existence is a testament to the existence of the donor portraiture in the city.³⁰ One can imagine that at least some of these examples existed in environments not unlike the *calle del paradiso*, on the threshold between public and private space in the city. These components were a strong part of the Venetian *palazzo* tradition and were probably adapted from the prototype seen in church portals, such as the one marking the entranceway to the courtyard of S. Zaccaria.³¹ The presence of a donor portrait in this context suggests that donor portraiture could represent - in a way similar to heraldry - presence, protection, patronage, and possibly even divinely sanctioned ownership.

The possibility of portraiture decorating the interior of a medieval Venetian *palazzo* is a subject about which we know very little. What we do know is that Venetians before the sixteenth century apparently eschewed the trend for private portrait bust

²⁸ Grevembroch, "Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudibus, Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jocobi Sen., f. anno 1754," 228/III, 35311.

²⁹ Though there is a slim possibility that the kneeling figure was meant to represent the princess in the story of St. George, the prominence of the heraldry and the lack of clear narrative makes that unlikely. Furthermore, no other similar relief carvings of St. George in Venice included the princess aspect of the story, nor was it popular to depict her in these settings in any other context.

³⁰ Two of the three examples are still situated above doorways in the sestiere of Castello and are recorded by Rizzi. Alberto Rizzi and Wolfgang Wolters have catalogued many of the city's extant fragments. See Rizzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia : corpus delle sculture erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della sua laguna*. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*. Vol. 2.

³¹ Goy, *The House of Gold: Building a Palace in Medieval Venice*. 123.

sculptures that had become popular in Florence and other Italian centres.³² Private portrait busts seem to have grown in popularity, in tandem with a competition for high office and a more opulent lifestyle in the Renaissance period. However, there are no extant donor portraits that can be connected with *palazzo* interior decoration. This fact combined with the numbers of extant examples surviving for almost every public context in fourteenth-century Venice, suggests that the genre was essentially a public one, meant to convey a message to a large group of people.

However, the prominence of heraldry displayed in a noble home, both over entranceways and on objects in the house, suggests that the main rooms in a *palazzo* were also considered semi-public spaces, in which a noble put himself and his family on display. Heraldry is also increasingly recorded in inventories of household objects toward the end of the fourteenth century as decorating curtains, hangings, blankets, and other domestic objects, including the *portego* of the receiving room inside a palace.³³ Portraits are never mentioned in these contexts. Although it may be premature to conclude that such imagery did not exist inside private *palazzi*, most *palazzo* interior decoration at the highest level seemed, rather, to include fresco narratives of chivalric or antique histories. In the receiving rooms of the *palazzi* of the da Carrara and Scaligeri rulers in Padua and Verona, visitors to the court were shown decorative cycles telling the histories of great ancient rulers. In Venice, there is evidence from the first half of the fourteenth century of

³² Jacob Burckhardt first posited the view that such sculpture was unpopular in Venice because of its inherent aversion to sculpture types that were traditionally associated with public monuments. Alison Luchs later argued that in sixteenth-century Venice individual and familial loyalty was to the state not, as in Florence, to the glorification of individual character and aspirations. See Burckhardt, "Das Portrait." And Keller, *The Renaissance in Italy: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*. 77. Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and ideal portrait sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490-1530*. 9, 17.

³³ Crouzet-Pavan, "Sopra le Aque Salse" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol.1, 401.

a fresco programme from a private home in the parish of S. Zulian that depicted a series of allegorical figures of the virtues Temperance, Charity, Constancy and Hope seated on thrones (Fig. 35). The fragments are now at the Museo Correr and are some of the only surviving examples of secular fresco decoration in private Venetian *palazzi* from this period.³⁴ Although there is no evidence that portraiture formed a part of this fresco cycle, these fragments are valuable documents that record the similarity between Venetian tastes and mainland ones in the *trecento*.³⁵ Though portrait busts and painted portraits would eventually become popular as images to be proudly displayed in one's private *palazzo*, there is no extant evidence to conclude that portraiture was used in this way in Venice in the fourteenth century.³⁶ However, by 1556, a decree prohibiting all forms of decoration “*festoni, figure, pitture, intagli ed alter simil vanità*”, both inside and outside of private *palazzi*, indicates that by the mid-sixteenth century, such expressions had reached levels of popularity that required controlling.³⁷

“*Piccoli vescovadi*”: Parish churches in Venice

As the central institution of a Venetian neighbourhood, the parish church formed the nucleus of *campo* life. Diverse communities of artisans, trades, and servants were

³⁴ Brown, *Venice & Antiquity: The Venetian sense of the Past*.

³⁵ The only extant Veneto example of donor portraiture created for the interior of a private palace that includes traditional kneeling or votive donor portraiture is in the fortified palace of Cangrande della Scala II (1351-59) in Verona (now the Museo Castelvecchio). These frescoes are believed to have decorated the private chapel of the castle.

³⁶ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven, 2004). 17-19.

³⁷ [ASV, Senato Terra, reg 40, fol. 159, 9 January 1556, MV.] As cited in Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 99, ftnt. 346.

grouped in an intricate and socially heterogeneous web extending from the parish church and its *campo*, which was socially organized around prominent families. As the *campi* were gradually reattached to a network of public *calli* connecting the *contrade*, and were subject to greater state jurisdiction, the importance of these intimate neighbourhood spaces is understood to have declined.³⁸ Nevertheless, in the fourteenth century, the *campo* did not so easily give up its social, religious, and symbolic investments in the topography of the city. The major noble or *cittadino* houses in a *contrada* were still generally constructed opposite the parish church, and their windows and balconies opened out onto the *campo*. Although each *campo* was different in its human density and its commercial and artisan functions, families in the area were attracted to this prominent placement as a symbol of their past, present, and future connections to the neighbourhood and its church.³⁹ Although the foundation of the Dominican and Franciscan churches in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries provoked a change in the scale of the sacred topography of Venice, it is interesting to note that, in the construction of their churches, the mendicant orders also sought to invoke the symbolism of the ancient social and religious perimeter of the Venetian *campo*.⁴⁰

The autonomy enjoyed by the parish and convent churches of Venice was the result of a mixed relationship with the Holy See, the Venetian state, and even with the

³⁸ Crouzet-Pavan, "Sopra le Aque Salse" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol.1, 496-97.

³⁹ As well as established patrician families, wealthy *cittadino* families like the Ravagnano in the *contrada* of S. Barnaba invested in their *contrade* and parish churches and built large *palazzi* in Venice and on the mainland. By the end of the fourteenth century, their wealth was no longer necessarily based on trading and merchandise. The granddaughters of Marco Ravagnano were given large dowries of 1000 ducats a piece [ASV, ANT, Busta 363, no 643, 1426], a gesture that indicate the importance of future noble alliances for non-noble families. See Ibid., 497, 577.

⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, 499.

citizens of their respective *contrade* and the families of founders.⁴¹ This independence was such an established fact that, in 1663, Francesco Sansovino noted that:

*creati da cittadini e popolani, che posseggono stabili nelle contrade, per vie di suffragij e approbati e confermati dal Patriarca. In soma la qualità delle ricchezze e del governo loro è di così fatta maniera che ogni chiesa di venezia può dirsi con ogni ragione un picciolo Vescovado.*⁴²

The approach to religion espoused by the Venetian Republic meant that Rome was, in most cases, unable to interfere in the administration of the parish churches under its jurisdiction. On the other hand, this right meant that the Venetian state was likewise powerless to interfere heavily in the affairs of local churches. For these reasons, local families usually managed the affairs of their churches through elected procurators. In Venice, where families or individuals originally founded the first monasteries and parish churches, the role of local patrons was of long-standing importance.⁴³ In the earliest period, single families also could own an entire *contrada*, and these circumstances led to the formation of quasi-autonomous communities in or around a parish church.⁴⁴ Although many families lost or voluntarily gave up their *jus patronatus* rights, other parochial churches and convents remained for generations under the near exclusive patronage of the

⁴¹ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 12.

⁴² "...created by citizens and common people, who possess real estate in the parish, by way of alms allowed and confirmed by the Patriarch. In total, the quality of the riches and of their administration is such that every church in Venice with all justice could be called a little bishopric." My translation. Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima, et singolare, descritta in XIII. libri*. 290.

⁴³ The foundation of the earliest churches in Venice is attributed to 28 different families and 19 individuals. Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 14, fnnt. 9. Jill Caskey has attributed the popularity of lay patronage to *mercantantia* in late medieval Amalfitan culture. See Jill Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the region of Amalfi* (Cambridge, 2004) 118.

⁴⁴ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 13-14.

descendants of the original founder.⁴⁵ In some cases, *jus patronatus* was awarded or re-invoked later. For instance, in 1348, the noble Moro family was awarded sole *jus patronatus* of the abbey of S. Maria della Misericordia (della Val Verde), and they remained in that position until the fall of the Republic.⁴⁶ The foundation of these *chiese gentilizie* by Venetian nobles is echoed in a similar form of church patronage popular in Byzantium, where a patron would sponsor the entire construction and decoration of a monastery and as a consequence retain patronage rights over it.⁴⁷ Once *jus patronatus* was established, the founder's family protected and perpetuated its right proudly. The effect of this independent, local, and sometimes private administration on the decoration of parish churches was profound: it created a culture that viewed these spaces as appropriate venues for the expression of individual and familial interests. As a result, their decoration often included imagery symbolic of family interest and ownership, such as heraldry, inscription, and donor portraiture.

Martin Gaier has examined the results of this complex set of circumstances on the façades of various parish churches in Venice from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.⁴⁸ Gaier's work successfully demonstrates that in this period the decoration of these churches was co-opted by local families and individuals in the parish in order to

⁴⁵ For example, the church of S. Giovanni in Laterano in Castello by the sixteenth century was still in the hands of the Nani family who were descendants of the founder. Ibid., 15, fnnt.14.

⁴⁶ Only 31 years later in 1369 prior Luca Moro, in his objection to a visit from the patriarch of Grado, invoked his family's right: "dominorum de cha Moro de Venetiis fundatorum et patronorum ipius hospitalis" Cited in Ibid., 12, 50.

⁴⁷ Sophia Kalopissi-Verti has recently demonstrated that it was considered prestigious for the high aristocracy to found or renovate churches (mainly monasteries). Palaiologan aristocratic ideology required participation in artistic life as patrons, commissioners, and recipients. See Kalopissi-Verti, "Patronage and Artistic production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period," 79-81. See also Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece*. 27.

⁴⁸ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*.

represent personal interests; this relationship, however often it impinged on the combined jurisdiction of the Holy See, the Venetian government, and the desires of the parish priest, was essential to the continuation of parish churches in the city. By the sixteenth century, visitors to Venice noted this independence from Rome and criticized the liberal attitude toward heraldry and inscription on the walls of Venetian churches. For example, in 1578-81 the Apostolic nuncio to Venice, Alberto Bolognetti, observed:

*Pero se hoggi una comunità può ottenere di metter l'armi sue o qualche iscrizione in qualsivoglia muro della chiesa al che molte volte consentiranno I preti o per amicitie, o parentelle o per qualche loro interesse fra venticinque o trenta anni questi basterà innanzi all'avogaria per ridurre la chiesa in servitù...*⁴⁹

As Bolognetti noted, the display of family coats of arms in parish churches had reached extraordinary levels of popularity by the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ In the fourteenth century, priests and procurators likewise allowed the display of heraldry in local churches, especially on tomb monuments. There are two significant edicts pertaining to heraldry in medieval Venice. In 1266, the *Maggiore Consiglio* decreed that no Venetian could henceforth display his arms on badges, crests, banners, and armour, a ruling that suggests that such courtly display had been extremely popular in the city up to that point.⁵¹ A few decades later, in 1310, after the Tiepolo/Querini conspiracy was discovered and quashed, the Tiepolo family arms were prohibited in the city – a measure that was rescinded a

⁴⁹ “If, however, today a community can obtain (the right) to fix their coat of arms or whatever inscription on whichever wall of the church, which the priests often allow either for reasons of friendship or congeniality or for self-interest, in twenty-five or thirty years these shall be enough for the Avogaria to reduce the church into a state of servitude.” My translation. In Aldo Stella, *Chiesa e Stato nelle relazioni dei nunzi pontifici a Venezia: ricerche sul giurisdizionalismo veneziane dal XVI al XVIII secolo* (Vatican City, 1964), 105-313. Also cited in Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, 18, fn. 33.

⁵⁰ Alberto Bolognetti was also the Bishop of Massa Marittima.

⁵¹ The *signori di notte* were in charge of destroying prohibited insignia after a warning time of 15 days.

century later.⁵² Significantly, the first decree pertains only to the use of heraldry on wearable or portable items, rather than building façades, tombs, or church interiors; the second decree affected the erasure of dishonoured families through their most treasured public symbol of honour in the city. Indeed, the display of heraldic arms continued unabated in Venice through to the fall of the Republic.⁵³

Because heraldry, inscriptions, and tombs often symbolized the legal right of a patron in a space, navigating between the need for patronage and the contingencies of placing such personal imagery in a sacred space was an issue of real concern for priests and friars in the late Middle Ages.⁵⁴ The Franciscan community in Padua, for example, placed restrictions on how such commissions were to be carried out. Before chapels were built, altars dedicated, and family tombs placed, they had to be agreed upon by the community of friars, an agreement that was no doubt more easily obtained when combined with a bequest for construction or decoration projects in the church.⁵⁵ In testaments, provisions were often made for an endowment of a chapel, in return for masses for the soul of the deceased and his/her family descendants. In such cases, the items needed for the mass were also provided for in the testament. The desire to reserve a good place in the afterlife was matched by a yearning for posterity in the tangible world.⁵⁶

The situation was similar in the parish churches of medieval Venice. The administrators

⁵² Crouzet-Pavan, "Sopra le Aque Salse" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol. 1. 407-9.

⁵³ After the fall of the Venetian empire, the French and then the Hapsburgs dissolved almost all patrician privileges and status. See Laven, *Venice and Venetia under the Hapsburgs, 1815-1835*.

⁵⁴ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 11.

⁵⁵ Documents from the Franciscan church of S. Antonio in Padua regarding endowment formalities in the fourteenth century, demonstrate that the most potentially controversial aspect of church patronage was the desire to display a family coat of arms either in sculpture or painting. Bourdua, "Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the Arts of the Veneto during the later Middle Ages,". 23-24.

⁵⁶ See Ibid., 201.

of these churches wanted to control the display of individual interest in their spaces as well, but were torn between upholding their independence and needing a patron's money to furnish the church. As the popularity of the Franciscans and Dominicans grew in medieval communities, parish churches were competing for the loyalty of their traditional congregations and became increasingly dependant on financial support from that direction. Any existing qualms about the display of coats of arms, under these circumstances, became less urgent.

Although donor portraiture, on the surface, appears to be a form of imagery that was also potentially threatening to the independence of church authority, unlike heraldry, it is hardly ever mentioned in documents from the period. Despite the fact that the combination of church reform with French and Austrian occupation, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, took its toll on the artistic patrimony of parish churches, the physical evidence still suggests that the genre was popular in late medieval Venice. However, the lack of documents making direct reference to donor portraits makes its exact role in the decoration of the Venetian parish church difficult to ascertain. Even in documents such as the inventory of the *Visite Apostoliche* of 1581, church vessels and altarpieces are never described in detail; therefore, in most cases it is impossible to positively identify exactly which objects were originally located in which chapels. However, it is clear from this document that by the late sixteenth century, the chapels of most parish churches contained a variety of devotional items including candelabra, *ancona* panels, and other costly decorations that were donated and paid for by the parishioners.⁵⁷ It is safe to

⁵⁷ Archivio Segreto, *Visitatio dominorum visitatorum apostolicorum anni 1581*, in Silvio Tramontin, "La visita apostolica del 1581 a Venezia," *Studi Veneziani* IX (1967).

assume that many of the objects for which a definite provenance is lost may have come from these chapels and side altars. Since a sizable number of the altarpieces and relief panels surviving from this period included donor portraits, we can also assume that donor portraiture in this context would not have been unusual. Indeed, the panel of the Madonna del Parto, originally from the convent church of S. Caterina now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice c.1380 (cat. no. 36), is a good example of the type of panel that would have decorated the side chapels of Venice's churches. Similar panels, though lacking provenance, include Paolo Veneziano's panel of the Virgin with two donors, also in the Accademia (Fig. 36; cat. no. 34), and Marco Veneziano's panel of two male donors also with the Virgin and child enthroned (Fig.37; cat. no. 37), now in Moscow. The provenance for painted panels containing identified portraits like that of Venetian noble Pietro da Ghisi (cat. no. 68) and *cittadino* Vuciano Belgarzone (Fig.38; cat. no. 33) are also lost; however, they are of a size and quality that indicates that they too once decorated local churches. Vittore Carpaccio's painting of the *Processione dei Crociferi*, c. 1512, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice (Fig.39) gives us an idealized sense of how the church of S. Antonio di Castello, and indeed any moderately wealthy parish church in the city, may have looked at the end of the fifteenth century. What is clear from this image is how prominently many of the altarpieces for the side chapels were situated in relation to the congregation, and the role that they played as a backdrop for religious ceremonies enacted within.

The façades of local parish and convent churches were another significant area for display of donor portraiture in this period. Relief carvings and tabernacles containing donor portraits were often erected on church façades and *campanili*. Like altarpieces in

church interiors, they provided a backdrop for campo activities, and simultaneously advertised a patron's donation, not only to the decoration of the church, but also to the spiritual well-being of the community. Apart from the decoration of portal *tympani*, like the c.1370 former portal of the convent church of S. Maria dei Servi, now in Capodistria (Fig. 40; cat. no. 55), façade relief carvings with donor portraiture also took the form of Byzantine style relief icons or tabernacles. The iconography, composition, and placement of these panels drew on the relief icons that decorated the façade of S. Marco and were venerated in local churches at the time.⁵⁸ The iconography was often of a standing saint, usually the patron saint of the church, and a kneeling donor figure. Notably examples are found on the façades of the church of SS. Maria e Donato, (cat. no.14) and S. Stefano (Fig. 41; cat. no. 76) di Murano, S. Domenico di Chioggia (Fig. 42; cat. no. 21), and S. Boldo/Agata (Fig.43; cat. no. 62), S. Simone Profeta (Grande) (Fig. 44; cat. no. 10), and S. Andrea Apostolo (Zirada) (Fig.45; cat. no. 78) in Venice. In three of these examples, an inscription is known to have accompanied the image, which indicates that identifying inscriptions were common. The inscriptions identify the donor by name, and their presence suggests that such images were not intended solely as expressions of salvation, but also to underscore the interdependence between patrons and parish churches.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Both the interior and exterior of S. Marco was decorated with relief icons panels, which could also be seen in parish churches like S. Maria Mater Domini. See Davis, "Byzantine Relief Icons in Venice and along the Adriatic Coast: Orants and other images of the Mother of God." Toward the end of the twelfth century in Greece, there were new developments in the location of donor portraits which, were sometimes placed on convent church facades. See Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece*. 27.

⁵⁹ According to Gaier, celebratory facades of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries constructed for the churches of Venice were not demonstrations of the power of the state over the church; on the contrary, the Republic was rather a suspicious observer of these projects. Equally inconsistent is the fact that monastery churches also looked upon the façade monuments as barely tolerable in this period. See Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 69-70.

Surviving Palaiologan icons containing donor portraits demonstrate a similar pattern of art patronage among the high aristocracy of Constantinople and the Balkans.⁶⁰

The final choice of decoration on the façades and interiors of these parish churches was usually at the discretion of the parish priests and the church procurator, who were often elected from among the local noble and *cittadino* families.⁶¹ The office of the procurator for local parish churches developed in the thirteenth century for almost all the *contrade* in Venice. The importance of this position, in the administration and patronage of the church and in the community at large, is similarly documented in donor portraits intended for church façades. The bas-relief carving that survives today over the entrance portal to the church and cloister of S. Caterina on the island of Mazzorbo (Fig.46; cat.no.15), is one example of this. In this image dating to 1368, two kneeling donors are represented as witnesses to the mystic marriage of Saint Catherine. The unfinished inscription that accompanies the two figures identifies them as the Abbess Elisabetta Dolfin and a “procurator”.⁶² Though the significance of the Abbess’s presence along with the procurator will be revisited in a later chapter, I wish here to focus on the presence of a “procurator”. The unidentified figure was most probably the procurator of the church, and as such, a person of administrative importance almost equal to that of the abbess. It is significant that his position in relation to the convent is spelled out so clearly for the

⁶⁰ For example the Icon of the Virgin (early 1300s) currently in the State Tret’iakov Gallery, Moscow contains portraits of donor Constantine Akropolites (d.1324) and wife Maria in the silver revetment. See Kalopissi-Verti, “Patronage and Artistic production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period,” 82-83.

⁶¹ According to Galliccioli, by the Renaissance members of noble Venetian families not always, but often, filled these positions. As cited in Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 16-17.

⁶² *MCCCLXIII die p/rimo de novembrio fo fat/ o questo lavoriero in tenpo del/ la egregia e nobele e regilio / sa madona beta dolphin reve/ renda badesa/ de questo ll ugo siando procurat/or* in Christ’s book: *ego sum lus mundi*. As transcribed by Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. cat. no. 104.

viewer, a circumstance that suggests his level of importance in the community and as an acknowledged patron of the church. Likewise, saints present two kneeling donors to the Virgin and child in the tabernacle of uncertain date located on the façade of S. Paulo Apostolo (Polo) (Fig.47; cat.no.67). In 1815, Giannantonio Moschini recorded an inscription (no longer extant) that identified one of the patrons by name as the church procurator, nobleman Pietro Foscari.⁶³

Parish priests were also interested in depicting themselves as donors on church façades. A non-noble priest (*plebanus*) from the parish church of S. Simone Profeta (Grande), Bartolomeo Ravachaulo, was responsible for the commission of a relief panel originally on the façade of the church (Fig. 44; cat. no. 10). The panel depicts Ravachaulo kneeling before John the Evangelist and includes an inscription, which, in its reference to the panel as an *altare*, makes clear that the panel was meant as a gift to the community as a focus for the public's prayer:

*Honore/ s. iohannis ev[angeliste bar]/tholomeus [ravachaulus] /huis ecclesie
ple[banus fecit] / fieri hoc altare e [t fa] / re uno capetino D. ipso/suis perpetuis
tempo /ribus⁶⁴*

A similar example dated to 1375, on the façade of the church of S. Boldo (Agata) (Fig. 43; cat.no.62), which was demolished in 1826, depicts S. Agata with a kneeling donor who is identified in the inscription, recorded by Grevembroch, as *plebanus* Ieronimi

⁶³ MCCLXXXIII mense aprilis indictione sexta factum fuit hoc opus tempore nobilis viri domini Petri Foscari equitis procuratoris ecclesiae s. Pauli Apostoli; "In 1393, month of April, indiction 6, this work was made in the time of the nobleman and sir Pietro Foscari, knight, procurator of the church S. Paul the Apostle." My translation.

⁶⁴ In honour of S. John the Evangelist, Bartolomeo Ravachaulo priest of this church had made this altar and makes a tribute(?) to God himself in perpetuity." Translation by Georg Christ. Inscription transcribed by Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. cat. no. 26.

Salavo.⁶⁵ Images such as these, and we may assume that these examples were not unique in Venice, attest to the singularly independent circumstances of parochial churches and convents in the city and its lagoon.

Although Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan and others have established the importance of the network of *campi* and *contrade* in this early period, the art produced by this insular and tightly woven knot of interests remains, for the most part, a mystery.⁶⁶ The extant evidence underscores the fact that such churches were wholly dependant on their parishioners to donate the funds for the accoutrements of the mass, for the decoration, and renovation of the church, and to provide a steady stream of funds for church charities and activities.⁶⁷ There can be no doubt that, although these tasks were carried out faithfully by Venetian parishioners, their contributions were rewarded and honoured through the public placement of tomb monuments, heraldry, inscriptions, and donor portraits, in and on the churches. Despite Peter Humfrey's suggestion that Venetians were less likely to

⁶⁵ *MCCCLXXV MS DECEMBR FACTU FVIT OPUS TPR DIS CREPTI VIRI D FRAMASAI DAVA DA PLEBANI ANOR AD IERONIMI SALAVO FRVS 7 PDVRATO...HIIS IISS ECC SDE AGATHE*; "(In) 1375 month of December, this work was made in the time of? Described man sir Francesco Dava and (in the time of) Plebanus Girolamo Salvo 7th of February for a duration?...this church of S. Agatha." Translation by Georg Christ. Transcribed by Grevembroch, "Varie Venete Curiosità sacre e profane opus Jo. Grevembroch (1759)."

⁶⁶ See Bartolomeo Cecchetti, *La vita dei Veneziani nel 1300* (Bologna, 1980). Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. Crouzet-Pavan, "Sopra le Aque Salse" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*.

⁶⁷ Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan demonstrates this through the case study of the parish of S. Barnaba in Dorsoduro. She examines 416 testaments dating from between 1360-80 from that parish, and concludes that most Venetians in the fourteenth century were still very much focused on their parish church. These churches were provided for in legacies that specified funds for masses, construction, renovation, candles, and also directly to the parish priest. The testator in such cases often asks to be buried in the church itself. In cases where testators chose burial elsewhere or left legacies for convents, they were far more likely to be convents, churches, or institutions in a neighbouring *contrada* – that is, in the vicinity. Though Crouzet-Pavan sees this declining toward and during the fifteenth century, as the city begins to conceive of itself as unit rather than as fragmented into neighbourhoods, Martin Gaier makes a convincing argument that these ties were not completely stamped out in later centuries. He argues that by the seventeenth century local families expressed their connections to the parish church through elaborate public monuments on church facades. See Crouzet-Pavan, "Sopra le Aque Salse" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol.1, 567-616. Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano : Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*.

depict themselves as donors in altarpieces, there are, in fact, a significant number of extant examples of this imagery in altarpieces and *ancona* that decorated parish churches at the time.⁶⁸ Likewise, large numbers of donor portraits existed in relief panels for the façades of these churches. However, despite their significant popularity, donor portraits rarely merit specific mention in the documents of the time, suggesting that such imagery was not considered out of the ordinary or special.

Donor Portraiture and Class Consciousness

The degree to which differences in class are reflected in Venetian donor portraiture from the period, may be best understood in light of the fracture between the so-called “old” and “new” noble families that was developing throughout the fourteenth century.⁶⁹ The social maneuvering that marked this political tussle expressed itself mainly in a struggle for control of the *Maggiore Consiglio*. Changes in government reflect an increased social competition among the elite of the city during the *trecento*, which may have also affected donor portraiture in the city.

Indeed, a marked increase in portraiture and the embrace of an opulent lifestyle among patricians is considered a bellwether for social changes. Studies of portraiture in fifteenth-century Venice, for example, often suggest that the popularity of portraiture in

⁶⁸ Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*. 104.

⁶⁹ Traditionally, the election of Francesco Foscari in 1423 is seen as the turning point for the dominance of “new” noble families in Venetian politics, but I would push this back to Antonio Venier’s election in 1382. Venier’s reign was followed by the election of two men also from “new” families, Michele Steno (1400-1413) and then Tommaso Mocenigo (1413-23).

this period was due to increased competition and social anxiety among the city's elite.⁷⁰

This argument is even more plausible for fourteenth-century Venice. Of the nineteen patrician donors whose portraits we are able to identify through inscriptions, seven are from so-called "new" noble families and date to the latter half of the century, as the balance of power began to shift in their favour. The evidence compiled in the catalogue implies that as their power in government was increased and consolidated, new nobles were more likely to express their patronage of a space through portraiture. Although donor portraits were equally popular with members of old families, these examples are more likely to be related to ducal tombs or in the case of Donato Memo (Fig.20; cat. no. 12) and Andrea Zeno (Fig.42; cat. no. 21), with panels identifying them as a *podestà*. Moreover, at least four of the individuals identified through inscription in the catalogue examples, appear to be *cittadini* or *plebani*. Although those with greater status were more likely to commission donor portraits, people of varying degrees of wealth and status were also seeking to publicly represent themselves this way.

The visual evidence suggests that in Venice, patricians were interested in aligning themselves culturally with the noble, courtly tastes seen on the mainland. The tastes and concerns of elite patrons of art in *trecento* Venice were not much different from other elites in the region. The accounts of Martino da Canale, and later the sumptuary laws, indicate that wealth and status were increasingly expressed in Venice through extravagant textiles, jewels, and courtly festivities.⁷¹ However, in Venice the sumptuary laws were

⁷⁰ Pope-Hennessy notes that the fashion for the group portrait in Venice during the fifteenth century grew in tandem with increased status anxiety among the patrician upper classes. See Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*. 22-23. See also Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and ideal portrait sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490-1530*. 17.

⁷¹ There were also sumptuary laws in Florence in this period.

widely disregarded, and the government wanted to avoid jeopardizing the economic benefits accrued from the luxury cloth industry through strong enforcement.⁷²

Further comparison between Venice and the elite art patronage in other European centres from the same period reveals compelling similarities and differences. Some general similarities include: the popularity of Marian iconography, and the use of donor portraits in tomb monuments and altarpieces, as well as the periodic use of heraldry with portraits. On the other hand, in comparison with Lombard, Veneto, and even Palaiologan examples, Venetian donor portraits seem to be significantly less interested in depicting the entire lineage of a family. In the two chapels (c.1360) commissioned by Stefano Porro, diplomat and aristocratic advisor to Gian Galeazzo, Visconti of Milan, both the male and female lineages are assembled before the Virgin Mary.⁷³ Likewise, in the Cavalli chapel of S. Anastasia in Verona, there is some evidence that the portrait frescoes originally included kneeling portraits of the female members of the family as well as the male; furthermore, in the Oratorio di S. Giorgio in Padua, Raimondino Lupi's mother is depicted along with his kinsmen in the fresco cycle (Fig. 9a).⁷⁴ Family portraits were also common in the Balkan kingdoms, where both male and female members of noble families were depicted in the decoration of churches, such as the c.1358 portraits of the Grand Duke of Pashac and his wife, children, and grandchild in the monastery church of St. Nikola in the village of Psaca, Macedonia (Fig. 3). In these examples, the entire family is

⁷²Though many have suggested that by this time sumptuary laws reflected a moral control on society, the economic aspects of these laws cannot be ignored. See Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della repubblica.*; Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries."; Paola Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation, Identity* (Manchester, 1997). 62-3.

⁷³ This may be due to the influence of Northern Europe where this style of kneeling donor portraiture, depicting both lineages, was extremely popular. See Bosisio, *Storia di Milano [dalle origini al 1859]*.

⁷⁴ Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*. 94.

emphasized visually. This rarely occurred in Venice where family pride was more likely to be mentioned in an inscription, epitaph, or emphasized through heraldry.

On first glance it appears that, in Venice, lavish costume was rarely depicted in donor portraiture. However, the low survival rate of the original polychrome on relief panels, the dominant medium in the catalogue, makes it difficult to accurately reconstruct the degree to which costume details were originally depicted. Nevertheless, some carvings, like the tomb fragment depicting the donor kneeling in full armour before S. Antonio Abbate, include clear costume detail in relief (Fig. 48; cat. no. 48). In panel painting, the situation is somewhat different. Unlike portraits of doges whose status is immediately established through the distinctive *cornio* and red and ermine of the ducal robes, other patrician male donors are less consistently attired. In some earlier cases, (Figs. 49 and 20; cat. no. 2, 12), the donor is depicted in simple, sober robes, sometimes edged in fur and with gold buttons, and wearing a hat with a white cap. However in others, such as the painted panel now in the Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, Madrid (Fig. 50; cat. no. 66), the donor is a more finely dressed figure.⁷⁵ This International Gothic painting, with its attention to fashionable details, and its depiction of a luxurious gold threaded textile, is reminiscent of mainland courtly examples, like the polyptych in the *Cappella* del Rosario of S. Anastasia, Verona, in which Cangrande II della Scala kneels before the Virgin in similarly elaborate clothing (Fig. 51). Other Venetian examples that demonstrate an attention to luxurious costume detail include the c.1360 panel by Lorenzo Veneziano, now in the *Palazzo Vescovile*, Imola (cat.no.68) in which nobleman Pietro di

⁷⁵ It is important to note that Francesca Flores D'Arcais disputes that this panel is of a Venetian painter or of a Venetian provenance at all, which may account for this discrepancy. See Mauro Lucco et al., *La pittura nel Veneto: Il Trecento*, ed. Mauro Lucco, 2 vols., (Milano, 1989).

Ghisi kneels before the Virgin in sumptuous red and ermine robes. In a c.1340 panel by Paolo Veneziano now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice (Fig. 36; cat. no. 34) the male donor's robes are lined with a gold, oriental patterned fabric.⁷⁶ Similarly, Domenico Lion's costume in the Lion Polyptych also in the Accademia (Fig. 52; cat. no. 35) and the donor in the polyptych fragment of S. Ermagora now in the Museo Correr, Venice (Fig. 53; cat. no. 47) are not only vibrantly coloured, but also contain textile details. The increased frequency of these sartorial details in donor portraits from the latter half of the fourteenth century indicate that imitation of mainland Gothic tastes was a growing trend in Venice. Although the elite of Venice were not elite merely because of their wealth, but also because of the position held by their families in government, their tastes shed light on a class of people whose desires were barely different from those at a similar social level in court societies. The visual expression of issues like taste, class, and family may have had different emphasis in this period but the essential impetus behind such imagery was not affected by the political systems in which they lived.

Venetian examples of donor portraits also differ, at first glance, from their mainland counterparts in the use of heraldry. In many mainland examples of donor portraiture in various media, the coat of arms of the donor was prominently displayed along with the portrait.⁷⁷ In Verona, for instance, the portrait of Guglielmo da Castelbarco is accompanied unambiguously by his family coat of arms on the presbytery arch of the

⁷⁶ For more information on the use of oriental patterned textiles in *trecento* Venetian painting see Cathleen Hoeniger, "Le stoffe nella pittura veneziana del Trecento," in *La pittura nel Veneto: Il Trecento*, ed. Mauro Lucco (Milan, 1992).

⁷⁷ Notably in Verona, the heraldry of Guglielmo da Castelbarco accompanies his portrait on the presbytery arch of S. Fermo. In the church of S. Pietro Martire (known as S. Giorgetto) the arms of the soldiers accompany every donor portrait in the fresco cycle. And in the Cappella del Rosario in S. Anastasia the arms of the della Scala feature prominently in the elaborate altarpiece. These examples represent only a fraction of the heraldry that is still extant in Verona.

church of S. Fermo (Fig.7), the site of his extensive patronage; and in the Cavalli chapel in S. Anastasia, the Cavalli family arms are displayed above the family donor portrait (Fig.10). Because in Venice, altarpieces were cut down and panels removed, relief panels pulled from portal *tympani* and cut out of sarcophagi, even before the fall of the Republic, heraldry accompanying donor portraiture survives less often. However, there is no evidence that Venetians were less subject to the temptations and tastes of other late medieval people.⁷⁸ Indeed, the tomb monuments of doges like Francesco Dandolo (Fig.11; cat. no. 1), Giovanni Dolfin (Fig. 13;cat. no. 3), Michele Morosini (Fig. 14; cat.no.4), and Michele Steno (Fig.16; cat.no.6) originally included prominent coats of arms, as did the tomb of the unknown knight in the Frari (Fig. 54; cat. no. 82).⁷⁹ Because a tomb was technically the property of a family, tomb monuments and more modest tomb seals almost always included family heraldry.⁸⁰ Moreover, the relief carving originally from the hospital of the monastery of S. Andrea del Lido, depicting donatrix Alixe da Ponte and Prior Marco Minotto, included the Minotto family heraldry (Fig. 55; cat. no. 32). As well, the *calle del paradiso* arch (Fig.30; cat. no. 11) and other *palazzo* or *cortile* entrance portals (Fig.32; cat. no. 70) also regularly included coats of arms.⁸¹ Little of this medieval patrimony is left in present-day Venice, though Grevembroch's drawings attest

⁷⁸ In Italy, the situation was somewhat more open than in Northern Europe. From the twelfth through to the fourteenth centuries, coats of arms were used by cities, merchants, and eventually by Jews and peasants Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family*. 13.

⁷⁹ Jan Grevembroch's drawings, for instance, indicate that almost all of the ducal and patrician tomb monuments from this period originally included family coats of arms.

⁸⁰ Though many of these tomb seals are no longer extant, they are recorded along with their original heraldry in the eighteenth-century drawings of Grevembroch. See Grevembroch, "Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudieribus, Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jacobini Sen., f. anno 1754." I-III.

⁸¹ Since many of these examples are known only through Grevembroch's drawings, it is possible that the heraldry was a later addition. However, those examples from the fourteenth century that are still extant do not imply that heraldry was an unusual accompaniment to donor portraits.

to its widespread popularity in medieval monuments, including the ducal palace (Fig. 26; cat. no. 83).

In panel paintings, the examples of heraldry that survive today are rare. It is difficult, as a result, to ascertain the role that heraldry played when accompanied by donor portraits. Two exceptional examples of Venetian altarpieces with donor portraits, also containing heraldry or evidence of heraldry, are the c.1380 altarpiece by Caterino of a Madonna and child with saints, and an unidentified kneeling donor, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Fig. 56; cat. no. 65); and secondly, the c.1382 panel by Guglielmo Veneziano of a Madonna and child with saints, and two kneeling donors, one of whom is identified in the inscription as Andrea da Coluccio, now in the Museo Diocesano, Recanati (Fig. 57; cat. no 69). In the first example, the simple predella contains an inscription identifying Caterino as the artist and shows evidence of a heraldic *scudo* that is no longer identifiable.⁸² In the second example, the donors kneel to the Virgin's right, next to their coat of arms and the inscription, which runs along the base of the Virgin's throne. It states:

MCCCLX/XXII DEL MEXE DE MARCO A DI/VI FE FAR S. ANDREA
DE/CHOLUCO CITADIN DE VENEXIA QUEST/O LAVORIER GUIELMVS
PINXIT⁸³

The combination of the donor's coat of arms with his donor portrait was a common convention in the period. In the Veneto town of Bassano del Grappa, a painted crucifix

⁸² The introduction of the coat of arms in the frame or predella of an altarpiece is also seen in Simone Martini's c.1317 painting of St. Louis of Toulouse and his brother Robert of Anjou. The family's heraldic symbol, the fleur de lys, is used in the frame.

⁸³ "In 1382 of the month of March at the day 6 Ser Andrea de Coluccio, citizen of Venice had this work made, which Guiglielmo painted." Translation by Georg Christ.

donated to the mendicant church of S. Francesco also includes an inscription as well as a donor portrait and coat of arms of the patron, Maria Bovolini (Fig. 58). In such cases, the donor portrait functions, along with heraldry, as a means of visually underscoring the donor's patronage or right to a space. There are many medieval examples in which family coats of arms above or near an altar are understood to visually articulate the social and spiritual aspirations of a local family; medieval portraiture in these contexts surely functioned in the same way.⁸⁴ In this period, as all forms of personal display were on the rise, public donor portraiture, likewise, functioned to advertise messages of patronage, ownership, devotion, and status to its viewers.

One example of this is in the donor portrait of Bartolomeo Paruta, a wealthy member of the community of Lucchesi, living in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio in Venice. Paruta was admitted to the *Maggiore Consiglio* and thus to the hereditary nobility of Venice in 1381, in honour of his service to the state during the siege of Chioggia.⁸⁵ Around 1407, a low relief carving with his portrait was erected, presumably, over his tomb. The relief depicted Paruta and his wife, presented kneeling by Saints Bartolomeo and Domenico to the Virgin and child (Fig. 59; cat.no.41). The only evidence we have indicating that this carving was originally part of a tomb monument is in an inscription recorded by Jan Grevembroch in 1754. It stated:

Anno domini millesimo ccccvii dei xii mai obit/ egregious et nobilis vir dominus bartholomeus paruta/quondam domini pauli cuius corpus iacet in hoc sepulcro/

⁸⁴ One prominent example is the prominent placement of the Rufolo family heraldry in and around the Cathedral of Ravello. See Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the region of Amalfi*. 175

⁸⁵ For an account of Paruta's admission to the Grand Council see Telesforo Bini, *I Lucchesi a Venezia: Alcuni studi sopra i secoli XIII e XIV*, 2 Vols. (Lucca, 1853-56). Vol. 1, 239.

*suo suorumque heredum*⁸⁶

The title *nobilis vir* is used in Paruta's case, no doubt, as a means of underscoring his new social status. The style of the imagery also recalls the tombs of doges and speaks to a taste among the patrician class that was likely emulated by newcomers, eager to associate themselves with the established noble tastes and traditions.⁸⁷ The case of Paruta's elevation to membership in the *Maggiore Consiglio* is an interesting one, relative to the struggles between old and new nobility in fourteenth-century Venice. It illustrates that newcomers to the *Maggiore Consiglio* – those whose forefathers had not served prominently as doges or *procuratori*, and for whom the tradition of state service as a mark of nobility held less cultural identification – were as liable as their more established peers to use funerary monuments and donor portraits to underscore their social position in the community.⁸⁸ Since the first half of the eighteenth century, the sarcophagus carving, no longer *in situ* as a tomb monument, has decorated a portal in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.⁸⁹ This fact, as well as the presence of S. Domenico in the image, suggests that the tomb was originally in the same church or in another local Dominican church. The carving is typical of medieval art in Venice, which sometimes survived the centuries of church restoration and reconstruction in the city, only to be dismantled, sold

⁸⁶ In the year of the Lord, 1407, the day 12 of May, died the outstanding and noble man sir Bartolomeo Paruta son of the defunct Paul whose corpse lies in this grave of him and his heirs." My translation. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. Vol.1 cat. no. 158.

⁸⁷ The iconography is similar to that seen in the tomb monuments to Doges Jacopo Contarini, Francesco Dandolo and Michele Morosini.

⁸⁸ Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata," 708-9.

⁸⁹ The carving is thought to be a part of the tomb of Paruta and its original placement is unknown. The relief is now above the entrance to the exterior cloister of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in the civic hospital. See Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. cat. no. 158. Grevembroch, "Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudibus, Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jacobini Sen., f. anno 1754," II, fol. 65 (35585).

off, and re-situated. The result is that objects, like this one no longer have a fixed and secure context through which we can better understand their original meaning and function. It is possible to see such images as a form of familial propaganda and a means of publicly adding luster to a new noble name through artistic commissions.

If the so-called Lion polyptych (Fig. 52; cat. no. 35) for the high altar of the church of S. Antonio Abbate is any indication, other members of the ‘new’ nobility found ample opportunity to enhance their personal and familial prestige in the community. Commissioned around 1370 for the parish church of S. Antonio Abbate di Castello, the altarpiece was the donation of Domenicino Lion, a member of the *provvisorio* of the Venetian senate from 1356 –57, who paid 300 ducats for it – an enormous sum at the time.⁹⁰ The altarpiece by Lorenzo Veneziano, now preserved in the Galleria Accademia di Venezia, is an elaborate, multi-paneled work depicting various standing saints. In the central panel, Domenicino Lion is depicted kneeling at the foot of the Virgin annunciate. An inscription accompanies the image:

*MCCCLVII Hec tabella fca fuit et hic affissa p Laurecius pictoresq caninus
scultores itpe Regis ven, viri pni fris Goti d’Abba Tib DR. Lot p. iois et funto
monis isti. Hanc tuis.....s abne triumphato orbis Dominicus lion ego nunc supplx
arte pre poliam Dono pa bellam*⁹¹

⁹⁰ See Sandra Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell’Accademia di Venezia. Opere d’arte dei secoli XIV e XV*, 3 vols. (Roma, 1955). Vol. 1, 9; cat. no. 6.

⁹¹ “In 1357, was this panel made and mounted here by Lorenzo the painter and Qaninus the sculptor of the same realm of Venice, so that you will remember the defunct Father Goto (Giotto) abbot Dominican (?). Therefore I give now additional art for the decoration of the altarpiece (?)” Translation by Georg Christ. Note: Father Giotto was the abbot of the first church and laid the first stone, which was marked on the church façade by a relief panel. (Fig.74; cat. no. 57) Ibid.

Domenicino was the son of Nicolo Lion, a former procurator of S. Marco, who not only contributed to the building of S. Antonio in 1346, but also built the chapel of S. Nicoletto (della Lattuga) adjacent to the church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in gratitude for the healing lettuce from the friars' garden that allegedly cured him of a mysterious illness.⁹² The Lion family was arguably one of the wealthiest and most prominent of the 'new' noble families and their social rise is documented in these elaborate donations and projects which helped to raise their profile in the community. With this elaborate altarpiece, Domenicino Lion not only continues what his father started, but also underscores his family's claim to *jus patronatus* of the space through his patronage of the high altar and the presence of his portrait there.

In this period of status and class-consciousness, these prominent projects and many others unambiguously glorified the position of Venetian "nobles" in society. Wealthy foreigners, non-nobles, or *cittadini* in Venice likewise expressed their desire for greater social prominence through donor portraiture. One example of this is the 1394 panel painting of the Virgin and child with a donor portrait of the *cittadino* Vulciano Belgarzone of Zara by Nicolo da Pietro now in the Accademia, Venice (Fig. 38; cat. no. 33). In the panel, which may have once formed the central panel of a larger altarpiece, Belgarzone kneels at the foot of the Virgin in crimson robes and with a distinctive but unidentified hat on his shoulder. The donor portrait is accompanied by an interesting

⁹² In 1345, Nicolo Lion was in Dalmatia on behalf of the Venetian government during the uprisings supported by Hungary. In 1347 he was made a *consigliere ducale*. In November of the same year Lion notes: *oltre ogni bene, i nostri maggiorei e noi stessi ponemmo cuore e mento alla difesa e alla sicurezza del nostro golfo sopra il quale riposa il bene nostro e dello stato*. See Brown, "Committenza e arte di stato," 802.

inscription, which not only identifies the name of the donor and the artist, but the artist's place of residence near the ponte del Paradiso:

HOC/OPUS/FECIT FIEI/DNS VULCIA/BELGARCONI/CIVIS. YA/
DRIENSIS./ MCCCLXXXIII. NICHOLA./ FILIUS MRI PETRI PICTORIS
DE VENE/ CIIS. PINZIT HOC OPUS QUI MO/ RATUR IN CHAPITE PONTIS
PARADISI⁹³

The c.1360 tomb of the physician and historian for the king of Cyprus, Dottore Guido de Bagnolo, once in the cloister of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and now known to us only through Jan Grevembroch's drawings, makes similar use of inscription and donor portraiture (Fig. 60; cat. no. 63).⁹⁴ Similarly, in thirteenth-century Byzantium, those with less access to money, status, and political agency continued to demonstrate an interest in patronizing their local churches. The dedicatory inscriptions of these churches list humble names, and often their equally humble gifts of cattle, candles etc.⁹⁵ In Verona, Treviso, and Padua, those at a lower level of moneyed society also found a means of expressing their personal and devotional interests through portraiture.⁹⁶ In Verona, for instance, there

⁹³ "This work was made for sir Vuciano Belgarzone, citizen of Zara (?) 1394 by Nicola son of Pietro the painter of Venice. He painted this work which was located on top of the bridge of the Paradise." Translation by Georg Christ. Transcribed by Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*. Vol. 3, 89.

