

**Venetian Art and the War of the  
League of Cambrai (1509–17)**

by

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation explores how Venetians used the figurative arts as a means of responding to and shaping their experience of the War of the League of Cambrai (1509–17). The war was the most politically and spiritually tumultuous conflict in Venice's history and almost resulted in the loss of its mainland empire. To provide a sense of the complexity of the relationship between art and contemporary military events, the study gathers and analyses a wide range of works, from painting and sculpture to woodcuts for books and prints. Chapters two, three, and four investigate how Venetians used visual art to represent and interpret their struggle to reclaim the former *terraferma* empire. Chapter two begins the discussion by examining the modest woodcuts accompanying printed propagandistic texts that were inspired by the battle for the mainland and that constitute the first visual response to the war. Chapter three explores the interpretation afforded military events by subsequent and more enduring works of art, particularly sculpted altarpieces and tombs for mercenaries. Chapter four discusses the assertive revival of more traditional visual themes, particularly the lion of St. Mark. Chapters five, six, and seven, in contrast, address how Venetian art reflects the atmosphere of spiritual crisis generated by the popular interpretation of the war as a form of divine punishment. The first of these demonstrates how devotional books responded to the unsettled mood through text and image. Chapter six proposes that the wartime popularity of multi-block woodcuts, particularly of religious subjects, similarly reflects a market for certain kinds of devotional imagery. To conclude, chapter seven argues that the same atmosphere sparked a sudden interest during the war and shortly thereafter in paintings of Christ and

the adulteress. Considered as a group, the studies presented by the various chapters demonstrate that Venetians produced a wide variety of art during the Cambrai War as a means of interpreting the conflict's significance and influencing its course.

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119. *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XV<sup>v</sup>.
120. *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XVI<sup>r</sup>.
121. *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXXVII<sup>r</sup>.
122. Anonymous woodcut (18.5 x 26.5 cm), *Duodecima figura in Apocalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Venice, Fondazione Cini.
123. Anonymous woodcut (18.5 x 26.5 cm), *Decimaquinta figura in Apocalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Venice, Fondazione Cini.
124. MS, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Cl. III, 177, f. 19<sup>v</sup>.
125. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXI<sup>r</sup>.
126. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXI<sup>v</sup>.
127. MS, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Cl. III, 177, f. 29<sup>r</sup>.
128. *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XVI<sup>r</sup>.
129. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXXV<sup>v</sup>.
130. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XVIII<sup>v</sup>.
131. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXII<sup>v</sup>.
132. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXII<sup>v</sup>.
133. Illumination of late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, plate XIV in Joachim da Fiore, *Liber figurarum*. MS, Reggio Emilia, Seminario Vescovile.
134. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. IV<sup>v</sup>.
135. MS, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Cl. III, 177, f. 10<sup>v</sup>.

136. Titian, *Triumph of Christ*, multi-block woodcut (block 3 of 5; 39 x 52.9 cm), 1517?. New York, New York Public Library.
- 136a. Titian, *Triumph of Christ*, multi-block woodcut (block 5 of 5; 39 x 52.4 cm), 1517?. New York, New York Public Library.
137. Andrea Previtali, *Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea*, oil on canvas (132 x 213 cm), 1520s. Originally for Chapel of S. Niccolò, Ducal Palace. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.
138. Albrecht Dürer and others, *Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I*, woodcut in 192 blocks (341 x 292 cm), ca. 1515.
139. Hans Burgkmair, triumphal car representing Maximilian I's subjugation of Venice forming part of the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*, woodcut, ca. 1516–18. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.
140. Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, *Battle of Marignano*, woodcut (55.5 x 152.5 cm), ca. 1515. Zurich, Zentralbibliothek.
141. Detail of four right-hand blocks of fig. 139.
142. Detail of upper right-hand block of fig. 139.
143. Master Na. Dat. with a Mousetrap, *The Two Armies at the Battle of Ravenna*, engraving (14.8 x 21.8 cm), ca. 1512.
144. Anonymous Venetian, *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, woodcut (104.5 x 154 cm), ca. 1515. London, British Museum.
145. Vittore Carpaccio, *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, oil on canvas (307 x 205 cm), 1515. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.
146. Ugo da Carpi after Titian, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, woodcut (79 x 107.6 cm), third edition, mid-sixteenth century. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.
147. Girolamo da Treviso, *Susannah and the Elders*, four-block woodcut (85 x 107.5 cm), ca. 1515. Copenhagen, Royal Collection.
148. Detail of fig. 146.
149. Detail of fig. 146.
150. Titian, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, oil on canvas (89.5 x 73 cm), 1515. Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili.
151. Giovanni Cariani, *Judith*, oil on panel (69 x 56.6 cm), 1516–17. Formerly Grittleton, collection of Sir Audley Neeld.
152. Anonymous Venetian, *Susannah and the Elders*, woodcut frontispiece to *Historia et Festa de Susanna* ([Venice]: [1505]). Venice, Fondazione Cini.
153. Anonymous Venetian, *Susannah and the Elders*, woodcut in *Byblia in vulgar vltimamente impressa...* (Venice: Lazzaro Soardi and Bernardino Benalio, 10 July 1517), f. LXXXII<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.
154. Lorenzo Lotto, *Susannah and the Elders*, oil on panel (66 x 51 cm), 1517. Florence, Contini Bonacossi Collection.
155. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Susannah and the Elders*, oil on canvas (146.5 x 193.6 cm), ca. 1555. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
156. Lucantonio degli Uberti, *St. George and the Dragon*, woodcut (85 x 118.5 cm), 1515. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst.
157. Vittore Carpaccio, *St. George and the Dragon*, oil on canvas (141 x 360 cm), ca. 1507. Venice, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni.