⁹⁴ Giannantonio Moschini records the inscription as: *Physicus hic regis Cypri reni q. salubre / Consiliumq. fuit solers scrutator Olympi / Gesta ducum referens et sic Smone disertus / Philosophia triplex queritur sua damna Qs. unquam / Par sibi veniens Lustrabit tot laudibus evum / Hic studiis haurit qdqd. Parnasia rupes / Intus habet secum virtus humana sepulta est / Quem de bagnolo cognomine Guido vocarunt / A patria regi saxum tenet ossa locatur / Mens supis mundo vivax sua fama sedebit*. Moschini, *Guida per la cite di Venezia all'Amico delle Belle Arti*. Vol. 2, 199.

⁹⁵ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece*.

⁹⁶ There is very little fresco decoration from this early period still surviving in Venice and what fragments do exist do not contain any evidence of donor portraiture. However, the issue of fresco in medieval Venice is one that warrants more careful study and attention. What does survive and where – in parish and convent churches – is significant enough to indicate that it is likely that Venetian churches from this period were also decorated in frescoes like their mainland neighbours. If this is true, then it must also be possible that donor portraiture made up at least a fraction of those images. The problem with fresco painting in medieval Venice is one similar to the study of medieval donor portraiture: both were victims of a peculiar set of

is visual evidence that many of the humble frescoes that decorated the walls of the city's churches were frequently painted over with new donor images once the old ones had stopped attracting candles and donations, a situation that implies a high degree of popularity among the middle classes (Fig.61). However, such images were not the exclusive domain of an elite. At all levels in society there seems to have been a strong interest in self-representation and donation; and for those who could afford it, donor portraiture was an ideal reminder to viewers to witness one's own ability to contribute to church and community.

Donato Memo: A Case study of a Donor and his Portrait in Murano

Central to the reconstruction of the relationship between donor portraits and small churches, are the more obscure parishes in the Venetian lagoon that escaped the reconstruction and restoration of Venice, at the height of its wealth and international power. The church of SS. Maria e Donato on the neighbouring island of Murano provides an interesting case study for this relationship between a patron, his local church, and his portrait within it.

The island of Murano, although officially semi-autonomous, was a district of Venice, governed by a Venetian *podestà* and an illusory *Maggiore Consiglio*. As such it has been considered a suburb of Venice. The first Venetian intervention in the affairs of

circumstances in which enormous economic and political growth created a situation where churches were continually rebuilt according to new tastes and fashions. As such much of the medieval artistic patrimony of the city was lost long before the fall of the Republic. Subsequent church reform and the Austrian occupation of the city further reduced what did survive. I am grateful to Svenja Frank for confirming the use of fresco in the medieval decoration of parish churches.

the island can be dated to 1275, when the first *podestà* was sent under Doge Jacopo Contarini.⁹⁷ This was in keeping with a general trend in Venice toward the increased co-option of its nearest lagoon neighbours in the service of Venetian interests. In 1218, Chioggia was accorded its first *podestà* (governor), and a similar situation was known in Torcello from at least the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth; Murano, Giudecca, Lido, and Chioggia eventually became suburbs of Venice. The islands were also economically colonized by the city as it extended its frontiers in the lagoon.⁹⁸ In 1291, all of the glass furnaces in Venice proper were officially removed to the districts, but already by the 1280s there were references to glass blowers in Murano and by 1289, it is recorded that glass blowers were released from work on the feast day of Murano's patron saint – Donato.⁹⁹ In this period, there was a great deal of traffic between Venice and Murano, a *traghetto* ran frequently between it and the northern *sestiere* of Cannaregio, which turned the island into an alternate economic hub in the area. The presence of a *podestà* allowed Venice to expand her economic sphere and urban frontiers, and Murano ultimately became to Venice what the Rialto once was – a reserved Venetian space devoted to trade.¹⁰⁰

The first church of Murano was built in the seventh century and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The Romanesque structure that stands today is an early twelfth-century replacement of the original church. Work on the existing church was already underway

⁹⁷ ASV, Atti dei *Podestà* di Murano, busta 235; 38 (from XIII, XIV and XV centuries the first 38 buste of the atti studied by Crouzet-Pavan)

⁹⁸ During this period ceremonies like the “Sensa” or marriage of the sea, emerged in order to legitimize this ownership of the lagoon. See Crouzet-Pavan, “*Sopra le Aque Salse*” *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. Vol. 2, 738.

⁹⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, 689-90.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 694.

on August 7th 1125, when the relics of the bishop saint Donato of Euorea and the dragon that he slew were brought to the lagoon as Venetian spoils from Cefalonia. Doge Domenico Michiel presented these valuable relics to S. Maria at Murano, and the church was thereafter known as SS. Maria e Donato. As the pavement inscription tells us, this dedication was made official in 1141. Throughout the Middle Ages, the basilica of SS. Maria e Donato was considered the most important church on the island, and had gained enough ecclesiastical importance in the area to serve as the Episcopal cathedral when the bishop of the neighbouring island of Torcello was away. SS. Maria e Donato was also often at the center of ‘secular’ life in Murano, serving as a stage for public announcements, civic proclamations, confraternity processions, and even executions. As in other medieval Italian cities, the links between the communal government of Murano and the church were strong. The commune administrated the church’s income for upkeep; it hired the chaplains and financed masses. Although Venice left in place the semblance of a communal institution, it was the Venetian *podestà* who directed the administration of the island. The palace of the *podestà* was situated in the same campo as SS. Maria e Donato, which functioned as the parish church of the Venetian *podestà* as well as the cathedral of the island. The example of *podestà* Donato Memo’s patronage in SS. Maria e Donato demonstrates how the relationship between a patron and a church could function.

Until very recently, the cathedral of Murano housed the earliest painted example of donor portraiture in Venice, in the low relief *ancona*, securely dated in its inscription to 1310 (Fig. 20; cat. no. 12).¹⁰¹ The panel depicts an oversized S. Donato rendered in low

¹⁰¹ Though the altar was for a long time housed in the church, it was recently removed to the Museo Diocesano in Venice for restoration and conservation purposes.

relief and flanked on either side by two twisted columns. On either side of the columns are two small-scale kneeling donor figures that are identified by an accompanying inscription as Donato Memo and (presumably) his wife. Memo wears an elaborate hat and white cap beneath, denoting his position and noble class. His wife is subdued in her dress, in keeping with the customary representation of married women in portraiture in the time. Though there is no written record to tell us where the *ancona* was originally situated in the church, its size, quality, and use of bas-relief indicate that it was intended to be viewed from below or from a distance, and at one point, may have decorated the high altar.¹⁰² However, in a Byzantine church it was common for large-scale images of the patron saint of the church to be displayed high on one of the side walls in a special frame or niche so that people could address their prayers to him/her directly.¹⁰³ The Memo *ancona* may also have functioned in this way. The inscription on the panel is one of the most important written documents available regarding imagery in the period. It states simply:

¹⁰² Rahtgens believes that the panel was intended for an altar in the church, although he cannot say for certain if it was the original high altar. The old high altar of the church was replaced in 1695 and at the same time a pala d'argento was also created to decorate it. See Hugo Rahtgens, *S. Donato di Murano e simili edifici veneziani*, ed. Sandro Zecchini (Dresden, 1903). 107. The piece is often mentioned as a starting point in the history of fourteenth-century Venetian painting. Raimond Van Marle, for instance mentions the *ancona* as the first Venetian panel "which is of some artistic value". See Van Marle, *The development of the Italian Schools of Painting. The Local Schools of North Italy of the Fourteenth Century*. 2-4. For other similar mentions of the painting in the history of Venetian painting, see Crowe, Cavalcaselle, and Borenius, *A History of Painting in North Italy, Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Ferrara, Milan, Friuli, Brescia from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth century*. Rodolfo Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Trecento* (Venezia, 1964). Lucco et al., *La pittura nel Veneto: Il Trecento*. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*.

¹⁰³ Nancy Sevcenko uses as an example, the fresco icon of St. Nicholas on the south wall of the church of St. Nicholas Kasnitzes, Kastoria from the second half of the twelfth century. See Sevcenko, "Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as represented in Byzantine Works of Art", 262.

*Corando MCCCX indi/cion VIII in tempo de lo /nobe le homo/ miser Donato
memo honora/ do podestà de/ Muran facta/ fo quest an/cona de miser/ S.
Donato.*¹⁰⁴

The use in the inscription of the word *ancona* or icon is an explicit reference to the original function of the panel.¹⁰⁵ To my knowledge, there are no other inscriptions on relief panels from this period in Venice that refer to the object this way. The more common word used to describe similar relief images in their inscriptions was *altare*, as in the panel of donor Bartolomeo Ravachaulo and John the Evangelist, once on the façade of the church of S. Simone Profeta (Fig. 44 cat. no. 10).¹⁰⁶ The top part of the Memo panel has suffered some damage, indicating that it may have formed part of a larger altarpiece at one time and was cut down. The damaged roundels that once decorated the top part of the panel are similar in style to those known to have existed on relief donor panels in the church of S. Simone Profeta (Grande) (cat. no. 10) and in the cappella di S. Pietro in S. Marco (Fig. 24; cat. no. 9).¹⁰⁷ Usually, these roundels contained images of saints, archangels, and, as in the case of the panel from S. Simone Profeta, figures of the Annunciation. Although the original images contained in the roundels of the Memo panel are now lost, it is likely that they were similar to the examples cited above. This use of

¹⁰⁴ “Through 1310, indiction 8, in the time of the nobleman sir Donato Memo honourable governor of Murano had made this icon of sir St. Donatus.” My translation.

¹⁰⁵ I am particularly grateful to Linda Safran who noted many of the iconic aspects of this image when a part of this research was presented at the Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians in March 2007. Professor Safran directed me toward much of the seminal literature on the subject of Byzantine icons.

¹⁰⁶ The inscription as transcribed by Wolfgang Wolters reads: Honore/ s. iohannis ev[angeliste bar]/tholomeus [ravachaulus] /huis ecclesie ple[banus fecit] / fieri hoc altare e [t fa] / re uno capetino D. ipso/suis perpetuis tempo /ribus . See Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. cat. no. 26.

¹⁰⁷ The roundel in the panel from S. Pietro is still extant and contains an image of an archangel. The Annunciation roundels from the panel of John the Evangelist and Bartolomeo Ravachaulo originally on the façade of the church of S. Simone Profeta (Grande) are no longer extant and are only recorded in Grevembroch’s drawings as the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate. In addition, an example of a relief altar of Venetian provenance now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York likewise contains similar roundels.

roundels on the peripheries of the image is a reflection of the typical use of frames on Byzantine icons, which in the Palaiologan period became increasingly more elaborate. These sumptuous frames contained truncated images of saints, prophets, archangels, and even donor portraits rendered in precious metals and jewels.¹⁰⁸

Likewise, in the composition of the Memo panel, the standing saint, separated from the donors by an architectural niche, echoes this framing convention. In a visual acknowledgment of the iconic nature of the image, the roundels and the donors are carefully separated from the relief image of S. Donato by an architectural conceit. Furthermore, the architectural niche of the *ancona* is carefully echoed in the relief sculpture still extant above the entrance portal to the church itself (cat. no. 14). In it, S. Donato and an anonymous kneeling donor stand in a similar architectural niche, perhaps to underscore the presence of the saint both as icon and relics inside the church. Annemarie Weyl-Carr has recently posited that in icons, this framing device sought to contain and separate donors from the sacred image without marginalizing their contribution to it.¹⁰⁹ The conventional placement of a smaller-scale donor portrait squeezed into the edges of a holy scene, seen in Byzantine painting as well as Latin painting, is a similar, though less formal visual acknowledgment, not only of the sanctity of the image, but also of the privileged presence of the donor in relation to the holy figure and the gift of a holy image.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Some examples of this style of icon from the Palaiologan period include the Diptych of Maria Palaiologina, 1376-84, Cuenca, Museum of the Cathedral, the icon of the Virgin, c. 1300, Moscow, State Tret'iakov Gallery, and the frame of the earlier Virgin Nicopoia in Venice, S. Marco.

¹⁰⁹ Weyl Carr, "Donors in the Frames of Icons: Living in the Borders of Byzantine Art," 194.

¹¹⁰ Nancy Sevcenko cited by Ibid.: 190-1.

The use of a low relief technique in rendering the figure of S. Donato further underscores the iconic nature of the image in a number of ways. As briefly mentioned above, the use of this semi-relief may indicate where the image was originally located. The scale of S. Donato and the dominant protrusion of the saint's head relative to his body further suggest that the panel was seen from a distance below.¹¹¹ This is significant because it echoes the use of relief icon panels in S. Marco and elsewhere in Venice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In a recent study, Charles Davis states that the fifteen or more relief icons in S. Marco surpass those surviving in any Greek or Byzantine churches, and suggests that these icons were not Byzantine spoils but new or re-carved Venetian copies.¹¹² Furthermore, these Venetian relief panels were treated like holy icons inside the church; they were not generally placed on altars or behind altars as *retables* but placed above eye-level, in the "interstices of the liturgical spaces", and lit by swinging lamps to encourage private devotions.¹¹³

In Venice, as elsewhere, painted relief icons were erected both inside local churches (like S. Maria Mater Domini, S. Giovanni in Bragora and S. Maria della Celestia), and on their façades.¹¹⁴ In his seminal catalogue of all exterior relief sculpture in Venice, Alberto Rizzi distinguishes between *tabernacoli* and *immobiliari* relief sculpture, suggesting that the latter were more likely to be moved and to depict an out-

¹¹¹ Thanks again to Linda Safran for suggesting this possibility.

¹¹² Davis, "Byzantine Relief Icons in Venice and along the Adriatic Coast: Orants and other images of the Mother of God," 5-6.

¹¹³ Icons could sometimes be used as *retables*, notably the *Madonna Greca* in the basilica di S. Maria in Porto, Ravenna Ibid.: 20.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.: 20-21.

sized standing saint.¹¹⁵ To Rizzi's statement, I would add that such sculpture from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was also more likely to contain a donor portrait. Although he does not describe them as such, Rizzi's description of *immobilari* sounds suspiciously like the icons mentioned by Davis as decorating church façades in the city. Indeed, the iconography of a standing saint with a kneeling donor, as seen in the Memo *ancona*, was one of the most popular forms of exterior sculpture on Venetian churches in this period. Examples of this iconography were known to decorate the façades of S. Andrea Apostolo (della Zirada) c.1329 (cat. no. 78), S. Simone Profeta (Grande) c.1334 (cat. no. 10), S. Stefano di Murano c.1374 (cat. no. 76), and S. Agata c.1375 (cat. no. 62). In all of these examples, the saint and donor are tightly enclosed in an architectural niche, and the donor is significantly smaller than the holy figure. Of course, these images have their precedents in similar icons from Byzantium, where tiny donors kneel or prostrate themselves before enormous standing intercessors and are either anonymous or identified by a short inscription.¹¹⁶ These relief panels, like the icons inside S. Marco and the *ancona* of Donato Memo, were often meant to be viewed and venerated from a distance, and were usually placed on façades above portals, or on bell towers. The compositional, iconographical, and technical similarity between these relief panels and the Memo panel, especially if we consider that many of these exterior relief sculptures were originally painted, suggests that such imagery had essentially similar functions.

¹¹⁵ Rizzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia: corpus delle sculture erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della sua laguna*. 79.

¹¹⁶ Nancy Sevcenko cites thirteenth-century examples from St. Catherine's, Sinai. See Sevcenko, "Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as represented in Byzantine Works of Art", 278-9.

The earliest extant example in which the relief icon and the donor portrait come together on the façade of a Venetian church is from the other island satellite of Venice - Chioggia. There, dating to approximately 1290-1303, on the campanile of the church of S. Domenico, a low relief carving was erected of the Virgin and child (Hodegetria) with a donor portrait of the *podestà*, Andrea Zeno (Fig. 42; cat. no. 21). On the relief panel, now inside the church, the inscription states:

*Donum-Andreas- Zeno- De Contrata- S[anc]ti Joannis – Crisostomi- Potestas- Clug [iae].*¹¹⁷

Above the Virgin's head is an inscription in Greek letters identifying her as the Mother of God. Zeno is depicted halfway between the frame of the panel and the sacred space inhabited by the Virgin and child. Though it is possible that this panel is an example of a Byzantine icon re-carved in Venice, it is equally possible that the icon was made in Venice for Venetian viewing.¹¹⁸ Certainly, it conforms in composition and placement to the other examples of relief icons. Iconographically, the substitution of the standing saint for the Virgin and child identified by inscription as Mother of God can, surely, only strengthen the argument that this image was understood and venerated as an icon by its viewers. This placement of relief icons in Venice and its lagoon territories is consistent with their usage in Byzantium, where the image was meant to facilitate a direct interaction with the holy image. Memo's painted *ancona* is no different in spirit from the icons produced and donated by the elite in Palaiologan Byzantium. The *ancona*

¹¹⁷ "Gift of Andrea Zeno, governor of Chioggia, of the parish of S. Giovanni Cristostomus." My translation from a transcription by Grevenbroch.

¹¹⁸ Belting, "Bisanzio a Venezia non è Bisanzio a Bisanzio."

represents the presence of the saint's relics and an appropriate focus of veneration.

Memo's gift to the church of SS. Maria e Donato functioned on a number of levels, first as a luxury item that bridged the tangible and intangible, underscoring the presence of S. Donato, not only through his relics but also through his image; second, as a conspicuous reminder of Donato Memo's patronage.¹¹⁹ A similar use of iconic visual conventions to indicate the presence of relics in Venice can also be seen in the previously mentioned relief carving from the *cappella* di S. Pietro in S. Marco (Fig. 24-25). In the S. Pietro panel the saint stands with kneeling donors as a visual reminder of the presence of his relics, which are also noted in the inscription. The sarcophagus lid of *beato* Leone Bembo (c.1321) (Fig.62; cat. no. 38) makes a similar visual connection between the presence of holy relics and icons. In the central panel, Leone Bembo stands before a tiny kneeling donor in a manner similar to the Memo *ancona*.¹²⁰ In both cases, the painted icon of a saint (or would-be saint) is developed to underscore the presence of holy relics. Though Bembo was never made an official saint, this panel makes a convincing case for his sainthood by depicting scenes from his life and miracles. The sarcophagus was originally housed in the little church of S. Sebastiano, attached to the Benedictine convent of S. Lorenzo; it was sold in 1818, along with Bembo's relics, to the Istrian city of Dignano (Vodnjan), where today it is venerated in the church of S. Biagio (Blaise).

Donato Memo's last will and testament, dated from the 30th of October 1312 and preserved in the state archives of Venice, not only tells of the man's further commitment

¹¹⁹ Bissera Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *Art Bulletin* 88 (December, 2006): 1.

¹²⁰ The scenes to the sides depicts scenes and miracles from the life of Bembo who was born in the 11th century to a noble Venetian family and was eventually made bishop of Modena. Later he was captured and enslaved by the emperor of Constantinople. He eventually escaped Constantinople and returned to Venice where he spent the rest of his days at the convent of S. Lorenzo.

to the decoration of the church and renovation of its high altar, but also gives perspective about the type of person who might commission such an object in medieval Venice (**Appendix I**). In 1310, Donato Memo served as the *podestà* of Murano. The position was prestigious and was seen as an important stepping-stone to a career in Venetian politics. It could be held anywhere from sixteen months to a few years, but it appears that Donato Memo held it for a few months between March and July 1310.¹²¹ The inscription and donor portrait on an altarpiece from the church of SS. Maria e Donato confirms that he was in the position in the Venetian calendar year 1310. We do not know exactly when Donato Memo died or where he was buried. However, his surname, title *nobele homo* and political position indicate that he was a member of one of the city's oldest and most illustrious "noble" families. His testament describes him as having a house in the parish of S. Ermagora and Fortunata in Venice (S. Marcuola), and names as legatees his sons Nicoletto, Marco, and Andriolo; his sister, Marchesina; and his daughters, the unmarried Tota, and Agnesina, a nun in the Cistercian convent of S. Maria Celestia in Venice.¹²² A number of illegitimate or "natural" children are also provided for in his will.¹²³ His wife, who had died by the time the will was written, is not mentioned by name and is referred to only in relation to what her daughter, Agnesina, inherited from her.¹²⁴ It is possible that her death may have been the impetus for the *ancona* as a visual commendation of her

¹²¹ ASV, Atti di *Podestà* di Murano, Busta 3

¹²² *Et dicte Agnessine filie mee, monesteriale Sancte Marie de Cellestibus, libros denarios venetos sex, quobus auri, dum vixerit, de meis bonis in hiis dimissor computandum quam? Si? Dimisit quondam matri sua...;* "And I leave to Agnesine, my daughter, nun of S. Maria Celestia, 26 denars, to be in gold (to take) from my goods to these heirs left as long as she lives.(Thereby) has to take into account what was already left to her by her defunct mother." Translation by Georg Christ. ASV, notary Tagliapietra, busta 198, will 14, will of Donato Memo, October 30 1312.

¹²³ ASV, notary Tagliapietra, busta 198, will 14, will of Donato Memo, October 30 1312.

¹²⁴ ASV, notary Tagliapietra, busta 198, will 14, will of Donato Memo, October 30 1312.

soul, as well as his, to purgatory. This convention of depicting deceased family members in votive paintings was a relatively popular one in the medieval Veneto; and it has been convincingly argued that such was also the case in many other examples of this genre in the Veneto.¹²⁵ Taken together, the absence of Memo's wife from his testament and her visual presence in the panel make this a plausible suggestion.

By virtue of his position as *podestà*, Donato Memo's patronage of the church of SS. Maria e Donato would have been natural. However, he held the position for a very short time, and it is therefore the dedication of the church to his name saint that must have strengthened his personal ties, and secured his continued interest over his home parish of S. Marcuola. His commitment to the church of SS. Maria e Donato was such that money was expressly left to the church for the restoration of its high altarpiece.¹²⁶ This may be a direct reference to the Memo panel, which may have been the high altarpiece of the church in this period. This bequest, along with the *ancona* itself, is a significant indication, not only of his wealth, but also of a man intimately concerned with the upkeep and decoration of the church.

Donato Memo's personal connection to the church, combined with its symbolic importance as the cathedral of the island that was for a short period under his

¹²⁵ For example, the oratory of S. Giorgio in Padua Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*.

¹²⁶ *Deinde non distribui ordino pro anima mea libras dominatione veneti ducentum sicut bene videbit commissariis meis in omissis congregationibus, elimossinis et aliis operibus pietatis Et dimitto soldos denarorum venetorum grossorum duodecim pro laborario faciendo, ed altarem et cartam altari ecclesie Sanctae Mariae de Murano grande? Cum sicut videbitur commissariis meis;* "Then, I order to distribute for my soul 200 Venetian pounds, as it seems fitting to my executors, in congregational masses, alms and other works of piety. And I leave 12 Venetian soldi di grossi to make a work at the altar and the altar paper/panel (?) of the great church of S. Maria, Murano as it seems decent to my executors." Translation by Georg Christ. ASV, notary Tagliapietra, busta 198, will 14, will of Donato Memo, October 30 1312.

administration, is underscored in the inscription on the panel itself.¹²⁷ In fact it is reasonable to assume that Memo's patronage of the church, in both its decoration and upkeep, was impetus enough for him to commission such an image of himself and his spouse - as a reminder to the congregation and clergy of his role in their devotions and larger community. As a case study for others of his class and economic standing in the Republic during the fourteenth century, it is clear from these two pieces of documentary evidence and from the disinterested mention of art patronage in the testament, that this style of patronage was not particularly unusual for its time and place. Also it is clear that such men were likely to be patronizing churches with personal, familial, and community connections.

This is also underscored in the other example of *podestà* donor portraiture, the aforementioned panel from the campanile of the convent church of S. Domenico, Chioggia. In the inscription, Andrea Zeno's official position in Chioggia is underscored, as is his parish of origin, S. Giovanni Cristotomus, Venice. It is of no small significance that this important marker is used to identify Zeno. Though it is possible that such images were meant on some level to demonstrate Venetian dominion over a region under a *podestà* and to function as visual reminders of Venetian presence in the city, there is no evidence for such an impetus beyond the naming and identifying of the donor by his position as *podestà*. Rather more important, is how such images reflected the role of the donor in the community. Although there is no extant written evidence to firmly establish Andrea Zeno's patronage role in the church of S. Domenico in Chioggia, the example of

¹²⁷ There are no other significant examples of patronage of the church extant by other *podestà* in this period.

Donato Memo in Murano, and the presence of this relief on no less prominent a position than the church campanile, indicates that it was probably not an insignificant one.

Through the example of Donato Memo and his *ancona* in the church of SS. Maria e Donato, Murano, it is clear, not only that donor portraiture played an important role in the self-fashioning of a noble or wealthy *cittadino* within his immediate community, but also that such imagery had long-standing roots in that community. The argument has traditionally been that portraits were frowned upon in Venice, not just by the state, but by the citizenry as well, because they represented an egregious flouting of inherent Republican values, and seemed to put personal interest before communal ones. I would argue that donor portraiture with its religious overtones rarely fell under any serious scrutiny. The importation of icons from Byzantium, which encouraged direct interaction and veneration from viewers and in which donor portraiture was often included, was quickly established and mimicked in Venice. This was done above all in parish and convent churches. In this local environment where nobles lived closely with *popolani*, the desire to promote oneself as a significant patron of the community's spiritual, social, and economic well-being, was reflected in donor portraiture. Donor portraits were thus a conventional and non-threatening means of expressing personal interest during the fourteenth century.

Chapter 5: Group and Corporate Portraiture

The large number of corporate or group portraits, still extant and *in situ*, have been seen as visual confirmation of a Republican ideology in fourteenth-century Venice, one that publicly eschewed social hierarchies. However established this idea is, further examination of the images does not necessarily confirm these views. Indeed the popularity of individual donor portraits as expressions of social anxiety has already been explored in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the nature of group portraiture will be examined through comparison with group patronage in other centres, and through careful reconstruction and examination of the images themselves. There can be no doubt that group or corporate portraiture was popular in *trecento* Venice: of 83 examples in my catalogue, 27 of them can be categorized as group or corporate donor portraits. Twenty-three of these are relief panels intended for building façades, and the remaining four are painted altarpieces; 22 of the total number can be securely attached to confraternities or guilds active in the city, and four represent the members of various convents and monasteries in the city. Although group donor portraiture is also a significant aspect of the illuminated decorations of confraternity rulebooks (*mariegole*), these portraits are addressed in this study for comparative purposes only.

The view that the group portraiture connected to these institutions is a visual expression of the egalitarian Republican ideologies governing medieval Venice is not without grounds. The conventional group portraits, depicting indistinguishable kneeling *confratelli* clustered in a group under the cloak of the Maria della Misericordia, visually underscores not only the protective mantle and benevolence of the confraternity, but also

by extension, the paternalistic idea of a state which everyone serves.¹ The differences existing between Venice and the mainland in the case of group donor portraiture, to some extent, supports these arguments. Through an exploration of the foundation, expansion, and popularity of confraternities in Venice, their connection to the state and the local community, and their social construction, I will explore the degree to which group portraiture in Venice from the *trecento* upholds these differences.

Confraternity Administration and Structure

Although part of a larger movement throughout medieval Italy toward social communal values and group piety, confraternities held a special place in late medieval Venetian society, and arguably came of age in the fourteenth century. The *trecento* was a century marred by plague, war, and natural disasters, resulting in a more active form of spirituality that included mendicant preaching, begging, and public processions of self-flagellation. Although the connection to flagellants became increasingly symbolic, the confraternities retained traces of this early connection, and organized groups expressly for this purpose. Confraternities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries benefited from the swing of lay generosity away from monasteries toward a more flexible spirituality.²

According to William Wurthmann's 1975 doctoral thesis, entitled *The Scuole Grandi and*

¹ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 96. Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and ideal portrait sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490-1530*. 9,17.

² William Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c.1260-1500" (PhD, University of Chicago, 1975). 286.

Venetian art c.1260-1500, during the early years no economic or social distinctions were recognized among the brothers of a confraternity in the administration of business.³

The executive officer (*guardiano*) and his subordinates had considerable freedom in the day-to-day administration of the operations and affairs of the confraternity.⁴

According to the statutes, there was an attempt to control any possible abuses by the institution's guardians and officers, who had considerable power to administer the confraternity as they saw fit. To reduce the abuse of power, an elaborate system of elections, collegial responsibility, and conduct reviews were instituted to produce a system that invites comparison with the controls and protocols of the Venetian government itself.⁵

The earliest types of *scuole* government consisted of two types of office: the “*guardian grande*” was the executive officer, and the twelve deacons (*degani*) were his subordinates –together they formed the bench (*banca*), a small executive committee. Although all brothers were eligible for office, they most often came from the *banca*. No brother could refuse office on pain of expulsion from the confraternity, and election results were announced every third Sunday of Lent. Officers held office for one Venetian calendar year starting from March 25th. At the end of his term in office, the *guardian grande* was initially prohibited from holding another post in the institution for two years, and the deacons were excluded for a year. This restriction was called *contumacia*. In the fifteenth century, when *scuole* became large institutions, they developed a so-called

³ ASV, S. Giovanni Evangelista, Reg.3, f.10v, Chapter 23. “... *despuo le predicte cose de uoluntade et consentimento de tuti nostri frari nel capitolo congregadi fo fermamente ordenado...*”

⁴ Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c.1260-1500". 46.

⁵ See Gabriel Le Bras, *Institutions ecclésiastiques de la chrétienté médiévale* 2 vols. (Paris, 1959) 444, 446. as cited in *Ibid.*, 47.

cursus honorum, whereby a brother, once elected *guardian grande*, was permanently disqualified from the deaconship; however, he remained eligible for re-election as *guardian grande* and indeed, some men were repeatedly elected to this position.⁶

The *guardian grande* was responsible for the orderly administration of the confraternity. He controlled the three annual meetings (*capitoli grandi*), prepared the agenda, presided over meetings, proposed action on motions, and was in charge of daily administration. The position was not a paid one, but it conferred high social prestige on the elected man in the eyes of Venetians, and thus provided high personal compensation. Indeed, by the sixteenth century the position of *Guardiano Grande* at one of the *Scuole Grandi* was second only to the procurators of S. Marco in the citywide prestige it conferred.⁷ In the fourteenth century, two deacons were selected to represent each of the six *sestieri* of Venice on the bench of the *Scuole Grandi*, and these deacons acted as intermediaries between the brothers from their *sestiere* and the *guardian grande*.⁸

The *Guardian da Matin* was a position instituted at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was bound by the same regulations as the *guardian grande* and the deacons, but was also responsible for flagellant exercises on Sunday mornings, bookkeeping duties, collecting annual sums, and payment arrears. The emergence of this position is an indication of the increased popularity of confraternities in the fourteenth century and the need for new administrative positions to manage the larger numbers of members. After 1300, the increased membership and increasingly complicated administration gradually,

⁶ Ibid., 48-9.

⁷ Ibid., 77-8.

⁸ Ibid., 49.

by the end of the fourteenth century, led to the *guardian da matin* becoming the chief financial officer responsible for donations and endowments.

Later in the fourteenth century, further offices were added, including a secretary and a vicar. Wurthmann sees these additions as the direct result of an increased demand for membership and the increased importance of record keeping. The bench also had control over the *scuola*'s finances, but the constitution forbade any officer to spend any more than 100 *soldi di piccoli* without the approval of the Great Chapter.⁹ This constraint allowed officers to draw up plans for projects considered useful to the confraternity, but prevented them from spending large sums without thoroughly discussing their plans. The importance of these financial constraints is made clear in the fact that when incumbents left their year in office, they had to provide a thorough account of their financial dealings to the great chapter.¹⁰

Relation to the State and Society

Throughout the fourteenth century, confraternities gradually entered into the social fabric of Venice. Members came from all classes and professions in the city, and some of the *scuole piccole* admitted women – a practice discontinued by the *Scuole Grandi* after 1327.¹¹ After 1350, their power and status in the city was increased through

⁹ ASV, S. Giovanni Evangelista, Reg.3, f.16. Chapter 49: "...misier lo uardian....non possa ne debia far algune spese in la nostra scuola da soldi cento"

¹⁰ Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c. 1260-1500". 51-52.

¹¹ There were few members of the Scuole Grandi from the *popolo menudi* classes. For more on the social structure and stratification of the confraternities see Lia Sbriziolo, "Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane: dalle deliberazioni miste (1310-1476) del Consiglio dei dieci 'Scolae Comunes' artigiane e nazionali," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto del Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze Morali* 126 (1963-67). and Lia Sbriziolo, "Le confraternite veneziane di devozione. Saggio bibliografico e premesse

financial strength and programs providing relief to the poor, and they gradually came to the attention of the Council of Ten. In this period, the state magistracy was responsible for the *scuole* immediately after their foundation, but rarely intervened in their affairs afterwards. But as the *scuole* became more powerful in the city, through programs for the poor, the government tightened their controls. For instance, the Council of Ten regularly checked up on the members of confraternities, and forbade them to hold meetings and processions between the third bell of the night and morning.¹²

By 1390, the demand for membership to the *scuole* of Venice was such that the *Scuola* della Misericordia requested approval from the Council of Ten for an increase in its membership, claiming that “more than 180 Venetian patricians as well as many non-nobles (*popolare*) wished to enter the confraternity because of its devotion, which (entry) should be a great aid to the poor.”¹³ The magistracy approved the request on April 3rd of that year. This request is evidence for the increased wealth and power that confraternities were enjoying in the city during the fourteenth century. However, many internal problems developed in tandem with that success: competition for power had resulted in certain men attempting to monopolize offices among themselves. The result was that on April 8th 1394, the Council of Ten ruled that officers had to wait five years, not just two, before being eligible for re-election.¹⁴

The connection between the *scuole* and the Venetian state was such that, toward the end of the fourteenth century, the government increasingly intervened in the internal

storiografiche," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 21 (1967). Lia Sbriziolo, "Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane: dalle deliberazioni miste (1310-1476) del consiglio dei dieci. Le scuole dei battuti," in *Studi in onore di Gilles Gerard Meersseman* (Padua, 1970).

¹² Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c.1260-1500". 71-72.

¹³ ASV, Misericordia, reg 292; ASV, Council of Ten, misti, Reg.8, f.49v. As cited in *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 73-4.

affairs of the major confraternities and appeared to treat them as subsidiary institutions by which the state could reward faithful citizens. On February 12, 1410, the magistracy ordered that all four major officials of a *scuola* (*guardianus Magus*, the *guardianus a matutino*, the *vicarious* and the *scriba*), had to belong to the class of *cittadini originarii* (non foreigners) as a prerequisite for office. This attempt to create a second tier bureaucracy that was separated from the nobility by different privileges broke the tradition of equality among the brethren and provided a prestigious position for those excluded from real power in the city. Wurthmann suggests that this intervention was a means of rewarding the wealthy *cittadini* and *popolani* who had financially assisted during the war of Chioggia; it appears that the internal structure of the confraternities developed along the same trajectory as the social/political structure of the city, i.e. toward greater hierarchical and social stratification.¹⁵

Spiritual and Social Matters

The increasingly complicated administration of the confraternities in the fourteenth century and the rise in their membership took an inevitable toll on the devotional vigor originally associated with these institutions and resulted in a relaxation of the rules for membership. In 1344, the *Scuola* di S. Giovanni Evangelista added a chapter to its statutes which allowed certain "noble and good persons" to become brothers for a fee of twenty-five gold ducats meant to contribute to the aid of its less fortunate

¹⁵ Ibid., 75.

brothers. Wealthy men were increasingly exempt from the normal burdens of brotherhood, flagellation, procession, office holding; however, they were required to pay a yearly sum of 20 soldi di Grossi. Thus a *cittadino* man with money could join the brethren and participate in activities with little personal effort.¹⁶ In 1359 the same *scuola* limited to fifty the number of patricians, also belonging to the Maggior Consiglio, who could become brothers. These men had to be at least thirty years old and had to submit to the normal conditions of brotherhood. According to Wurthmann, this indicated that the ordinary brethren sought to curtail the participation of men who already enjoyed great political power in the Republic.¹⁷ Many scholars have embraced the idea that the *scuole grandi* in Venice played a large role in quieting the non-patrician classes. Most status positions in the *Scuole Grandi*, as in the state chancery, were reserved for *cittadini* and thus provided an outlet for the political and social ambitions of those deprived of political office and agency in the city. The *Scuole Grandi* also played an important role in quieting the lower, labouring classes in the city by redistributing wealth through alms, dowries, and other charitable donations, thereby creating a feeling of good will among all the *confratelli*, regardless of social class.¹⁸

The effect of new members on the *Scuole Grandi* of Venice in the fourteenth century was such that a profound shift in social consciousness was initiated, as confraternities became interested in other forms of Christian activities beyond personal flagellation, including social patronage. Indeed, changes in confraternity constitutions away from flagellant activities, which were increasingly associated with lower class

¹⁶ Ibid., 60-61.

¹⁷ Ibid., 61.

¹⁸ See Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: the social institutions of a Catholic state, to 1620.*; Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State.* 7-8.

behaviours of uncontrolled emotion, coincided with the increased hostility of ecclesiastic authorities. By the mid- fourteenth century, the practice was restricted only to a small group within the membership and became a symbolic gesture rather than a universally practiced reality, as larger numbers of men were admitted to the *scuole* based on their wealth.¹⁹ In addition, the spectre of the Black Death had changed attitudes toward religious expression. In general, there was a turning away from personal forms of religious piety toward a more active, worldly piety that could be expressed in charity, brotherhood, and endowments in wills.²⁰ Testaments were an important early source of revenue for confraternities. From at least the fourteenth century onward, wealthy men left funds to confraternities for individual projects and other less defined purposes. On the 28th of February 1368, Marco Griffio gave thirty *lire di grossi* to the *Scuola della Misericordia* to construct an altar dedicated to St. Francis or St. Anthony, the execution of which was left to the discretion of his executors.²¹ On June 19th 1436, Bartolomeo di Giacomo Bonetti left 300 ducats to the *Scuola della Carità* for "...an altar with its painting dedicated to the Virgin Mary..." the ensemble was to be placed "...in the casa of the said brothers of said *scuola*...;"²² The nature of these documents highlights the fact that such bequests were made for spiritual reasons, and were therefore more exact in

¹⁹ Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c.1260-1500". 62-4.

²⁰ Ibid., 67.

²¹ ASV, Misericordia, Reg.16, under 'Testamenti Diversi'

²² Three hundred ducats seems to have been the amount needed for the highest quality altarpiece in Venice in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, since we know that Domenico Lion provided the same amount for the altarpiece of the church of S. Antonio di Castello in 1357. See ASV, Carità, reg.311, f.235, Pergamene no. 1391.

details of appearance. Later, most brothers preferred to leave money to the general building fund of the *scuola*.²³

This active piety was equally expressed through greater patronage of the arts in Venice. As has been previously established, familial patronage in fourteenth-century Venice was concentrated in the construction and decoration of parish and convent churches or family monuments. However, institutional patronage with its extensive financial resources was equally significant. Government buildings, guilds, and confraternities were extensive patrons of the arts in *trecento* Venice; this art often included donor portraiture. However, there is little evidence to suggest that government and corporate patronage existed in significantly greater numbers than private patronage.²⁴

Portraits and Patronage in Confraternities

By the mid-fourteenth century, increased income and endowments provided a secure financial base for the role of the confraternity in larger Venetian society. This resulted in a shift of attitude toward art patronage. From this point onward, the *scuole* gained increased control over their meeting houses, and ventured into pictorial decorations both on the interior and exterior of their buildings. Of the early *Scuole Grandi*, the *Scuola* della Carità, the *Scuola* di S. Giovanni Evangelista, and the *Scuola* della Misericordia, after 1350, took determined steps to acquire the legal title to their meeting houses from the original ecclesiastic or lay patrons. Although in the fourteenth

²³ Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c. 1260-1500". 209-10.

²⁴Though William Wurthmann notes that familial patronage did exist in fourteenth and fifteenth-century Venice and that this type of patronage was concentrated in the parish churches, he also claims that it was insignificant in comparison to institutional art patronage in the city. Ibid., 129-30.

century there were no major rebuilding projects of the meeting-houses, their decoration, both in exterior low relief sculpture and in devotional altarpieces for the interior, was clearly a prime consideration for the administration.²⁵ Within the confraternities, individual officers and councils played important roles in formulating and vetting proposals for artistic projects. Although decision-making responsibilities were spread among a number of men in the confraternity, ultimate responsibility for an artistic commission seems to have rested with the officers.

The bench received all suggestions for art patronage, scrutinized them, and then did the preparatory work necessary to turn the proposal into a reality.²⁶ A committee made up of 16 men - twelve deacons and four officers - then approached artists to solicit ideas. The officers involved were personally liable for funds spent without the authorization of the membership, and these financial limitations meant that artistic proposals had to be presented before the general chapter. The thirty to fifty men who made up the chapter of a *scuola grande* were men who had held office in the *scuola* and currently held no position. They were usually wealthy businessmen who made private donations when the *scuola's* funds could not accommodate a project.²⁷ The argument has been made that confraternities by the fifteenth century increasingly engaged in art patronage because of a feeling of competition for social prestige with other

²⁵ Ibid., 133-34.

²⁶ The processes of art patronage by the *scuole* are seen as being affected by the need for consensus in Venetian society and in demonstrating how consensus was maintained. See Patricia Fortini Brown, "Honor and Necessity: The Dynamics of Patronage in the Confraternities of Renaissance Venice," *Studi Veneziani* 14 (1987): 183.

²⁷ Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c.1260-1500". 195.

confraternities.²⁸ Images from this period, including the famous cycles by Vittore Carpaccio, are thus seen to reflect a new awareness of the institution's role in larger Venetian society as a whole, and its position of honour relative to the other *scuole*.²⁹ By comparison, the earliest works associated with *scuole* of Venice in the fourteenth century were perceived to be more modest, humble, and egalitarian. The basic assumption is that individual or status concerns did not play as significant a role in fourteenth-century corporate portraits, as they did in later periods. However, even in corporate group portraits, there were opportunities for the *confratelli* to be singled out as individual holders of prestigious positions through a combination of scale, costume, and inscriptions.

After 1350, confraternities began to show more interest in commissioning works of art. They commissioned elaborate façade sculpture for their meeting-houses, expensive altarpieces for their chapels, and decorated the covers of their illuminated *mariegole* and other important manuscripts with miniatures. Confraternity donor portraiture in this period has been characterized by anonymity, in comparison to the vainglorious brethren depicted in Vittore Carpaccio's confraternity cycles over a century later.³⁰ Although clothing was not one of the major ways to distinguish *confratelli* from one another in fourteenth-century corporate donor portraits, in fact, there were a number of ways through which individual pride of position was expressed in these images. One typical means of differentiating between donors of a higher position in a group portrait was scale. In the c.1348 façade relief still visible on the meeting-house of the *Scuola di S. Giovanni*

²⁸ Ibid. and see Brown, "Honor and Necessity: The Dynamics of Patronage in the Confraternities of Renaissance Venice."

²⁹ Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c.1260-1500". 187.

³⁰ Ibid., 184-5. And see Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*.

Evangelista, the brothers are depicted kneeling in a row before the saint (Fig. 63; cat. no. 29). Though they are all dressed alike in the flagellant cloaks of their institution, there is one figure that clearly kneels before all the rest and is depicted at a scale larger than the others. As if to further underscore his difference from the anonymous crowd of *confratelli*, the standard he holds is grasped by the *scuola*'s patron saint, John the Evangelist. An almost identical composition can be seen in the c.1337 low relief carving from the façade of the former church of S. Giovanni Battista dei Battuti, Murano, now in the Seminario Patriarcale of Venice (Fig. 64; cat. no.77). This composition and iconography seems to have been the main alternative to the Madonna della Misericordia for the depiction of group donor portraits. In it, there is almost always one in the group who is visually singled out in this way.³¹

In the 1370s, the confraternity of S. Giovanni Evangelista commissioned two panel paintings, one of which was dated to 1377 by the artist Giovanni da Bologna and is now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. It depicts the *confratelli* kneeling beneath images of the Virgin of humility and Sts. John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Peter, and Paul (Fig. 65; cat. no. 30).³² This painting is typical of confraternity altarpieces from the period in both its iconography and its inclusion of the *confratelli* members assembled *en*

³¹ The image of the kneeling *confratello* who kneels before the group and carries the standard of the confraternity, which is in turn grasped by the standing patron saint, is an iconography that appears to have been extremely popular. Examples from the fourteenth century include two relief carvings of Sant' Antonio Abbate from the church of Sant' Antonio di Castello, one of which is now in the Museum of the Seminario Patriarcale.

³² This painting, along with another altar from around 1350 commissioned by the Confraternity of S. Giovanni Evangelista also depicting the Madonna and child with saints (signed by "Francesco") and with the *mariegole*, comprise the only examples of fourteenth-century art patronage by the confraternities that is examined by Wurthmann in his doctoral dissertation. His work, and that of most other scholars concerned with the art patronage by the scuole of Venice, concentrates mainly on the fifteenth-century decorative programmes of the *sala grande* and *albergo*. See Wurthmann, "The Scuole Grandi and Venetian Art c. 1260-1500". 140-41.

masse, wearing the flagellant white cloaks of the organization.³³ In this altarpiece, the kneeling *confratelli* are depicted with considerable individual attention; not only are the facial features of the brothers carefully and individually painted, but the brothers also wear different symbols on their confraternity robes to indicate the badges of office held by different members of the *scuola* (Fig 65a).³⁴ Similarly, an altarpiece from the equally wealthy *Scuola della Carità*, dated to c.1370, and now in the Pinacoteca Brera, Milan, depicts the Virgin and child with donors before a cloth of honour, flanked by standing saints James and Anthony Abbot (Fig. 66; cat. no. 64). In the place of honour on the Virgin's right hand, the *confratelli* brothers kneel in their official white robes, and on the Virgin's left, two additional donors kneel in red robes. Individual differences between the donors are represented through different coloured robes and through scale. Among the white-clad *confratelli*, there is one who is depicted at a significantly larger scale and appears almost to present the others to the Virgin. Due to the difference of scale applied, it is probable that the larger figure was the *guardiano grande*. The curious figures in red on the opposite side of the Virgin may be confraternity brothers with particular duties, perhaps special deacons. These altarpieces are examples of the ways in which individual contributions and positions were visually represented within a corporate environment. Considering the fact that important positions in the confraternity could be held for only a limited amount of time, commissions like this altarpiece may have been an ideal way of memorializing individual service without offending the sensibilities of brotherhood.

Patricia Fortini Brown has noted that a certain degree of individual representation was not

³³ Other examples of this style of altarpiece associated with the confraternity can be seen in the altarpiece of S. Martino di Chioggia. (cat. No. 20)

³⁴ Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c. 1300- c.1450)". 59-60.

considered out of place, but that in this context these individual achievements and distinctions were contained within a “collective framework.”³⁵ This is true of the portraits themselves; however when these same portraits are considered alongside the inscriptions that originally accompanied them, the message is still more pointed.

The façade relief of the meeting-house of the *Scuola* Grande della Carità in Dorsoduro demonstrates this. In three examples from the *Scuola* della Carità containing group donor portraiture (two of which are no longer extant) the name of the *guardiano* at the time of the commission is mentioned prominently in the accompanying inscription (Figs. 67-70; cat. no. 24-27). The tabernacle that can still be seen over the entranceway to the cloister of the former confraternity of S. Maria della Carità depicts the Virgin and child enthroned with kneeling *confratelli* on both sides, and the sign of the Carità above, with the inscription *Virgo Maria* (Fig. 67; cat. no. 24). Along the bottom ridge of the scene the inscription dates the relief carving to 1345, and in addition identifies the image as “*in lo tempo dominus Marco Zulian fo fatto.*” Likewise, two relief carvings recorded in the drawings of Jan Grevembroch appear to have contained similar markers of individual interest. In one, dated by a later inscription to around 1397, the Madonna della Misericordia, bearing the symbol of the *scuola*, protects the kneeling *confratelli* with her mantle (Fig. 70; cat. no. 27). Though Grevembroch does not record any attributes that might visually distinguish one of the *confratelli* from the others, the accompanying inscription is more explicit. According to Grevembroch it stated the following:

³⁵ Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*. 226.

EX LEGATO Q D NICOLAI QUARTARI DE ANNO D MCCCLXXXVII
DIMISSAS D VINCENTIUS QUARTARI VARDIANUS DOMOS IN NOVAZ
HANC REDUXIT FORMAZ MDII³⁶

According to the same source, Nicolai Quartieri had served a number of times as *guardiano grande* of the *scuola*, and his devotion to it was clearly demonstrated by this later inscription, which underscores his role as a benefactor of the institution.³⁷ Similarly, a Madonna della Misericordia relief carving from the façade of the *Scuola* of S. Lucia, dated to 1354 (Fig. 71; cat. no. 51), originally contained an inscription emphasizing the name of the *Guardiano Grande* under whom the building was created, a *Misier Iacomo Orexe*. According to Jan Grevembroch's transcription it stated:

MCCCLIIII DEI MESE DECEBRIO FO FATA QUESTA CHAXA EXE DELLE
SCUOLA DE MADONA S. LUCIA E COQUISTADA E FATA DI BENI DI FRARI
DEI....SCUOLA DE S[AN]TA LUCIA I TEMPO DE MISER IACOMO OREXE
CHE I ERA GA E CO I SVO CONPAGRI.³⁸

At first glance, the group donor portraits of Venice appear to emphasize corporate values of equality and anonymity; however when viewed as part of a larger monument containing inscriptions, the ways in which individual interests were represented become clear. Through devices like inscriptions, scale, and costume, individual contributions to local confraternities and prestigious positions held in them, were recorded for posterity.

³⁶ "From the legacy of the defunct Nicolai Quartieri of the year of the lord 1397 sir Vincenzo Quartaro, the warden/guardian, reduced (with the) left over (money) the house in this new form (in the year of) 1502." Translated by Georg Christ from a transcription by Jan Grevembroch.

³⁷ Grevembroch, "Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis ruderibus, Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jocobi Sen., f. anno 1754."

³⁸ In 1353, in the month of December, was made this house which is of the school of the lady S. Lucia and bought and made part of the good of the brethren of ...the school of S. Lucia in the time of mister Giacomo Orexe who was already there with his companions. " Translation by Georg Christ from a transcription by Jan Grevembroch. The inscription only survives in Grevembroch's drawings. Grevembroch, "Varie Venete Curiosità sacre e profane opus Jo. Grevembroch (1755)."

Local trade guilds and *scuole piccole* were more financially limited and had significantly fewer wealthy members than the larger *scuole*, and as a result, their art patronage tended toward small altarpieces and *mariegole*. This difference in art patronage was due to the fact that the local *scuole piccole* and trade guilds usually met in buildings attached to or owned by local parish and convent churches, rather than independently owned meeting-houses. By the fifteenth century, most of these trade guilds had acquired the patronage rights to side altars in one of the approximately 130 parish churches of Venice. For instance, the *beccai* (butchers) had an altar at S. Matteo; the *remeri* (oar makers) at S. Bartolomeo; the *casaroli* (cheese merchants) at S. Giacomo del Rialto; the *calegheri tedeschi* (German cobblers) at S. Stefano; and the *fruttaroli* (fruit merchants) at S. Maria Formosa.³⁹ They provided the funds for the priest and the accoutrements for the mass, as well as the decoration of the altar. In the catalogue of donor portraits there is one panel painting of the Maria della Misericordia from a private collection which may have originally decorated one of these trade guild altars (Fig. 72; cat. no. 43). The modest art patronage of the trade guilds continued into the fifteenth century, even when the wealthier *scuole* began to commission expensive narrative panels to decorate their meeting-houses. The *scuole piccole* and guilds forged close connections with convent churches in the city. This resulted in a form of donor portraiture that combined group portraiture of lay confraternity members with monks or nuns.

Of the total 27 group portraits extant from this period, six fall within this category, and all are relief carvings intended for church façades and portals. The only one

³⁹ See Tramontin, "La visita apostolica del 1581 a Venezia," 478.; Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*. 320.

of these relief carvings still *in situ* depicts S. Stefano surrounded by kneeling members of the *Scuola* dei Lanieri and a group of Augustinian monks, on whose land the *lanieri* meeting house was built (Fig. 73; cat. no. 23). Similar examples of mixed donor portraiture were known to decorate the façade of the now demolished church of S. Antonio Abbate in Castello (Figs. 74-75; cat. no. 57 & 72), where a *scuola* dedicated to the same saint was located originally. Likewise, similar bas-relief portal decorations are known from the *scuola* of the fishermen (pescatori), attached to the convent church of S. Andrea Apostolo (della Zirada) (Fig. 76; cat. no. 52); and the *scuola* di S. Croce, attached to the convent of the same name on the Guidecca (Fig. 77; cat. no. 59). Grevembroch's drawings record that in the former example, the nuns and *confratelli* kneel on opposite sides of the saint, while in the latter example the nuns and *confratelli* appear to be mixed together. We also know one other example of this mixed donor portraiture in Venice through Grevembroch's drawings. It dates to 1373, and is from a portal in the Benedictine convent of S. Biagio e Cataldo on the Guidecca. It depicts S. Biagio enthroned in a central panel, while what appear to be both nuns and *confratelli* kneeling on either side (Fig. 78; cat. no. 49). Truncated *deesis* and annunciation groups are depicted on the top panel, and an inscription runs along the bottom.⁴⁰ In general, these smaller confraternities and trade guilds were made up of members from the *popolo menudo* stratum of Venetian society that, in comparison to the patrician and *cittadino* strata, was marginalized and undifferentiated in the eyes of the state. Professional and social posterity for men of this social group were rarely achieved through the political and social networks offered by the

⁴⁰ Due to the quality of Grevembroch's transcription, the inscription is difficult to read. It states: MCCCLXXIII A DIV .DEOR PORTAT [QUE]ESTO LAVORIER TO S. DOM TENTOR CASTOL..DE

parish church and the wealthy *scuole grandi*. To these institutions, the *popolo* were often seen as the objects of charity, rather than as possible patrons. Agency and stability for the *popolo menudo* thus lay in identification with a trade guild. In this context, it was in everyone's interests to emphasize both the group of men who used the space, and the group of monks or nuns who made this use possible. This difference between the *scuole grandi* and the *scuole piccole* or trade guilds is reflected in the degree of individual interest visible in their group portraits.

Patricia Fortini Brown has recently suggested that in the fifteenth century, art patronage by Venetian confraternities was seen as a means of contributing to the greater splendor of the city itself and was, in this sense, considered a civic as well as a religious duty.⁴¹ According to Fortini Brown, confraternity patronage in this time was not considered wasteful or irreligious, but rather expressed a competitive attitude between institutions in the city to "avoid shame and secure equal honor by contributing to ...the aim of securing honour for God, for Venice and for themselves."⁴² Venetian donor portraiture, in this context, appears to have been about maintaining the strong group and civic identity that was central to communal ideals. However, in the first half of the fourteenth century, politics played a lesser role in the city's confraternities. The confraternity art patronage of this period thus reflected spiritual and local community ideals over general state and corporate ones. A spirit of competition for the honour of the Venice, as observed by Fortini Brown, could not have been the prime motivator behind confraternity imagery in the fourteenth century. Indeed, there is nothing at all in the

⁴¹ Brown, "Honor and Necessity: The Dynamics of Patronage in the Confraternities of Renaissance Venice," 183, 209.

⁴² Ibid.: 209-10.

inscriptions or in the images themselves to indicate a particular association with the state in this period. The emphasis that is placed upon the group itself does not alone provide evidence for a specific identification with the corporate state. It is possible that this sort of visual identification with the state was neither necessary nor desirable for Venetians in this period when the *scuola* still retained its parish ties.

The images of collective state interest that did exist in late medieval Venice were very different in nature from those donor portraits on confraternity façades, in altarpieces, and in *mariegole*. For instance, the figures assembled together in the narrative mosaics of the porta di Sant'Alipio on the north-west corner of the façade of S. Marco (Fig. 79), or in the S. Zeno chapel inside the church emphasize the collective good of the city. The putative portraiture in these examples is not meant to preserve a particular doge's likeness for posterity, but rather to align all doges visually with the city's history and ducal lineage. Furthermore, in the scene of the *apparitio* of the relics of Saint Mark in the Pala Feriale by Paolo Veneziano, the doge, the patriarch, and the court kneel before the relics (Fig. 80). In this image the narrative and the portrait seem to exist in a closer space and time; the portraits act as a proxy for the historical figure.⁴³ It was in this putative form of state portraiture rather than in the group portraits of the city's confraternities, where individual achievements were subjugated to the glorious history of the Republic. Likewise, it is in these images that portraiture can be more justly said to express purely collective and state ideologies in fourteenth-century Venice.

⁴³ Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*. 223.

Convents and Monasteries

Like confraternity group portraiture in Venice, the group portraiture connected to convents and monasteries in the city seems to have used fairly standardized iconography in this period. Such images invariably depicted the Maria della Misericordia with devotees huddling beneath the Virgin's cloak, a motif often associated with protection from the plague. The image of donors huddled beneath the protective mantle of the Virgin as if, "menaced by the spears and arrows from God..."⁴⁴ was a profound one that served a number of spiritual and civic purposes, embodying the protective function of group initiatives like convents and confraternities. Like the bas-relief carvings seen on the façades of meeting-houses, these images were erected over the street doorways and entrance portals of the city's convents to connote the unity, piety, and faithfulness of the religious institution. They were visual appeals, not only for the Virgin or saint's protection and grace, but also unambiguous statements of devotion to her example. This iconography is used in examples such as the early fifteenth-century relief originally over the entrance portal to the Dominican convent of Corpus Domini (Fig. 83; cat. no. 5); or the relief carving from the Augustinian convent of S. Marta (Fig. 84; cat. no. 50), where the community of nuns is depicted as a group huddled on their knees beneath the cloak of their benefactress.⁴⁵ The collective nature of such communities is visually underscored through the undifferentiated features and costume of the nuns. Only the two kneeling

⁴⁴ See Pugliese, *Venezia e la Peste: 1348-1797*. 203.

⁴⁵ See Grevembroch, *Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudibus Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jacobini Sen., f. anno 1754*. 228/II #35587; 228/III #35344.

nuns directly at the feet of the saint are distinguished by their privileged position. Likewise, the kneeling monks in the Misericordia relief, identified by Grevembroch as being originally above a portal in the "tempio de Padre Seruti" (Fig. 85; cat. no. 71), are undifferentiated in feature and in dress. Indeed, costume in such images of monastic unity, as it was in many confraternity group portraits, serves only to obscure individual markers and to further emphasize to the viewer, the official function of these monasteries: to separate its residents from the temporal world. The non-active, non-narrative nature of such imagery emphasizes its function to communicate with the larger parish and community.

There are no altarpieces or panel paintings extant from this period containing similar group portraits of monks or nuns. Those paintings containing donor portraits that were connected to the convents from this period are almost exclusively of single nuns. This is a reflection of the large number of convents of various orders (approximately thirty) operating in Venice in the period.⁴⁶ The degree to which these images reflect a donor living in a convent, seeking to depict him or herself as a representation or symbol of his or her larger conventual community, or as an individual member of a particular family in the city, is difficult to determine. These issues will be discussed with greater probity in the following chapter.

Collective patronage in Byzantium

⁴⁶ Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: enclosed lives and broken vows in the Renaissance convent* (London, 2002), 243.

Group portraiture was by no means unique to Venice in the arts of the late Middle Ages. Family portraits were becoming increasingly common in Northern Europe and Italy in the period. In Padua, as in most Northern Italian cities, group portraiture was synonymous with family portraiture. This is particularly true of two different commissions by the noble Lupi family. In the oratorio of S. Giorgio, the portraits are explicit in the scene depicting a row of almost identical Lupi kinsmen and women kneeling together before the Virgin and child (Fig. 81). In the nearby chapel of S. Giacomo in S. Antonio, the dream of King Ramiro is believed to contain putative portraiture similar to the examples from S. Marco, which can be understood in political terms (Fig.82). In it, the Lupi men, along with other members belonging to the humanist circle of the da Carrara rulers, are depicted as characters in the narrative.⁴⁷ However undifferentiated the figures or political the message these images are never discussed in the literature as “corporate” in the way that Venetian group portraits are. This is mainly because of the Republican social and political perceptions of Venice in this period. In fact, the collective or communal portraiture and patronage in *trecento* Venice may have had less to do with the city’s political structure and more to do with the adaptation of eastern patronage practices to suit new institutional needs. Indeed, collective and communal patronage of churches and monasteries was a significant part of thirteenth and fourteenth-century non-elite art patronage in Serbia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. The degree to which these practices are reflected in the corporate portraits of fourteenth-century Venice requires further exploration.

⁴⁷ Richards also argues that in the group scenes of the frescoes in the oratory of S. Giorgio, portraits of some of the same members of this humanist circle were also included. See Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*. 205, 206.

Although group and corporate portraiture has been widely discussed as unique to Venice, a similar form of collective or communal patronage in the building of churches was also common in the region around Byzantium during the Palaiologan period.⁴⁸ Non-elites in this area participated in collective acts of patronage that were often recorded in inscriptions. Although these inscriptions emphasize the collective aspect of donation, their details demonstrate that not all donations were anonymous or considered equal. Some examples, such as the mid thirteenth-century inscription at the church of St. John the Baptist at Megale Kastania mentions only that the church was built and decorated at the expense of the villagers.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the inscription erected at the church of Hagios Strategos at Mpoularioi in Mesa Mani and various churches of Naxos and Crete, refer to groups of donors that included laymen, priests, and local families.⁵⁰ A detailed list of their offerings included arable land and olive trees, as well as monetary gifts.⁵¹ The variety of donations and the singling out of certain people in the inscriptions is a strong indicator of the extent to which church patronage could extend into non-elite social groups in these regions. This situation is one that Kalopissi-Verti sees as characteristic of the Palaiologan period, which benefited from the broadening social range occurring at

⁴⁸ See Anthony Cutler, "Art in Byzantine Society: Motive forces of Byzantine Patronage," in *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art*, (London, 1992) 760-63. And Kalopissi-Verti, "Patronage and Artistic production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period," 91.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 89

⁵⁰ This study addresses the thirteen known portraits preserved in the thirteenth-century churches of Greece. Single or group portraits are found in ten of these. Most donors depicted in images either sponsored the entire church decoration and /or construction. A few, however, as mentioned in the inscriptions, had contributed only to a partial reconstruction or decoration, or had dedicated an ex-voto. See Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece*. 27.

⁵¹ For instance the Hagioi Anargyroi in Kepoula c. 1265 and the church of Archangel Michael in Polemitas also include such inscriptions. For donor portraits in churches in Crete under the Venetian occupation see Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti veneti dell'isola di Creta* (Venice, 1905-32) I-IV. Mon Veneti IV, 451-452, no. 26 (1457); 454, no.28 (1327-28); 457, no. 30 (14th-15th centuries) 463, no. 41 (1331/32)] As cited in *Ibid.*

end of the twelfth century.⁵² The popularity of these dedicatory inscriptions in this period reflects the increased inclusion of all levels of society in community patronage. A similar ethos is reflected in the group portraits and inscriptions on Venetian *scuole* façades.

Kalopissi-Verti has recently observed that Byzantine patterns of collective and individual art patronage were increasingly adopted in neighbouring Balkan countries like Serbia, Bulgaria, and the Greek states in this period.⁵³ The popularity of corporate portraiture in fourteenth-century Venice suggests that the eastern practice of communal donation was also spreading to the Republic during this time. The vigorous trade between Venice and Byzantium, and other eastern Mediterranean powers, as well as its colonizing activities in the region makes this type of cultural emulation probable. Under these circumstances the newly established Venetian confraternities of the fourteenth century perhaps chose to emulate and interpret the spirit of collective non-elite representation enjoyed by their eastern neighbours. However, Venetian examples were different in a few key ways from those in Serbia and Greece: first, they were more likely to include portraiture as well as inscriptions; second, they were generally associated with *scuole* rather than monasteries; and third, they were more likely to reflect sophisticated tastes and access to skilled artisans.

Although many of the inscriptions that accompanied corporate portraiture are lost today, extant examples like that on the façade of the *Scuola* di S. Giovanni Evangelista (Fig. 63; cat. no. 29) demonstrate a desire to highlight the devotion, patronage, and honour of the community at large through text as well as image. This lengthy inscription

⁵² Ibid., 45.

⁵³ Kalopissi-Verti, "Patronage and Artistic production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period," 91.

lists the names of prominent members of the parish who gave land for the confraternity meeting-house, and like its eastern counterparts emphasizes the local aspect of the commission.⁵⁴ Inscriptions in Byzantium, Greece and Serbia managed to highlight, through the use of names and places, the individual concerns and specific acts of patronage that are less obvious in portraits. However, there is also evidence that the use of inscription alone to connote patronage was not uncommon in *trecento* Venice. For instance, Giannantonio Moschini's 1815 guide to Venice records that an inscription over the portal to the campanile of the church of S. Polo stated:

*1352 di 22 decembrio fo fato questo Champanil siando per churador lo nobel
homo misier Felipo Dandolo*⁵⁵

The inscription not only makes direct reference to the donation and the patron, but it was clearly meant to stand alone. Significantly, it does not record a collective donation. Although collective donation to churches was popular in the east it does not appear to have been so in Venice. Perhaps this is because, as previously mentioned, in Venice, parish and convent church foundation, restoration, and (often) decoration were, for both economic and status reasons, the domain of the high elite. The inscription above underscores this in its direct identification of its patron, Felipo Dandolo, as *nobel homo*. Non-elites in the city were generally represented through group donor portraiture, although as we have seen, there was some space for distinction in these forms as well.

⁵⁴ Not only are the names of the building's founders listed but also they are identified by parish. See cat. no. 29 for a transcription of the entire inscription.

⁵⁵ "In 1352 of the 22 day of December was made this bell tower for the honour of the nobleman mister Philip Dandolo" My translation. Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia all'Amico delle Belle Arti*. Vol. 2, 234-5.

The collective art patronage of non-elites in the fringes of Balkan kingdoms of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been evaluated by scholars as relatively humble in quality, demonstrating a conservative or provincial style in comparison with examples from capitals like Constantinople or Thessaloniki.⁵⁶ This was not necessarily true of Venetian collective patronage. In Venice, some members of the *scuole* had access not only to funds, but also to new ideas, expensive materials, and skilled artisans. Because of these differences in wealth and access Venetian collective patronage of the fourteenth century often had different characteristics from its counterparts in the east. However, its popularity in the city indicates the continued strength of cultural influences coming from the eastern kingdoms. The degree to which this was a conscious emulation of Byzantine practices or a natural adoption of artistic forms to fulfill the specific needs of confraternity art patronage requires further examination. In the meantime, it is no longer adequate to discuss such images of group or communal patronage in fourteenth-century Venice exclusively in terms of the city's Republican and communal politics.

The Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista: A Case study of Corporate Donor Portraiture

The established view of confraternity art patronage is that the collective donor imagery on the façades of confraternity or *scuole* underscored the irreplaceable state service that these institutions provided to the citizens of the Republic. In this view, group

⁵⁶ Kalopissi-Verti, "Patronage and Artistic Production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period," 89.

portraits are seen as reflecting a collective interest and fealty to the Republic.⁵⁷ However true this may be for later art patronage, in these early years, it is unlikely that such was the case. As previously mentioned, in this period confraternities were still fledgling organizations with strong connections to the neighbourhood in which they were situated, and in some cases, with the founding patrician family that owned their land and meeting houses. This relationship between the *scuole* of Venice and local patrician families, like the Moro family and the *Scuola* della Misericordia, or the Badoer family and the *Scuola* di S. Giovanni Evangelista was so important that it could even be underscored in the façade decorations of the meeting house itself. In the S. Giovanni Evangelista inscriptions, for instance, what is emphasized is the *scuola* itself, its patrons and the parish to which it belonged – S. Giacomo dell’Orio. These aspects are significant in understanding how *scuole* functioned in the topography of the city, and how Venetians viewed them. It was not until 1360 that they finally came under the direct jurisdiction of the Council of Ten, but at this early stage of state intervention the artistic ramifications were few.

The c.1349 corporate donor portrait on the façade of the confraternity of S. Giovanni Evangelista is an excellent example of this genre of portrait imagery in Venice (Fig. 63; cat. no. 29), since not only are figures singled out for higher status in the use of scale in the portrait, but also in the surviving (or recorded) inscriptions. In the case of the S. Giovanni Evangelista relief panel, the inscription can still be read as follows from the façade of the meeting-house in the sestiere of Santa Croce:

⁵⁷ Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*.

MCCCXLVIII fo fato questo lavorier per misier lo Vardian de la scuola de miser S. can vangeliiste e per li soi/ compagni e deli beni dela scola e con la ida deli nostri frari e fo fato con volenta del nobele omo misier iacomo badoer/ditto daperaga p{ri] or del ditto logo e con consentimento dei nobili omeni misier marin badoer de sen iacomo del orio e misier marcol badoer de santo stina e misier cani badoer dito daperaga e misier ma rio badoer de santo stina e misier felipo badoer/ e misier albertin so frat tuto avi e patroni del ditto logo a per sier botolamio dit maguco percolator dei sovra dit misier lo prior⁵⁸

The inscription is important in a number of ways: it interacts with the relief images almost as an explanatory gloss in which certain significant people are singled out. Although the *guardiano* is not identified by name in the inscription, as in the similar corporate portraits from the façade of the *scuola* of S. Lucia (cat. no. 51), or the *scuola grande della Carità* (cat. no. 27), he is most likely depicted in the group portrait as the larger scale man kneeling before a row of identical *confratelli*.⁵⁹ The names of the original founders and owners of the confraternity land are also spelled out as men from the ancient and noble Badoer family of the parish of S. Giacomo dell'Orio and S. Stae; they are clearly named as the co-patrons of the institution. In the similar c.1337 relief carving originally on the façade of the church of S. Giovanni Battista di Murano (cat. no. 77), the *guardiano* at the time of the commission is also singled out from the other

⁵⁸ "In 1349, this work was made for mister the guardian of the school of master S. John the Evangelist and for his companions and for the good of the confraternity and with the help of our brethren and was made with the will of the noble mister Giacomo Badoer said of Peraga prior of the aforesaid place and with the consent of the nobleman Mister Marin Badoer of S. Giacomo dell'Orio and Mister Marco Badoer of S. Stae and mister Gianni Badoer said of Peraga and Mister Mario Badoer of S. Stae and Mister Filippo Badoer and Mister Albertino his brother as protectors and patrons of the aforesaid place and by sir Bartolomeo,...Maguco, procurator and the prior of the aforesaid gentlemen." Translation by Georg Christ. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*. Vol. 1. cat. no. 78.

⁵⁹ Although it is by no means certain, Jan Grevembroch records that the *guardiano* depicted at the head of the brothers was Bon Bonvisini, who held the position in this period. See Grevembroch, "Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudibus, Templorum, aliarumq. Aedium vetustate collapsarum collecta studio, et cura Petri Grandonici jocobi Sen., f. anno 1754." III.

brothers through position and scale, and although no inscription survives to record his name, the position was believed to be held at the time by Michele Amadi.⁶⁰

Group or collective confraternity portraiture was not limited to the façade decoration of the institution's meeting-house; it was also a significant motif in the altarpieces and manuscripts commissioned by the *scuola* and its members. The *scuola* rulebook or *mariegola* was a particularly popular place for this form of devotional imagery. The representation in this context was similar to that of a relief panel on the confraternity façade, although in nature it was for a more limited audience. Perhaps for this reason, fourteenth-century examples of *mariegole* do not emphasize the parish and lay patrons that contributed to the object. Instead, it is the peaceful devotion, unity, and equality of the group as a whole that is made explicit through corporate portraiture. The *mariegole* of the city's confraternities clearly defined their intentions and commitments to their members. As such, the portraits emphasize the group that not only set down the confraternity laws, but was also served by them. All of the components of *scuola* donor portraiture, as seen in other surviving *mariegola* in the city from this period, are present in the S. Giovanni Evangelista manuscripts, including scenes of corporate portraiture with the symbols of the order, and the handing over of the rule to the brothers by the confraternity's patron saint. However, of the mid-fourteenth century *mariegole*, those from the *Scuola grande* di S. Giovanni Evangelista stand out for the sumptuousness of their frontispiece illuminations, which depict scenes of the flagellation (Fig. 86) and the

⁶⁰ Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*.

Ascension of Christ (Fig. 87).⁶¹ These expensive manuscripts indicate a high level of wealth and cultural sophistication in the art patronage of its members.⁶²

The earliest *mariegola* manuscript associated with this same *scuola* is more simply decorated. Dating from between c.1300 and 1325, this image depicts the oath of the confraternity brothers before St. John the Evangelist in the margins of the page.⁶³ In this way, the function of the manuscript is directly reflected in the decoration on the page. This seems to have been a conventional visual type for confraternity *mariegole* in the early part of the fourteenth century; the same iconography is used in the *mariegola* of the *scuola* di S. Teodoro, where the saint is depicted standing before the kneeling confraternity brothers (Fig. 88).⁶⁴ Similarly, in the c.1370 altarpiece for the *Scuola* di S. Giovanni Evangelista, the brothers are depicted in identical white robes, which at first glance make the figures indistinguishable from one another (Fig. 65; cat. no. 30). However, the two *confratelli* leading the group, one of whom holds the standard of the confraternity, are singled out from the others through their position. Although the iconography of group portraiture in the context of the confraternity is clearly the same regardless of the medium used, subtle differences in scale, position, and costume can be read as indicators of individual status within the group. Such projects were, no doubt, an

⁶¹ The flagellation frontispiece is currently in the Wildenstein collection at the Musée Marmottan, Paris; the ascension frontispiece is at the Cleveland Art Museum, 59128. See Mauro Lucco ed. *La pittura nel Veneto: Il Trecento*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1992). 401.

⁶² Other less sumptuous *mariegole* illuminations include the *mariegola* of S. Cristoforo c. 1370, S. Maria Formosa c.1363 and the *mariegola* of the Fruttaroli c. 1375. Though all three include group portraits of the kneeling *confratelli*, the expense and quality of these manuscripts is at a lower level to those created by the *scuola* of S. Giovanni Evangelista.

⁶³ Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 2041. The so –called *Mariegola della Scuola e Chiesa di S. Apollinare poi Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista* c. 1300-25. See Rudolfo Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Trecento* (Venice, 1964) fig. 264.

⁶⁴ BCV, Cl.IV, 21. (Museo Correr, Venice)

attractive means of commemorating one's service within the organization, while recalling to the viewer's mind the prestige, duties, and loyalties of the group.

In conclusion, the group donor portraiture of the confraternities of fourteenth-century Venice reflected a complex mixture of influences and motives particular to the city. Although they were in most cases meant to emphasize the entire body of a confraternity's membership in unity and equality, there was also some space and opportunity for the more prominent members of the membership to be singled out. This was particularly true for the decoration of the wealthier *scuole*. In these portraits, both visually and in inscriptions, the *guardiano grande* at the time of the commission is often singled out. This occurred in one of two ways: either through a use of scale and composition in the group portrait in which the *guardiano* leads a group of kneeling *confratelli* and/or presents the standard of the institution to the *scuola*'s patron saint, or through the presence of the *guardiano*'s name in the inscription. A closer examination of the inscription on the façade of the *scuola* of S. Giovanni Evangelista, the most complete example extant from this period, indicates that allegiance to the state, at least in the first half of the fourteenth century, was not considered important enough to be made explicit in the inscriptions, although local connections were.

This throws into question the application of various arguments concerning confraternity portraiture in the fifteenth century, to those of the fourteenth. Clearly, in these early cases before 1360, when the city's confraternities still functioned separate from the jurisdiction of the Council of Ten, the glory, honour, and prestige of the institution was not intimately connected with that of the state. Indeed the state of Venice was not necessarily an idea that had taken a distinct shape in this period of political and

topographical transition. In the first half of the fourteenth century, the parish and campo still had more importance in the everyday lives of Venetians at all levels of society. The inscription on the façade of the *Scuola* di S. Giovanni Evangelista, and the relief carvings from the *scuole piccole* make clear that even for confraternities in this period, connections to the *contrada* and to the families or convents who owned the land used by them, were important. Furthermore, the community-based patronage and donor representation reflected in the group portraits of fourteenth-century confraternities, have strong ties to community patronage and donor representation conventions in Byzantium. In this tradition, the community is also represented as a group, albeit more often in inscription than in visual portraiture. In Venice this form of group and community patronage was visually interpreted in the context of confraternities. Confraternity donor portraits, especially in the context of a meeting-house façade, were thus a means of visually confirming the institution's place in the parish and community through expressions of group consensus and corporate piety.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*. 232.

Chapter 6: Women in donor portraiture

In fourteenth-century Venice, women are depicted in surviving donor portraits less often than men, and only under specific circumstances. This is typical of female donor portraits in late medieval Italy, where Dirk Kocks has found that lone donatrixes make up only three percent of the total number.¹ Although there are some significant examples of single female donor portraits evident in the frescoes and panels of churches in Verona, Padua, Treviso, and Bassano del Grappa to name a few, Dennis Romano has characterized female patronage in Venice during this period as "...parochial, private and highly personal..."² In theory, medieval women were meant to donate inconspicuously to orphanages or convents, rather than endowing a funerary chapel as their husbands were more likely to do. Nevertheless, in examples from Tuscany and Perugia, Samuel Cohn has unearthed evidence of women's art patronage, which varied from small-scale devotional panels to complete architectural projects, including furnishings for the mass, the dedication of the altar, and the inclusion of portraits in the panel on the high altar. Furthermore, in Padua, Francesco da Carrara's consort, Fina Buzzacarina, was the sole patron of an elaborate decorative scheme in the city's baptistery.³ In Venice, female donor

¹ Kocks, *Die Stifterdarstellung in der italienischen malerei des XIII-XV Jahrhunderts*. 15.

² In contrast to male patronage which was, according to Romano, "...city-wide, highly institutionalized, and focused on the councils of government ...both patronage systems [male and female] served, like religion, the same end of creating a sense of community among Venetians of varying status, thereby lessening the tension brought on by patrician domination." See Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 120.

³ "A Perugian widow, Andrea, founded a chapel "to be covered" (cappella coperta) in the Olivetani church of Monte Morcino, where she demanded a preexisting altar, "on the right hand side of the door leading to the choir of this church" to be "honourably" furnished with altar cloths (tobaliis a dossale) and other beautiful fabrics, a cross, a chalice, "patena et tur[i]bulo" of silver and "honourable" vestments for the priest, the deacons, and the subdeacons, according to the prior's discretion (iuxta conscientiam). She used her will to name the chapel after the "Sancta Maria della Annuptiata" and demanded that her heirs consign

portraits were generally less grand, and rarely depicted publicly without an accompanying male donor portrait. Of the twenty examples of individualized female donor portraiture collected in my catalogue, five examples depict the ducal consort with her husband, the doge, above his tomb monument; in a further seven examples, the female donor is identifiably an abbess or a nun of a convent; and in six more examples she is the spouse of a noble or *cittadino* Venetian. At the end of this chapter, I will examine the donor portraits of noblewoman, Alixe da Ponte and prior, Marco Minotto, in a relief panel originally on the façade of the hospital of the monastery of S. Andrea del Lido. The circumstances around female donor portraits are intriguing, as they shed light on the simultaneously constricted and active status of women in late medieval Venice.

Opportunities for Venetian women - particularly those in the upper social spheres of society - to publicly display their influence and patronage, were usually facilitated by men. Ironically, the best occasions for women to record their contributions through individual donor portraiture were in one of the city's thirty-odd convents. The social environment of the nuns in these convents was a microcosm of lay Venice, and the artistic commissions of the nuns reflect this. The economic and social status of patrician and *cittadino* women in this period was such that their opportunities and inclinations for art patronage merit attention as a separate genre within donor portraiture in late medieval Venice. In the following chapter, I will examine donor portraits of Venetian women in

and place there "a large and beautiful" panel painting (tabula magna apulcra) of the Annunciation flanked by the figures of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, "one on the right, the other on the left," and at the foot of the "images" the "likeness" (similitudinem) of the person of this testatrix, along with her arms and other signs for her memory and for the commendation of her soul." (1389). See Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 225.; Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)". 38.; Cordelia Warr, "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua: The Patronage of Fina Buzzacarini," *Renaissance Studies* 10 (1996).

light of their changing legal and social status as wives, widows, sisters, and daughters; and as nuns and *dogaressa* in fourteenth-century Venice.

Female Status in Fourteenth-Century Venice

Venice, like the rest of Western European society, was built along social lines, which were borrowed from established ancient Roman and Germanic patrilineal customs.⁴ The system of male descent and succession allowed men to inherit and divide the estate of their fathers with their brothers; natal daughters were entitled to the lineage patrimony only insofar as their dowry allowed. This legal status implies that women, once they married, joined the patrimony of another lineage; however, the bequests detailed in fourteenth-century testaments reveal that Venetian patrician women remained close to their original natal ties in a variety of ways.⁵ In Venice, the fortunes and well-being of married women were protected; they had recourse to the law if they had a legitimate complaint against their husbands. In cases where the judge ruled in favour of the wife, she was entitled to financial maintenance if she chose to live separately from her husband. This, according to Stanley Chojnacki, was evidence of a fraternal and paternal solicitude in Venetian male society that took an active interest in protecting sisters and daughters even after their marriage into another lineage.⁶ It was in patrician male interests

⁴ For a comprehensive overview on the issue of the legal, social and economic status of women in Medieval Europe see David Herlihy, "Land, Family and Women in Continental Europe 701-1200," *Traditio* xviii (1962). David Herlihy, *Women in Medieval Society. The Smith History Lecture, 1971* (Houston, 1971).

⁵ Stanley Chojnacki, "Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice," *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974): 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*: 15.

to be loyal to their married daughters and sisters, because they very often stood to benefit from their reciprocated loyalty though testamentary bequests.

Bequests to members of their natal kin are a reflection of the different social orientation enjoyed by patrician women compared to their male counterparts. According to Chojnacki, these were primarily gestures of personal rather than lineal loyalty. Their bequests, in other words, were not bound by the same social and legal strictures of *fraternitas* that structured the bequests of patrician men and forced them to protect the male inherited patrimony.

By contrast, women were free to leave their money to whomever their personal sentiment bound them.⁷ Though one might suppose that a Venetian woman's fortune in this period was not generally an amount that would make freedom of bequest economically significant on a city-wide level, in fact patrician women's fortunes consisted of any money and property left to them by family members in their wills, as well as the dowry to which they were entitled upon marriage or entry into a convent.⁸ A woman's fortune could thus increase significantly throughout her lifetime. Although a woman could not invest her dowry without her husband's consent, it was still considered her outright property. Venetian law underscored this by requiring that a husband repay his wife's dowry to her upon his death.

Patrician marriage dowries in the late fourteenth century were not trivial amounts. The average patrician dowry which in the mid- *trecento* was approximately 650 ducats,

⁷ Ibid.: 11.

⁸ Women were often remembered in the wills of their fathers and brothers. In addition to the legal division of his estate among his sons, the will of Donato Memo (1312) also makes specific mention to money and objects that were to go to his daughters Tota and Agnesina (a nun at S. Celestia), and living provisions were made for his sister Marchesina. This was common in Venetian testaments of the fourteenth century. ASV, notary Tagliapietra, busta 198, will 14, will of Donato Memo, October 30 1312.

had risen by the 1370s and 80s to around 1000 ducats. By 1420, the Venetian senate found it necessary to pass a law restricting marriage dowries to a maximum of 1600 ducats. The reasons for this inflation of dowry amounts are considered to be a combination of a rising cost of living and increased social mobility. Large dowries enabled more frequent intermarriage between old and new nobility and even in this period, between noblemen and *cittadino* women. The protection of such dowries was of immense importance to families, and a number of safeguards were put in place to protect them from a husband's bad management. For instance, a married man was required to deposit with the procurators of S. Marco, an amount sufficient to guarantee restitution of his wife's dowry. Furthermore, in cases where a man could not repay the dowry to her in full, his male kin had to supply any amount that was lacking.⁹ According to Chojnacki, dowry rights were protected for a number of practical reasons in late medieval Venice, one of which was to ensure that a patrician woman's fortune would not be permanently separated from its patrilineal origins.¹⁰ To protect the fortune of a patrician woman was to protect her capacity to return it to her natal family.¹¹

The fact that women often invested in their kinsmen's business ventures meant that they had a sizable economic impact on the city itself. Through these freely made investments and bequests to their kinsmen, patrician women wielded a certain economic

⁹ Chojnacki, "Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice," 17.

¹⁰ Ibid.: 19.

¹¹ This could occur in the form of a testamentary bequest or a business loan – both of which were common in this period. Although more people between 1331 and 1370 were writing wills earlier in life, due in part to the Black Death, proportionally more women were writing wills and bequeathing money – making up to 56 percent of wills drawn up – because of a desire to bequest money to their natal kin. See Ibid.: 22.

and psychological leverage in both their marital and natal lineages.¹² Patrician men naturally sought to keep in close contact with their married sisters, to whom they were bound not only by blood and sentiment but also by shared economic interest.¹³ By contrast, conventual dowries amounted to only a fraction of the marriage portions that could be settled on a Venetian noblewoman.¹⁴ This was mostly because, unlike marriage dowries, a nun's family could never reclaim the conventual dowry through bequest or other means.¹⁵ However, convents continued to be a popular alternative to marriage for patrician women and the local nunneries were famous for being institutions as elite and hierarchical as the Republic itself.

The role that a laywoman in fourteenth-century Venice played in the economic and social status of her family is also underscored in the documents related to the limitation of dress and overt displays of wealth and status.¹⁶ The sumptuary laws, although ostensibly pertaining to display in a variety of forms, mostly restricts those forms traditionally connected with women: dowries, jewels, pearls, gowns, betrothal, and

¹² In certain instances, women's testaments made bequests that included certain moral conditions. Chojnacki cites the examples of Beruzza Soranzo, wife of Marco, who threatened to cut him out of her bequest if he did not free a certain slave girl named Anna "for the salvation of his soul and mine." ASV, ANT, notary Giovanni Boninsegni, busta 296, will 108, October 22 1388; Similarly, Agnesina Morosini, widow of Ludovico gave her estate to her son Vittore on condition that he pay his debts and free a slave. ASV, ANT, notary Giovanni Boninsegni, busta 296, will 108, October 22, 1388). See Ibid.: 26-27.

¹³ Ibid.: 26-7.

¹⁴ Mary Laven does not mention what the typical amounts for conventual dowries in fourteenth-century Venice were; however, she does mention that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the cost of a choir nun's dowry was around 1000 ducats, three percent of what the standard patrician marriage dowry was. The cost of a lower level entry to a nunnery, a so-called *conversa*, was still a significant amount at around 300 ducats, but entering a convent on the *conversa* level was separate from the prestigious choir nuns and essentially relegated the postulant to servitude within the convent. At the same ratio, since a typical patrician marriage dowry was 1000 ducats by the end of the *trecento* the average conventual dowry may have been somewhere between 30-60 ducats. See Laven, *Virgins of Venice: enclosed lives and broken vows in the Renaissance convent*. 48.

¹⁵ Ibid., 40.

¹⁶ See ASV, *Maggiore Consiglio* Deliberazioni, Stella, reg 24, 1480-1502f. 64 v. (cf. Chapter 32. n.81) which mentions a restriction on the "wearing of colours"

wedding feasts etc.¹⁷ The amount of money lavished on a Venetian woman in this period reflects not simply her function as a platform for familial display through her marriage garments, feasts, gifts, jewels, and dowry, but also her function as a means of family investment. The hoarding and collecting of material goods was a form of fortune building in the Middle Ages, not meant simply as a means of exhibiting wealth, but also of securing and investing it.

Venetian women were the links in a complex series of political and economic affinities between noble lineages. Through complex testamentary bequests and naming of testators from both her marital and natal kin, Venetian women could connect two lineages intimately. These kinship connections were such that the father or brothers of a woman might expect business favours or the assurance of sympathetic voting in the *Maggiore Consiglio* from her husband.¹⁸ The documents confirm that alliance in Venice was paramount, and in government votes, not only were interested parties and their immediate relations excluded from voting, but also their relatives by marriage.¹⁹ The importance of women in the patrician system was therefore underscored in Venetian legislation. Whom a patrician woman married was therefore important to her kinsmen, not only because it affected their business, political, and social connections, but also because it could either establish or diminish their familial pride in membership in the class of nobles. This was of particular importance in the *trecento*, as the fledgling noble class struggled to find its social footing in relation to one another, and to define the terms upon which their nobility

¹⁷ See Newett, "The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries."

¹⁸ Chojnacki, "Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice," 28.

¹⁹ See Crouzet-Pavan, "*Sopra le Aque Salse*" *èspaces, pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*. vol.1, 394. Chojnacki, "Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice." Stanley Chojnacki, "Dowries and Kinsmen in Early Renaissance Venice," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (1975).

could be established. As the fourteenth century wore on, there was a crucial shift in qualification for the *Maggior Consiglio* and all offices elected by it. By the 1370s, one's patrilineage was no longer the only issue in defining membership to the nobility; one's matrilineage had become increasingly important as well. The circumstances of one's birth and the private lives of nobles came under increased scrutiny for election to government positions (such as the dogedom); this became the key to the formation of the new structure of the nobility.²⁰ Under these social circumstances, women occupied a particular position in Venetian society. Although they were nominally excluded, under patrilineal laws, from full membership in their lineage after marriage, they were still significant in their families' social strategy. Through their marriages, women represented an important means of improvement, or at least maintenance of their families' social and economic status, which gave them a different kinship orientation to their kinsmen, and also provided them with social leverage outside the natal lineage.²¹

*A Modest Life?*²²

In mainland northern Italy, especially in Verona and Milan, group donor portraiture was more likely to involve the portrayal of the female line.²³ This is probably

²⁰ Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata," 690-91.

²¹ Chojnacki, "Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice," 6.

²² Book II of Francesco Barbaro, *De re uxoria* trans. Benjamin G. Kohl, in *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Society and Government* (Philadelphia, 1978).

²³ Examples of family group portraiture in which the female line also figures prominently can be seen in the Mocchirolo chapel of Stefano Porro now in the Pinacoteca Brera, Milan and in the Cavalli chapel of the church of S. Anastasia, Verona and in the oratory of S. Giorgio, Padua. John Richards has suggested that the female branch of the Cavalli family was also originally included in the portraits of the Cavalli men, which can still be seen in the frescoes of the Cavalli chapel in S. Anastasia. See Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*. 94

because of the well-traveled trade routes between the Lombardy region and the European cultures beyond the Alps, where this form of familial portraiture was well established.²⁴ These gendered portraits were well suited to the culture of cities like Milan and Verona, where ruling families married into some of the greatest noble families of Northern Europe.²⁵ Although donor figures in these images are divided according to gender, and their depiction is likewise gendered in costume, likeness, and attitude, the immediate visual implication was that the female branch of the family was of equal importance to the male. Indeed, the family name of a wife could confer enhanced prestige and privilege to her spousal lineage.

Although the purity, nobility, and wealth of the female line was an increasingly urgent issue for patrician Venetians by the late fourteenth century, the evidence indicates that such images were an unpopular or unnecessary means of depicting familial pride in the Republic, and did not become common until the sixteenth century.²⁶ According to the extant evidence, those images that came closest to family donor portraits in *trecento* Venice were of married couples which, including portraits of ducal consorts, make up eleven of the total twenty examples of female donor portraiture in the catalogue. The

²⁴ Not only are these types of family portraits often seen in surviving medieval church decoration in Switzerland and Germany, but they were also popular as far north as France and England where tomb monuments and brass rubbings often depicted family members of both sexes kneeling together with their heraldry.

²⁵ The Visconti of Milan for instance not only married women from the local noble families like the della Scala and d'Este families, but also into the royal houses of Europe. By the end of the fourteenth century, Gian Galeazzo Visconti (ruled 1378-1402) married his first wife Isabelle de Valois, daughter of King John of France and in 1385 they married their daughter Valentina to Louis, Duke of Orleans. See Richards, *Altichiero: An Artist and his Patrons in the Italian Trecento*. 94. See also Montel, *Gli Affreschi Gotici Lombardi*, Vol. II, fig. I, and Matalon and Mazzini, *Affreschi in Lombardia*.

²⁶ By the sixteenth century these types of family portraits were more common in Venice. Notably the enormous portrait of Jacopo Soranzo with fourteen members of the Soranzo family by Jacopo Tintoretto c. 1555 which originally decorated the interior of the Soranzo family palazzo in campo S. Polo. It is now in the Pinacoteca del Castello Sforzesco, Milan. See Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family*. 16-19.

reasons for this are unclear. It is possible that a row of Venetian patricians depicted in the full strength and unity of their lineage would have been unpalatable to Venetian sensibilities in a century that saw two attempted coups on the government. It is also possible that all examples have been lost to us over the centuries of change and reconstruction in the city. On the other hand, since such imagery appears to have been as unpopular in Central Italy as in Venice, there must have been different and equally attractive avenues available for self and familial representation in this period.

Conjugal donor portraits, on the other hand, were extremely common everywhere in late medieval Italy, and the conventions of gendered portraiture meant that women were more likely to be depicted in these images in ways that emphasized the ideal attributes of honourable femininity, especially piety, modesty, and obedience.²⁷ The garment worn by the kneeling figure of a woman was generally somber and subdued, and reflected not only her social status but also her character, since she often held a rosary in her hands. Portraits of the *dogaresse* and of other patrician wives such as Donato Memo's wife (cat. no. 12), and the wife in the Madonna del Parto c.1380 (cat. no. 36), or in the Accademia panel by Paolo Veneziano c. 1340 (cat. no. 34) were, without exception, depicted in a sober and unembellished matron's garment devoid of fashionable slashed sleeves, jewels, or furs. Although, on the mainland, women were more likely to be depicted in the latest fashion, they were also commonly shown in a sober nun-like habit that was meant to emphasize these same humble, pious, and obedient qualities.²⁸ These

²⁷ King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: wives and widows in Italy c. 1300 -c.1550*. 108.

²⁸ Good examples include the c. 1357-9 altarpiece by Lorenzo Veneziano in the Cappella del Rosario of the church of S. Anastasia, Verona, where Mastino II della Scala is depicted in lavish and fashionable garments while his wife, Taddea da Carrara, is dressed in a sober nun-like habit. On the other hand, in her donor

characteristics of ideal womanhood were particularly emphasized in the depiction of a woman with her husband. Typically in these images, the man knelt in the position of honour to the right of the Madonna and child or saint, while his wife knelt to the left, although in some cases such as Paolo Veneziano's panel in the Galleria dell'Accademia (Fig. 36; cat. no. 34), both figures kneel together at the right hand of the Virgin and child.²⁹ As in the *memento mori* panel from the Thyssen Bornemisza collection, Madrid (Fig. 50; cat. no. 66) and the Donato Memo *ancona*, the positioning of a figure to the left of the holy figure could also indicate that the person depicted was already deceased.

The Dogaressa

The *dogaressa* in the late medieval period were complex characters, embodying not only the ambiguities of the ducal office in Venice during this period, with its pomp, ceremony and increasingly curtailed political power, but they also provided a symbol of ideal Venetian womanhood. The ducal consort of Venice was not elected but came to her position through marriage alone. However, the title of dogaressa came with specific duties and limitations on her movements and actions that also made it an official position.³⁰ The dogaressa, for the most part, came from the patrician stratum of society and she remained a typical daughter of the elite, in both her interests and her activities, up to her death.³¹ Although she played a crucial role in perpetuating the collective identity of

portrait, Fina Buzzacarina, the wife of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara of Padua, is depicted in the frescoes of that city's baptistery c.1372-8 in a fashionable fourteenth-century headdress.

²⁹ See Reiss and Wilkins, *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*. 1.

³⁰ Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*. 8.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

the city, her concerns also intersected with neighbourhood, familial, and gendered ones. The testaments of the *dogaressa* in this period, demonstrate their concerns for extended kinsmen, friends, and servants. This underscores the importance of sustaining and cultivating her political connections. Since she was most likely to survive her husband and therefore live out of public office, it was in a dogaressa's interest, not only for sentimental, but also for familial and economic reasons, to care for and cultivate the web of neighbourhood and family connections into which she was born and married. It is no wonder that the dogaressa continued to engage in many social and pious activities with parish churches and confraternities, and that some of the most prominent artistic commissions undertaken by her in this period included donor portraiture. Like those of the doge, the extant portraits of the fourteenth-century *dogaressa* are reflections of both her official role and her private, familial interests.

Extant portraits of the dogaressa in this period are exclusively in the context of ducal funerary monuments. Since a dogaressa often served as a testator for her husband's will, she exercised an implicit influence on the doge's reputation, and represented with her dead spouse even after her official tenure had ended.³² It can be no coincidence that monuments dedicated to the doge, in this period, often recalled the office of the dogaressa, as well. As we have already seen in a previous chapter, the tomb of the doge was commonly used to commemorate and honour the family to which he belonged. Once the corpse of the doge had gone through a process of ritual de-vestment and his official functions were ceremonially stripped from him, the ducal funeral and tomb monument were a means of delivering him back to his family as a patrician and an individual to be

³² Ibid., 123.

honoured according to his family's will.³³ The desire to be buried with kinsmen was particularly strong among nobles in medieval society, where a consciousness of lineage was the key to establishing legitimate accesses to power. Noblewomen's burial choices likewise reflected the importance of their lineage, but final decisions varied between burial with her father's family and with her husband's.³⁴

In Venice the situation was no different; the Dogaressa Maddelena Contarini Gradenigo (d.1373) for example, chose burial in the tomb of her natal kinsman Doge Jacopo Contarini in the cloister of the Frari, rather than with her husband.³⁵ On the other hand, her kinswoman, the Dogaressa Elisabetta Contarini Dandolo (d.1348), whose portrait was erected alongside that of her husband, Francesco Dandolo, above his tomb in the chapter house of the Frari, requested burial in the Frari with her husband (Fig.11).³⁶ The presence of Elisabetta's donor portrait above her husband's tomb, and the precedent set by the Dogaressa Jacobina Contarini, who was buried with her husband Jacobo in a tomb decorated with both of their donor portraits, seems to suggest that joint donor portraiture might also indicate joint burial. However, when the Dandolo tomb was opened

³³ According to accounts of the ducal funeral: "While lying in state, the corpse of the doge wore backward spurs, carried an inverted sword, and the ducal shield lay face down in the coffin. The corpse wore no headgear, as the ducal corno was repossessed and cared for by the procurators of S. Marco. Such symbolic inversion "aborted the personal authority". See the account of Doge Giovanni Soranzo's funeral in the ASV, Collegio Secreto, Promissioni, *Liber Promissionum*, fol. 116v. See also Ibid., 125. Edward Muir, "The Doge as Primus inter Pares: Interregnum Rites in Early Sixteenth Century Venice," in *Essays presented to Myron P. Glimore*, eds. Sergio Ramakus, Gloria Bertelli (Florence, 1978). 149.

³⁴ Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*. 114.

³⁵ It is difficult to make out with any certainty if Maddelena Gradenigo chose burial apart from her husband Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo (d. 1342) because she was not permitted burial in San Marco or because of a personal choice. Indeed it was not unusual for *dogaresses* like Marina Gallina Steno (buried in S. Andrea della Zirada) to choose burial apart from their husbands who often predeceased them by decades.

³⁶ ASV, ANT, notary Ognibene, busta 1195, will 8, June 21, 1348

in 1818, Elisabetta's remains were not there.³⁷ In light of Dogaressa Maddalena's later choice of burial with her Contarini kinsman, it is a distinct possibility that Elisabetta Dandolo was also eventually interred with her natal family in the Frari. Since the Contarini tomb was destroyed in the nineteenth century and its contents were not recorded, there is no way to be certain.

The Dogaressa Marina Gallina Steno (d.1422) was also buried apart from her husband, even though her portrait, likewise, decorated his tomb monument in the parish church of S. Marina. The case of Marina Gallina Steno is a significant one since only the last two of her five testaments make mention of her burial. In both instances, she chose separate burial from her husband. She initially requested burial with her natal kin in the Gallina family tomb in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in her testament dated to 1409, but by 1420 she had changed her mind and requested burial instead at the church of S. Andrea Apostolo (della Zirada) in the Augustinian habit of the nuns who lived there.³⁸ The tomb was destroyed in the seventeenth century, but was described in a chronicle as being a prominent tomb slab containing the dogaressa's low relief effigy and the Steno coat of arms.³⁹ The tomb epitaph read:

³⁷ Nothing is known about the Dogaressa Jacobina Contarini except her first name, which was recorded in the inscription on the tomb monument. Which read: "Here lies Jacopo Contarini, renowned doge of the Venetians, and the Dogaressa Jacobina his wife." Sanudo, "Le vite dei dogi," col. 572. cited and translated in Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*. 82.; Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe*. 109-110.

³⁸ Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*. 139-40.

³⁹ BNM, Stefano Magno Chronicle, MS Ital. SerVIII 515 (7881), fol.58r. Cited in Ibid., 140.

*Hic iacet corpus Serenissimae D. Marinae uxoris q. Serenissimis et
Excellentissimis Principis D.D. Michaelis Steno olim inclyti Ducis Venetiarum,
quae obiit die 4 mensis Maii MCCCCXXII. Anima cuius requiescat in pace*⁴⁰

Although Marina Gallina chose a “humble” burial site, the use of the Steno coat of arms and the epitaph, according to Holly Hurlburt, were intended to recall her position as dogaressa during her lifetime.⁴¹ It is also probable that in choosing this particular convent, Marina Gallina was also making a statement about her role as dogaressa and as a patron. The convent of S. Andrea della Zirada was founded in 1329, as an Augustinian convent for poor women, by four noble women: Francesca Correr, Elisabetta Gradenigo, Elisabetta Soranzo, and Maddalena Malipero. A nasty and protracted dispute with the neighbouring nuns of S. Chiara was resolved in 1331, and by 1346, the convent was placed under the exclusive protection and patronage of the doge.⁴² In choosing this as her burial site Gallina was choosing a site of combined ducal and patrician female patronage. In addition, Marina Gallina had left a significant sum of 25 ducats to the church for the placement of her tomb in front of the church, a position that had come to symbolize a founder’s tomb.⁴³

It appears that burial with one’s husband was not necessarily the norm for a widowed dogaressa, even when her donor portrait was included in her husband’s funerary monument. Rather, the dogaressa chose her place and mode of burial according to

⁴⁰ “Here lies the body of the Most Serene Dogaressa Marina wife of the Most Serene and Excellent Prince Lord Michele Steno former famed doge of Venice, who died May 4, 1422. May her soul rest in peace.” Translated by Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*. 140. Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima, et singolare, descritta in XIII. libri*. 209. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*. Vol. 6., 66, 76-77.

⁴¹ Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*. 140.

⁴² Flaminio Corner, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia* (Padova, 1758).

⁴³ Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento*. 23.

familial concerns, in addition to those of the official position she once held. As a result, the presence of her portrait in so many of the ducal tombs must have had been in reference to her role as executor and co-patron of the monuments.

Indeed, the prominence of the dogaressa, both implicitly (through her role as testator) and explicitly (as a represented donor), in the ducal tomb monuments can also be interpreted as an indication of the increasing importance of the familial connections offered by women through marriage. The connection of two noble houses through marriage was something to be underscored, when possible, in this era of struggle between the nobles of the city. To represent oneself with one's noble wife would be to underscore one's lineage and familial connections in a number of ways. This was perhaps what Elisabetta Contarini Dandolo and her co-executor Nicolò Contarini had in mind while overseeing the construction and planning the decoration of her husband, Doge Francesco Dandolo's tomb in the Frari. Hurlburt has convincingly argued that the ducal tomb of her kinsman, Doge Jacobo Contarini (1275-80), and his wife, Jacobina influenced Elisabetta in the execution of her own husband's tomb, and that she sought to establish a style of ducal tomb in the Frari and to allude to the familial ties between the two ducal families.⁴⁴ Later chroniclers described the tomb of the Doge and Dogaressa Contarini, originally in the cloister of the same church, as containing mosaic portraits of the ducal couple (cat. no. 75). Presumably the arrangement of these figures was not far removed from that of the Dandolo tomb 59 years later, and thus the possibility that the earlier tomb provided a

⁴⁴ Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*. 132.

model for the later one is plausible speculation.⁴⁵ The tomb monument of Doge Giovanni Dolfín (1356-61) (Fig. 13; cat. no. 3), which was commissioned by the doge after the death of his wife, Caterina Giustinian, originally included conjugal portraits on the tomb and in an elaborate fresco above the tomb. This was exceptional since most ducal tombs containing portraits of the ducal consort were executed in the lifetime of the dogressa, whose interests were often represented, if not directly as an executor of her husband's estate, then indirectly through kinsmen who were.

Among the ducal tombs containing votive portraiture subsequent to those of Doges Jacopo Contarini and Francesco Dandolo, the tombs of Doges Giovanni Dolfín, Michele Morosini, and Michele Steno also included the portraits of *dogressa* in elaborate multi-media decorative schemes.⁴⁶ The Archangel Michael presents his namesake, Doge Michele Morosini (d.1382), to Christ in the mosaic above Morosini's tomb (Fig. cat. 14; no. 4). However the Dogressa Beriola is presented in the same mosaic by John the Baptist. Holly Hurlburt suggests that this iconographic choice was meant as a reference to the name saint of the couple's only son Giovanni, who may have also been an executor of his father's will, and second patron of the monument.⁴⁷ Together, the couple represents not only an image of idealized conjugal harmony both here and in the hereafter, but also a message about the harmony between the families that they joined together. As a typical formula for depicting married couples, such images of the ducal couple emphasize their personal and larger familial connections instead of their official

⁴⁵ Both Marino Sanudo and Pietro Giustinian described the Contarini tomb, which was located in the cloister of the Frari until the nineteenth century. See Sanudo, "Le vite dei dogi," col. 572. Giustinian, *Venetiarum historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata* (1358). 191.

⁴⁶ The *Dogressa* of these three doges were as follows: Caterina Giustinian Dolfín (d. before 1360); Beriola Morosini (d.1390); Marina Gallina Steno (d.1422)

⁴⁷ Hurlburt, *The Dogressa of Venice 1200-1500*. 137-38, fnnt. 45.

offices. In this light, the donor portraits of the dogaressa in fourteenth-century Venice speak of their status as patrician women, as well as their official status as dogaressa.

In contrast to the portraits of ruling consorts in other parts of the Veneto in this period, the costume of the dogaressa is surprisingly subdued. Although the doges are always depicted wearing the official scarlet robe trimmed in ermine and the ducal *corno*, their wives were usually dressed in a subdued black or brown gown.⁴⁸ Elisabetta Dandolo wears the same religious cloak of her patron name saint (Elisabeth of Hungary) (Fig. 11; cat. no. 1), and the Dogaressa Marina Gallina Steno also appears to wear a nun's habit (Fig. 16; cat. no. 6). The Dogaressa Beriola Morosini, on the other hand, is depicted in the traditional black gown and white veil of a Venetian matron (Fig. 14; cat. no. 4), and it is clear that the dogaressa Dolfín is likewise modestly veiled in her sculpted portrait (Fig. 13; cat. no. 3). The fact that the *dogaressa* are thus garbed was clearly meant to emphasize their modesty, piety, and humility as the "pious, private wife, whose body and clothes mattered less than her attempts at intercession for her family and her city."⁴⁹ Donor portraits of the *dogaressa* are further differentiated from that of the doge through the use of pose. While the dogaressa is depicted in a three-quarter pose in all of the portrait examples of ducal couples, the doge is always shown in a true profile to the right of the holy figure or scene; this posture is in keeping with the convention of ruler portraiture seen in classical medals and coins, and according to Susan Steer, is a reflection of a "...rise in aristocratic self-affirmation" in Venice⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Susan Steer has suggested that the *dogaressa* are depicted wearing widow weeds comparable to those worn in Florence in the same period. See Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)". 42-3.

⁴⁹ Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*. 135.

⁵⁰ Steer, "Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c. 1300-c. 1450)". 27-8.

These donor portraits of the dogressa are not unusual for depictions of noblewomen in the period. Although contrasts do exist in the donor portraits of mainland noblewomen, like Fina Buzzacarina in Padua (Fig. 89), and Maria Bovolini in Bassano del Grappa (Fig. 58), whose portraits appear prominently, on the objects of their patronage, without their husbands, there are also some significant similarities.⁵¹ For instance, although Fina Buzzacarina, the wife of Francesco “il Vecchio” da Carrara, is depicted on the west wall of the baptistery fresco programme in Padua (c.1372), kneeling before the Virgin in a fashionable *trecento* gown and headdress, that dress is not overtly opulent. Likewise, Taddea da Carrara, the wife of Cangrande II della Scala of Verona, is depicted, dressed in a somber nun-like garment, on the former high altarpiece of S. Anastasia, Verona, by Lorenzo Veneziano (c.1357-9), (Fig.51). Although Sts. Peter Martyr and Domenic present both Taddea and her husband to the Virgin, it is Cangrande II who wears golden thread textiles cut in the latest court style. These examples of mainland ruler and consort portraiture are strikingly similar to the “peacock and peahen” analogy used to describe doge and dogressa portrait imagery in Venice.⁵² Since the majority of Venetian donor portraits are relief carvings whose original polychrome has long since faded or disappeared, it is difficult to distinguish the extent to which details of dress were observed. Notwithstanding the restrictions on female dress laid out in the sumptuary laws, the existence of which suggest that Venetian women were prone to

⁵¹ The baptistery of the Padua duomo in Fina Buzzacarina’s case and a painted crucifix by Guariento d’Arpo in the Franciscan church of Bassano del Grappa in the case of Maria Bovolini. See Warr, “Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua: The Patronage of Fina Buzzacarini.”; and Louise Bourdua, “Guariento’s Crucifix for Maria Bovolini in San Francesco, Bassano: Women and Franciscan Art in Italy during the Later Middle Ages,” in *Pope, Church and City: Essays in honour of Brenda Bolton*, ed. F. Andrews; C. Egger; C. Rousseau (Leiden, 2004).

⁵²Steer, “Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)”. 42.

opulence of dress in this period, the painted donor portraits in Venice indicate that men were much more likely than women to be depicted in opulent costume. This difference is due not only to the conventions of female patronage which was meant to be invisible, but also to the conventions of female portraiture which was meant to emphasize feminine qualities.

Although, as we have seen, Venetian women exercised a certain amount of economic clout in the fourteenth century, they appear to have been less willing to spend their money on projects that included independent portraiture. Though they did often leave money for the foundation of charitable hospitals and convents for poor women, there are no extant examples of this patronage manifesting itself in individual donor portraiture without the legitimizing presence of a man.⁵³ Cordelia Warr has suggested that the art patronage of Fina Buzzacarina in the baptistery of Padua was motivated by deeply personal and familial concerns. Although the project was undertaken while her husband was still alive, Fina's enormous personal wealth, along with her portrait and ultimately her burial in the space, is evidence of her independent patronage.⁵⁴ Apart from the conventional image of Fina, kneeling before the Virgin and child over the original entrance to the building, a second portrait of the donatrix standing with her attendants in the scene of John the Baptist's birth, is visual evidence, according to Warr, that the project was intended as a "thanks-offering and prayer for [the] future safety" of her long anticipated son and heir – Francesco "il Novello" da Carrara (Fig. 89).⁵⁵ This reading of

⁵³ The convent of S. Andrea della Zirada, for instance was founded by patrician women.

⁵⁴ Fina Buzzacarina's wealth was such that in 1371 she lent the city of Florence the enormous sum of 10,000 ducats. See Warr, "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua: The Patronage of Fina Buzzacarini," 143, fn. 9.

⁵⁵ Ibid.: 154-55.

the programme underscores the significance that such imagery had for the patron, as a reflection of the most personal family events and concerns. Likewise the donor portrait of Maria Bovolini in the painted crucifix, intended for the church of S. Francesco in Bassano del Grappa, is also understood to reflect personal concerns (Fig. 58). Apart from the kneeling donor portrait of the donatrix at Christ's feet on the crucifix, she is also identified as Maria Bovolini by an inscription and by the presence of the Bovolini coat of arms. Furthermore, the crucifix (c.1332) was intended to decorate the Bovolini family chapel in the same church. These two factors contribute to the overall impression left by the painting and indicate that beyond its conventional spiritual aspects, the commission also had significance for her natal family.⁵⁶ Though Maria Bovolini was ultimately buried with her husband "...Grayli, son of Riprando, son of Jabonino..." in S. Francesco, the particulars of this commission indicate a continued desire to contribute to the honour of her birth lineage. As Louise Bourdua points out, this exemplifies the view recently presented by David Wilkins, that female art patronage of the period tends to be motivated by a desire to commemorate her paternal lineage, and a desire to pursue a tradition of art patronage inspired by earlier or near contemporary women.⁵⁷

The donor portraiture of the fourteenth-century dogressa seems to uphold this theory. Both Elisabetta Contarini Dandolo and Maddelena Contarini Gradenigo sought to

⁵⁶ The first member of the Bovolini family to be associated with the chapel was "Elena". It is possible that this is the Elena that Maria Bovolini refers to in the inscription. Also, although the date of Maria Bovolini's testament, the 7th of October, 1332, has traditionally been identified as a *terminus post quem* for the object, her will makes no mention of the work at all. The work could have been commissioned before her will, or was a posthumous commission by her executors, or was ordered at a later date after Maria survived her illness or it could be another Maria Bovolini. See Bourdua, "Guariento's Crucifix for Maria Bovolini in San Francesco, Bassano: Women and Franciscan Art in Italy during the Later Middle Ages," 315-16.

⁵⁷ Reiss and Wilkins, *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*. 2-3. Bourdua, "Guariento's Crucifix for Maria Bovolini in San Francesco, Bassano: Women and Franciscan Art in Italy during the Later Middle Ages."

connect themselves, even after death, with their natal lineage through emulation of or burial in the tomb of their honoured kinsman, Doge Jacopo Contarini. The degree to which this extended to the conscious emulation of his wife, the Dogaressa Jacobina Contarini, who was originally depicted in portraiture above the no longer extant tomb monument, is up for debate. However, the precedent for the type of familial emulation discussed by David Wilkins are strong, since all three women are connected not only by family, but also by position as ducal consort and executor.⁵⁸ Likewise the placement of Dogaressa Marina Gallina's tomb before the convent of S. Andrea della Zirada and her donation to the church recalls the convent's original foundation by noble Venetian women.

The dogaressa was in a peculiar position, unusual even for other patrician women, to express her familial pride publicly. Many of the spousal portraits extant from this period in Venice seem to have been projects initiated by men with little or no interest in displaying the female line of their family other than in a commemorative way. However, the dogaressa who often outlived her husband was in a position to express not only the importance of her husband's legacy, but also to connect it to her own natal lineage through imagery of herself or through other visual means. In this way, the dogaressa can be said to have expressed a peculiar kind of agency through art patronage that may not have been available to other patrician women.

Wives and Daughters; Sisters and Abbesses

⁵⁸ Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice 1200-1500*.

The patronage of other patrician or *cittadino* women in medieval Venice is represented in the portraiture of *trecento* Venice only through a handful of anonymous spousal portraits. Almost without exception, these examples follow the same composition and iconography used in the conjugal portraits of the doge and dogaressa, and consist of panel paintings, and relief decorations for tomb monuments and for church portals. The earliest of these dates from 1310, and depicts the *podestà* of Murano, Donato Memo and his wife (cat. no. 12). Memo's wife, dressed in the black cloak and white veil of a Venetian matron, is not named in the inscription on the panel. This fact, along with the positioning of her portrait on the left of S. Donato, suggests that she was probably dead before the project was finished, or that her death was perhaps the original motive for the panel. Likewise, in its iconography and composition, the relief lunette depicting Bartolomeo Paruta and (presumably) his wife, kneeling on either side of the Virgin and child (Fig. 59; cat. no. 41), owes much to the ducal tombs previously discussed. These conjugal images not only secured salvation, but were also a means of publicly displaying the harmony, piety, and good will of the congregation's leading patrons. Such portraits were equally popular in fourteenth-century Venice as elsewhere. In Verona, local patronage on a variety of socio-economic levels is represented in the many donor frescoes decorating the walls of the city's churches; the surviving examples in Venice were executed in sculpture, mosaic, and panel painting, at varying levels of quality and cultural sophistication. The most extravagant examples typified by the ducal monuments, the Memo panel, and a handful of portal sculpture, embody a spirit that has much in common with more humble works like the Madonna del Parto (cat. no. 36) panel, possibly from

the convent church of S. Caterina, where a couple kneels before the enthroned Virgin and child in unified devotion.

One possible motive for donor imagery of a married couple was the celebration of a marriage. The bringing together of two lineages was an event of prime importance in *trecento* Venice, as the wedding feasts mentioned in the sumptuary laws have made clear. The gifts and dowries, feasts, and ceremonies that were an inextricable part of an elite marriage in *trecento* Venice, meant that there were few other events in the life of a patrician Venetian that were more important. Though there is at least one moderately famous instance of donor portraiture that has been connected to a noble marriage, one between the Mocenigo and Foscari families in the mid to late fifteenth century, it is difficult to connect many of these spousal images with specific marriages.⁵⁹ One possible exception is the tri-lobate relief carving from the now demolished Benedictine convent church of SS. Biagio e Cataldo on the Giudecca c.1350 (Fig. 90; cat. no. 22). The carving was moved to the façade of the nearby church of S. Eufemia in the nineteenth century when SS. Biagio e Cataldo was demolished to make way for the Mulino Stucky. The relief depicts the Crucifixion with a man and a woman kneeling on either side as witnesses to the holy event. Both carry scrolls, which once contained inscriptions that are no longer legible. Alvise Zorzi has suggested that the relief was originally intended to commemorate a wedding, although there is no other evidence to prove his hypothesis and the subject, moreover, would have been an unusual one for a wedding celebration.⁶⁰ It is more likely that the portraits served a rather more banal function, representing the

⁵⁹ The image in question is the so-called *arco del Paradiso* at the foot of the *ponte del Paradiso*. See Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziana*. 480-82.

⁶⁰ See Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*; and Rizzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia: corpus delle sculture erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della sua laguna*.

patronage of the couple for the church, or perhaps commemorating a dead spouse. A similar image, once above a c.1350 portal from the church of S. Maria dei Servi in Venice, now in the Museo Civico, Koper (Capodistria) (Fig. 40; cat. no. 55), depicts a couple, presented by Sts. Peter and Francis, on their knees before the Virgin and child. It is difficult to determine to what degree such images were understood to commemorate or represent a particular event such as marriage or death in the life of a wealthy Venetian.

The complex relationship between a Venetian woman and her natal family is further revealed by the examples of donor portraiture of women within the context of a convent or a monastery. Since female movement within the sacred space was often restricted, exposure to Marian high altarpieces was different than for men. For female religious communities who were confined to the nun's choir, even patrons of major altarpieces had few opportunities to view the high altarpiece.⁶¹ The movement of laywomen was also restricted within the sacred space and denied in the sanctuary. These traditional ecclesiastical controls were challenged as the church space increasingly became a site of social opportunism and interaction, "ideal for seeing and for being seen."⁶² Extant donor portraits of laywomen without the legitimizing presence of a kinsman or a male cleric are relatively rare in this period. Although projects containing donor portraits of laymen are often accompanied by kneeling male clerics as well, as in the panel from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 91; cat. no. 44), this

⁶¹ Gary Radke suggests that this was not always the case, especially in the older Benedictine orders. Gary Radke, "Nuns and their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 455.; Julian Gardner, "Nuns and Altarpieces: Agendas for Research," *Roemisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Herziana* 30 (1995): 50.; Jeffrey Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the Cura Monialium: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta* 31 (1992): 120.

⁶² Randolph, A. "Regarding Women in Sacred Space" in *Picturing Women in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* eds. G.A. Johnson and S.F. Matthews Grieco, (Cambridge, 1997). 17-41.

seems to have been the rule in extant examples of donor portraits of laywomen in Venice. This is evident in the relief carving over the entrance to the church of S. Caterina on the island of Mazzorbo, where Abbess Elisabetta Dolfin is presented, kneeling before a scene of the mystic marriage of S. Caterina (Fig.46; cat. no. 15), accompanied by an unidentified procurator of the church.⁶³ However, it is Dolfin who was likely the main patron of the project. She is in the place of honour on Christ's right, while the nameless procurator kneels to the left. Furthermore the accompanying inscription leaves us in no doubt about who is the more important personage, declaring:

*MCCCLXIII die p/rimo de novembrio fo fat/ o questo lavoriero in tenpo del/ la
egregia e nobele e regilio / sa madona beta dolphin reve/ renda badesa/ de questo
l/ ugo siando procurat/or*⁶⁴

The fact that Elisabetta Dolfin is a patrician woman is underscored in the inscription: in it the Abbess Dolfin is described as “la egregia e nobele e religiosa madona”. In addition to her noble appellation, her name is instantly recognizable as that of an old noble family. The inscription also underscores that the project was, at the very least, approved of and overseen during Elisabetta Dolfin's tenure as abbess, and yet the presence of the church procurator also seems to be necessary to publicly legitimize the commission. Who the actual donor was and why both portraits are deemed necessary in this context remains

⁶³ There are a number of other donor portraits extant from this period in Venice where St. Catherine of Alexandria figures prominently, for example (cat. nos. 31, 46, 79). For more on the significance of the cult of St. Catherine in Venice and elsewhere see Nancy Sevcenko, “The Monastery of Mount Sinai and the Cult of St. Catherine,” in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557) Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. Sarah Brooks, 118-137 (New Haven, 2006). Fnt. 9-10.

⁶⁴ “In 1363, the first day of November was made this work in the time of the eminent, noble and religious lady Elisabeth Dolfin the reverend Abbess of this place, being procurator as well...” Translation by Georg Christ.

unclear. Another noble abbess, Tommasina Vitturi of S. Lorenzo is believed to have initiated the commission of a sarcophagus lid depicting scenes from the life of *beato* Leone Bembo (c.1321) (Fig. 62; cat. no. 41). Vitturi's donor portrait kneels in the place of honour to the right of Leone Bembo and seems to require no legitimizing male figure. The reason for this difference may have been due to its less public context. However, these differences demonstrate the problems with the term donor portrait, since the posture of a figure does not always confirm an individual's financial contribution to a project.

It is well known that noble Venetian women were traditionally dowered either for marriage or for one of the aristocratic convents in the city. Although the dowry provided in the latter case was significantly less than a marriage dowry that secured entry into another noble lineage, the nuns living in noble convents like S. Zaccaria, S. Lorenzo, or S. Maria della Celestia wielded a considerable amount of self-governing power. Since convents were considered a duty to be imposed on daughters, the compensation for life as a nun was that, at least in the exclusive convents, it provided an outlet for patrician women to exercise a degree of autonomous power, both within the structure of the convent and without. These women were, after all, the daughters and sisters of the city's most powerful men, and their indirect influence over their kinsmen was considerable.⁶⁵ Indeed, the structure of these powerful convents was a microcosm of the hierarchical structure of the city itself. Far from living the cloistered life that is expected of a nun, these patrician women continued to have strong connections to their natal lineage. As the inscription on the façade of S. Caterina di Mazzorbo makes clear, their names and status

⁶⁵ Indeed when reforms to Venice's convents were proposed in the sixteenth century, it was the brothers and fathers of nuns who objected on the nuns' behalf. See Radke, "Nuns and their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice," 432.

were of significant importance to them; just as such signs of family honour were to their brothers.⁶⁶ The 1312 testament of Donato Memo, for instance, specifically names as a legatee, his daughter Agnessina in the noble convent of S. Maria della Celestia. This an indication that unmarried daughters in convents were due for their share in family fortunes and affections, even after taking orders, and were by no means forgotten either sentimentally or financially by their kinsmen.⁶⁷

Projects financed by individual nuns or abbesses in their convent church, where they are depicted as donors, may have been a manifestation of this familial pride. As Julian Gardner has pointed out, most nunneries did not have the income to commission large altarpieces, and such work was instead the gift of a few well-connected and wealthy nuns.⁶⁸ By the fifteenth century, the nuns of the Benedictine convent of San Zaccaria were intimately involved in the decoration and artistic decision-making for their church, a space that they saw as belonging to them. Individual nuns privately financed many of these projects.⁶⁹ For instance, the high altarpiece by Antonio Vivarini was jointly commissioned by Abbess Elena Foscari (sister of Doge Francesco Foscari) and Prioress Marina Donato, whose names were not only recorded in the inscription, but also by their name saints depicted on either end of the altarpiece, to whom the altar was dedicated.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Laven, *Virgins of Venice: enclosed lives and broken vows in the Renaissance convent*. 49.

⁶⁷ ASV, notary Tagliapietra, busta 198, will 14, October 30 1312.

⁶⁸ Gardner, "Nuns and Altarpieces: Agendas for Research," 46.

⁶⁹ By 1455, the nuns of S. Zaccaria were contributing varying amounts to the reconstruction of the convent church and the new choir stalls. Prioress Marina Donato and Sister Orsa Venier, for instance, contributed 20 ducats apiece. According to Jeffery Hamburger, this was not unusual. Inventories from a convent at Longchamp between 1403 and 1447 indicate that at least half of the reliquaries came from individual nuns. See Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the Cura Monialium: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," 118. Radke, "Nuns and their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice," 431, 447-8.

⁷⁰ Saints Agnese and Margherita are also depicted in the altarpiece and are thought to represent the contributions of Sister Agnesina Giustinian and Margherita Donato. See Radke, "Nuns and their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice," 442, 451-2.

As Mary Laven and others have argued, the government of a convent represented a microcosm of the city structures itself.⁷¹ Within the confines of the convent walls, therefore, women exercised a great deal of autonomous power through the convent *Maggiore Consiglio* legislation and through an extraordinary freedom of fortune and dress.⁷² Although life for a woman outside of the convent in the lay world was very different women within these precincts, were able to represent themselves as leaders within their own community through donor portraiture, as their kinsmen often did in their local and parish churches. Ironically, a nun's access to the objects that she helped pay for were sometimes restricted. Convents were increasingly separated from their churches by grilles and nuns' choirs as a result of stricter *clausura* laws; like their lay sisters, who were often confined to the north side of a church, a nuns' exposure to the sacred space of a church and its decorations was limited.⁷³

Regardless of this restricted access to devotional objects donated by nuns, art patronage within the convent was popular for those nuns with financial means in the fourteenth century. One example of conventual patronage expressed through donor portraiture is in the c.1350 polyptych by Paolo Veneziano for the Franciscan convent of S. Chiara, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice (Fig. 92; cat. no. 13). Although the original circumstances around the commission are now lost, the presence of a tiny kneeling Clare nun in the scene of St. Francis' death, indicates that this was most likely a private commission by one of the nuns. Alvise Zorzi has suggested that the polyptych

⁷¹ Laven, *Virgins of Venice: enclosed lives and broken vows in the Renaissance convent*. 49.

⁷² In fifteenth-century accounts, the Milanese cleric Canon Piero Casola (1494) noted that the nuns of San Zaccaria enjoyed a remarkable freedom of movement and unconcern about being seen. Radke, "Nuns and their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice," 454.

⁷³ Gardner, "Nuns and Altarpieces: Agendas for Research," 49.

was originally in the monastery enclosure, but the scale and opulence of the altarpiece suggest that it was not for private devotional practices but rather for the viewing of a congregation.⁷⁴ The nun's donor portrait in this example does not participate in the event in any active way, but is rather an attentive observer who meditates on miraculous events.

Similarly, the sarcophagus lid depicting scenes from the life and miracles of local *beato* Leone Bembo c.1321 (Fig. 62; cat. no. 38) not only contains a portrait of Abbess Tommassina Vitturi, but also an unidentified figure holding a rosary in the margins of the scene of Bembo's death. Though there is no inscription to identify this figure, her posture and presence as a silent witness to the miraculous scene is reminiscent of the S. Chiara polyptych. Similar examples of conventual donors before a holy scene can be seen in the c.1400 panel painting, possibly from S. Apollonia, depicting a Dominican nun kneeling at the foot of a Madonna of Humility, now at the Museo Correr (Fig. 93; cat. no. 73), and the c.1390 Coronation of the Virgin panel also Museo Correr (Fig.94; cat. no. 45), where a single nun is depicted kneeling at the bottom of an image. Although we no longer know the exact provenance for these pieces, they seem to have been created in the same spirit as the S. Chiara polyptych, and reflect the opportunities available for individual patronage within the convent. Unlike the Misericordia or standing saint iconography that was used to communicate with viewers on the street, portraits in scenes of religious narrative have a different function. They illustrate that, as an active witness to a scene, the donor must remain separate and impartial to the narrative participants and events, as though they were sworn testators to miracles. At the same time, the scale and placement of donor figures in these examples emphasize the sometimes visionary aspect of a nun's viewing

⁷⁴ Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*.

experience.⁷⁵ In addition, the use of fashionable International Gothic iconography indicates that convents were not immune to the tastes and trends of the outside world. Although the names of the nuns whose generosity initiated these projects are now lost to us, her fellow nuns must have been aware of her identity, position, and wealth.

Unlike the more public monuments to individual female patronage seen in the relief carvings of S. Caterina di Mazzorbo, which required the legitimizing presence of a man, these altarpieces depict women alone and as independent donors and patrons. Although it is also possible that such figures were meant to represent the entire community of nuns as a whole, the presence of public imagery depicting a community of nuns *en masse* in the Misericordia relief carvings above the entrance to the cloister of the convent of Corpus Domini, for instance (cat. no. 5), indicate that there were different visual outlets for communal sentiments. Such images were not out of place in the context of a medieval Venetian convent which, as a microcosm of the outside world, provided an outlet for the art patronage of the women living within its confines. Here they could exercise, albeit in a restricted way, the privileges of status, fortune, and independence afforded to their male relatives living in public Venice.

Alixé da Ponte: A Case study of Female Donor Portraiture

As the one extant example in Venice of a lay female donor depicted in portrait without a husband, the relief carving originally affixed above the entrance to the hospice

⁷⁵ The literature of medieval female spirituality records the many ways in which nuns interacted with art within the enclosure, "standing before works of art, exchanging love vows with Christ, sharing embraces, kissing his wounds and receiving the stigmata." Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the Cura Monialium: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," 120.

of the monastery of S. Andrea del Lido (later ‘della Certosa’ or ‘in Isola’) makes an interesting case study. The 1356 panel depicts the hospice’s patroness, Alixe da Ponte, kneeling to the left of an oversized and icon-like S. Andrea. She is accompanied on the opposite side of the saint by a donor portrait of the prior of the monastery of S. Andrea, Marco Minotto, and his family heraldry (Fig. 55; cat. no. 32). The inscription on the bottom of the panel plinth states:

*MCCCLVI del mexe de cugno frar Marcho Minoto/ prior de S. Andrea de Lido fe
far questo lavorier madona alixe/da ponte si lasa queste posesion al ditto
monastiero*⁷⁶

The inscription makes clear that although it was Alixe da Ponte’s generous testamentary bequest that made the construction of the hospice possible, it was Prior Minotto who commissioned the actual work.⁷⁷ Though there seems to have been some initial confusion around the name of the donatrix - both Jan Grevembroch and Wolfgang Wolters have identified the woman as Ludovica da Ponte - Flaminio Corner, in his 1758 guide to the various churches and monasteries of Venice, identifies her correctly as Alixe da Ponte, daughter of Giovanni da Ponte, who donated property to the monastery for a hospital toward the middle of the fourteenth century.⁷⁸

Alixé’s name is also clearly recorded in the inscription, as is her social status through the use of the noble appellation “madona”. Indeed, the da Ponte was one of the

⁷⁶ “In 1356 of the month of June friar Marco Minotto prior of S. Andrea del Lido had made this work. Lady Alisia da Ponte left this possession to the monastery” Translation by Georg Christ.

⁷⁷ King, *Renaissance women patrons: wives and widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550*. 94-5.

⁷⁸ Corner, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia*. 61.

“new” noble families of *trecento* Venice, as was the Minotto.⁷⁹ The family heraldry of the Minotto family is displayed prominently alongside Prior Marco, who also occupies the place of honour on the saint’s right hand. The reasons for this emphasis on the Minotto family are unclear; the use of family heraldry to identify a monk’s role in a project is rare.⁸⁰ Though it is possible that this heraldry was a later addition to the panel, its position in the image and the shape of the *scudo* are visual evidence for its late medieval date.⁸¹ In light of Minotto’s prominence in the panel, one wonders why Alixe da Ponte was depicted in the image at all. Surely an inscription would have sufficed, as it did in other cases, to honour her contribution to the hospice.⁸²

Unfortunately, Alixe’s testament is lost and therefore we cannot confirm whether, like her contemporaries in Central Italy, she specifically asked for her likeness to be erected on the hospice façade. If indeed da Ponte had made such a request it would have been a rare one for *trecento* Venice; I do not know of any testaments from the period in Venice that make similar requests, although Samuel Cohn has found that it occurred occasionally in Florence, Siena, and Perugia in the same period. A similarly thorough study of fourteenth-century Venetian testaments might settle the question.

Another plausible explanation for her depiction in portrait is her position, not just as the patroness of the hospice, but also as its founder. Although traditionally, female

⁷⁹ Chojnacki, "La formazione della nobiltà dopo la serrata," tab.2-C, p.672.

⁸⁰ Although I have not found any evidence for this it is possible that this use of heraldry is a reference to a more extensive Minotto family patronage of the church.

⁸¹ The shape of the heraldry and its position is identical to other examples of heraldry and donor portraiture, particularly examples on the mainland like Maria Bovolini’s crucifix in the church of S. Francesco, Bassano del Grappa and the fresco of Guglielmo Castelbarco on the presbytery arch of the church of S. Fermo in Verona.

⁸² For instance, the inscription on the campanile of S. Polo that indicated that Fantin Dandolo had paid for the project.

patronage was supposed to consist of invisible donations to orphanages or hospitals, in the first half of the fourteenth century the patronage of patrician women in Venice was on an increasingly public scale. As previously mentioned, in 1329, four noble women founded the Augustinian convent of S. Andrea della Zirada: Francesca Correr, Elisabetta Gradenigo, Elisabetta Soranzo, and Maddalena Malipero. Though the convent was eventually placed under the protection and patronage of the doge, the extant donor portrait dated to approximately 1329 on the church façade depicts what could be a woman kneeling alone before S. Andrea (Fig. 45; cat. no 79).⁸³ This possible example of a lone female donor portrait displayed publicly in Venice may represent one of the original patronesses of the convent; its position on the façade of the church further recalls the conventional placement of founder's tombs and portraits on church façades to commemorate their donation. I would suggest that the presence of Alixe da Ponte's donor portrait on the façade decoration of the monastery of S. Andrea del Lido, even after her death, similarly functioned to underscore her founder's role, in the same way that a tomb often did in the parish churches of the city.

The reason given for Alixe da Ponte's secondary position in this panel is usually attributed to her gender.⁸⁴ This is at least partially true, since as we have already seen in Venice, as elsewhere, the conventional placement of portraits of women on the left hand of the holy figure was the most common composition. However, the example of Abbess Elisabetta Dolfin on the tympanum of S. Caterina, on the island of Mazzorbo, just over a decade later (Fig. 46; cat. no. 15), as well as the crucifix of Maria Bovolini in Bassano

⁸³ Corner, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia*.

⁸⁴ King, *Renaissance women patrons: wives and widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550*. 94-5.

(Fig. 58), indicates that a donatrix could also be placed to the right of the holy figure. The most compelling explanation for the placement of Alixe da Ponte on the left hand of S. Andrea, is that the commission was probably not completed in her lifetime. Though the convention for depicting a woman in portrait, especially when accompanied by a man, was to place her on the left hand of the holy figure, it was also the convention for depicting a deceased donor. A similar composition was used in the Donato Memo *ancona* (Fig. 20; cat. no. 12) to represent Memo's wife who we assume was already dead at the time of the commission, although the inscription does not indicate this. Similarly the *memento mori* panel now in the Thyssen Bornemisza collection, Madrid (cat. no. 66) depicts a lone deceased donor, presented to the Virgin on her left by a skeleton. As well, the relief decoration on the tomb of Doge Giovanni Dolfín in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (cat.no.3) depicts the deceased Dogressa Caterina Giustinian Dolfín on the left hand of the Virgin.

All of the examples cited here reflect the art patronage of noblewomen or wealthy *cittadino* Venetian women. Women from the *popolo menudo* class, like their male counterparts, had very few opportunities for independent art patronage. In the elite art patronage and donor portraiture of the city's wealthy women, the social stratification of *trecento* Venice is made clear. Outside of the convents, female patrician donors were most often depicted in their lay role as wife; however, within that role there was significant room for a patrician woman to publicly underscore her social status and that of her family. Even within the city's convents, the social hierarchy was strictly observed; the choir nuns, women of fortune and family, governed the community and indulged in sophisticated activities like art patronage, whereas the common *conversa* nuns were

relegated to the role of servants in the convent. Their status was underscored through gifts of patronage and individual donor portraiture. The very few examples of group donor portraiture in convents indicate that, even publicly, there was no pretense of egalitarianism as there was in some of the confraternities. Indeed, the donor portraiture of Venetian noblewomen, though a small percentage of the total number of individual portraits in the period, is very similar to that of their kinsmen, and is a reflection of the degree to which these women saw themselves as active members of and participants in their class.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusions

The fourteenth century is acknowledged to be a period of significant political, social, and even topographical transition in Venice. However, the degree to which this transition is consistently reflected in the donor portraits from the period is more uncertain. An analysis of the images collected in the attached catalogue indicates not only that donor portraits were popular in *trecento* Venice, but also that they were primarily public images. Although the scholarly literature to date has generally concluded that the genre of donor portraiture was less popular in Venice than elsewhere, it is clear that donor portraits were, in fact, as popular a form of public expression in Venice as elsewhere in medieval Europe and Byzantium. Individual donor portraits were a favorite genre of the city's elite and they decorated building façades, tomb monuments, and high altars throughout the city in relief sculpture, mosaics, and panel paintings. Group donor portraits were likewise erected publicly in a variety of media, and were popular with the city's confraternities and trade guilds; however, the wealthier of these corporate institutions also took the opportunity to publicly honour individuals in the institution through inscriptions, scale, and costume. From this position, it is clear that donor portraits were meant to impart public messages to their intended audience. The exact content of these messages is still a matter of debate.

With so many complex spiritual, social, and political associations attached to donor portraits by scholars today, it is interesting to note that, despite their survival in significant numbers, donor portraits are rarely mentioned directly in Venetian accounts from the period. In contrast to medieval Tuscany, where testators made specific requests

for portraits in their bequests for altarpieces, Venetian testaments from the period, including those of the doges, do not appear to do this.¹ This silence in the documents may indicate either that, in Venice donor portraits were not intended to be strictly commemorative of the deceased, or perhaps that this imagery was so conventional that it was simply not considered worthy of particular mention. By contrast, heraldry, which existed in numbers equal to, if not greater than, donor portraits in *trecento* Venice, was extraordinary enough to merit frequent mention in church documents and visitor accounts.²

One long-standing position of the art historical literature has been to characterize the stylistic approach in fourteenth-century Venice as a gradual turning away from Byzantine models toward mainland Italian ones.³ Scholars like Otto Demus have seen medieval Venetian art as a unique hybrid of “Byzantinizing Gothic”.⁴ More recently, Hans Belting has made a case for the continuation of Byzantine visual models in the city as a politicized style representing the state.⁵ Since both Byzantine and western Gothic cultures developed a genre of portraiture in which the donor kneels at a smaller scale to the holy figures, these issues are also pertinent for the study of donor portraiture in fourteenth-century Venice. However, since the majority of donor portraits in Venice were erected as relief panels and tabernacles on building façades, they had much in common with Byzantine icons both functionally and visually. Although the visual vocabulary of

¹ A thorough study of a cross section of testaments from this period would better establish the question.

² For more on the issues around the erection of heraldry in church spaces see Bourdua, *Aspects of Franciscan Patronage in the arts of the Veneto during the Middle Ages*. 36, 43. See also Michel Pastoureau, *L'hermine et le sinople. Etudes d'héraldique*. (Paris:1982).

³ Steer, “Donor Portraits in Venetian Art (c.1300- c.1450)”. 61.

⁴ Demus and Forlati, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*. 189.

⁵ See Belting, “Dandolo’s Dreams: Venetian State Art and Byzantium,” and Belting, “Bisanzio a Venezia non è Bisanzio a Bisanzio,” 71.

western Gothic models was increasingly emulated in the use of new iconography and Gothic arches toward the end of the century, the moveable, icon-like panels containing a standing saint and kneeling donor within a decorative border continued to be a popular composition for donor images. Indeed, this iconic composition could be seen in the art of most Italian *trecento* cities, a testament to the continuing influence of Byzantine culture in medieval Italy.⁶ In nearby Verona, for instance, the city's medieval churches were decorated with countless fresco panels containing donor portraits, which likewise imitate the visual characteristics of Byzantine icons. However, in Venice, these same icon-like panels with donor portraits were more likely to be carved in relief. Although the climate of the Venetian lagoon has often been used as an argument for a preference for sculpture over fresco painting in medieval Venice, recent studies indicate that frescoes were also a popular form of church decoration in late medieval Venice.⁷ Though it is possible that Venetian fresco donor portraits, similar to those seen in Verona, no longer survive, it is also a possibility that in choosing relief carving over other media, a direct connection to the public devotional function of a Byzantine icon was being continued in *trecento* Venice.

With the exception of the donor portraits on monuments inside S. Marco, almost all of the examples of donor portraiture collected by this study, including these public relief panels, were intended for display in the city's parishes. As the primary sites of art

⁶ The influence of Byzantine culture was certainly manifested in the art of medieval Rome, Siena, and Naples to differing degrees. See Belting, "Bisanzio a Venezia non è Bisanzio a Bisanzio".

⁷ I am grateful to Svenja Frank for confirming this with her on-going study of fresco decoration in Venetian churches. Medieval fresco fragments survive today in the churches of S. Marco, S. Giovanni Decollato (S. Zan Degola), S. Nicolo dei Mendacoli, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, and SS. Apostoli, Venice. And fresco programmes were also known to have existed in the cappella di S. Nicolo in the Palazzo Ducale and in the cappella dei Lucchesi in the demolished church of S. Maria dei Servi.

patronage for Venetians in this period, the network of parishes in medieval Venice lent itself well to the local, spiritual, and familial concerns symbolized by donor portraits. The majority of these portraits decorated the public façades of the main social and economical parish institutions: the parish church, the convent church, the confraternity, and the *palazzo*. In the fourteenth century, the isolated parish islands that made up the ancient cellular network of the city were slowly being connected by a new system of waterways and bridges that sought to create a unified populace. However, for the average Venetian in the fourteenth century, a journey to Piazza S. Marco was still a significant one. The state of Venice and its projected ideology was a concept far removed from the everyday lives of medieval Venetians. Instead, it was the local parish institutions that provided the backdrop for the lives of most Venetians, and their decoration was a constant reminder of the immediate power structures that shaped one's everyday existence.

Exactly how the donor portrait fit into the everyday lives of Venetians remains question of some debate. On the façades and altars of local and parish churches, they were the foci of prayer; but they were also reminders of the patronage of an individual and his (or her) family in the space. Likewise, above *palazzo* gates, the message was similarly complex, simultaneously invoking protection from the Virgin and declaring ownership of the *palazzo*, and patronage of the surrounding shops and *calle*. On confraternity façades, group donor portraits present, on the surface, a more inclusive image of local patronage and charity to the viewer. However, in this context individual contributions and patronage could be singled out through the inscriptions, and through a subtle use of scale and costume. Even in convents, donor portraits of wealthy patrician

nuns were often included in the elaborate altarpieces intended for the high altar of the public convent church and ultimately viewed.

The popularity of donor portraiture in fourteenth-century Italy has been seen to reflect a spiritual shift in response to the catastrophe of the Black Death, one that emphasized the individual's active responsibility for his own salvation, over the passive reliance on the prayers of mendicant communities.⁸ The popularity of public donor portraiture in Venice demonstrates a tendency toward this active piety in the city. However, in Venice the popularity of donor portraiture not only coincided with the Black Death, but also with a marked social anxiety among the city's elite who sought, in this period, to reinforce their social status and family prestige after the *serrata* of the *Maggior Consiglio*. Not only could donor portraiture be used by the burgeoning patrician class of Venice to publicly consolidate their social position vis à vis their neighbours, but such monuments could also reflect subtle power struggles between "new" and "old" noble families serving in government. Donor portraiture from *trecento* Venice, at least in the examples collected here, appears to have been dominated by members (male and female) of the patrician and *cittadino* class; this may be a reflection of the city's social transition. Under these conditions the donor portrait in Venice may have formed an important part of elite self-fashioning strategies and of a larger culture of display developing in the period.

This status concern is reflected in the donor portraiture on ducal tombs of the period. Although one might imagine state interests to be the dominant theme in the decoration of ducal tombs, they tend, rather, to reflect the family interest of the deceased and his executors. The reasons for this are clear: tombs belonged to the family of the

⁸ Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. 278.

deceased, and the estate executors, who were also usually relatives, carried out the decoration according to the family's wishes. As such, family concerns such as status, lineage, and patronage ties tend to influence their decoration; the position of doge is rendered important in this context, insofar as it elevates the entire family's honour. The examples in which the doge and dogaressa are depicted together in donor portraiture above a ducal tomb, visually underscores this family connection.

In the collected examples, patrician female donor portraiture also closely parallels that of their kinsmen, an indication that women shared the same familial status concerns as men. Elite Venetian women identified strongly with the family ties that they acquired both at birth and by marriage. These ties are visually emphasized through conjugal portraiture, which was the most popular means of depicting Venetian laywomen publicly. Indeed, it is only within the convent that altarpieces or panels depicting individual female donor portraiture are found. For those who could afford it, such portraits were a public mark of status and distinction within the conventual community and a verification of the elite status that their patrician names and dowries brought with them. Within the convent, elite women were also more able and more likely to act as individual patrons, and to be depicted in donor portraiture, accordingly. This indicates that within the separate microcosmic world of the nun's cloister, patrician women imitated the acts of patronage carried out by their brothers and fathers in the city's parish and convent churches. In consequence, Venetian convents, even in this early period, were sites, albeit concealed ones, where patrician women could enjoy a rare form of social, political, and cultural agency over their own space, an agency that could manifest itself in the commission of individual donor portraits.

There is a tendency in the scholarly literature concerning the art of medieval Venice to concentrate almost exclusively on works of state patronage or those works that appear to reflect official state ideologies rooted in the principals of Republicanism. There are a number of methodological and practical reasons for this, including, a discipline-wide paradigm that has traditionally valued identity over anonymity and complete oeuvres over fragments. In the specific field of Venetian art historical studies, scholars continue to sift through the various “Myths of Venice” that characterize medieval Venetians as being innately devoted to a set of social and political *mores* that were distinct from the rest of medieval society. Practically, the state of preservation of medieval works of art in Venice has provided another deterrent. Those objects and buildings from the medieval period that survived intact through centuries of changes in fashion and government are invariably those related to the state, such as S. Marco and the *Palazzo Ducale*. The rich patrimony of the city’s medieval parish networks was lost, sold, or destroyed over time, and what was left is scattered in collections around the world.

Despite these hurdles, the cross section of donor portraits of doges, patricians, citizens, lay and monastic groups, and elite women, represented in my catalogue, demonstrates that there was a significant amount of individual and corporate art patronage occurring in Venice as elsewhere. Inevitably linked to wider religious beliefs and practices, Venetian donor portraiture combined postures of modesty, self-effacement and a yearning for salvation with an opportunity to achieve a lasting memorial donation that preserved one’s status for posterity. In the fourteenth century an environment of social competition and spiritual anxiety in Venice resulted in increased patronage and artistic production on an individual level. This dissertation provides a body of evidence

through which one can begin to reconstruct the changes and concerns of parish life and individual patronage in late medieval Venice, as they may have existed behind the curtain of state ideology

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APPENDIX I: Testament of Donatus Memo, 30th of October 1312¹

In nomine Dei eterni amen. Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi millesimo trecentesimo duodecimo mense octubris die penultimo, indictione undecima, Rivoalti.

Ego, Donatus Memo, de confine sancti Hermachora, in sana mente et integro consilio, licet infirmus² corde et infrascripto nomine rexavi ut hic meum scribitur testamentum. In quo volo et ego constituo, meos fideicommissarios, Totam filiam meam et Andreolum filium meum ut servi, quod hic ordinavero, darique vissero, sic ipsi post meum ad impleat obituum. Decima quidam non dispono ne cordino solui, cum mobilem ad disponendum non haverio. Ante autem omnia volo et ordino, quod testamentum patris mei et matris mee in omnibus que per frunita non centum servi eorum sortis, fruniantur de meis beatitudinis.

Deinde vero distribuere ordino, pro anima mea libras denarorum venetorum ducentas, sicut bene videbit commissariis meis, in messis congregationibus, elimossinis et aliis operibus pietatis. Et dimitto soldos denarorum Venetorum grossorum duodecim pro laborario faciendo, ad altarem et cartam altari ecclesie Sanctae Mariae de Murano grande cum sicut videbitur commissariis meis.

Item dimitto superscripte Tote filie mee, omnia mea imprestita, facta comuni Veneciae tam propria, quam aquisita (in quibus fuerint da cha' Pisani). In super et omnes suas vestes, collias et arnessias qui sunt pro suo usu et portare. Ac unam vestem a soldis

¹ I am grateful to Georg Christ for his assistance in transcribing and translating this testament from the original. ASV. atti Tagliapietra, Can.Inf. Busta 198.14 pr.c.1

² *Insignitus* (?).

grossorum trigintum vel quadragintum, quando maritabit. Et usque dum maritabit vivere debeat de bonis meis, ut decet.

Item dimitto Agnessine filie mee, monasteriale³ Sancte Marie de Cellestibus, libros denarios Venetos sex, quobus auri, dum vixerit, de meis bonis in hiis dimissos computandum quam iam⁴ dimisit quondam matri sua. Et in super singulis quatuor annis, a die obiti mei unam vestem, a suo portare, sicut bene videbitur commissariis meis que tam vestis usque ad decem soldos denarios grossorum ascendat.

Item, volo et ordino, quod Marchesina soror mea habeat habitationem, quam nunc habet in medietate domus mee, dum vixit, libere et absolute. Seguitur, si venire velle, ad standum cum dicta Tota filia mea, quousque maritata fuerit. Habeat utilitatem de meis bonis decenter, quousque ipsa steterit, cum ipsa filia mea. Et tenetur ipsa mea medietas domus in qua habitatione afficeret ad utilitatem mee commissarie, quousque dicta filia mea maritabit et quousque dicta soror mea cum eadem filia mea permanserit. Si non, ipsa soror mea conversare non posset cum dicta filia mea et addire possit in dictam habitationem dicta medietate domus mee et in ea dum vixit habitare et permanere libere et absolute.

Item, dimitto Marco filio meo naturali unam cultra<m>⁵ duo lintramina et unum lectum, quales superscripti frater et soror eo⁶, commissarii mei et dare et assignari voluerint et meam çuppam novam.

³ Literally *monastic* here probably for nun.

⁴ Illegible, possibly *gi*, for ital. *già* (lat. *iam*).

⁵ Knife (?).

⁶ *Ei* with a twirl on top of the *i*.

Item, dimitto Nicoletto filio meo naturali meos pannos, de stamine forte meum talardium, de blavio unam [sic], de meis çuppis seram meliorem [sic] et omnes camissias meas.

Item, volo et dari ordino Agnessinae Mastrorso animi filiae Nycolai Mastrorso S. Samuele usque ad tres vel quatuor annum libras ducatorum Veniexie *trecentos* de meis bonis semel tantum, quas ad instanciam petere et Beatus Memmo commissarius Donate Constantino accepi, a camera salis comunis Veniexie. Et aliis imprestitis que ab ipsa tempore, huc usque fieri de bonis meis pro dicta commissaria, qua volo in dictis libris trecentis computatis.

Et si dicti commissarii mei, usque ad dictum tempus tres vel quatuor annis satisfacere non possent, tunc possint et debeant vendere et alienare medium meum manssium quem habeo in Maraino⁷ diocesa Tervisina, quem tenet et reget quondam, nomine Coradinus ac etiam vendere possint et debeant meum manssium perarii [sic], que est in dicto Maraino. Onde de causa etiam et de massaraticis prout dictis videbitur commissariis meis.

Dimitto notario infrascripto soldos denarorum Veneciae grossorum quatuor per orare deum pro anima mea.

Item dimitto paterno meo presbitero Marco Perosso denarios Venetos grossorum decemocto, ut oret⁸ deum pro anima mea.

Item volo et ordino quod commissariis meis consulent sapientes ut solarium domus que est super calle parva, gratia miseris, per diocesis causarum advenit cum Nycollo

⁷ Mareno di Piave (Provincia di Treviso), under formal Venetian power from 1388.

⁸ Illegible, possibly a[d].

fratre meo debet sic stare ut debeat et servire for[m]am consuetam⁹ sapientum. Fiat ut iudex animam meam /v/ non valeat preiudicium pati.

Item volo et ordino que predicti filius et filia mea vel altri eorum, in penam benedictioni paternae debeant seu debeat, dum vixerint ambo, vel altro eorum, facere omni anno pro anima mea unam bonam et condecentem caritatem, tempus quo redditum meum de foris receperint.

Omnia mea bona inordinata mobilia et imobilia, et omnia bona quocumque modo in spectancia et havere a quibusunque personis propinquis vel conventis, dimitto superscripto Andriolo dilecto filio meo. Ita tamen, quod si contingerit ipsem mori, sine herede legitimo volo, quod omnia que non dimitto vendantur et pecunia que iudex habebit, pro anima mea, patris mei et matris mee, ac ipsi filii mei distribuatur. Hoc tam nonobstante quando ipsa bona, pro reprovisto pro misser dicti filii mei possint totaliter obligare. Et decedente ipso filio meo, sine herede vel herede legitimis¹⁰, quod abset tunc cum proprietate mee advendendum veniverit, pro faciendo ea, que superit, ordinavi, ut decente¹¹ est, volo et ordino, que nepote mei filii quondam Nycolai Memo que fratris mei habet eas, pro libris denari Veniexie vinginti minus per contentem¹² eo, quo extimate fuerint. In hac tandem¹³ deductione, propinquitatis beneficio computato.

Et volo etiam, que dicta Tota filia mea si tunc vixit, de precio vendicionis ipsarum pro pretis mearum habeat libras denari Venecie ducentum.

⁹ Maybe *continiam* or something related.

¹⁰ (!) should be *legitime*.

¹¹ Dem or decn *plus stroke*.

¹² Possibly *contantem*.

¹³ *Tamen*.

Item volo et ordino que hec vulgare dicta que scribi feci in guadam [*sic*] cedula bulbicina¹⁴, subsequenter debeant meo testamentum opponere quam cedulam infrascriptam notam dedi huius temporis. Ego Donato Memmo ordino et voio, che ser çane Memmo debia aver li denari de le maiore, li qual eo li lasso. Et anchora voio, che ser çane Memmo sia mio comessario cum mia filia Tota et cum mio filio Andreolo. Et sî lasso ser Nycolo da Chanal, Santa Maria Mater Domino (*sic*) et ser Marin Memmo et ser Lunardo Sten et Petro Memmo, che debia consciar, de maridar mia filia et mio filio. Et quello che se faria, per la maçor parte, sia fermo. Volo in super quod in qualibet parte huius mee ordinatoris statutum et ordinamenta Venecie serventur.

Preterea do et conferro suprascriptis commissaris meis post obitum meum, ac etiam consultoribus predictis, ordine supramisso, prebuisse virtutem et potentiam dictam meam commissariam intromittendam et administrandam, consulendam et firmandam ut super. Inquirenda, interpellanda, placanda, pretenda, advocanda, interdicenda et preceptum tollenda, proclamanda et clamores evacuanda, legem petendi, sumam¹⁵ audenda et consequenda, intromittenda, interdicenda et exigenda omnia mea bona et habere et quod mi spectant, vel spectare possent quaque intra et fora et agentibus comunque personis propinquis vel externis, cum cartam et sine cartam, per curiam et ex curiam et securitatis cartam exinquiendi, faciendi in super avere cartam manifestationis venditionis et promissionis prout causa servi premissa duxerit exigendum, faciendum, ad haec obliganda bona mea prout videbit expedire.

¹⁴ Bubicina *i.e. sealed* (?).

¹⁵ Possibly *sentencia*.

Et servi usum in anima mea iuramentum prestandi et omnia et singula, ad predicta et predictorum singula. Vecciam preficiendum etiam si exigent specialem mandatum, sicut ego met [*sic*] vivens possem facere et debeam. Et hoc meum testamentum firmum et inviolabile et iudicio imperperum. Siquis igitur, ipsem infringere vel corumpere presumpserit, iram omnipotentis Dei, se novint, incursunt. Et in super conponat se, et cum suis heredibus, vel successoribus, suprascriptis commissariis meis et eorum successorum, autem liberis¹⁶ Quicumque et haec mei testamenti carta, in sua permanserit in signum suprscripti Donati Memo qui hec rexifit.

Et Ego Marcno Rosso presbiter Sancti Hermarchore testimonio scripsi

Et Ego Leonardus presbiter sanctiere Mic Ieremie testimonio scripsi

(*sign of notary*) Ego Iohannes Taiapetra, presbiter Sancti Iohannis Decollato et notarius conprobatus et roboratus.

¹⁶ Possibly “children”.

APPENDIX II: The Catalogue



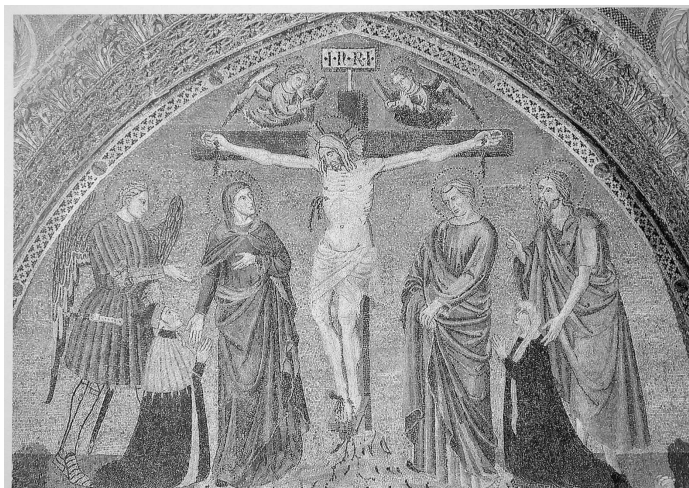
- Catalogue number: 1 Date: 1339
- Title: Tomb of Doge Francesco Dandolo
- Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto
- Artist: Paolo Veneziano
- Location: S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Tempera on panel Dimensions:
- Provenance: Tomb of Francesco Dandolo, Chapter house, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35572; Pallucchini, 1964, p.34; Lucco, 1994, vol. 1, p. 35; Pincus, 2000, p. 105-120.
- Inscriptions: *Laudibuss innumeris meritisque patentibus iste/franciscus virtute nitens clarissima proles/dandula quem genuit patriae venerabilis huius/dux fuit illustris qui libertatis amore/edomuit fastus tumidos et vincla resolvit/ marchia quis dudum nimium quoque pressa iacebat/trevisina quidem vicinaque castra salinis/ attentata ruit claris dum rexit habenas/ quaque decus terraque mari successibus auxit/ hic venetum patriamque hosti magis esse timendam/ fecit ad undeno solii presignis in anno/ decessit felix domini tunc mille trecentos/ ter denosque novem phoebus devolveret annos/ luxque novembris erat cunctis celeberrima sanctis*
- Description: Doge Francesco Dandolo and Elisabetta Contarini Dandolo presented to the Madonna by Sts. Francis and Elisabeth of Hungary.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 2 Date: 1315 circa
- Title: Virgin and child with donor
- Photograph Credit: Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: S. Maria Minor, Zadar, Croatia
- Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold on wood Dimensions: 1.68 x 0.88 m
- Provenance: Made in Venice or possibly Zadar.
- Bibliography: Cecchelli, 1932, p. 71; Garrison, 1949, p.120; Toesca, 1951, p.702; Pallucchini, 1964, fig. 242, p. 71-72; Vatican, 1999-2000, p.442-43; Rimini, 2002, p. 34; New York, 2004, p.497-98.
- Inscriptions: “MP OY” (mother of God) on obverse and “S. Petrus” on reverse
- Description: Two-sided icon depicts St. Peter on the reverse and on the obverse (see image) an enthroned Virgin and child and male donor in a projecting arch with columns. The donor wears a fur-lined scarlet cloak and fur collar possibly indicating his status as a doctor, notary or knight, who wore this colour and type of fur.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 3 Date: 1361 circa
- Title: Tomb of Doge Giovanni Dolfin
- Photograph Credit: Author
- Artist: Andrea di S. Felice
- Location: Cavalli Chapel, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Fresco; Relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: Originally in the *Capella Maggiore* of the Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. The original fresco that accompanied the tomb was moved after 1815 to make room for the tomb of Andrea Vendramin. There is some evidence of this original fresco still visible in the *Cappella Maggiore* today.
- Bibliography: Moschini, 1815, I, p. 148; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 89; Pincus, 2000, p. 151
- Inscriptions: None surviving
- Description: The relief carving on the sarcophagus depicts the Madonna and child enthroned and flanked on either side by the kneeling Doge Giovanni Dolfin and his wife the Dogaressa Caterina Giustinian. To either side of this central scene are panels depicting the Dormition, the Adoration of the Magi and the Annunciation figures.
- Notes: Extant. In 1815 Moschini described a fresco painting (now destroyed) above the tomb "Sopra l'urna vi si osservava dipinta a fresco e conservata la figura di Nostra Donna, a cui lati stavan ginocchioni il doge e alta figura di donna,." (1815 p.148)



- Catalogue number: 4 Date: 1382
- Title: Tomb of Michele Morosini
- Photograph Credit: Pallucchini, La pittura veneziana
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Cappella Maggiore, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Mosaic; sculpture; fresco Dimensions:
- Provenance: Cappella Maggiore, Dominican church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35610; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 105 or 121; Pincus, 2000, p.156-7
- Inscriptions: *Inclita vultus Michael quem duxit in auras/ maurocena domus venetum dux civibus ingens/spes erat alta parans intercipit ardua fatum/ cepta ducis virtute potens fuit ensis acutus/iustice heu moriens patrie per secula luctus / qua cinis est iacet hic mens gaudet fama coruscat AND MCCCCLXXXII Die XVI Octubris fuit sepultus/ducavit mensibus quator diebus quinque*
- Description: The tomb monument of Doge Michele Morosini includes a sculpted effigy figure of the doge beneath a mosaic and a fresco (no longer extant). The mosaic depicts the doge and dogaressa kneeling before a scene of the Crucifixion with the Virgin with Michael Archangel, John the Evangelist, and John the Baptist. The remains of a fresco painting are still visible above the monument.
- Notes: Extant



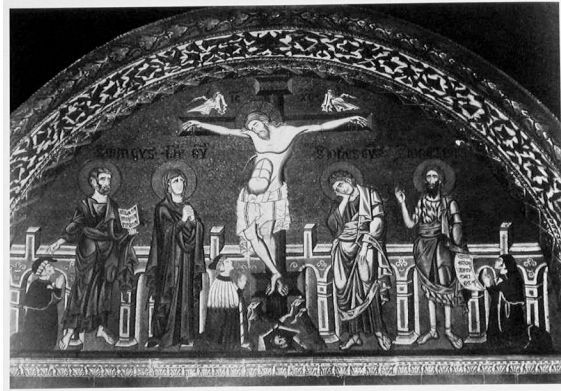
- Catalogue number: 5 Date: 1410 circa
- Title: Standing saint with nuns
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: According to Grevembroch, the panel was originally above the portal to the Dominican cloister of Corpus Domini
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35587
- Inscriptions: *S. Onicus Sarmoni alism pater inclit*
- Description: According to Grevembroch's drawing the carving depicts a standing saint with a cluster of kneeling nuns sheltering beneath his cloak. In the gable above this central image is a Christ of Sorrows. The convent of Corpus Domini was rebuilt in 1440 by Fantin Dandolo after a fire. However, this panel was believed to have been part of the earlier building.
- Notes: Lost. Grevembroch notes: "Questa e la sopraporta del chiostro delle monache domenicane dedicato al corpo di Christo rinnovato del 1410 e consecrato dal vescovo S. Lorenzo"



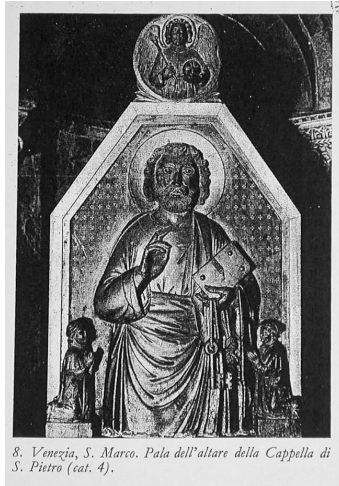
- Catalogue number: 6 Date: 1413
- Title: Tomb of Doge Michele Steno
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Mosaic;sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: Originally from the parish church of S. Marina. Sarcophagus moved to SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1811.
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35589; Zorzi, 1972, 370-73; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 89
- Inscriptions: *Iacet in hoc tumulo serenissimus/ princeps et domius dominus Michael / steno olim dux venetiarum amator/ iustitie pacis et uberatatis animal/ cuius requiescat in pace obiit/ millesimo quadrigentesimo ter/ tio decimo dei sexto decembris*
- Description: According to Grevembroch's drawing, the mosaic that was originally placed above the tomb in the church of S. Marina depicted Doge Michele Steno and his wife Marina Gallina kneeling before an enthroned Madonna and child. They are presented by archangel Michael and Sta. Marina. The mosaic is no longer extant and the tomb with the damaged effigy is now in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.
- Notes: Destroyed.



Catalogue number:	7	Date:	1340 circa
Title:	Tomb of Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Marco, Narthex, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Narthex of Basilica di S. Marco		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35201; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 35		
Inscriptions:	<i>Moribus insigni rectil/ basis indole clarus cla/rior et meritis petrii/ servator honoris cla/ uditur hoc tumulo/ gradonico bartholomeus./ dux fuit is venetus quar/to defunctus in anno</i>		
Description:	Relief carving of the enthroned Madonna and child flanked by Sts. Mark and Bartholomew. St Bartholomew presents Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo to the Virgin on her left side while St. Mark takes the position of honour on her right hand side.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	8	Date:	1350 circa
Title:	Deesis with Doge Andrea Dandolo		
Photograph Credit:	Lucco, La pittura nel veneto		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Marco, Baptistery, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Mosaic	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	S. Marco Baptistery		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch 1754, I, 35233; Pallucchini, 1964, p. 75; Demus: Pincus, 2000, p. 132-38		
Inscriptions:	<i>Sancti Marcus; MP; S. Ioannes Evan; S. Ioannes Bap.</i>		
Description:	<p>Located in the apse of the baptistery of S. Marco above the altar. The mosaic depicts Doge Andrea Dandolo dressed in the red robes of the ducal office, grand chancellor Benintendi de' Ravagnani and an unidentified young nobleman dressed in the fur-lined robes of the first level of high office kneeling before a scene of the Crucifixion. The donors are accompanied/presented by St. Mark, the Virgin Mary, and Sts. John the Evangelist and John the Baptist. Andrea Dandolo kneels at the foot of the cross, while Ravagnani is presented by St. Mark and the young nobleman is presented by John the Baptist. The figures stand/kneel before an arcade-like structure in the background.</p>		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	9	Date:	1300 circa
Title:	Saint Peter with Procurators		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Marco, Cappella S. Pietro, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	1.12 x 0.87 m
Provenance:	Pala for the altar of the Cappella di S. Pietro in S. Marco		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, Curiosità, 1755, I, 31291; Cecchetti, 1888, p. 273; Lorenzetti, 1927, p.196; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 4		
Inscriptions:	<i>HIC SVNT RELIQUIAE S. PETRI. S MATEI . S.JOHANIS EVANGELE. S BARTOLOMAE. S. LUCE</i>		
Description:	St. Peter is depicted standing; he is flanked by two kneeling donor figures on either side probably procurators of the church. The roundel above the main scene depicts an archangel. The inscription survives through Grevembroch's 18th century drawings but is no longer extant. Wolters dates the altar to circa 1300 although it may be earlier.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	10	Date:	1334 circa
Title:	St. John the Evangelist with donor Bartolomeo Ravachaulo		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Simone Grande, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	1.26 x 0.73 m
Provenance:	Originally on the facade of the Church of S. Simone Profeta (Grande). Currently inside the church.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35199; Gabelentz, 1903, p. 212; Planiscig, 1916, p. 92ss; Mariacher, 1950-51, p. 230; Hubala, 1965, p. 938; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 26		
Inscriptions:	<i>Honore/ s. iohannis ev[angeliste bar]/tholomeus [ravachaulus] /huis ecclesie ple[banus fecit] / fieri hoc altare e [t fa] / re uno capetino D. ipso/suis perpetuis tempo /ribus</i>		
Description:	The panel depicts St. John the Evangelist standing before the kneeling donor, Bartolomeo Ravachaulo. Grevembroch's drawings also record two roundels which once contained images of the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate. The roundels are no longer extant.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	11	Date:	1390 circa
Title:	Madonna della Misericordia with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Calle del Paradiso, Castello, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	c 1.50 x 1.50 m
Provenance:	Archway over the entrance to Calle del Paradiso from the Ponte del Paradiso in the parish of S. Maria Formosa, Castello.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35613; Tassini, 1863, p. 480-481; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 68		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	<p>The Gothic style archway depicts the Madonna della Misericordia flanked by a kneeling donor figure. The other side of the arch depicts the Madonna della Misericordia with two kneeling donor figures. The side facing the bridge, with one kneeling donor, dates to the late fourteenth century and probably depicts the person who initiated the first building project. Although an inscription dating the work to 1407 survives it is believed to have been added afterwards. The roundels on both sides may have contained heraldry. The Foscari heraldry survives on one side of the arch, and on the other the Foscari and Mocenigo heraldry are depicted together.</p>		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	12	Date:	1310
Title:	St. Donatus with donor Donato Memo and wife		
Photograph Credit:	Flores D'Arcais, Il Trecento adriatico		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Museo Diocesano, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Tempera, gold on wood	Dimensions:	2.00 x 1.43 m
Provenance:	Originally commissioned for the Church of SS. Maria e Donato on the island of Murano and, until very recently, located inside the church.		
Bibliography:	Zanetti, 1770, p. 4; Moschini, 1815, vol. 2. p.439; Van Marle, 1924, IV, p. 2-4; Pallucchini, 1964, p.19-20; Wolters, 1976 cat.no. 6; Lucco, 1994, I, p. 20-21		
Inscriptions:	<i>Corando MCCCX indiction VIII in tempo de lo /nobile homol/ miser Donato memo honora/ do podestà del/ Muran factal/ fo quest an/cona de miser/ San Donato</i>		
Description:	Panel painting with a low relief image of standing St. Donatus who is flanked on either side by the podestà of Murano, Donato Memo and his wife. Moschini records in 1815 that it was located behind the altar possibly as a retable.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number: 13

Date: 1350 circa

Title: S. Chiara Polyptych

Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto

Artist: Paolo Veneziano

Location: Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice. inv. no 16; cat. no. 21

Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold on wood Dimensions: 1.38 x 0.94 m

Provenance: From the deconsecrated convent of S. Chiara, in Venice

Bibliography: Moschini, 1818, II, p. 485-86; Zanotto, Pinac. d. Accademia, II, 1834; Marconi, 1955, I, p. 15 cat. no. 12; Zorzi, 1972, vol. 2, p. 323; Lucco, 1994, I p. 40-41

Inscriptions: None surviving

Description: The central scene of the elaborate polyptych depicts a Coronation of the Virgin flanked by smaller scenes from the passion of Christ. On the top level are narrative scenes from the life of St. Francis and images of standing saints. In the scene of St. Francis' death there is a small-scale donor portrait of a nun who was probably the donor of the piece.

Notes: Extant



Catalogue number:	14	Date:	1315 circa
Title:	St. Donatus with kneeling donor		
Photograph Credit:	Rizzi, Scultura esterna		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	SS. Maria e Donato, Murano		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	c 70 x 20 cm
Provenance:	Over the entrance portal on the facade of the church of SS. Maria e Donato on the island of Murano		
Bibliography:	Zanotto, 1856, p. 684; Zanetti, 1866, p. 137; Lorenzetti, ed. 1956, p. 799; Rizzi, 1978, p. 115, 119; Perry, 1980, p. 42; Rizzi, 1987, p. 532 LA41		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The relief carving over the entrance portal of the church of SS. Maria e Donato on Murano depicts a standing St. Donatus blessing a kneeling donor figure. The figures stand in a carved architectural niche with columns reminiscent of the panel inside the church.		
Notes:	Extant		

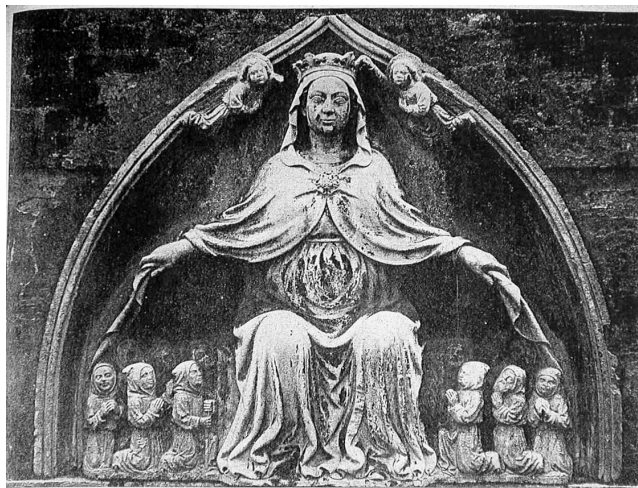


- Catalogue number: 15 Date: 1368 circa
- Title: The mystic marriage of St. Catherine with donatrix Elisabetta Dolfin
- Photograph Credit: Author
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: S. Caterina, Mazzorbo
- Medium/Technique: High relief sculpture Dimensions: 1.19 x 2.07 m
- Provenance: Above the entrance portal to the convent church of S. Caterina on the island of Mazzorbo.
- Bibliography: Gabelentz, 1903, p. 217; Toesca, 1951, p. 418; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 104
- Inscriptions: *MCCCLXIII die p/rimo de novembrio fo fat/ o questo lavoriero in tenpo del/ la egregia e nobele e regilio / sa madona beta dolphin reve/ renda badesa/ de questo l/ ugo siando procurat/or in Christ's book: ego sum lus mundi*
- Description: The relief depicts a scene of the mystic marriage of St. Catherine and Christ. The convent abbess Elisabetta Dolfin is depicted kneeling with St. Catherine and a church procurator kneels on the opposite side while angels fly overhead.
- Notes: Extant

Catalogue number:	16	Date:	1407
Title:	St. Fosca with brethren		
Photograph Credit:			
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Fosca, Torcello		
Medium/Technique:	Relief sculpture	Dimensions:	c 30 x 30 cm
Provenance:	Above the entrance portal of the church of S. Fosca on the island of Torcello.		
Bibliography:	No known bibliography		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The small panel depicts St. Fosca adored by brethren.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	17	Date:	1370 circa (?)
Title:	Virgin and child with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Giacomo dell'Orio, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	c 20 x 30 cm
Provenance:	Original provenance unknown. Possibly from the church of San Giacomo dell'Orio, Venice		
Bibliography:	No known bibliography		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	A small relief carving now over the entrance portal to the old sacristy in the church of S. Giacomo dell'Orio depicts the enthroned Virgin and child with an anonymous kneeling donor.		
Notes:	Extant		



- Catalogue number: 18 Date: 1360 circa
- Title: Madonna della Misericordia
- Photograph Credit: Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: S. Tomà, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions: 1.28 x 1.70 m
- Provenance: Provenance unknown, possibly from the original entrance portal of the older church of S. Tomà
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35601; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 128
- Inscriptions: None surviving
- Description: The relief carving in a portal lunette is currently erected on the north facade of the church of S. Tomà. It depicts a Madonna della Misericordia with a group of kneeling confraternity brothers beneath her cloak.
- Notes: Extant. It is interesting to note that in Grevembroch's drawing the kneeling figures look like nuns, but in the extant relief carving they are clearly confraternity brothers.



Catalogue number:	19	Date:	1400
Title:	S. Niccolò and kneeling donors		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Nicolo dei Mendacoli, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	c 40 x 50 cm
Provenance:	Original provenance unknown. Possibly from the church of S. Niccolò dei Mendacoli.		
Bibliography:	Levi, 1897, p.54		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	Relief carving from the late XIV or early XV centuries depicts the bishop St. Niccolò enthroned with two kneeling donors on either side. It is now above the porch entrance.		
Notes:	Extant. Levi describes the panel, "Sull' antica facciata principale della chiesa. S.Niccolò on traccle di donna, angelo e devoti."		



Catalogue number: 20

Date: 1349

Title: S. Martino polyptych

Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto

Artist: Paolo Veneziano

Location: S. Martino, Chioggia

Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold on wood Dimensions: 1.04 x 0.54 m

Provenance: From the oratorio di S. Martino, Chioggia

Bibliography: Testi, 1909; Van Marle, I 1924; Pallucchini, fig. 128, p. 43

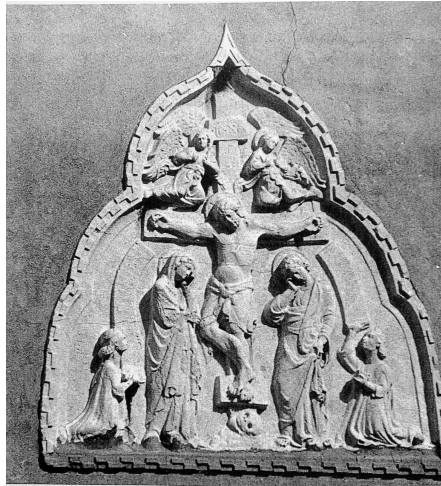
Inscriptions: *M CCC (X) L VIII MS IULI F... O...*

Description: The central panel of the polyptych depicts the Madonna and child enthroned and flanked by two kneeling confraternity members bearing a standard.

Notes: Extant



Catalogue number:	21	Date:	1290 circa
Title:	Virgin and child with donor Andrea Zeno		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Domenico, Chioggia		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	c 1.20 x 0.40 m
Provenance:	Originally on the facade of the campanile of the church of S. Domenico. Currently located inside the church		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1762, tav XXXI; Ravagnan, 1835, f.24r; Rizzi, cat. no. 264, p. 564-65		
Inscriptions:	<i>Donus-Andreas- Zeno- De Contrata- S.ti Joanis – Crisosto – Mi-Pote – Stas- Clug</i>		
Description:	The relief panel depicts the podestà of Chioggia, Andrea Zeno kneeling before a Byzantine style Virgin and child. This panel is considered the oldest securely documented Venetian sculpture. The donor's head has been lost from the relief panel, as has the inscription which is only recorded through Grevembroch's drawing.		
Notes:	Extant		



- Catalogue number: 22 Date: 1350 circa
- Title: Deesis with unidentified donors
- Photograph Credit: Rizzi, Scultura esterna
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: S. Eufemia, Giudecca
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions: 1.50 x 1.20 m
- Provenance: Originally from facade of the demolished church of SS. Biagio e Cataldo on the Giudecca. It is currently located on the facade of the church of S. Eufemia above a colonnade also originally from SS. Biagio e Cataldo.
- Bibliography: Fapanni, ms9125/3 p 69; Vucetich, II, f. 79 no.14; Levi, 1900, p.69; Lorenzetti, p. 759; Piamonte, s.d. (1966), p. 301; Zorzi, 1972, vol. 2, p. 319; See Musolino 1962 La Beata Giuliana di Collato. Chiesa e monastaro di S. Biagio e Cataldo alla Giudecca, p. 48 “avverte che una minuta descrizione della chiesa e del convento si trovano nel l’Archivio Notarile di Venezia, Rogiti Notaio Domenico Corsale, copia aut. istromento 12 agosto 1866; Rizzi, cat. no. 393
- Inscriptions: Illegible
- Description: The trilobate lunette over the portico depicts a traditional deesis with two kneeling donors. The donor couple are holding scrolls that contain illegible inscriptions.
- Notes: Extant. After the demolition of SS. Biagio e Cataldo in 1882 Don Leandro Lizzo brought fragments and the interior colonnade to S. Eufemia.



Catalogue number:	23	Date:	1405 circa
Title:	S. Stefano with monks and confratelli		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Scuola di santo Stefano (dei Lanieri), Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Scuola di Santo Stefano (dei Lanieri) directly opposite the entrance to the church of Santo Stefano		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, II 35615		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The Gothic style relief carving in a lunette depicts S. Stefano standing amid a group of kneeling confraternity brethren (Scuola dei Lanieri). The carving originally decorated the entrance portal of the scuola and an inscription (recorded by Grevembroch) was added in the fifteenth century.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	24	Date:	1345 circa
Title:	Virgo Maria with brethren		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Gallerie dell' Accademia facade, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Over entrance to the former Scuola grande of S. Maria della Carità, now the Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35200; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 52, p. 179-80; Rizzi, 1987 cat. no. 107, p. 465		
Inscriptions:	<i>MCCCXLV in lo tempo dominis Marco Zulian fo fatto Questo Laviorier</i> and <i>"Virgo Maria</i>		
Description:	This tabernacle depicts the Virgin and child enthroned with kneeling brethren on either side. The tabernacle was dedicated by Marco Giuliano as indicated by the inscription which is recorded by Grevembroch.		
Notes:	Extant		



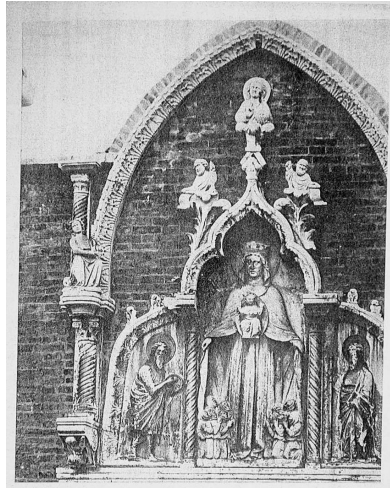
Catalogue number:	25	Date:	1350 circa
Title:	Madonna della Misericordia		
Photograph Credit:	Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Scuola Grande della Carità, Venice		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1759, III, 35357		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	According to Grevembroch's drawing the panel depicts the Madonna della Misericordia with kneeling confraternity members. Grevembroch's drawing also records family heraldry, consisting of two rows of griffin heads, which may have been added in later centuries.		
Notes:	Lost. Grevembroch notes "Marmorea simbolo verso tramontana condizionato sopra case di ragione della scuola della Carita dirimpetto al chiostro di paori corciferi, crediamo fato a tempio del Guardiano Francesco Cavazza"		



Catalogue number:	26	Date:	1377 circa
Title:	S. Leonardo with kneeling brethren		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Gallerie dell' Accademia facade, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Originally on the facade of the church of San Leonardo, but moved to the Scuola Grande di S. Maria della Carità in 1344.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35220; Wolters, 1976, p. 155; Rizzi, 1987 cat. no. 108, p. 465		
Inscriptions:	<i>MCCCLXXVII fo fato questo lavorier/ al onor de dio e dela Vergene Maria al glorioxo chonfesor mis[sier] sen lvnardo e in memvolria de tuti che in lo santo di fo chomen/sada e creada questa santa fraternitade e schvola</i> and “MC(...)XXXIII del mense (...)fo fato sto Lavorier		
Description:	The relief carving depicts St. Leonard, one of the patron saints (along with St. Christopher) of the Scuola della Carità, standing in a niche with two kneeling brethren on either side. It is reminiscent of many other Byzantine style, icon relief carvings decorating the facades of Venetian churches in this period		
Notes:	Extant		



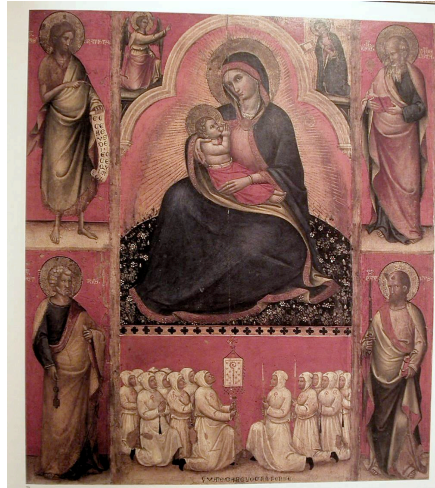
- Catalogue number: 27 Date: 1397 circa
- Title: Madonna della Misericordia
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Gallerie dell' Accademia facade, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: Scuola Grande di S. Maria della Carità
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1759, III, 35358
- Inscriptions: *EX LEGATO Q D NICOLAI QUARTARI DE ANNO D MCCCLXXXVII DIMISSAS D VINCENTIUS QUARTARI VARDIANUS DOMOS IN NOVAZ HANC REDUXIT FORMAZ MDII*
- Description: The panel depicts a Madonna della Misericordia with kneeling confraternity members of the scuola and heraldic arms. The panel is recorded only through Jan Grevembroch's drawings.
- Notes: Lost. Grevembroch notes: "Le proprie case nelle contrada di S. Giustina pervenito per testamentaria disposizione di Niccolo Quartari nella scuola della Craita dove egli fu piu volte Guardiano e rinnovato da Vincenzo q Domenico di lui pronipate altresì guardiano stanno tuttavia mareate con li sopra dimostrati simbolo e stemme."



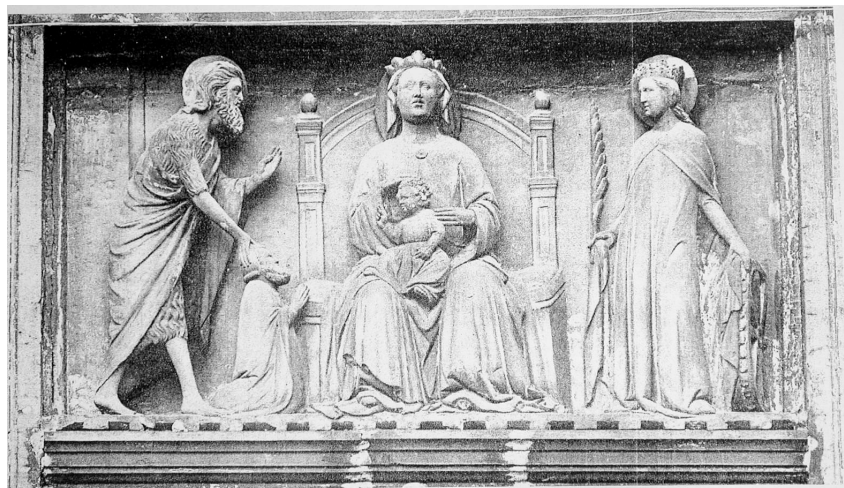
Catalogue number:	28	Date:	1375 circa
Title:	Madonna della Misericordia with Sts. John and Jacob		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Corte Nova, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Originally over the portal of the Scuola Vecchia della Misericordia, later moved to Corte Nova behind the scuola.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35602; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 99		
Inscriptions:	<i>Del ipso forono principiate et compivte qveste case per abitation de nostri poveri fratelli ad laude de Dio e de la Virgine Maria et del Serenissimo principe misier Leonardo Lav... tutto el svo glorioso stato che dio felice lo conservi</i>		
Description:	Depicts the Madonna della Misericordia with kneeling worshippers flanked by saints John the Baptist and St. Jacob Majorus. Wolters suggests a date to the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The inscription is recorded only though Grevembroch's drawings though it is not certain if the inscription was added later.		
Notes:	Extant		



- Catalogue number: 29 Date: 1349 circa
- Title: S. John the Evangelist and brethren
- Photograph Credit: Author
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions: 1.24 x 2.71 m
- Provenance: On the facade of the Scuola of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1759, III, 35296; Urbani de Gheltof, 1895, p. 4; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 78
- Inscriptions: *MCCCXLVIII fo fato questo lavorier per misier lo Vardian de la scuola de miser san can vangeliiste e per li soi/ compagni e deli beni dela scola e con la ida deli nostri frari e fo fato con volenta del nobele omo misier iacomo badoer/ditto daperaga p{ri} or del ditto logo e con consentimento dei nobili omeni misier marin badoer de sen iacomo del orio e misier marco/ badoer de santo stina e misier cani badoer dito daperaga e misier ma rio badoer de santo stina e misier felipo badoer/ e misier albertin so frat tuto avi e patroni del ditto logo a per sier botolamio dit maguco percolator dei sovra dit misier lo prior*
- Description: The relief depicts John the Evangelist with kneeling brethren. The names of patrons are mentioned below. The head *confratello* has been identified as Guardian Bon Bonvisini.
- Notes: Extant. Grevembroch notes: "Fatto da Bon Bonvisini Guardiano 1348 con assenso della nobile Famiglia Badoer rifatto e compito poi da successivo Guardiano e compagni 1453"



- Catalogue number: 30 Date: 1370 circa
- Title: Panel with kneeling brethren
- Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto
- Artist: Giovanni da Bologna
- Location: Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice. inv. no. 230; cat. no.17
- Medium/Technique: Tempera on wood Dimensions: 1.10 x 0.97 m
- Provenance: Originally for the altar of the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista.
- Bibliography: Marconi, 1955, I, p. 8, cat. no. 5; Pallucchini, fig. 565, p. 186; Lucco, 1994, I, fig 70
- Inscriptions: *CV ANE. DA. BOLOGNA. PENSE*
- Description: The central panel depicts the Madonna dell' Umiltà surmounted by an Annunciation scene and flanked on either side by standing Sts. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist as well as Sts Peter and Paul. On the lower panel kneeling confraternity members of the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista carry the banner of the the scuola. The panel is signed by Giovanni da Bologna.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 31 Date: 1350 circa
- Title: Virgin and child with John the Baptist, St. Catherine and donor
- Photograph Credit: Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Scuola degli Schiavoni, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions: c 1.50 x 0.50m
- Provenance: Exact provenance unknown. It is possible that it came from elsewhere and was later placed on the facade of the Scuola degli Schiavoni. According to Grevembroch it may have originally decorated the entrance to the hospital of St. Caterina and was later moved to its current position.
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35597; Moschini, 1815, I, p.90; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 67
- Inscriptions: None surviving
- Description: Depicts Sts. John the Baptist and Caterina who present a kneeling donor figure with a beard to the Madonna and child.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 32 Date: 1356
- Title: St. Andrew with donors Marco Minotto and Alesia da Ponte
- Photograph Credit: Author
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Corte di S. Andrea, S. Marco, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions: 0.77 x 1.03 m
- Provenance: Originally from the hospital of the Padri Eremitani of S. Andrea del Lido (later 'della Certosa' or 'in Isola'). The panel decorated the entry portal to the hospice of the monastery. Currently located in the Corte di S. Andrea in the sestiere of San Marco
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35189; Corner, 1758, p. 60-64; Wolters, cat. no. 82; King, 1998, p.94-6.
- Inscriptions: *MCCCLVI del mexe de cugno frar Marcho Minoto/ prior de S. Andrea de Lido fe far questo lavorier madona alixe/da ponte si lasa queste posesion al ditto monastiero*
- Description: The relief depicts St. Andrew with kneeling donor figures Prior F. Marco Minotto of the monastery church of S. Andrea di Lido and benefactrice Alesia da Ponte both of whom are indicated in the inscription. Alexia da Ponte had endowed the funds for the construction of the hospice in her will. The Minotto family coat of arms is placed directly behind Prior Minotto.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 33 Date: 1394
- Title: Virgin and child with donor Vulciano Belgarzone
- Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto
- Artist: Nicolo di Pietro
- Location: Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice, inv. no. 84; cat. no. 19
- Medium/Technique: Tempera on wood Dimensions: 1.07 x 0.65 m
- Provenance: Provenance unknown
- Bibliography: Cicogna, Inscrizioni, III, 1830, p. 89; Zanotto, II, 1834, fasc. 32, nota 12; Marconi, 1955, I; Castelnuovo, I, fig. 14; Pallucchini, 1964, fig. 706, p. 223; Lucco, 1994, II, p.433
- Inscriptions: *HOC/OPUS/FECIT FIEI/DNS VULCIA/BELGARCONI/CIVIS.
YA/ DRIENSIS./ MCCCLXXXIII. NICHOLA./ FILIUS MRI
PETRI PICTORIS DE VENE/ CIIS. PINZIT HOC OPUS QUI
MO/ RATUR IN CHAPITE PONTIS PARADIXI*
- Description: The panel depicts the Madonna and child enthroned with a host of angels while the donor Vulciano Belgarzone, kneels to the Virgin's right. Belgarzone wears distinctive red robes and a skull cap while the inscription, running along the bottom of the panel, identifies the donor, the date and the name of the artist and his place of residence.
- Notes: Extant



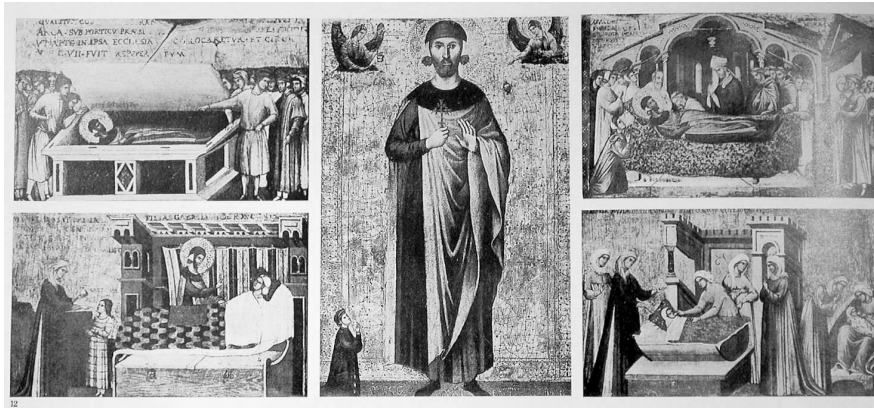
- Catalogue number: 34 Date: 1340 circa
- Title: Virgin and child with donors
- Photograph Credit: Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*
- Artist: Paolo Veneziano
- Location: Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice. Inv. no. 836; cat. no. 786
- Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold wood Dimensions: 1.42 x 0.92m
- Provenance: Original provenance unknown. Purchased from antiquarian Salvadori in 1913. For some years at the Ca d'Oro and returned to the Accademia in 1940.
- Bibliography: Fogolari, in *Burl. Mag.*, 1913, XXIV, p.27-28; Marconi, 1955, I, p. 16-17, cat. no. 13; Pallucchini, 1964, fig 69-70, p.29; Lucco, 1994, I, p. 35-6
- Inscriptions: None surviving
- Description: Depicts the Madonna and child (in a mandorla) seated before a cloth of honour. The donors, a husband and wife, are depicted kneeling together at the Virgin's right hand.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 35 Date: 1370 circa
- Title: Lion Polyptych
- Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto
- Artist: Lorenzo Veneziano
- Location: Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice. Inv. no. 5; cat no. 10
- Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold on wood Dimensions: 1.26 x 0.75m
- Provenance: Originally on the high altar of the church of S. Antonio Abbate al Castello. Moved to the sacristy of the church in 1512.
- Bibliography: Moschini, 1815, II, p.485; Cicogna, I, 1824, p. 185; Zanotto, II, 1834, fasc. 3 ; Van Marle, IV, p.46-8; Marconi, 1955, I, p. 9-10, cat. no 6; Palluchini, 1964, fig. 493, p.165; Lucco, 1994, vol. I, p. 57.
- Inscriptions: *MCCCLVII Hec tabella fca fuit et hic affissa p Laurecius pictoresq caninus scultores itpe Regis ven, viri pni fris Goti d'Abba Tib DR. Lot p. iois et funto monis isti. Hanc tuis.....s abne triumphato orbis Dominicus lion ego nunc supplx arte pre poliam Dono pa bellam*
- Description: The central panel of the polyptych depicts a scene of the Annunciation and donor portrait of Domenico Lion. The side panels depict various standing saints. Domenico, who is believed to have paid 300 gold ducats for the altarpiece, was a member of the provvisorio of the Venetian senate between 1356 and 57 and was the son of procurator Nicolò Lion who paid for the construction of the same church in 1346.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 36 Date: 1380 circa
- Title: Madonna dell' Parto with donors
- Photograph Credit: Marconi, Gallerie dell' Accademia
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice. cat no. 1328
- Medium/Technique: Tempera on wood Dimensions: 1.88 x 1.38 m
- Provenance: Originally from the convent church of S. Caterina, Venice
- Bibliography: Moschini, 1815, I, p.678; Selvatico-Lazzari, Guida da Venezia, 1852, p. 148; Zanotto, Guida, 1856, p. 314; Clartoso-Lorenzetti, in Ateneo Ven., 1926, p.11; Marconi, 1955, vol. I, p. 20, cat. no.19;
- Inscriptions: in the book held by the virgin: *MA/TER. AVE/ XPI/SANC??*
TIBI/ MA. VIRGO/ MARIA / PARTU
- Description: Panel depicting the Madonna dell'Parto enthroned before a cloth of honour with the donors, a husband and wife kneeling on either side.
- Notes: Extant



Catalogue number: 38

Date: 1321

Title: Sarcophagus of Beato Leone Bembo

Photograph Credit: Pallucchini, La pittura veneziana

Artist: Paolo Veneziano

Location: S. Biagio, Vodnjan, Croatia

Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold on wood Dimensions: 0.76 x 1.68m

Provenance: Originally in the little church of S. Sebastiano in Venice (beside S. Lorenzo). The panel was originally from the back of the sarcophagus housed in that church. It was sold to Dignano (Vodnjan) in 1818 by the painter Gaetano Grenzler (Rismondo, 1937)

Bibliography: Corner, 1758, fronte p.143; Castelnuovo, vol. 1. p. 18; Van Marle. V. IV p. 4; Pallucchini, fig. 29, p. 22-23; Zorzi, 1972, Vol. 2, p. 483; Lucco, 1994, vol. I, p. 29-31.

Inscriptions: *MCCCXXI fatu fecit hoc opus*

Description: The panel depicts scenes from the life and miracles of beato Leone Bembo. The central scene depicts Leone Bembo with a donor figure kneeling at his feet. Pallucchini identifies the donor as the abbess of the convent of San Lorenzo, Sister Tommasina Vitturi. There is possibly another portrait of Abbess Tommasina as a woman kneeling with a rosary in the scene of bishop Polani's visit the death bed of Bembo. This scene is reminiscent of the polyptych of S. Chiara (cat. no. 13). The scenes to the sides depicts the miracles of Bembo.

Notes: Extant



Catalogue number:	39	Date:	1394 before
Title:	Doge Antonio Venier		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica		
Artist:	Jocobello dalle Masegne attrib		
Location:	Museo Correr, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Sculpture	Dimensions:	51 cm
Provenance:	Possibly part of a tomb or erected above a portal inside the ducal palace.		
Bibliography:	Wolters, 1976, vol. I, p. 220; Romanelli, 1995, p. 51		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	This small kneeling statue of Doge Antonio Venier(1382-1400) was executed in marble. Originally the doge carried a standard in his hands and was - according to Wolters - placed above an interior portal in the ducal palace or was possibly part of a tomb.		
Notes:	Extant		



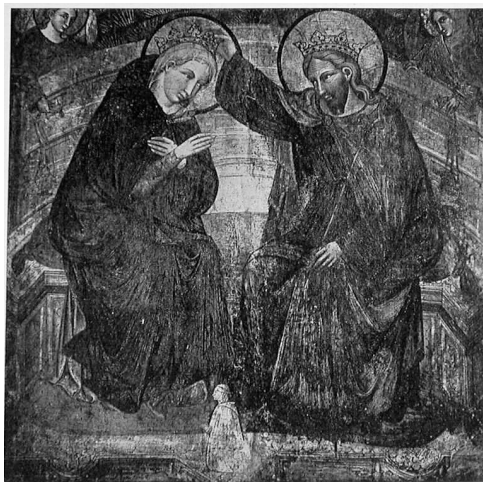
Catalogue number:	40	Date:	1400 circa
Title:	Virgin enthroned with magistrates		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, <i>La scultura veneziana gotica</i>		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Museo Correr, Venice. inv. no. Marmi 113		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	1.34 x 1.40 m
Provenance:	Provenance unknown		
Bibliography:	Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 153		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The panel depicts the Virgin enthroned and surrounded by a kneeling doge and other government officials, possibly magistrates. Wolters identifies the doge as Michele Steno (1400-1413) from the portrait in his <i>promissione ducale</i> .		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	42	Date:	1290 circa
Title:	Sarcophagus of Beata Giuliana di Collato		
Photograph Credit:	Pallucchini, La pittura veneziana		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Museo Correr, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Tempera on wood	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Originally from the convent church of Cataldo and Biagio then moved to the Oratorio of Padri Cavagnis in S. Agnese, Venezia. Now in the Museo Correr, Venice.		
Bibliography:	Testi, 1909, p.141; Marconi, 1951, p.82; Pallucchini, 1964, fig. 8, p.11, p.20		
Inscriptions:	None surviving.		
Description:	Painting on the cover of the sarcophagus of the beata Giuliana di Collato depicts the beata Giuliana kneeling in front of two standing saints - Cataldo and Biagio. The saints and beata Giuliana are identified by short inscriptions.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	44	Date:	1360 circa
Title:	Virgin and child enthroned with donors		
Photograph Credit:	Pallucchini, La pittura veneziana		
Artist:	Lorenzo Veneziano		
Location:	Lehman collection, Met, New York		
Medium/Technique:	Tempera, gold on wood	Dimensions:	1.07 x 0.64 m
Provenance:	Exact provenance unknown. Venetian origin		
Bibliography:	Pallucchini, fig. 510, p. 170		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	Panel depicts the Virgin holding a bird in one hand and the Christ child in the other arm. There are two kneeling donor figures below - one is a monk the other is a layman.		
Notes:	Extant		



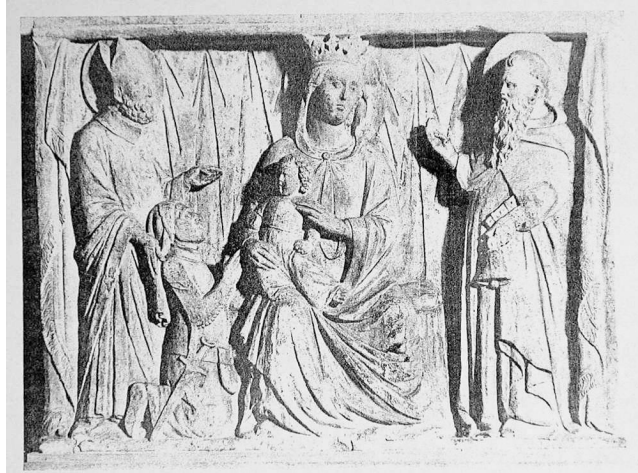
- Catalogue number: 45 Date: 1390 circa
- Title: Coronation of the Virgin with donor
- Photograph Credit: Mariacher, Museo Correr
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Museo Correr, Venice. inv.no. 656
- Medium/Technique: Tempera on wood Dimensions: 1.11 x 0.80 m
- Provenance: Original provenance unknown. From a larger altar that was cut down by the owner in the early 20th century.
- Bibliography: Cavalcaselle, 1887, IV, p 323; Mariacher, 1957, p. 162-63; Pallucchini, 1964, fig. 657, p. 213
- Inscriptions: *alvise vivarin* (false inscription)
- Description: The panel depicts the Coronation of the Virgin with a donor portrait of a nun at a much smaller scale holding a rosary. Probably once a part of a larger and grander altar for a local convent church.
- Notes: Extant



Catalogue number:	46	Date:	1350 circa before
Title:	Madonna with Sts. Catherine and John the Baptist with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, <i>La scultura veneziana gotica</i>		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Biblioteca dei Cavalieri di Malta, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	1.24 x 1.86 m
Provenance:	Provenance unknown. Wolters dismisses attempts by Grevembroch, Picenardi, and Perocco to trace it.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35599; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 61		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The panel was possibly part of a sarcophagus. The relief depicts the Madonna flanked by Sts. Caterina and John the Baptist who present a kneeling donor figure. The donor figure has a beard and is dressed in a long cloak.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	47	Date:	1370 circa
Title:	St. Hermagoras with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Mariacher, Museo Correr		
Artist:	Matteo Giovannetti		
Location:	Museo Correr, Venice. inv. no. 408		
Medium/Technique:	Tempera, gold on wood	Dimensions:	55 x 18 cm
Provenance:	Original provenance unknown Possibly from the church of SS. Ermagora and Fortunato (San Marcuola)?		
Bibliography:	Mariacher, 1957, vol. I, p.84-86; Zeri, 1976, p.11; Castelfnuovo, I, p.178,183		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	Tryptych panel depicts St. Hermagoras and a kneeling donor. The panel was originally part of a larger altarpiece. Hermagoras places his hand on the donor's head. A matching panel in the Museo Correr depicts St. Fortunato.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	48	Date:	1350 circa
Title:	Virgin with Sts. Antonio Abbate and bishop with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, <i>La scultura veneziana gotica</i>		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Portsmouth Priory School, Rhode Island		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	61 x 79 cm
Provenance:	Original provenance unknown. Possibly from a tomb in the church of S. Antonio Abate in Castello.		
Bibliography:	Art Objects and Furnishings from the Randolph Hearst Collection, 1941, p.63; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 63		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	This possible sarcophagus fragment depicts the Virgin and child enthroned with S. Antonio Abbate of Egypt and an unidentified bishop saint who presents a kneeling donor. The donor is dressed uncharacteristically (for Venice) in medieval armour and carries a prominent sword.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	49	Date:	1374
Title:	S. Biagio with confraternity members		
Photograph Credit:	Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	A carved panel from the church of S. Biagio e Cataldo. In the eighteenth century, according to Grevembroch, it was visible above the portal to the convent.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35214		
Inscriptions:	<i>MCCCLXXIII ADIV .DEOR PORTAT [QUE]ESTO LAVORIER TO S. DOM TENTOR CASTOL..DE</i>		
Description:	The panel of S. Biagio enthroned and blessing kneeling donors on either side survives only through Grevembroch's drawing. In it confraternity members kneel on one side of the saint while a group of nuns kneel on the other. In the panels above are images of the man of sorrows, the Virgin, John the Evangelist and an Annunciation group. On the left side there is a sun in the corner with the hand of God emerging from its rays.		
Notes:	Lost.		



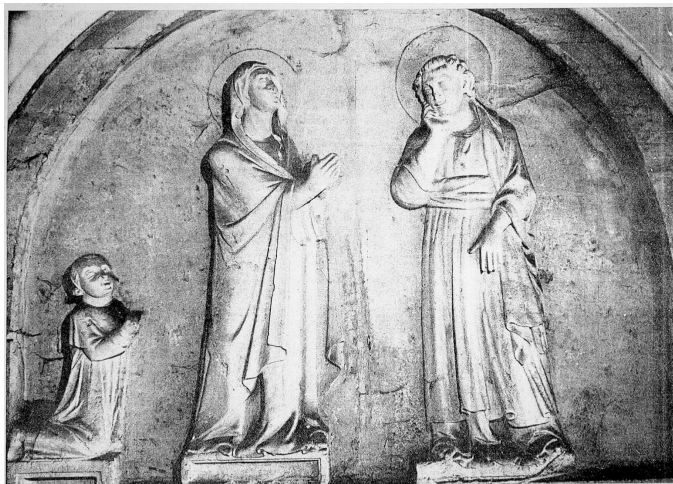
Catalogue number:	50	Date:	1390 circa
Title:	Santa Marta with nuns		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Angelo Raffaelo, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	High relief sculpture	Dimensions:	c 1.50 x 2.00 m
Provenance:	Originally above the external doorway of the convent church of St. Marta according to Zorzi and Cicogna. Transferred to S. Angelo Raffaelo		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1759, III, 35344; Cicogna, 1859, 10; Zorzi, 1972, vol. 2, p. 536		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	Depicts Sta. Marta with a dragon at her feet and two kneeling Benedictine nuns on either side.		
Notes:	Extant		



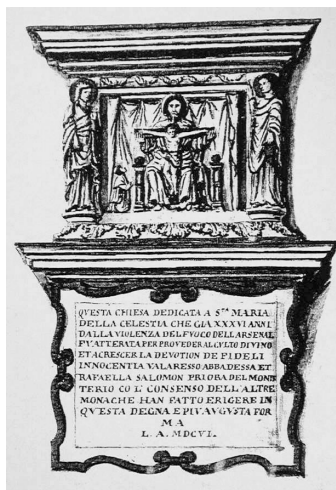
- Catalogue number: 51 Date: 1354
- Title: Madonna della Misericordia with confraternity members
- Photograph Credit: Author
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice
- Medium/Technique: High relief sculpture Dimensions: c 1.50 x 0.65 m
- Provenance: From front portal of the scuola of S. Lucia founded in 1354 now in the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1759, III, 35302; Tassini, 1885, p.149; Lorenzetti, 1929, p. 32; Wolters, 1976, p. 48 and 185 fig; Rizzi, cat.no. OAD 293
- Inscriptions: *MCCCLIII DEI MESE DECEBRIO FO FATA QUESTA CHAXA EXE DELLE SCUOLA DE MADONA SANTA LUCIA E COQUISTADA E FATA DI BENI DI FRARI DEI....SCUOLA DE S[AN]TA LUCIA I TEMPO DE MISER IACOMO OREXE CHE I ERA GA E CO I SVO CONPAGRI*
- Description: The relief carving depicts the Maria della Misericordia crowned by two angels, with kneeling confraternity members on either side. They stand in an architectural niche which still shows some evidence of its original polychrome. Grevembroch's drawing records an inscription with the symbol of the scuola of S. Lucia on either side.
- Notes: Extant. Grevembroch notes "la sopra marcaia fabbrica de... preciso la chiesa di S. lucia di Venezia ebbe origine....anno dopo la istituzione della divola scuola medesina"



- Catalogue number: 52 Date: 1340 circa
- Title: St Andrew Apostle with kneeling nuns and confratelli
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: Church of S. Andrea Pescatore e Apostolo (della Zirada), Venice
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, III, 35303
- Inscriptions: None surviving
- Description: This relief depicts S. Andrea Pescatore and Apostle standing flanked by kneeling nuns and confraternity members one of whom hold the bottom of Andrea's banner. This was originally over the entry portal of the scuola attached to the church of S. Andrea della Zirada.
- Notes: Lost. Grevembroch notes: "questo e il prospetto di quella fabbrica che servi per la riduzione della fraternal de pescatori o di altra arte che del 134...bel mese di novembre prese posto dirempetto al fianco della chiesa S. Andrea Pescatore ed Apostolo ora sembra che ne sia andata a possesso la Compagnia de Burchieri"



- Catalogue number: 53 Date: 1410 circa
- Title: Deesis with donor
- Photograph Credit: Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Schloss Glienike, Berlin
- Medium/Technique: Relief sculpture Dimensions: 1.25 x 0.75 m
- Provenance: From the convent of S. Maria della Celestia. Currently located in Schloss Glienike, Berlin.
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35567; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 85
- Inscriptions: None surviving
- Description: The relief depicts a traditional crucifixion / deesis group - John the Evangelist and the Virgin -with a kneeling donor. This Iconography was extremely popular in fourteenth-century Venice. Only the saints and donor figures survive. S. Maria della Celestia, which was one of the city's most noble convents, was founded by Doge Ranieri Zeno. After Ranieri's time as podestà of Piacenza in 1237 he brought 12 Cistercian nuns back to Venice and founded the convent.
- Notes: Extant



Catalogue number:	54	Date:	1365 circa
Title:	Trinità with Doge Lorenzo Celsi and (wife?)		
Photograph Credit:	Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Seminario Patriarcale, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	From the tomb of Doge Lorenzo Celsi (1361-65) located in the, now demolished, convent church of S. Maria Celestia, Venice. The medieval church was destroyed by fire in 1569 and this relief panel was salvaged and placed above the nun's grate.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1759, III, 35371; Moschini, 1940, p. 7		
Inscriptions:	None surviving from fourteenth century.		
Description:	Grevembroch's drawing depicts a relief of the Trinità with a kneeling Doge Lorenzo Celsi (1361-65) and wife (?) above a later inscription. Possibly survives as a fragment currently extant in the Seminario Patriarcale.		
Notes:	Grevembroch notes : "altra pietra tra le antiche della celestia cona tapira del Doge Lorenzo Celsi della parocchia di S. Trinità ivi sepolo rimessi dopo il fuoco con moderna me..sopra la grade delle monache."		



Catalogue number:	55	Date:	1350 circa
Title:	Virgin and child with Sts. Peter and Francis with donors		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, <i>La scultura veneziana gotica</i>		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Museo Civico, Capodistria (Koper), Slovenia		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	1.24 x 1.86 m
Provenance:	Traditionally considered to be portal lunette from the, now demolished, Chiesa dei Servi. Wolters suggests that it was possibly a part of S. Francesco. It is currently located in the Museo Civico of Koper (Capodistria)		
Bibliography:	Semi, 1937, p.129; Bettini, 1970, p.26; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 60		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The relief depicts a Madonna and child enthroned and flanked by Sts. Peter and Francesco who present both a male and female donor figure.		
Notes:	Extant		



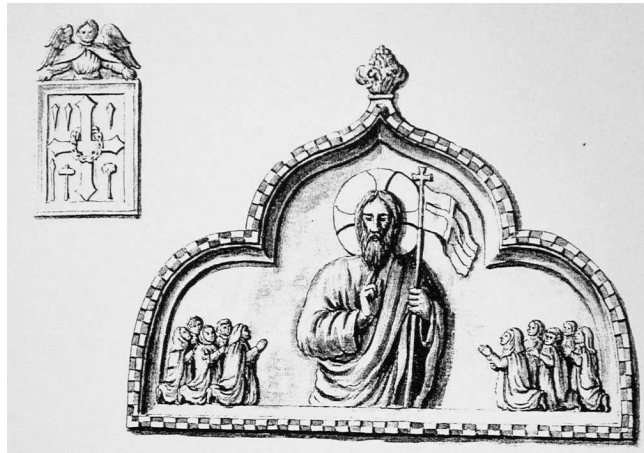
Catalogue number:	56	Date:	1339
Title:	S. Matthew with confraternity members		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Seminario Patriarcale, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	90 x 56 cm
Provenance:	According to Moschini it was originally intended for the church of S. Bartolomeo where the seat of the scuola di S. Mattia (di Rialto) moved from S. Salvatore in 1361. Currently located in the Seminario Patriarcale where it was moved in 1819		
Bibliography:	Moschini, 1842, p. 91; Wolters, 1976, cat. no, 87		
Inscriptions:	Illegible		
Description:	Depicts a standing St. Mattias blessing the kneeling confraternity members on either side.		
Notes:	Extant		



- Catalogue number: 57 Date: 1355 circa
- Title: S. Antonio Abbate with four clerics and five laymen
- Photograph Credit: Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Seminario Patriarcale, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions: 1.07 x 1.82 m
- Provenance: From an external wall of the now demolished church of S. Antonio in Castello. Currently located in the Seminario Patriarcale where it was brought in 1819.
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35208; Moschini, 1819, p. 25; Planiscig, 1916, p. 160; Lorenzetti, 1927, p. 506; Zorzi, 1972, vol. 2, p. 314-16; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 88;
- Inscriptions: *MCCCLV die primo de setenbrio fo fata e compra (..) que/sta chasa di beni di frari dela scola de misier santantonio*
- Description: The relief panel depicts S. Antonio Abbate (of Egypt) venerated by four clerics and five laymen. It was probably originally for a scuola (according to Wolters) attached to the church of the same name. According to Zorzi this panel commemorated the laying of the first stone of the monastery by Abbot Frate Giotto who is also mentioned in the inscription of the Lion Polyptych (cat. no. 35).
- Notes: Extant



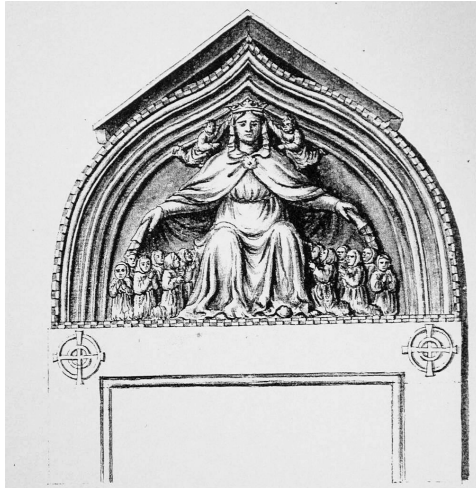
Catalogue number:	58	Date:	1370 circa
Title:	Christ resurrected with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Wolters, <i>La scultura veneziana gotica</i>		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Museo Archeologico, Aquileia		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	76.5 x 50.5 cm
Provenance:	Provenance unknown		
Bibliography:	Gabelentz, 1903, p. 248; Maionica, 1910, p. 11; Planiscig, 1911, p. 421, n.1; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 110		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The relief depicts Christ resurrected with a kneeling donor to the side. Nothing concrete is known of this piece and resurrection images are rare on tombs in fourteenth-century Venice.		
Notes:	Extant		



- Catalogue number: 59 Date: 1364 circa
- Title: Christ resurrected with nuns and laymen
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: Possibly from the Scuola di Santa Croce which according to Tassini contained an architrave over the portal with a low relief carving of Christ blessing the devotees to the cross. It was suppressed in 1806 and its treasures dispersed
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1759, III, 35307; Tassini, 1885, 94; Zorzi, 1972, vol. 2, p. 562
- Inscriptions: None recorded.
- Description: The portal relief carving depicts Christ resurrected holding a banner with the cross. Christ is flanked on either side by kneeling donor figures half of which appear to be nuns and the other half laymen.
- Notes: Lost. Grevembroch notes: "gesu risorto trionfate benedice i devoti della sua croce congregati in una confraternita a venezia istituta da essi l'anno 1364 13 marzi da medesimi si collaca ogni anno gran numero di donzelle ad onore di dio."



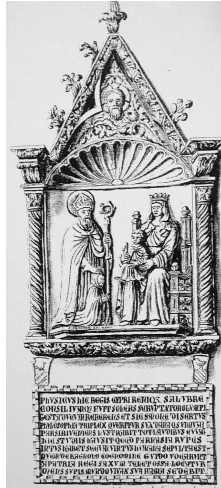
- Catalogue number: 60 Date: 1380 circa
- Title: St. George with kneeling donor
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: Originally above the entrance to the cortile of the Zappa family in the parish of S. Ermacora (Marcuola) according to Grevembroch's drawing.
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1759, III, 35311
- Inscriptions: None recorded.
- Description: The relief carving over the door portal depicts S. Giorgio with a donor figure kneeling on one of two heraldic arms. The coat of arms, although unidentified, has a rampart lion with a stripe through it. This example is recorded only by Grevembroch's drawings.
- Notes: Lost. Grevembroch notes: "prospero dell'ingresso al cortile di piu fabbriche delle familgli Zappaa nel confine delle parriochole di Sant Ermacora derempetto al ponte del giudaico Ghetto?"



Catalogue number:	61	Date:	1345 circa
Title:	Madonna della Misericordia		
Photograph Credit:	Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Chiostro de Canonici Lateranesi alla Carità. Scuola della Carità, Venice.		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, III, 35312		
Inscriptions:	None recorded		
Description:	Depicts a Madonna della Misericordia with kneeling confraternity members and the sign of the confraternity.		
Notes:	Lost. Grevembroch notes: “ Retrogrado ingresso nel chiostro de Canonici Lateranesi alla Carita annicchiato forse l’anno 1345 siccome si e dimostrato nel nostro libro de monumenti parte prima a 19.”		



- Catalogue number: 62 Date: 1375
- Title: St. Agatha with donor
- Photograph Credit: Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Seminario Patriarcale, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: From the church of S. Boldo (Ubaldo) once dedicated to S. Agata in Venice. demolished in 1826.
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35576; Moschini, 1940, p. 7; Zorzi, 1972, vol. 2, p. 321
- Inscriptions: *MCCCLXXV MS DECEMBR FACTU FVIT OPUS TPR DIS
CREPTI VIRI D FRAMASAI DAVA DA PLEBANI ANOR AD
IERONIMI SALAVO FRVS 7 PDVRATO...HIIS IISS ECC SDE
AGATHE*
- Description: The relief depicts a standing St. Agatha with a kneeling donor in an architectural niche. The inscription survives only through Grevembroch's drawing.
- Notes: Extant. Grevembroch notes: "prima dentro poi fuori stava questa sacra pietra con l'effigie di S. Agata...dell sua anticheprima chiesa indi insolididata al nome del vescovo di gabbio s. Volado chiamate al volgo Veneziano S. Boldo



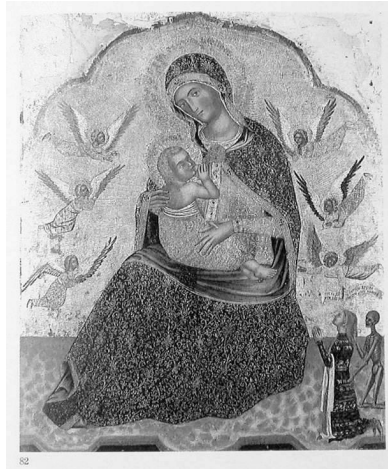
- Catalogue number: 63 Date: 1360 circa
- Title: Virgin and child with St. Prosperus and donor
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: Originally in the large cloister of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari.
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, II, 35573; Moschini, 1815, vol. 2, p.199
- Inscriptions: *Physicus hic regis Cypri reni q. salubre / Consiliumq. fuit solers
scrutator Olympi / Gesta ducum referens et sic Smone disertus /
Philosophia triplex queritur sua damna Qs. unquam / Par sibi
veniens Lustrabit tot laudibus evum / Hic studiis haurit qdqd.
Parnasia rupes / Intus habet secum virtus humana sepulta est /
Quem de bagnolo cognomine Guido vocarunt / A patria regi
saxum tenet ossa locatur / Mens supis mundo vivax sua fama
sedebit*
- Description: The relief was part of a tomb monument dedicated to Dottore Guido Da Baquolo. The doctor is presented to the Virgin and child by St. Prosperus.
- Notes: Lost. Grevembroch notes: "ornato marmoreale aspirante il sepolcro del famoso Dottore Guide da baquolo regiano consigliere, medico e storico del re di cipri il quale mori in Venezia e fu posto ne' cluastri de Frati minori della ca Grande cioè a S. Maria Gloriosa nel sestiere s. polo..."



- Catalogue number: 64 Date: 1370 circa
- Title: Virgin and child with Sts. James and S. Antonio Abbate with confratelli
- Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto
- Artist: Marco di Martino
- Location: Collezione Cova Minotti, Brera, Milano
- Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold on wood Dimensions: 1.67 x 1.15 m
- Provenance: Originally for the Scuola di S. Maria della Carità, Venice.
Currently located at the Pinacoteca Brera, Milan
- Bibliography: Pallucchini, 1964, fig. 668 p. 214; Lucco, 1994, I, p. 87, fig. 91
- Inscriptions: *Marchus filius magistri martiniani deroxatis / pinxit, hoc opus*
- Description: The Madonna and child are depicted enthroned before a cloth of honour and flanked by Sts. Giacomo Maggiore and S. Antonio Abbate. At the Virgin's feet are tiny kneeling confraternity members in white cloaks presented by a larger scale confraternity brother, probably the guardiano, and two smaller donor figures in red cloaks. The symbol of the confraternity of S. Maria della Carità in Venice and an inscription are located at the Virgin's feet.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 65 Date: 1380 circa
- Title: Polyptych with Virgin and child and donor
- Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto
- Artist: Caterino
- Location: Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
- Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold on wood Dimensions: 1.60 x 1.83 m
- Provenance: Unknown provenance.
- Bibliography: Lucco, 1994, I, p. 69
- Inscriptions: *CATARI[NA] VENECII PINXIT*
- Description: The central panel of the polyptych depicts the Madonna and child enthroned with a kneeling donor to the Virgin's right. In the panels flanking the Virgin are images of standing saints John the Baptist and St. Christopher. John the Baptist holds a scroll with writing and gestures toward the donor who wears a blue robe. The predella along the bottom is decorated with vegetal motifs and an inscription, there is also evidence of a family coat of arms.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 66 Date: 1360 circa
- Title: Memento mori panel
- Photograph Credit: Lucco, La pittura nel veneto
- Artist: Maestro del memento Mori
- Location: Collezione Thyssen Bornemisza, Madrid
- Medium/Technique: Tempera, gold on wood Dimensions: 68 x 56 cm
- Provenance: Unknown provenance
- Bibliography: Pallucchini, 1964, p. 194; Boskoviits, Early Italian Painting - The Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, London, 1991, p. 198-203; Lucco, 1994, I, p. 87 fig. 93;
- Inscriptions: *ITI SO PS...POTRAI AY CI RE STR SENPR PRESTO MORIRE*
- Description: The panel depicts the Madonna dell' umiltà with a host of angels. A finely dressed kneeling donor is presented to the Virgin by a *memento mori* skeleton figure. An angel holding a scroll with inscription floats above the donor's head. This panel was probably once the central panel in a larger altarpiece.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 67 Date: 1393
- Title: Virgin and child with donor and saints
- Photograph Credit: Author
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: S. Paolo, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions: c 1.20 x 0.30 m
- Provenance: Church of S. Paolo (S.Polo) facade tabernacle dedicated to SS. Sacramento.
- Bibliography: Moschini, 1815, vol. 2, pt 1, p. 234-5; Rizzi, cat. no, 231; Lorenzettii ed. 1956 p. 569; Rizzi 1975-76, Fapanni, ms 9125/2p.10 Vucetich, II, f.20 no 18,
- Inscriptions: *MCCLXXXIII mense aprilis indictione sexta factum fuit hoc opus tempore nobilis viri domini Petri Foscarini equitis procuratoris ecclesiae s. Pauli Apostoli*
- Description: A trecento or early quattrocento relief panel depicting the Virgin and child enthroned in centre and flanked by two standing saints who present two kneeling male(?) donors. One of the donors, nobleman Pietro Foscarini was the procurator of the church. The relief is on the facade of the church of S. Paolo in Venice and was built up with later sixteenth and seventeenth century decorations. There is some disagreement in the literature about the original date of the figures. The inscription is recorded by Giannantonio Moschini.
- Notes: Extant



Catalogue number:	68	Date:	1360 circa
Title:	Virgin and child with donor Pietro di Gigi		
Photograph Credit:	Pallucchini, La pittura veneziana		
Artist:	Lorenzo Veneziano		
Location:	Palazzo Vescovile, Imola		
Medium/Technique:	Tempera on wood	Dimensions:	75 x 60 cm
Provenance:	Unknown provenance. From the church of Mazzolano. Now in Imola, Palazzo Vescovile		
Bibliography:	Corbara, 1939; Pallucchini, 1964, fig. 487, p. 165		
Inscriptions:	<i>DNS PETRVS DI ZIZIs</i> (I Gigi or Ghisi)		
Description:	Bust image of the Madonna and child with the kneeling donor, Pietro di Gigi/Ghisi in sumptuous red and ermine robes of a senator.		
Notes:	Extant		



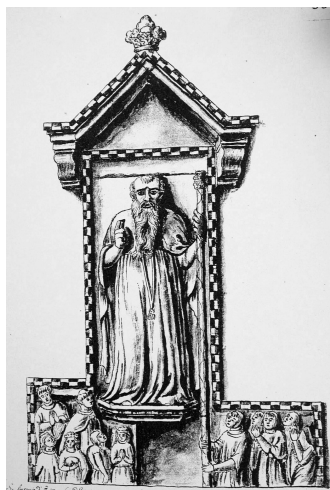
- Catalogue number: 69 Date: 1382
- Title: Panel with Virgin and child, saints and donor Andrea di Coluccio
- Photograph Credit: Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*
- Artist: Guglielmo Veneziano
- Location: Museo Diocesano, Recanati
- Medium/Technique: Tempera on wood Dimensions: 1.34 x 1.34 m
- Provenance: Unknown provenance. At one point in the church of S. Maria di Castelnuovo di Recanati.
- Bibliography: Pallucchini, fig. 575, p.189
- Inscriptions: *MCCCLX/XXII DEL MEXE DE MARCO A DI/VI FE FAR S. ANDREA DE/CHOLUCO CITADIN DE VENEXIA QUEST/O LAVORIER GUIELMVS PINXIT*
- Description: The panel depicts the Madonna and child richly dressed and enthroned with 2 kneeling donor figures (men) at their feet. An inscription and the coat of arms of the family are located at the Virgin's feet. The central image is flanked by images of standing saints John the Baptist, Anthony, Andrew and Christopher. The donors are ser Andrea di Coluccio and his son or kinsman.
- Notes: Extant



- Catalogue number: 70 Date: 1380 circa
- Title: Virgin and child with Sts. Francis and Clare and donor
- Photograph Credit: Author
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Ca' Dona-Ottoboni, Castello, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Low relief sculpture Dimensions: 38 x 77 cm
- Provenance: From the entrance of the Casa degli Altani in the parish of S. Severo according to Grevembroch. Currently still at Ca' Dona-Ottoboni above the entrance to Castello 5136, Fondamenta S. Severo (Parish of San Zaccaria)
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1755, II, 31107; Tassini, 1863, p. 648; Rizzi, cat. no. 297
- Inscriptions: None surviving
- Description: The panel depicts the Madonna and child enthroned before a cloth of honour and flanked by two standing saints: Francis of Assisi and Clare di Montefalco. St. Francis presents a kneeling donor (possibly a woman). On either side of the relief carving are two coats of arms with two stripes toward the bottom of the shield as recorded by Grevembroch but these are no longer extant and may have been added later.
- Notes: Extant. Grevembroch notes: "Abbellimento sopra ingresso della casa delli Altani esiliati pervennuta nellii Lauezzari indi comprata dali Ottoboni nella Contrada di S. Severo ove naque Alessi VIII"



Catalogue number:	71	Date:	1400 circa
Title:	Madonna della Misericordia		
Photograph Credit:	Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	From the side portal of the oratory of Padre Seruiti (?)		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, III, 35322		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The panel depicts the Madonna della Misericordia in an architectural niche with kneeling monks beneath her cloak.		
Notes:	Lost. Grevembroch notes: Sopraporta laterale al vasto Tempio di Padre Seruiti. Allusione del istituto loro di coronare il Sabato Santo la Regina degli Angeli e di ...sempre auspicati sotto il luminoso di lei Manto		



- Catalogue number: 72 Date: 1355 circa
- Title: S. Antonio Abbate with six laymen and five clergy
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Relief sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: From a doorway on/in the scuola di S. Antonio Abbate, Castello, which was destroyed to make way for the public gardens in the early nineteenth century.
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, I, 35187; Zorzi, 1972, vol. 2. p. 558
- Inscriptions: None recorded
- Description: The tabernacle depicts standing St. Anthony of Egypt blessing six laymen and five clergy who hold a standard and flank him on either side.
- Notes: Lost. Grevembroch notes: A S. Antonio d'Egitto in tempi antichi questa marmorea ancona da monaci e devoti suoi risposta al destro lato delle pareti esterne della chiesa nel sestier di Castello, a si venerabile Abbate consecrata nel secolo XIV in questa pissima Dominante.



- Catalogue number: 73 Date: 1400 circa
- Title: Madonna and child with nun
- Photograph Credit: Mariacher, Museo Correr
- Artist: Nicolo Semitecolo
- Location: Museo Correr, Venice. inv. no. 382
- Medium/Technique: Tempera on wood Dimensions: 0.84 x 1.30 m
- Provenance: Provenance unknown. Possibly for S. Apollonia in Venice.
- Bibliography: Mariacher, 1957, p.173-74.
- Inscriptions: *MCCCC N. SEMITECOLO* (possibly added)
- Description: The panel depicts the Madonna and child with scenes from the life of Christ and various standing saints. It was once divided into a triptych but was originally on the same panel. The central image with the Madonna and child before a cloth of honour includes a donor portrait of a nun in a black and white habit. The top register depicts scenes from the life of Christ: Nativity, Adoration, Annunciation, Resurrection, Pentecost, Flagellation, Crucifixion. On the bottom two registers are standing saints, including S. Antonio Abbate, S. Jerome, S. Christopher, S. Catherine of Alexandria, S. Apollonia, S. John the Baptist and S. Mark and bishop saints. The last panel in the bottom register is lost.
- Notes: Extant



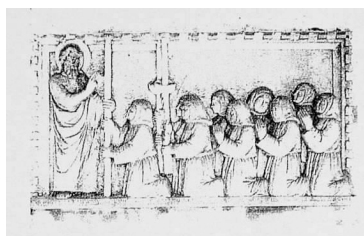
Catalogue number:	74	Date:	1370 circa
Title:	St. Martin with Doge Andrea Contarini and monk		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	c 1.50 x 1.00 m
Provenance:	Unknown provenance		
Bibliography:	No known bibliography		
Inscriptions:	<i>GRACIA DEI IN ME VACUA NON FUIT SET GRACIA EIUS SEMPER IN ME MANET ? CCCLXX * DIL EXISTI IUSTICIAM ET ODIISTI INNIQUITATAM PROTEREA DEUS TUUS OLEO LETICIA</i>		
Description:	The relief depicts St. Martin on horseback (the beggar holds the horse bridle) with the kneeling Doge Andrea Contarini (1368-82)? in the place of honour to the saint's right and a kneeling monk on the opposite side.		
Notes:	Extant		

Catalogue number:	75	Date:	1280
Title:	Tomb of Doge Jacopo Contarini		
Photograph Credit:			
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Mosaic	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Originally in the cloister of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. It was destroyed in 1818 when part of the cloister was turned into the state archives.		
Bibliography:	Hurlburt, Dogaresse, p.131-32; Pincus, tombs, p. 82; Corner, <i>Ecclesiae venetae</i> , vol. 6, p. 300; Sanudo, <i>Vitae</i> , col. 572; Pietro Giustinian, <i>Venetiarum historia vulgo Pietro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata</i> , ed Roberto cessi and Fanny Bennato (Venice: Spese della deputazione, 1964) p.191		
Inscriptions:	<i>Anno Domini MCCLXXX inditione VIII mense aprili dei VI intrante. Hic requiescit dominus Iacobus Contarinus inclitus dux Venetiarum et domina Iacobina eius uxor ducisa</i> (recorded in the mid-fourteenth century of Pietro Giustinian)		
Description:	According to accounts, the tomb was crowned by a mosaic that depicted the kneeling Doge Jacopo Contarini and Dogaressa Jacobina. Although Pincus suggests that the mosaic may have been a later addition and not part of the original thirteenth-century monument, Hurlburt accepts it as part of the original monument.		
Notes:	Destroyed.		

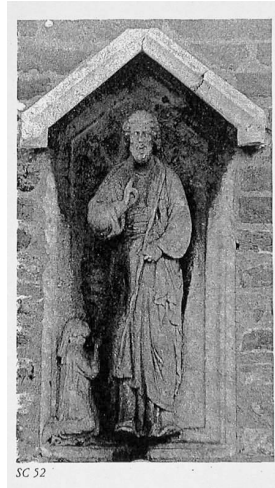


380. Rilievo trecentesco da Santo Stefano di Murano.
Murano, Museo Vetrario.

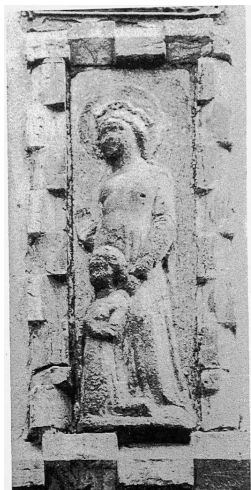
Catalogue number:	76	Date:	1374 circa
Title:	St. Stefano with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Museo Vetrario, Murano		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	From the demolished parish church of S. Stefano di Murano demolished in 1835. Today preserved in the Museo Vetrario in Murano.		
Bibliography:	Lorenzetti, 1926, 754; Zorzi, vol. 2, p. 427, plate 380		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	A relief panel in a niche depicting a standing St. Stefano and a kneeling donor. Probably once on the facade of the church or possibly an ancona in a chapel inside the church. Today preserved in the Museo Vetrario in Murano.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	77	Date:	1337 circa
Title:	S. John the Baptist with confraternity members		
Photograph Credit:	Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Seminario Patriarcale, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	From the church and confraternity of San Giovanni Battista dei Battuti di Murano demolished in 1837		
Bibliography:	Seminario Patriarcale, 1912, p 101 n.17; Zorzi, 1972, vol. 2,p. 419-20		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The panel depicts John the Baptist blessing the kneeling <i>confratelli</i> in a manner very similar to the relief carving on the facade of the confraternity of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Venice. (cat. no. 29) The brother at the head of the confratelli is identified by Zorzi as Guardian Michele Amadi.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	78	Date:	1329 circa
Title:	St. Andrew with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Rizzi, Scultura esterna		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Andrea della Zirada, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Relief sculpture	Dimensions:	90 x 40 cm
Provenance:	On the north facade of S. Andrea della Zirada facing Campo S. Andrea.		
Bibliography:	Vucetich, II. f.59 no 13; Levi, 1900, p. 61; Rizzi, 1972-3, p 266 and 276 tav VI fig11; Rizzi, cat. no. SC 52		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The relief depicts St. Andrew in an architectural niche with a kneeling donor figure to his right. The relief panel was probably from the first church founded there according to Rizzi and therefore dates to circa 1329.		
Notes:	Extant		



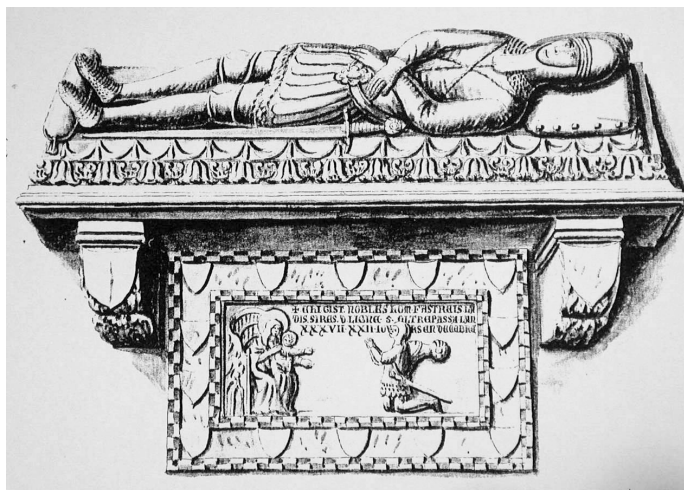
Catalogue number:	79	Date:	1380 circa
Title:	St. Catherine with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Rizzi, Scultura esterna		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Calle dei Orfei, Castello, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	Provenance unknown. Alberto Rizzi records it as being on the facade of a building on Calle dei Orfei, Castello no 3781 in the former parish of S. Beneto.		
Bibliography:	Fapanni, ms 9125/3, p.42:XV century; Vucetich, I, f.30 no 36; Levi, 1900, p. 10:XIV century; Rizzi, cat. no. OAD 90		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The small rectangular relief carving on palazzo facade depicts a standing female saint who presents a kneeling donor, possibly a woman.		
Notes:	Extant		



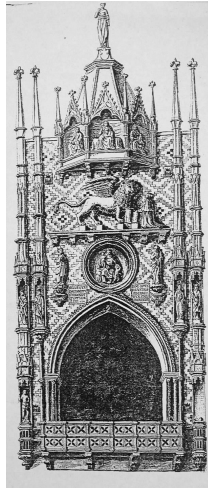
Catalogue number:	80	Date:	1390 circa
Title:	Madonna della Misericordia		
Photograph Credit:	Author		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	S. Maria del Giglio, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	80 x 45 cm
Provenance:	Campo S. Maria Zobenigo (del Giglio) above the portal to the chapel dell' Addolorata or Molin.		
Bibliography:	Fapanni, ms 9125/3, p27; Vucetich, I, f.14 no13:XV century; Levi, 1900, p. 7; Rizzi, cat.no. SM 133		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The panel depicts the Maria della Misericordia with Christ in a mandorla and four kneeling <i>confratelli</i> sheltering beneath her cloak.		
Notes:	Extant		



Catalogue number:	81	Date:	1350 circa
Title:	Virgin and child enthroned with donor		
Photograph Credit:	Rizzi, Scultura esterna		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Campo San TERNITÀ, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Low relief sculpture	Dimensions:	40 x 25 cm
Provenance:	Provenance unknown. Currently above the entrance portal to a corte in the calle del Piovan off of Campo S. TERNITÀ, Castello 3056 (Parish of S. Francesco della Vigna) in a modern rectangular niche above the gate.		
Bibliography:	Vucetich, I, f. 50 no. 14; Levi, 1900, p.21; Comune, 1905, p.43; Rizzi, cat.no. CS 171		
Inscriptions:	None surviving		
Description:	The relief panel depicts the Madonna enthroned with child on an elaborate architectural throne with a kneeling donor.		
Notes:	Extant		



- Catalogue number: 82 Date: 1330 circa
- Title: Tomb of an anonymous knight
- Photograph Credit: Grevembroch, Monumenta veneta
- Artist: Unknown
- Location: S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
- Medium/Technique: Sculpture Dimensions:
- Provenance: Cloister (?) of Sta Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice
- Bibliography: Grevembroch, 1754, III, 35331; Wolters, 1976, cat. no. 116
- Inscriptions: *GHI GIST NOBLES HOM FASTREIS LA DIS SIRES D LIGNA
S. OLTRAPASSA LA XXXVII IOV/ARER DECEBRE*
- Description: Although only the effigy from the tomb, uncovered during restorations of the church, is still extant. Grevembroch's drawing records a relief panel and inscription beneath the tomb that depicted the knight kneeling in armour before an enthroned Madonna and child in the style of mainland military tombs.
- Notes: Partially extant. Grevembroch notes: "Quanto preservata la figura altrettanto per voracita del tempo remasi corrosi gli stemmi propri di parentela e di allusione vantali da questo forte ed insigne guerriero in prisca eta seppellito a venezia nel chiostro de Frari"



Catalogue number:	83	Date:	1413 circa
Title:	South Balcony of the Palazzo Ducale		
Photograph Credit:	Grevembroch, Monumenta veneta		
Artist:	Unknown		
Location:	Drawing in Museo Correr, Venice		
Medium/Technique:	Sculpture	Dimensions:	
Provenance:	South facade of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice		
Bibliography:	Grevembroch, 1754, III,		
Inscriptions:	Inscription recorded in Grevembroch only partially legible: <i>HOC OPUS ILLUSTRIS MICAELIS DUX STE</i>		
Description:	Above the balcony on the south facade of the palazzo ducale Doge Michele Steno is depicted kneeling before the lion of St. Mark. The Steno coat of arms with a star is featured prominently on either side of the figures.		
Notes:	Partially extant.		

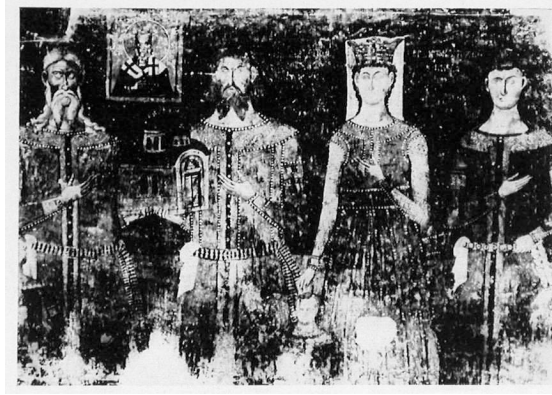
ILLUSTRATIONS



1. Apse mosaic, Basilica of Bishop Euphrasius, fresco, c.550, Porec, Croatia (Rodley, Byzantine Art and Architecture)



2. King Milutin, Church of the Virgin, fresco, c.1208, Studenica, Serbia (Rodley, Byzantine Art and Architecture)



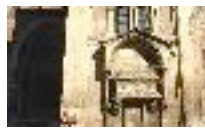
3. Church of St. Nicholas, fresco, c.1358, Psaca, Serbia (Velmans, Le Portrait dans l'art des Paléologues)



4. Tomb of Michael Tornikes and his wife, fresco, c.1330s, Kariye Djami (Chora monastery), Istanbul (Velmans, Le Portrait dans l'art des Paléologues)



5. Death and translation of the king, Chapel of St. Simon Nemanja, fresco c.1273-4, Sopocani, Serbia (Velmans, *Le Portrait dans l'art des Paléologues*)



6. Tomb of Aventino Fracastoro, mixed media, c.1368, S. Fermo, Verona (www.liceomedi.com/adige/verona/fermo%20facc.jpg)



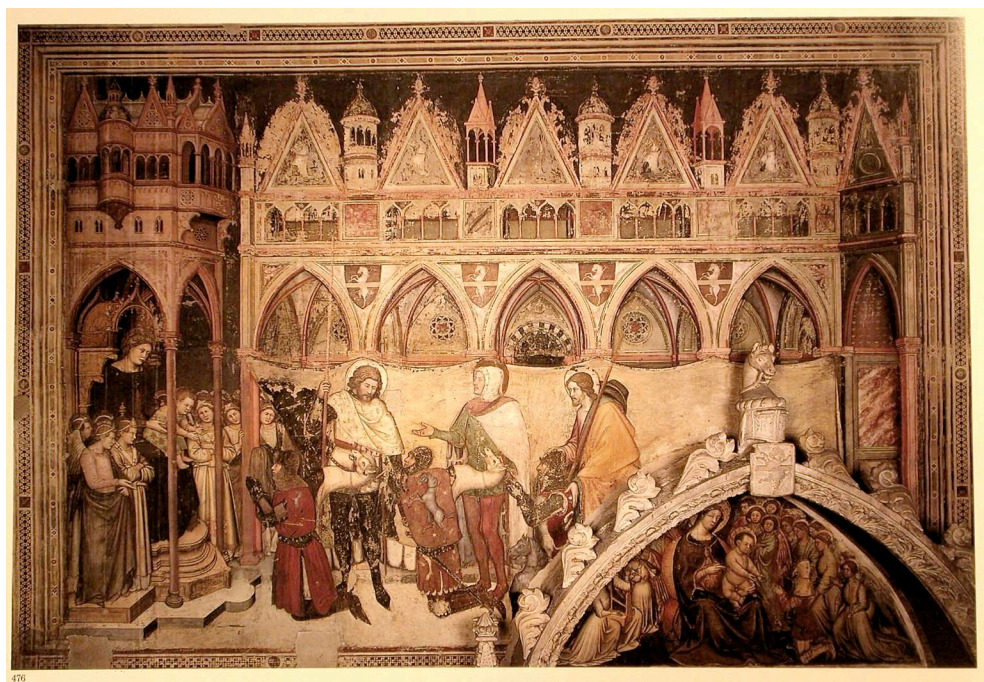
7. Guglielmo Castelbarco, fresco, c.1320, S. Fermo, Verona (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



8. Frescoes, c.1354, Oratory of S. Pietro Martire (S. Giorgetto), Verona (Author)



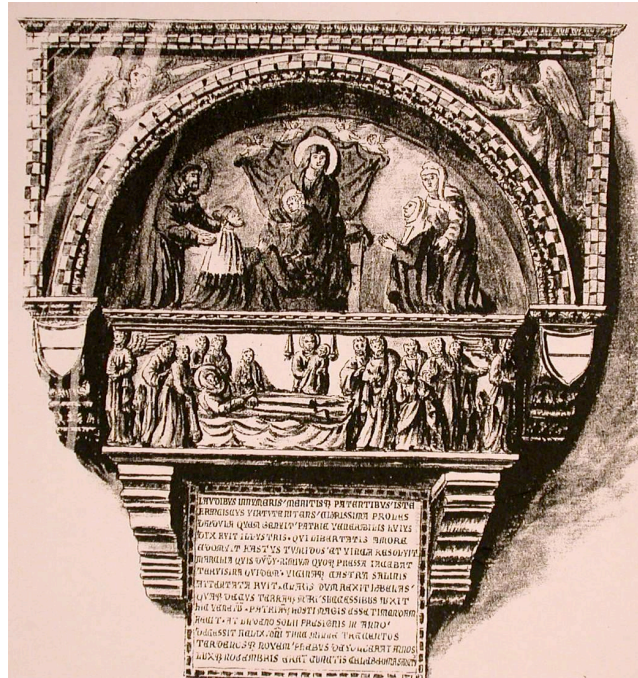
9. Frescoes, c.1378, Oratorio di S. Giorgio, Padua (www.abano.tv/.../oratorio_s_giorgio_100.jpg)



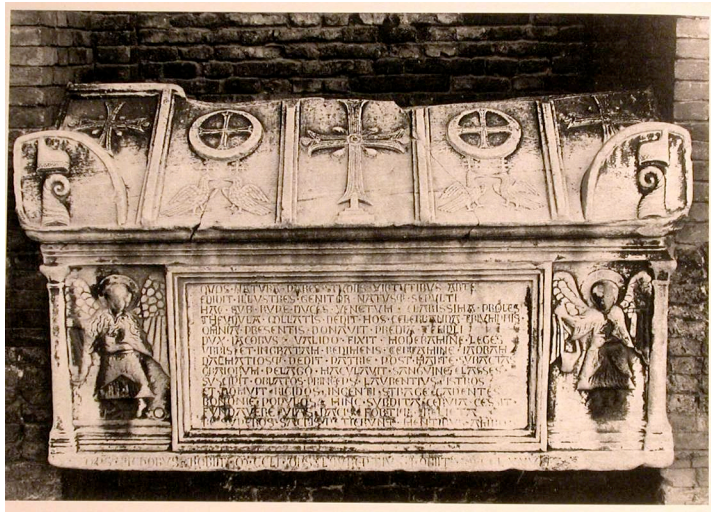
10. Detail, Fresco, c.1370, Altichiero da Zevio, Cavalli chapel, S. Anastasia, Verona (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



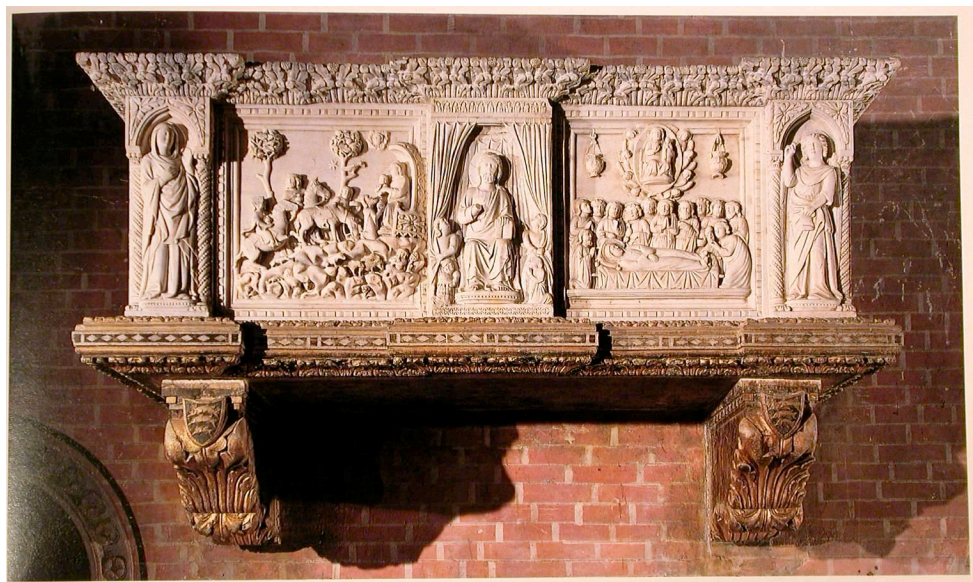
11a. Tomb of Doge Francesco Dandolo, Paolo Veneziano, mixed media, c.1339, Chapter house, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



11b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the tomb of Doge Francesco Dandolo, c.1339, in the chapter house of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, (Monumenta veneta 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



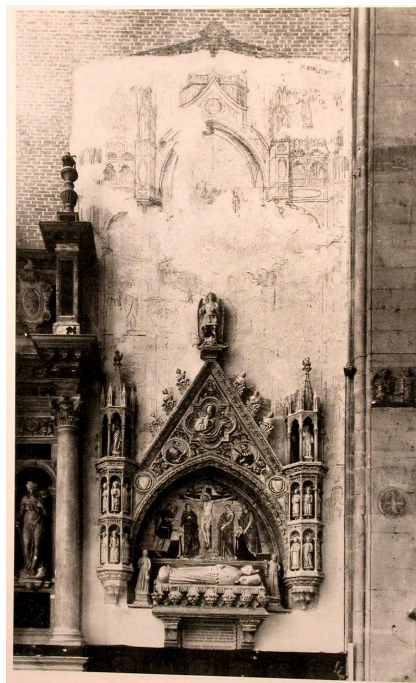
12. Tomb of Doges Jacopo and Lorenzo Tiepolo, c.1249, facade SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Pincus, The Tombs of the Doges of Venice)



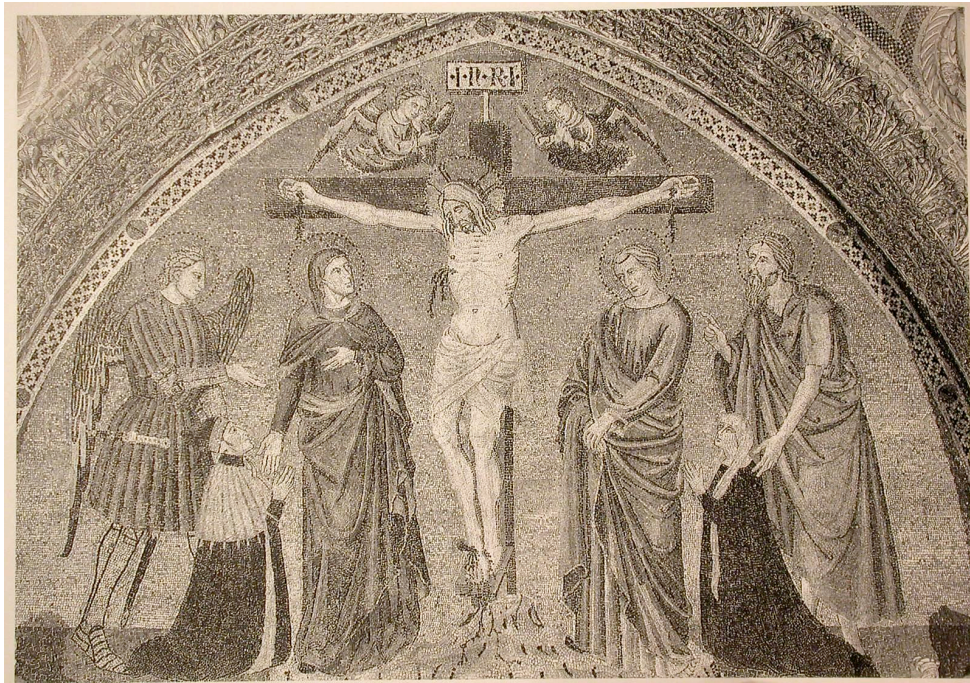
13a. Tomb of Doge Giovanni Dolfin, mixed media, c.1361, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Pincus, The Tombs of the Doges of Venice)



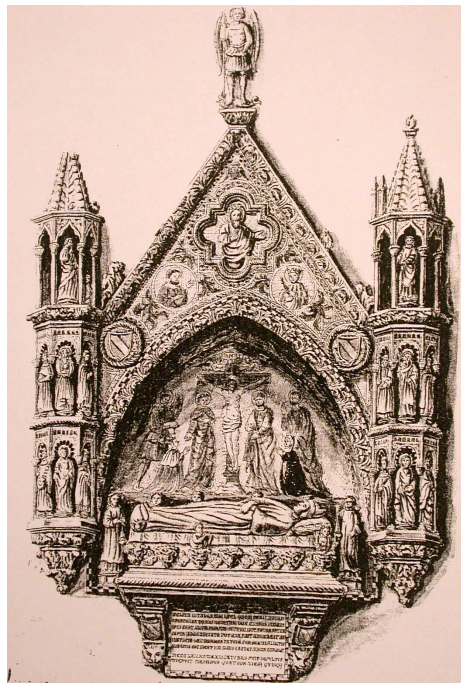
13b. Detail, Tomb of Doge Giovanni Dolfin, mixed media, c.1361, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Pincus, The Tombs of the Doges of Venice)



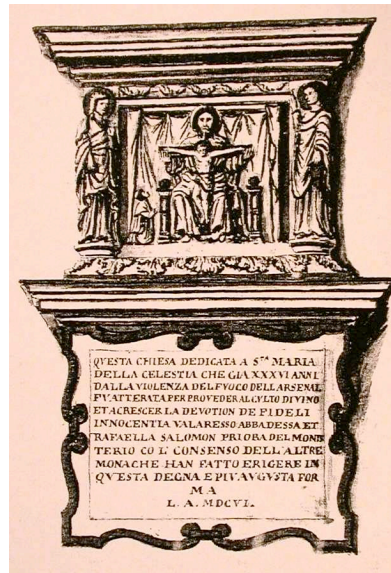
14a. Tomb of Doge Michele Morosini, mixed media, c.1382, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. (Pincus, The Tombs of the Doges of Venice)



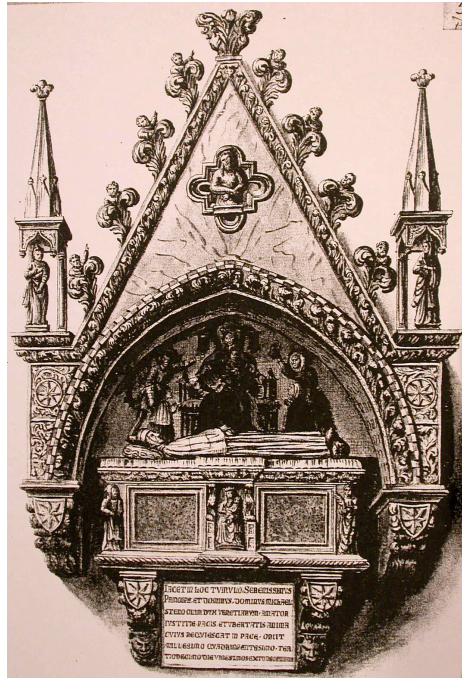
14b. Detail, Tomb of Doge Michele Morosini, mixed media, c.1382, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



14c. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the tomb of Doge Michele Morosini c.1382 in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



15. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving from the tomb monument of Doge Lorenzo Celsi, c.1365 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



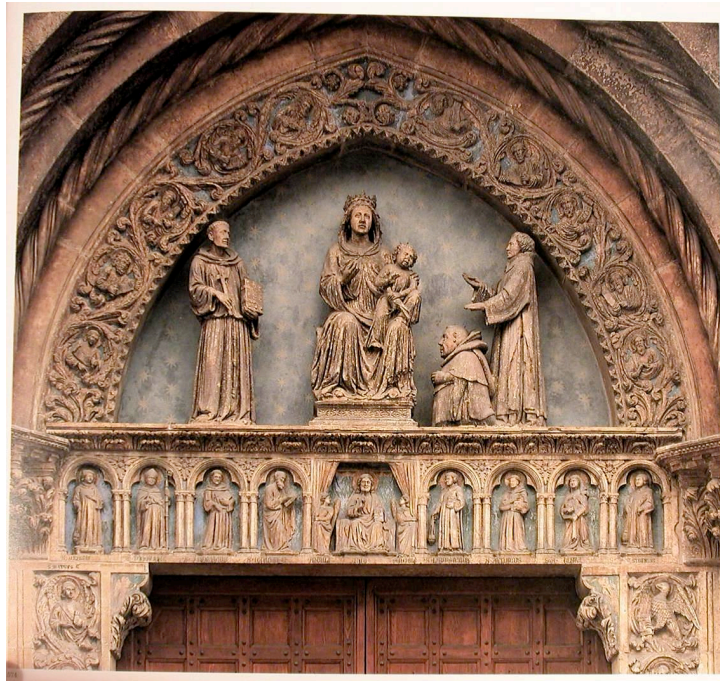
16. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the tomb of Doge Michele Steno, c.1413 in church of S. Marina, (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



17. Tomb of Guglielmo Castelbarco, c.1320, S. Anastasia, Verona (www.froehlich.priv.at/.../800x800/stf223.jpg)



18. S. Martin with donor Doge Andrea Contarini, relief carving, c.1382, Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice (Author)



19. Virgin and child with donor Pietro “nan” da Mareno, relief carving, c.1340s, portal S. Lorenzo, Vicenza (Author)



20a. S. Donato with donor Donato Memo, panel with relief, 1310, Museo Diocesano, Venice (Lucco, la pittura nel veneto)



20b. Detail, S. Donato with donor Donato Memo, panel with relief, 1310, Museo Diocesano, Venice (Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*)



21. Antiphonary from S. Domenico di Castello, with portrait of Doge Marino Zorzi, manuscript, c.1311-12, Museo Correr, Venice (Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*)



22a. Tomb of Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo, c.1342, narthex of S. Marco, Venice
(Author)



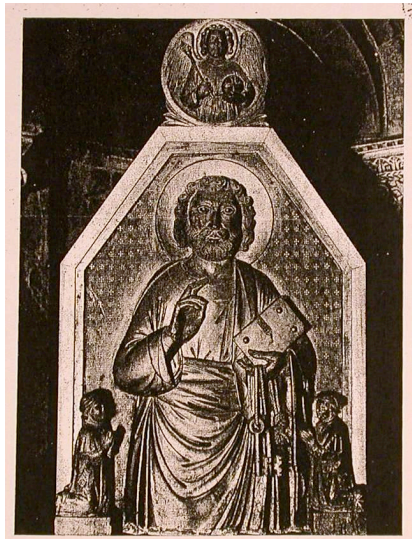
22b. Detail, Tomb of Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo, c.1342, narthex of S. Marco, Venice (Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice*)



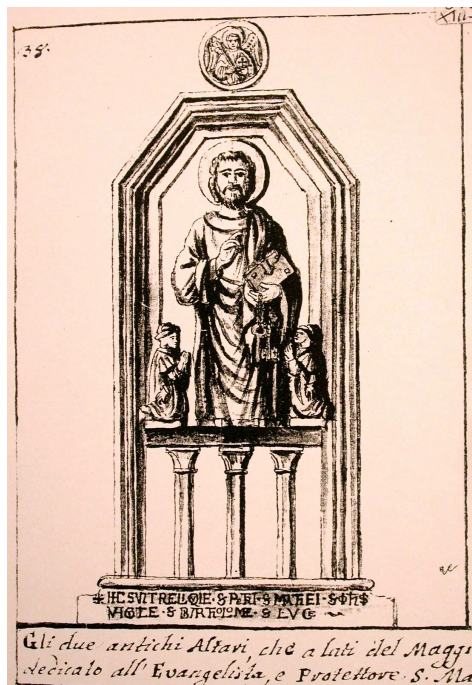
22c. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the tomb of Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo, c.1343 in the narthex of S. Marco (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



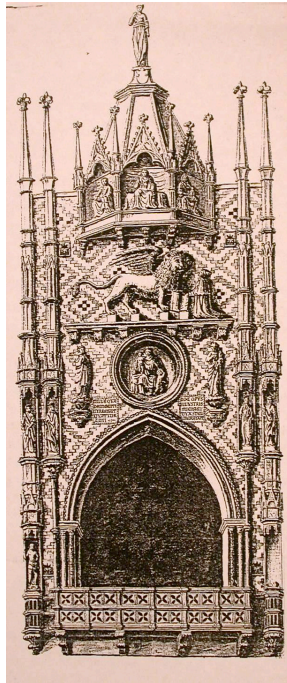
23. Panel of Doge and magistrates, relief carving, c.1400, Museo Correr, Venice (Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica)



24. Ancona of S. Pietro and procurators, relief carving, c.1300, Chapel of S. Pietro, S. Marco, Venice (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



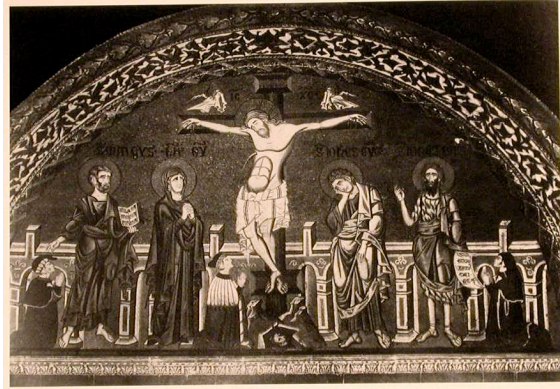
25. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the ancona of S. Pietro and procurators, c.1300 in the Chapel of S. Pietro, S. Marco, (Curiosità, 1755, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



26. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the façade of the ducal palace containing portrait and heraldry of Doge Michele Steno c.1413 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



27. Doge Antonio Venier, marble sculpture, c.1400, Museo Correr, Venice (Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica)



28a. Andrea Dandolo and Beneintendi da Ravagnani, mosaics, c.1350, Baptistery of S. Marco, Venice (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



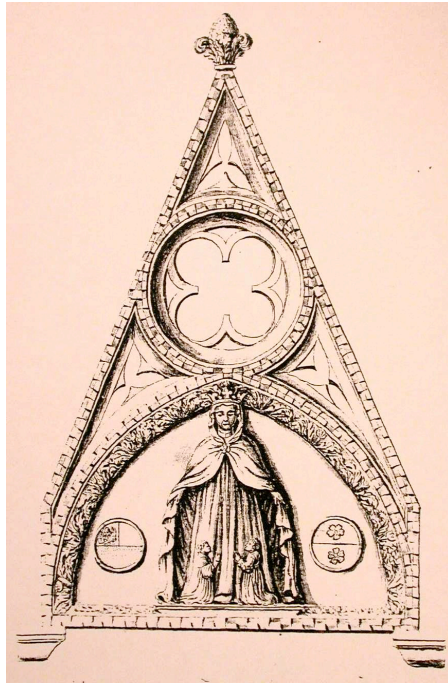
28b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the mosaics of Doge Andrea Dandolo in the baptistery of S. Marco c.1354 (*Monumenta veneta*, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



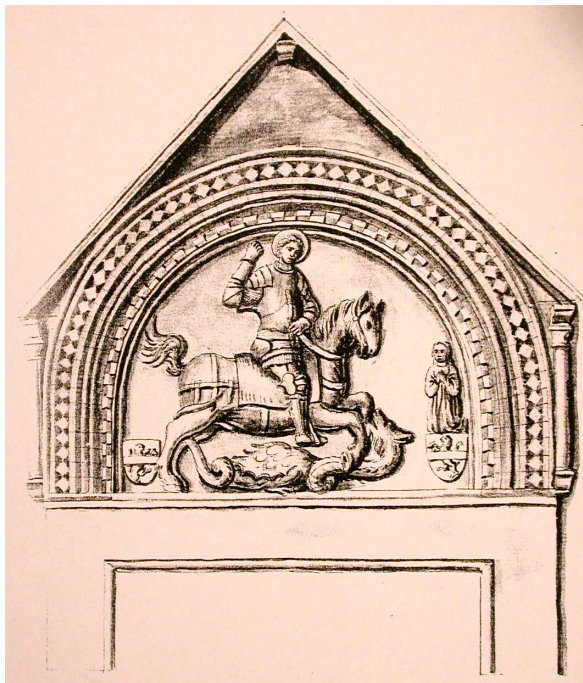
29. Tomb of Andrea Dandolo, c.1354, Baptistry of S. Marco, Venice (Pincus, The Tombs of the Doges of Venice)



30a. Calle del Paradiso, relief carving, c.1390, Castello, Venice (Author)



30b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the calle del Paradiso c.1390 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



31. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the Zappa Family palace c.1380 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



32a. Relief sculpture, c.1300s, Casa degli Altani, Castello, Venice (Author)



32b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the Casa degli Altani c.1300s, (*Curiosità*, 1755, Biblioteca del Museo Correr)



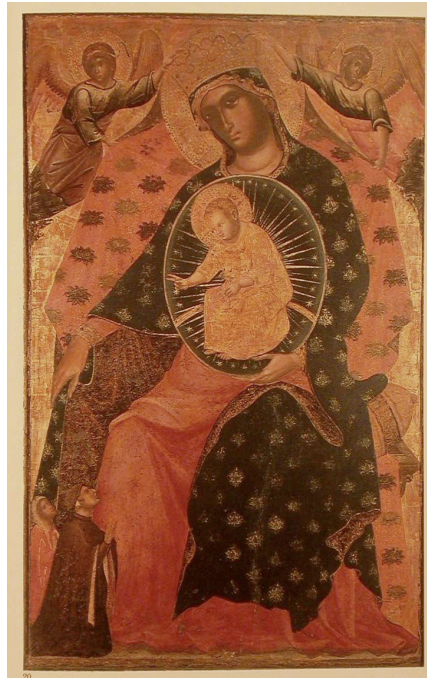
33. S. Caterina and donor, relief carving, c.1300s, Castello, Venice (Rizzi, *Scultura esterna*)



34. Virgin enthroned with donor, relief carving, c.1350s, parish of S. TERNITÀ, Venice (Rizzi, *Scultura esterna*)



35. Allegorical figures of Charity, Constancy, and Hope, fresco fragments from a palazzo in S. Zulian, c.1300s, Museo Correr, Venice (Fortini Brown, Venice and Antiquity)



36a. Virgin and child with two donors, Paolo Veneziano, panel, c.1340, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



Fig. 69. Paolo Veneziano, i due committenti. Particolare della Madonna col Bambino, Venezia, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

- 36b. Detail, Virgin and child with two donors, Paolo Veneziano, panel, c.1340, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*)



37. Madonna enthroned with two donors, Marco Veneziano, panel, c.1325, Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



38. Virgin and child with donor Vulciano Belgarzone, Nicolo di Pietro, panel, 1394, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



39. Processione dei Crociferi, Vittore Carpaccio, c.1512, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (www.stuioesseci.net/.../265/Fig.6new17M.jpg)



40. Virgin and child with saints and donors, relief carving, c.1350, originally from S. Maria dei Servi, Museo Civico, Koper (Capodistria), Slovenia (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



380. Rilievo trecentesco da Santo Stefano di Murano. Murano, Museo Vetrario.

41. S. Stefano with donor, relief carving, c.1374, from the façade of S. Stefano di Murano, Museo Vetrario, Murano (Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*)



42a. Virgin and child and donor Andrea Zeno, relief carving, c.1290, S. Domenico, Chioggia (Author)



42b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the relief carving of the Virgin and child with donor Andrea Zeno, c.1290, (Curiosità, 1755, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



43a. S. Agata and donor, relief carving, c.1375, Seminario Patriarcale, Venice (Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa)



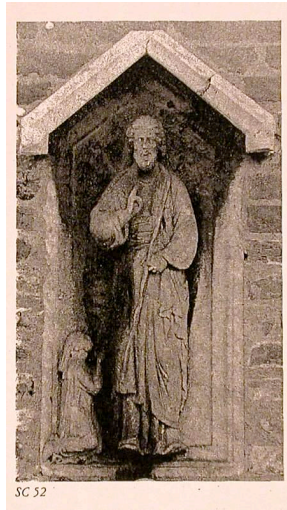
43b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after relief carving of S. Agata with donor c.1375 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



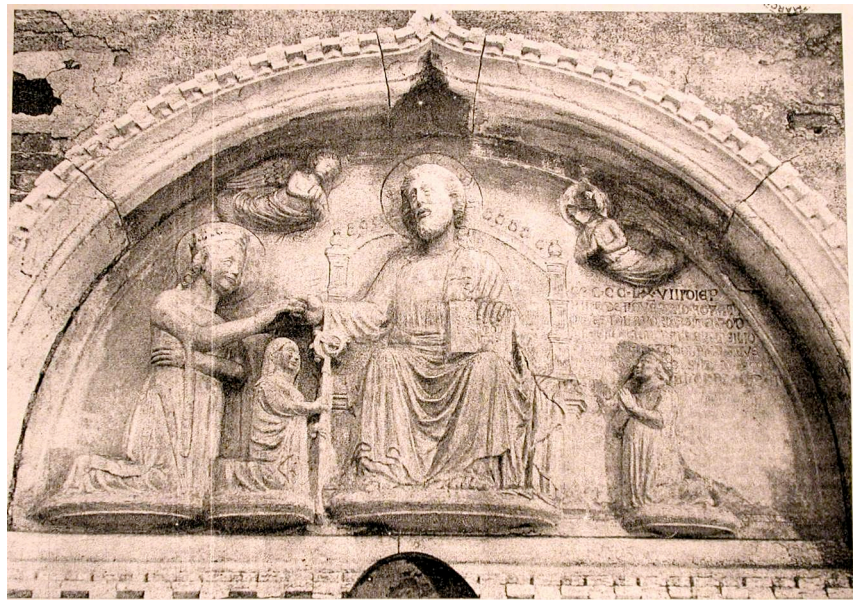
44a. John the Evangelist with donor Bartolomeo Ravachaulo, relief carving, c.1334, S. Simone Profeta, Venice (Author)



44b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the panel of John the Evangelist with donor Bartolomeo Ravachaulo, c.1334, in S. Simone Profeta (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



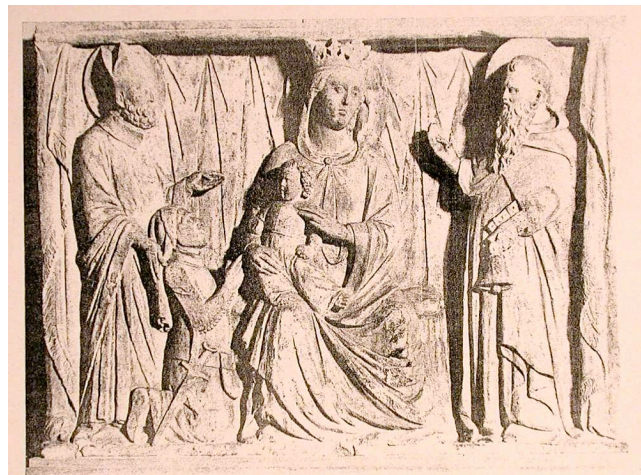
45. S. Andrea Apostolo with kneeling donor, relief carving c.1329, façade of S. Andrea della Zirada, Venice (Rizzi, *Scultura esterna*)



46. The Mystic Marriage of S. Catherina with donor, Abbess Elisabetta Dolfin, relief carving, c.1368, S. Caterina, Mazzorbo (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



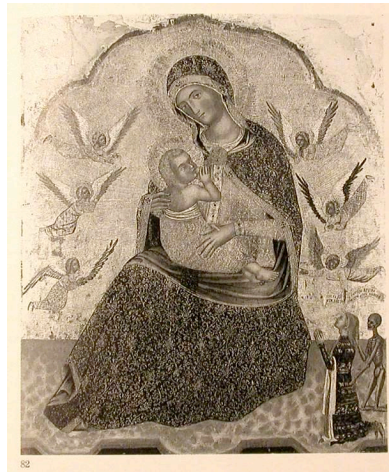
47. S. Paulo Apostolo and donors, relief carving, c.1380s, S. Polo, Venice (Author)



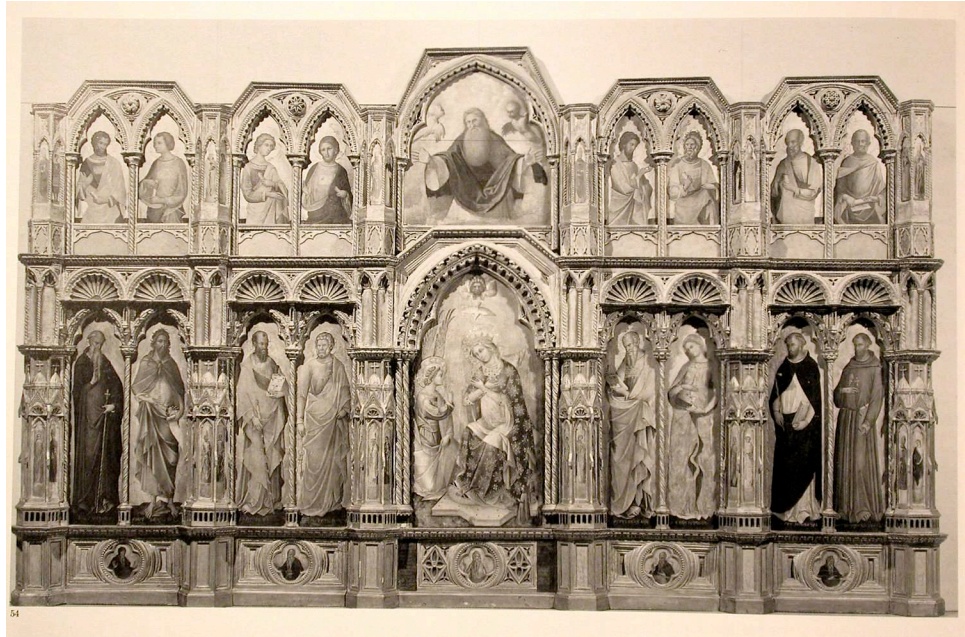
48. S. Antonio Abbate with donor, relief carving, c.1350, Priory School. Portsmouth, Rhode Island (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



49. Madonna with kneeling donor, panel, c.1315, Convent of S. Maria Minor, Zadar, Croatia (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



50a. Madonna of humility with kneeling donor and memento mori figure, panel, c.1360, Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, Madrid (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



52a. Lion Polyptych, panel, c.1370, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



Fig. 498. Lorenzo Veneziano, l'Annunciazione. Tavola (m. 1,26 x 0,75). Particolare del polittico Lion. Venezia, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

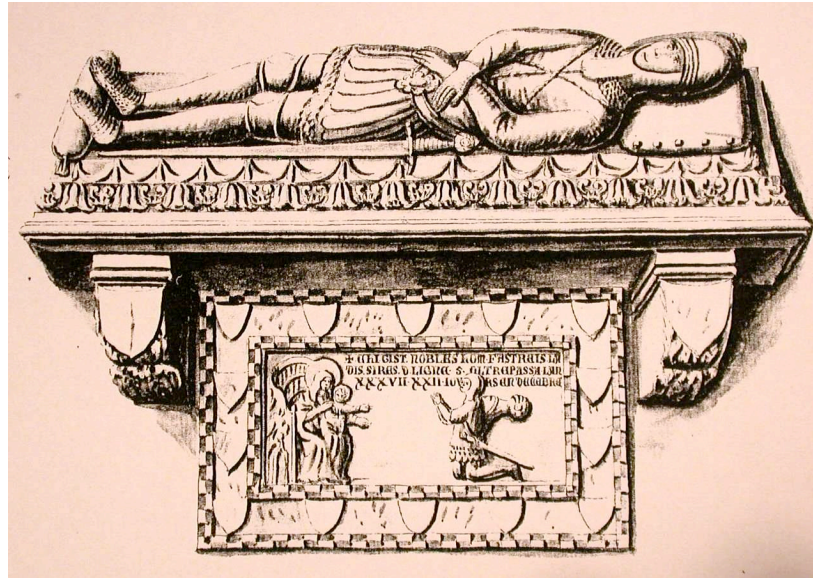
52b. Detail, Lion Polyptych, panel, c.1370, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Pallucchini, La pittura veneziana)



53. S. Ermagora and donor, panel, c.1370, Museo Correr, Venice (Mariacher, Museo Correr)



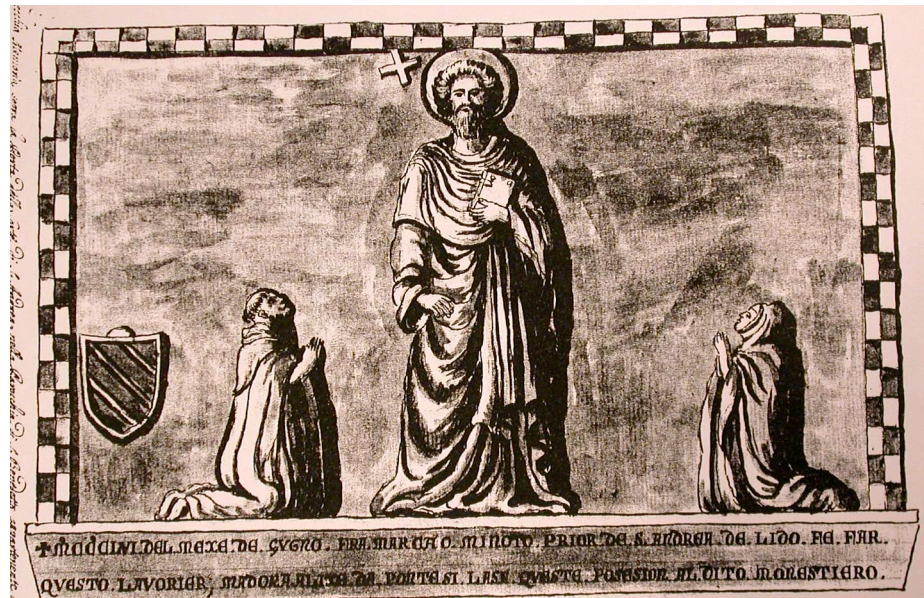
54a. Effigy of unknown knight, c.1330, Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice (Author)



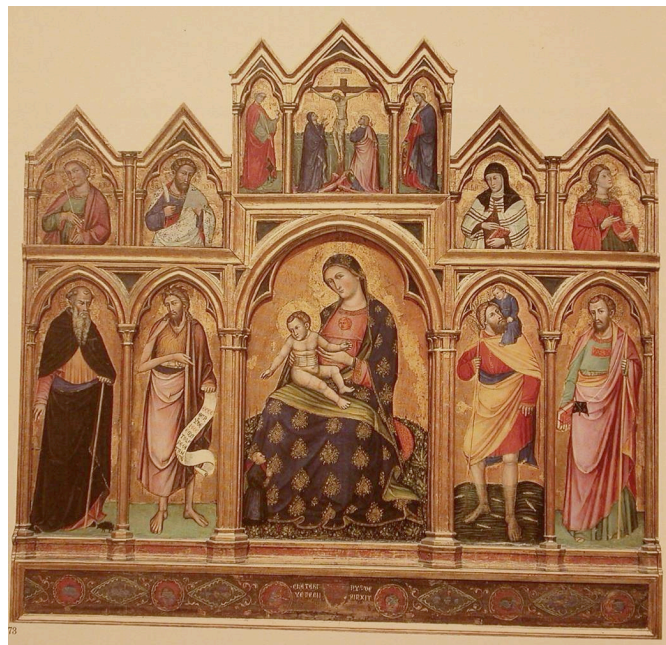
54b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the tomb of the unknown knight in S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, c.1330 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



55a. S. Andrea with donors Alixe da Ponte and Marco Minotto, relief carving, c.1356, originally from the convent of S. Andrea del Lido, Venice (Author)



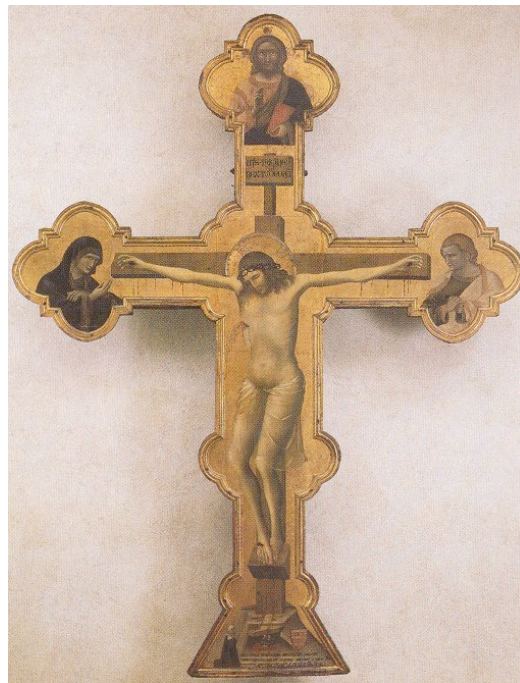
55b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of S. Andrea with donors Alixe da Ponte and Marco Minotto c. 1356, originally from the convent of S. Andrea del Lido (Monumenta Veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr,



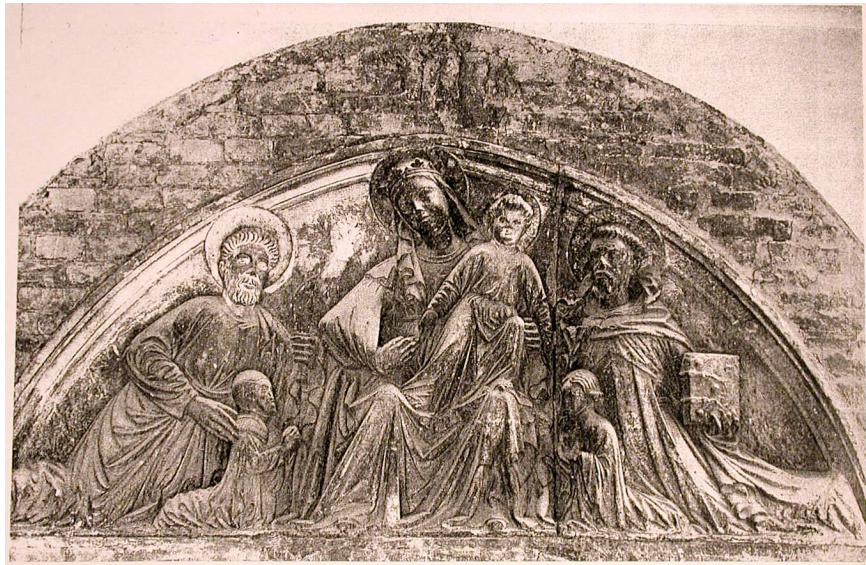
56. Madonna and child with saints and donors, Caterino, panel, c.1380, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



57. Madonna and child with donors Andrea da Coluccio, Guglielmo Veneziano, panel, c.1382, Museo Diocesano, Recanati (Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*)



58. Crucifix with donor Maria da Bovolini, panel c.1332, S. Francesco (Museo), Bassano del Grappa (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



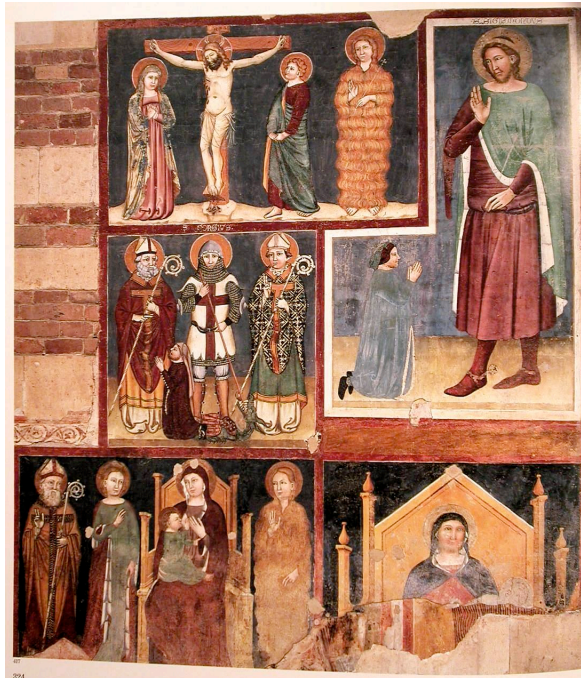
59a. Virgin and child with kneeling donors Bartolomeo Paruta and wife, relief carving, c.1381, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



59b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief of the Virgin and child with kneeling donors Bartolomeo Paruta and wife, c.1381, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



60. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the tomb relief carving of Dottore Guido da Baquolo c.1360 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



61. Votive frescoes, c.1300s, S. Zeno Maggiore, Verona (Author)



- 62a. Sarcophagus lid of Leone Bembo, panel, c.1321, originally in the convent of S. Lorenzo, Venice, now in the church of S. Blaise, Vodnjan (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



- 62b. Detail, Sarcophagus lid of Leone Bembo, panel, c.1321, originally in the convent of S. Lorenzo, Venice, now in the church of S. Blaise, Vodnjan (Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*)



Fig. 34. Paolo Veneziano, paliotto del Beato Leone Bembo. Tavola (n. 0,76×1,68). Dignano d'Istria (Vodnjan), Parrocchiale di S. Bizio. – Particolare con la committente ai piedi del Beato.

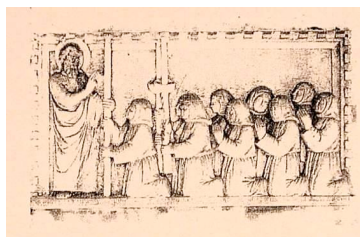
- 62c. Detail of Abbess Tommasina Vitturi, Sarcophagus lid of Leone Bembo, panel, c.1321, originally in the convent of S. Lorenzo, Venice, now in the church of S. Blaise, Vodnjan (Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*)



- 63a. Confratelli kneeling before St. John the Evangelist, relief carving, c.1348, façade of the Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice (Author)



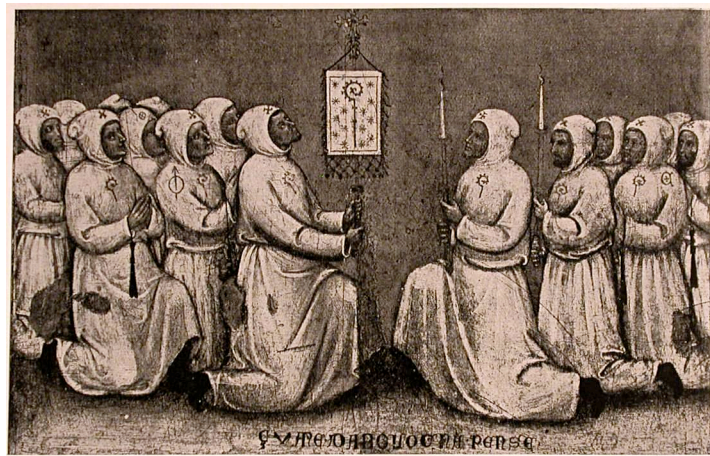
63b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of confratelli kneeling before St. John the Evangelist c.1348, on the façade of the Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo)



64. Confratelli kneeling before St. John the Baptist, relief carving from the façade of the scuola of S. Giovanni Battista, c.1337, Seminario Patriarcale, Venice (Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa)



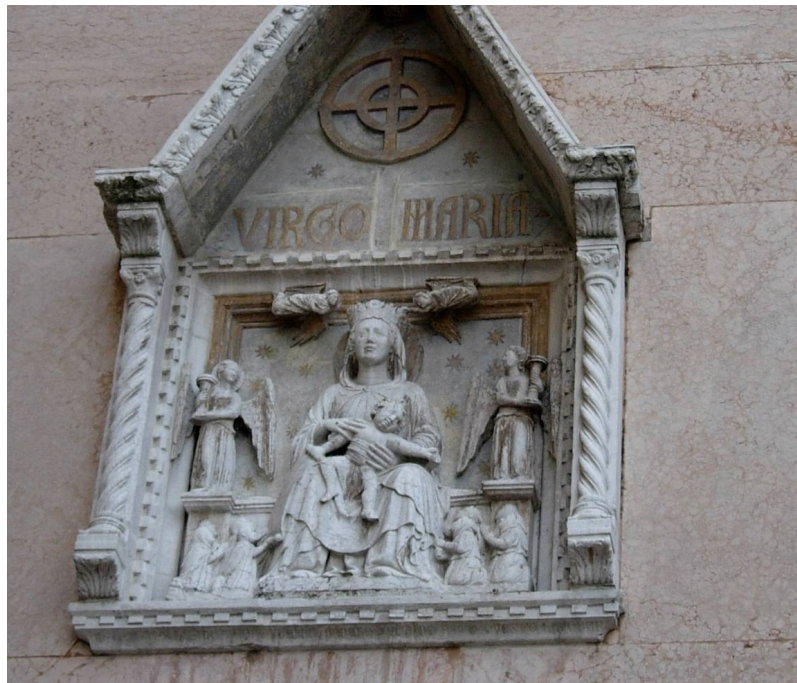
65a. Virgin and child with confratelli, Giovanni da Bologna, panel, c.1377, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



65b. Detail, Virgin and child with confratelli, Giovanni da Bologna, panel, c.1377, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*)



66. Virgin and child with saints and confratelli, panel, c.1370, Pinacoteca Brera, Milan (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



67a. *Virgo Maria* with confratelli, relief carving, c.1345, façade of the Scuola della Carità now the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Author)



67b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after Virgo Maria with confratelli, c.1345 on the façade of the Scuola della Carità now the Gallerie dell'Accademia (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



68. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of the Madonna della Misericordia on the façade of the Scuola della Carità c.1350 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



69a. S. Leonardo with confratelli, relief carving originally from the façade of S. Leonardo, c.1377, façade of the Scuola della Carità now the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Author)



69b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief of S. Leonardo with confratelli, c. 1377 originally from the façade of S. Leonardo (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr Venice)



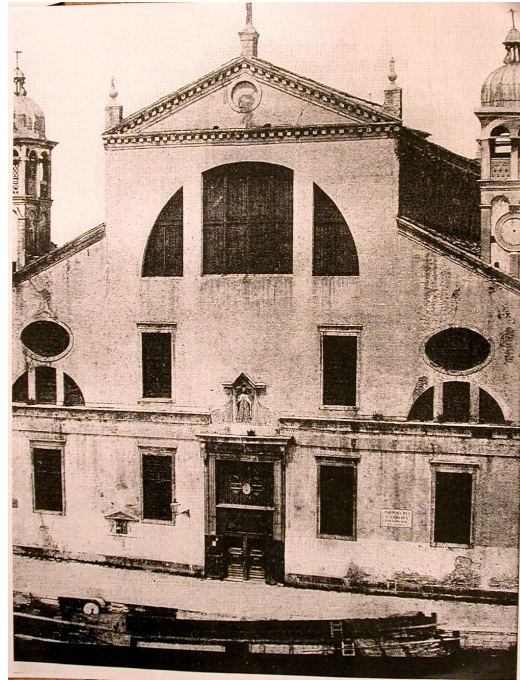
70. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of the Madonna della Misericordia on the façade of the Scuola della Carità c.1397 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



71a. S. Lucia with kneeling confratelli, relief carving, c.1354, originally from the façade of S. Lucia now in the Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice (Author)



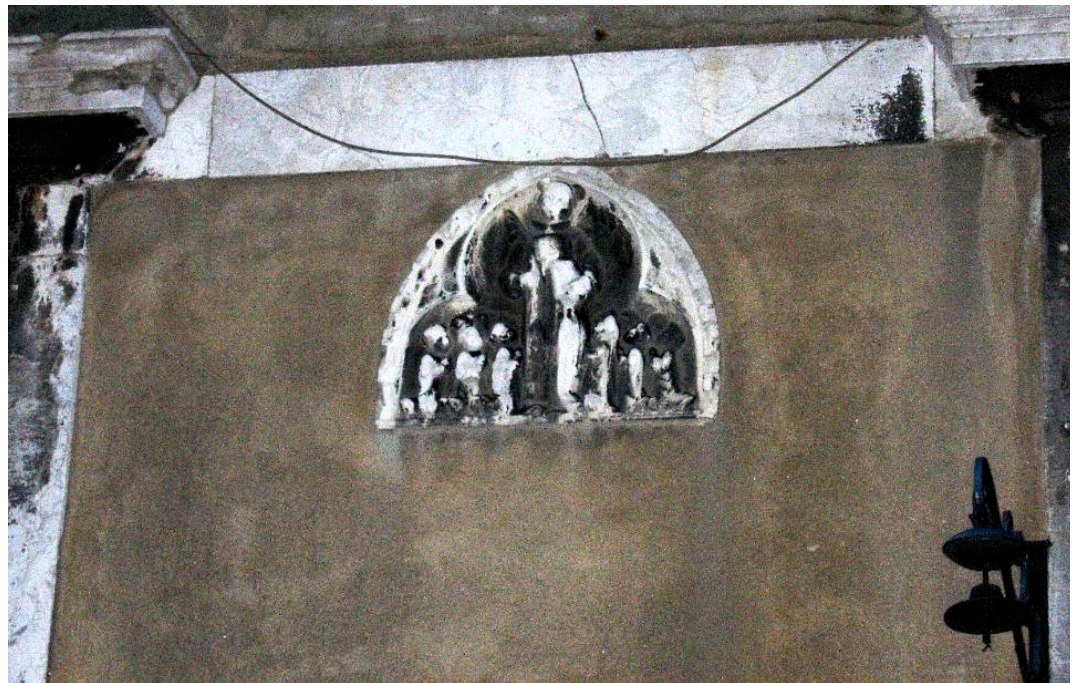
71b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after relief carving of S. Lucia with kneeling confratelli c.1354 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



71c. Facade of S. Lucia, demolished 1860s. (Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa)



72. Madonna della Misericordia, panel, c.1345, Private Collection, Venice (Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana*)



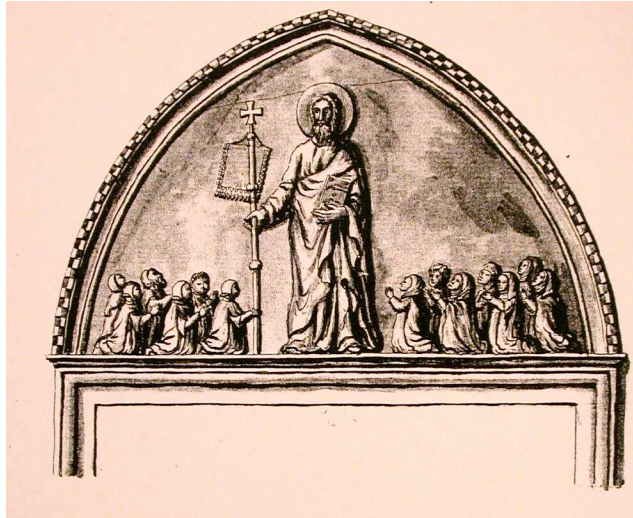
73a. S. Stefano with confratelli from the Scuola dei Lanieri and Augustinian monks, relief carving, c.1405, across from S. Stefano, Venice (Author)



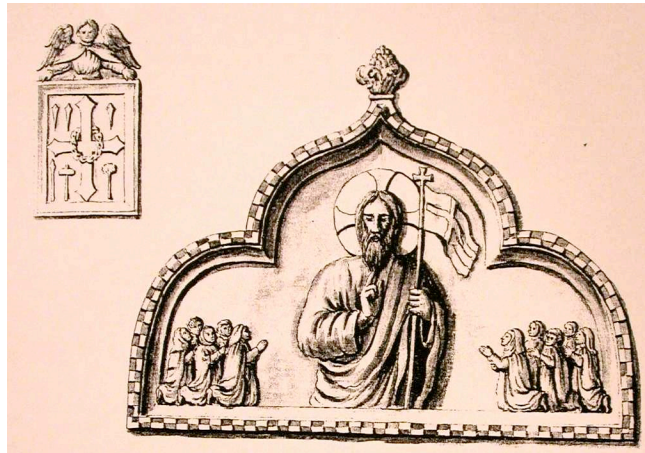
73b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after S. Stefano with confratelli from the Scuola dei Lanieri and Augustinian monks, relief carving, c.1405 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



74a. S. Antonio Abbate with four clerics and five laymen, relief carving from the demolished church of S. Antonio Abbate, Castello, c.1355, Seminario Patriarcale, Venice (Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa)



76. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of S. Andrea Pescatore with kneeling confratelli and nuns c.1340 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



77. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of Christ resurrected with kneeling nuns and confratelli from the scuola di S. Croce. c.1364 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



78. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of the portal of the convent of S. Biagio c.1374 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



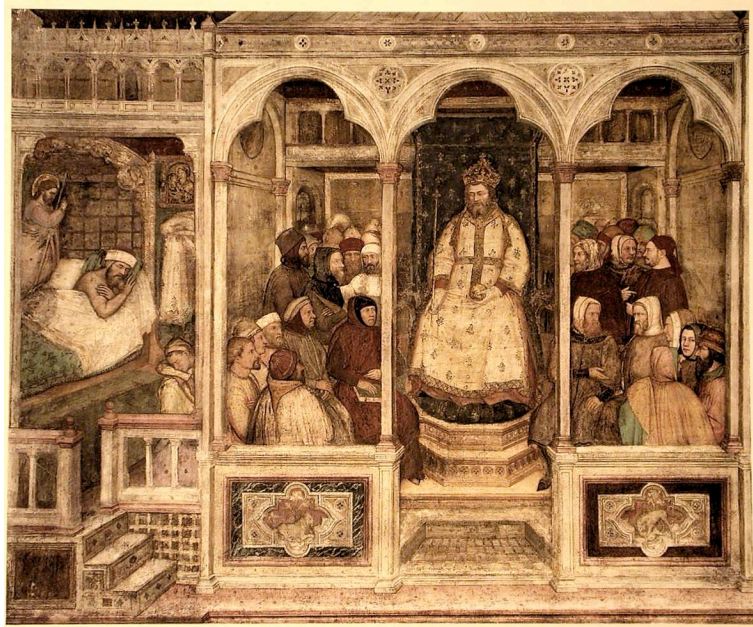
79. Porta di Sant'Alipio, c.1260s, Basilica di S. Marco, Venice (Author)



80. Detail, Apparition of the Relics, Pala Feriale, Paolo Veneziano, panel, c.1345, S. Marco, Venice (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



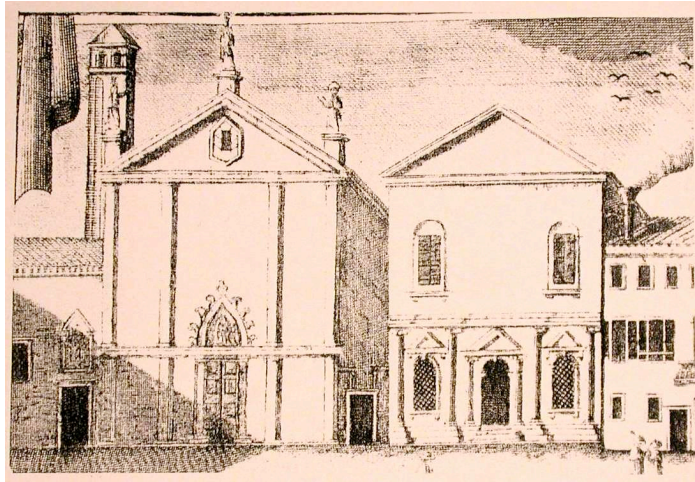
81. Detail, fresco, c.1378, Altichiero da Zevio, Oratorio di S. Giorgio, S. Antonio, Padua (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



82. The dream of King Ramiro, Chapel of S. Giacomo, Altichiero, fresco, c.1372, S. Antonio, Padua (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



83a. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of a saint with kneeling nuns of Corpus Domini c.1410 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



83b. Sebastiano Giampiccoli, View of the convent church of Corpus Domini, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice (Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa)



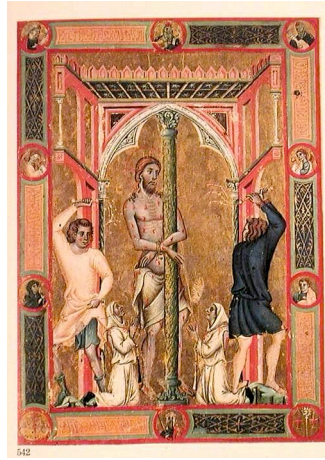
84a. S. Marta with a dragon and kneeling nuns, relief carving originally on the façade of the church of S. Marta, c.1390, S. Angelo Raffaele, Venice (Author)



84b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of S. Marta with a dragon and kneeling nuns originally on the façade of the church of S. Marta, c.1390, (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



85. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of a Madonna della Misericordia with kneeling monks c.1400 (Monumenta veneta, 1759, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



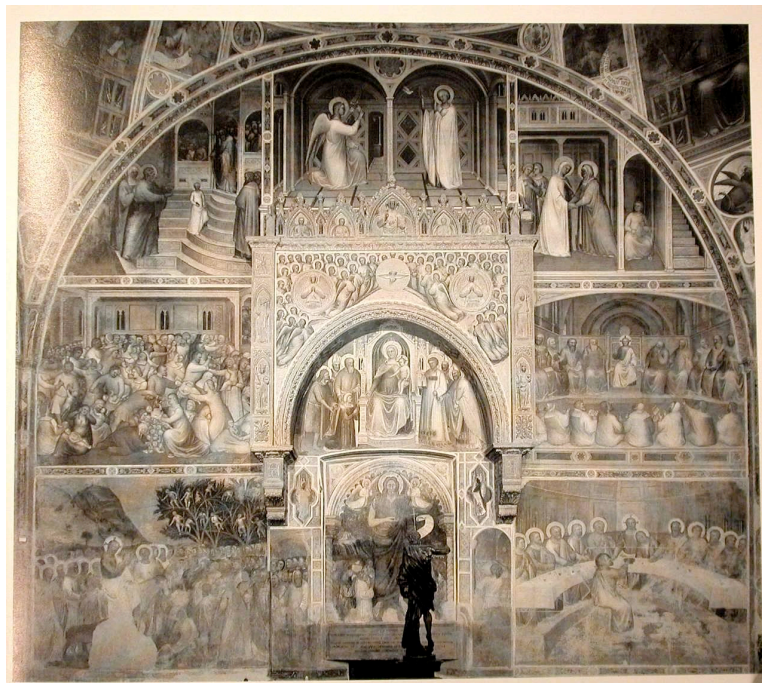
86. Flagellation of Christ, Mariiegola of the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, manuscript, c.1350, Marmottan Museum, Wildenstein Collection, Paris (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



87. Ascension of Christ, Mariiegola of the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, manuscript, c.1350, Cleveland Art Museum, Cleveland (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



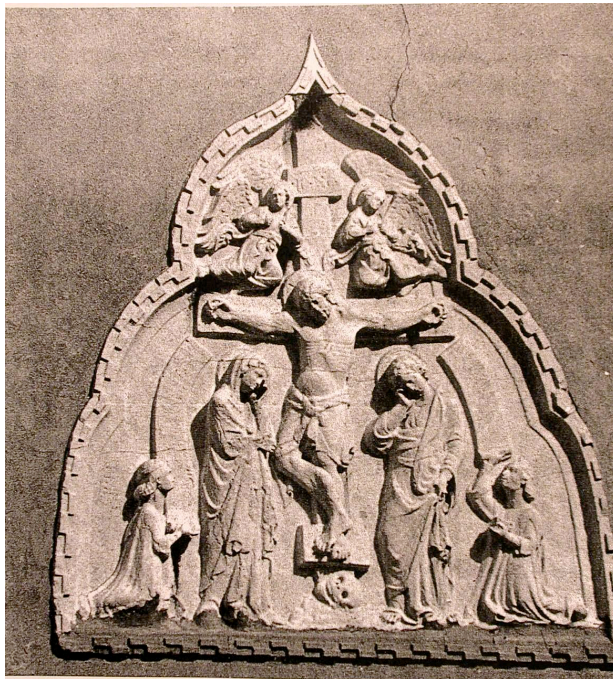
88. Mariegola of the scuola of S. Teodoro, Maestro del Sanudo, manuscript, c.1300s, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



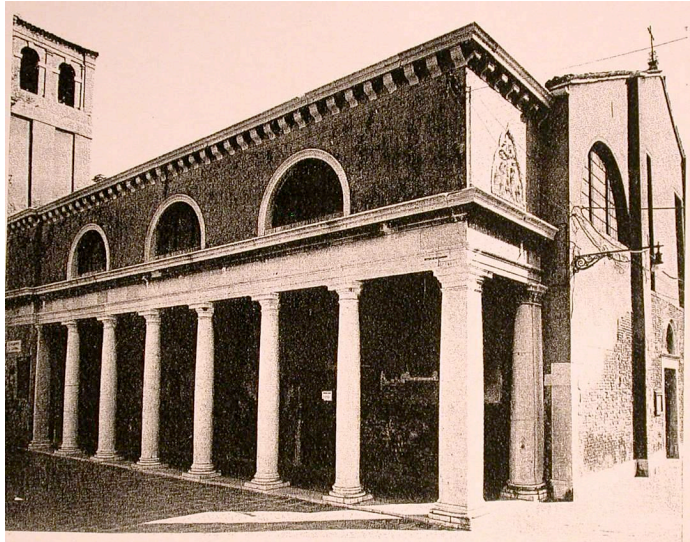
89a. Donor portrait of Fina Buzzacarina, fresco, c.1376-78, Baptistery of the Duomo, Padua (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



89b. Donor portrait of Fina Buzzacarina, fresco, c.1376-78, Baptistry of the Duomo, Padua (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



90a. Crucifixion with two donors, relief carving originally on the façade of S. Biagio and Cataldo, c.1350, S. Eufemia, Venice (Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*)

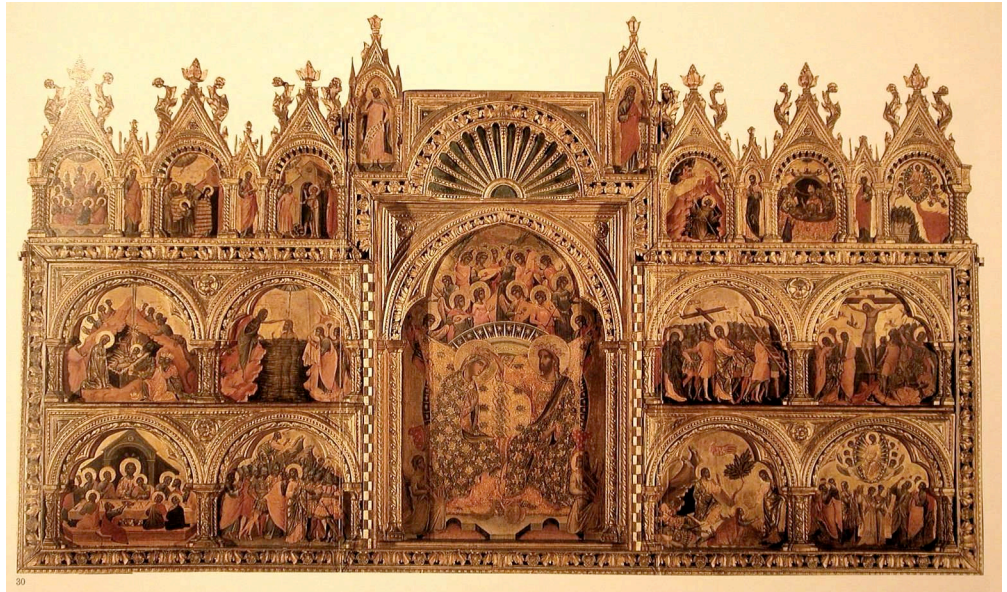


90b. Facade of S. Eufemia, Giudecca (Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa)



FIG. 510. Lorenzo Veneziano, la Madonna col Bambino e due donatori. Tavola (m. 1,07 x 0,64). New York, collezione Lehman.

91. Virgin and child with a lay and clerical donor, panel, c.1360, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Collection, New York (Pallucchini, La pittura veneziana)



92. S. Chiara polyptych, Paolo Veneziano, panel, c.1350, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Lucco, La pittura nel veneto)



93. Madonna of Humility with nun, panel, c.1400, Museo Correr, Venice (Mariacher, Museo Correr)



94. Coronation of the Virgin with kneeling nun, panel, c.1390, Museo Correr, Venice (Mariacher, Museo Correr)



95. Virgin enthroned with kneeling donor, relief carving, c.1400, S. Giacomo dell'Orio, Venice (Author)



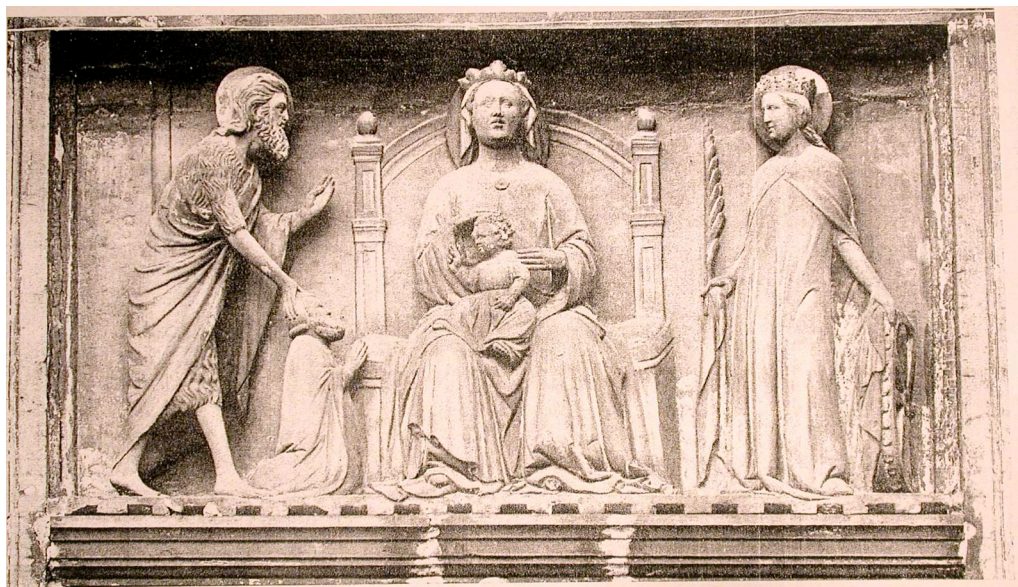
96. Madonna and child enthroned with kneeling confratelli, Paolo Veneziano, panel, c.1349, S. Martino, Chioggia (Lucco, *La pittura nel veneto*)



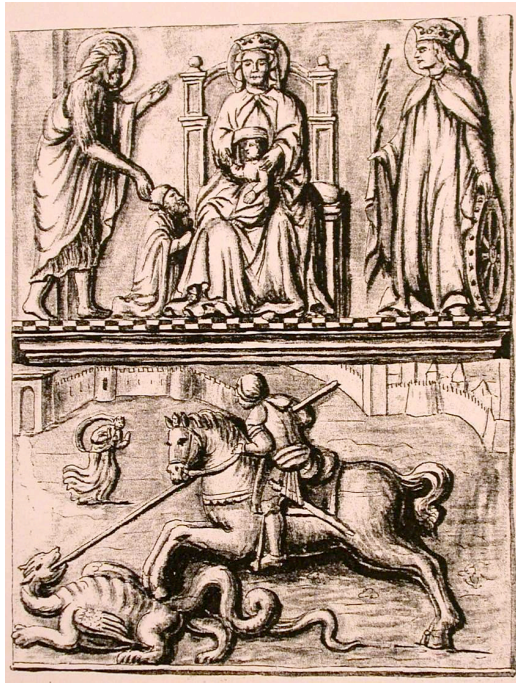
97a. Maria della Misericordia with confratelli, relief carving, c.1360, S. Tomà, Venice (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



97b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the relief of Maria della Misericordia c.1360 on facade of S. Tomà (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



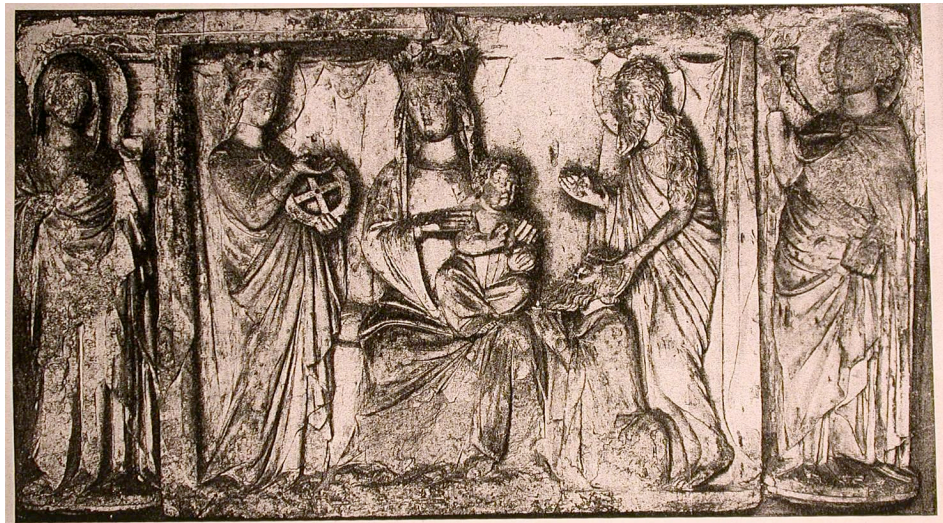
98a. John the Baptist, S. Caterina and the Virgin and child with donor, relief carving, c.1350, Scuola dei Schiavoni, Venice (Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica)



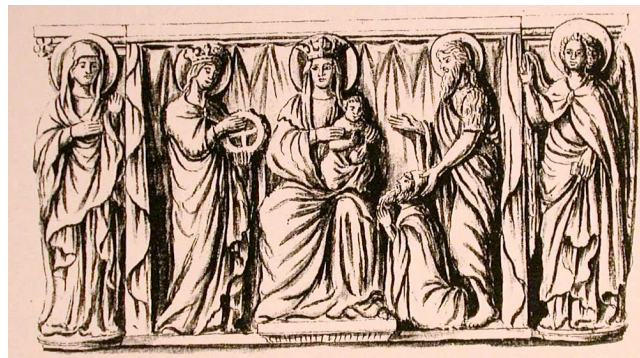
98b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of John the Baptist, S. Caterina and the Virgin and child with donor, c.1350 now on facade of the Scuola dei Schiavoni (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr,



99. Sarcophagus lid of Beata Giuliana Collato, panel, c.1290, originally at the convent of SS. Biagio and Cataldo, now in Museo Correr, Venice (Pallucchini, La pittura veneziana)



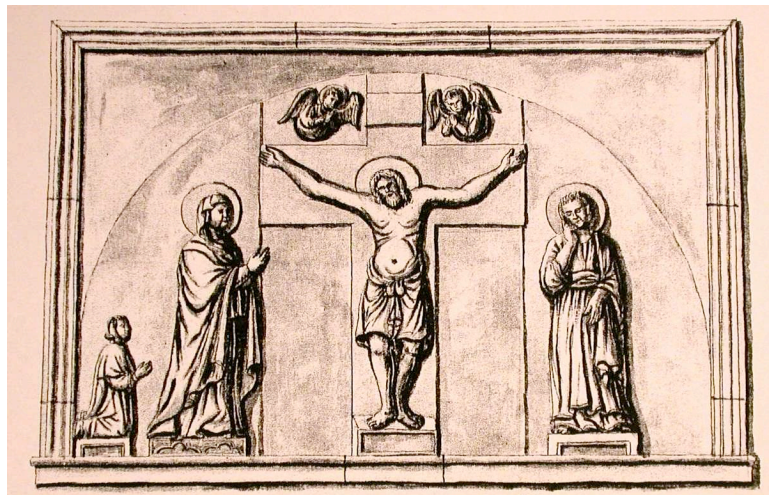
100a. Tomb fragment of Sts. Catherine and John the Baptist presenting a donor to the Virgin, relief carving, c.1350, Biblioteca dei Cavalieri di Malta, Venice (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



100b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving on a tomb fragment depicting Sts. Catherine and John the Baptist presenting a donor, c.1350 (*Monumenta veneta*, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



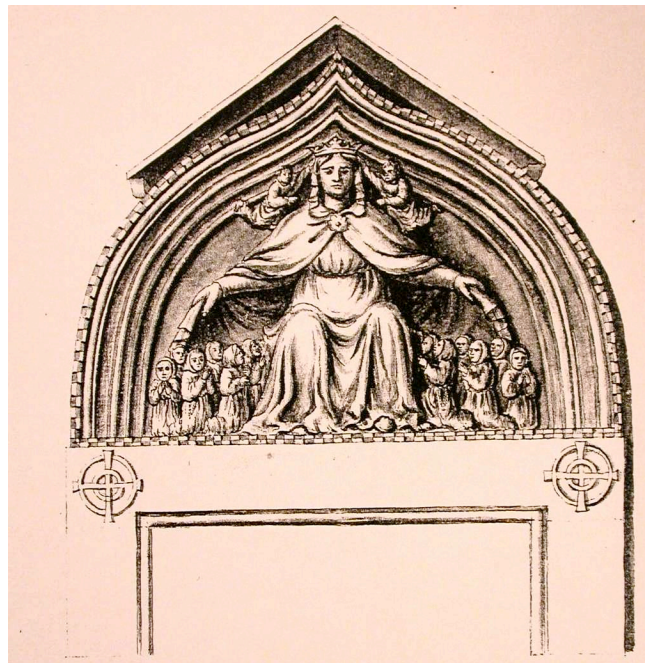
101a. Deesis group with donor, relief carving, c.1410, originally from the convent of S. Maria Celestia, Scholss Glienke, Berlin (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



101b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of deesis group with donor, c.1410, originally from the convent of S. Maria Celestia (*Monumenta veneta*, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



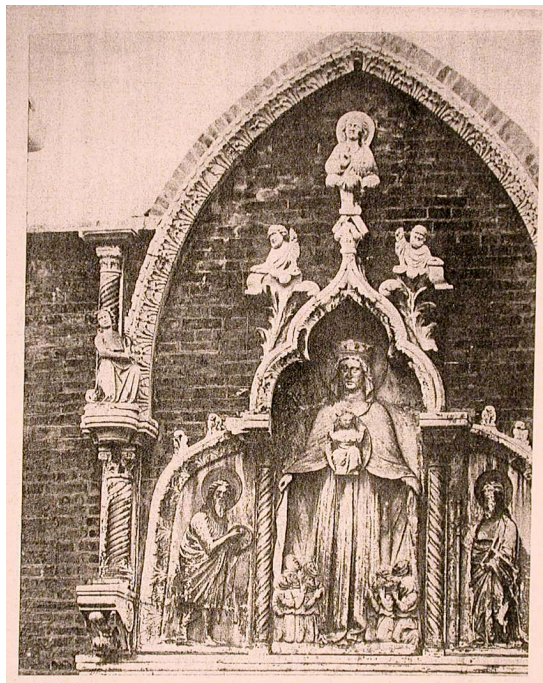
102. S. Mattias with kneeling confratelli, relief carving, c.1339, Seminario Patriarcale, Venice (Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*)



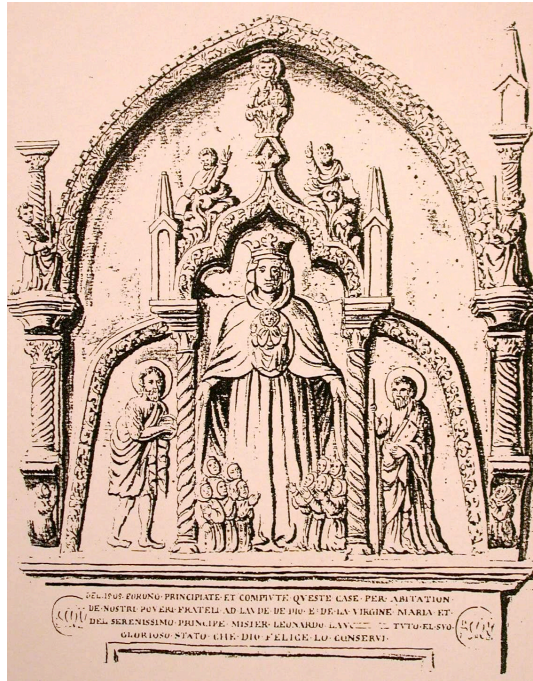
103. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of the Madonna della Misericordia with kneeling confratelli above the portal to the cloister of the Carità, c.1345 (*Monumenta veneta*, 1759, Biblioteca Museo Correr,



104. Madonna della Misericordia with confratelli, relief carving, c.1390s, Campo Sta. Maria Zobenigo, Venice (Rizzi, Scultura esterna)



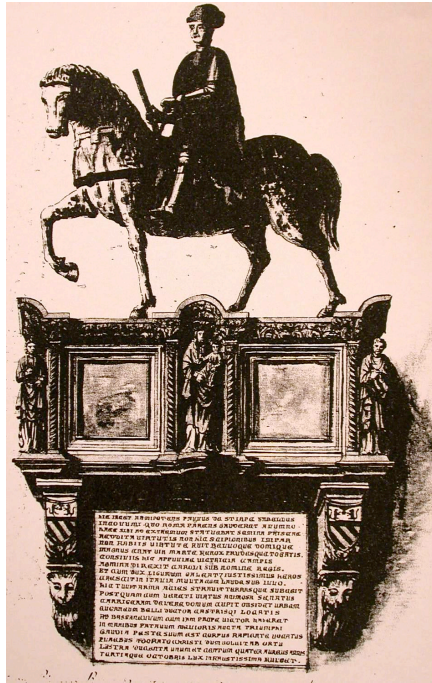
105a. Madonna della Misericordia, relief carving originally above portal to the Scuola della Misericordia, c.1375, Corte Nova, Venice (Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica)



105b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after a relief carving of the Madonna della Misericordia, relief carving originally above portal to the Scuola della Misericordia, c.1375 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo



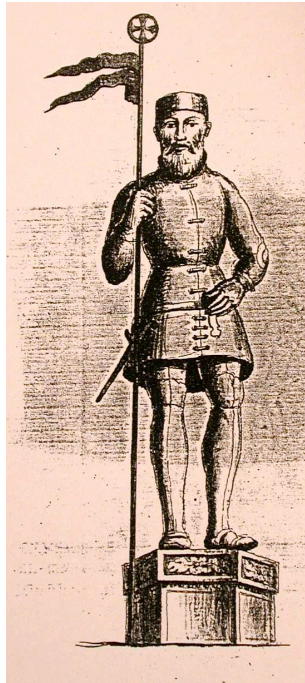
106a. Tomb of Paolo Savelli, c.1405, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice (Author)



106b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the tomb of Paolo Savelli, c.1405 (Monumenta veneta, 1754, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



107a. Tomb of Vittore Pisani, c.1381, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (Author)



107b. Jan Grevembroch, Drawing after the monument to Vittore Pisani, c.1381
(Curiosità, 1755, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice)



108. Icon of archangel Michael with donor, early 13th century, St. Catherine's
monastery, Sinai (Sotiriou, Icones du Mont Sinai)



109a. Mocchirolo Chapel, c.1376, Pinacoteca Brera, Milan
 (www.viboldone.it/viboldone/mocchirolo.jpg)



109b. Detail of Stefano Porro (?), Mocchirolo chapel, c.1376, Pinacoteca Brera, Milan
 (www.viboldone.it/vibo_mocchirolo.html)



110a. Oratorio di S. Stefano Martire, c.1369, Lentate sul Seveso (Milan) (www3.provincia.mi.it/.../varedo/index.html)



110b. Detail of Stefano Porro and wife, Oratorio di S. Stefano Martire, c.1369, Lentate sul Seveso (Milan) (www3.provincia.mi.it/.../varedo/index.html)