158. Vittore Carpaccio, *St. George and the Dragon*, oil on canvas (180 x 226 cm), s. & d. 1515. Venice, S. Giorgio Maggiore.
159. Anonymous Florentine, *St. George and the Dragon*, woodcut (56 x 42 cm), latter half of fifteenth century. London, British Museum.
160. Anonymous Italian after Master E. S., *St. George and the Dragon*, woodcut (20.1 x 13.6 cm), mid-fifteenth century. London, British Museum.
161. Master I.B. with a Bird?, *St. George and the Dragon*, woodcut (12.3 x 12.8 cm), early sixteenth century. Hamburg, Kunsthalle.
162. Titian, *St. George*, oil on canvas (124 x 65 cm), ca. 1515–16. Right-hand fragment of the larger work *St. Michael Flanked by Sts. Theodore and George*. Venice, Fondazione Cini.
163. Paris Bordon, *St. George and the Dragon*, oil on canvas, 1525. Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana.
164. Niccolò de' Barbari, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on panel (92.8 x 120.5 cm), 1490s. Rome, Palazzo Venezia.
165. Marco Marziale, *Christ and the Adulteress*, canvas (130 x 165.8 cm), ca. 1500–07. Groningen, Institute for Art History.
166. Giovanni Bellini, *Presentation in the Temple*, panel (82 x 106 cm), ca. 1460. Venice, Querini Stampalia.
167. Workshop of Giovanni Bellini?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, panel (115 x 170 cm), first years of the sixteenth century. Formerly in Novara, private collection.
168. Titian, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (139.2 x 181.7 cm, cut down at right), ca. 1510. Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museums Collection.
169. Titian, *Head of a Bystander*, from *Christ and the Adulteress* (fig. 166), oil on canvas (47 x 40.5 cm). Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museums Collection.
170. Anonymous copy after Titian, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (149 x 219 cm, slightly cut down on both right and left), ca. 1520. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara.
171. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Judgement of Solomon*, oil on canvas (208 x 315 cm), ca. 1509 (unfinished). Wimborne Minster (Kingston Lacy), Dorset Bankes Collection, The National Trust.
172. Palma Vecchio, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (82 x 69.5 cm), 1520 – 2?. Inscribed: QVIS VESTRUM EST SINE PECCATO LAPIDEM PROICIAT IN EAM. Leningrad, Hermitage.
173. Anonymous woodcut illustration accompanying the gospel of John (8:1–11) in *Epistole euangelii vulgare et Istoriare*, ed. Jacopo di Carlo (Venice: Manfredo de Monferra de Sstreu, 20 August 1495), f. XXII(2)<sup>f</sup>.
174. Bonifacio de' Pitati, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (181 x 304 cm), ca. 1544. Originally for the rooms of the Magistrato del Sal, Palazzo Camerlenghi. Venice, Fondazione Cini.
175. Rocco Marconi, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (131 x 197 cm), signed (ROCHUS MARCHONIUS), ca. 1516. Formerly Benedictine Chapter House, S. Giorgio Maggiore. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.
176. Rocco Marconi?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas, (156.5 x 118 cm), s. (ROCHUS MARCHONIUS) & d. 1516. Coral Gables (Florida), Lowe Art Gallery of the University of Miami.

177. Rocco Marconi, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on panel, (135 x 197 cm), s. (ROCHUS MARCHONIUS), ca. 1520?. Saltsjöbaden (Sweden), Ernst Wahren collection.
178. Rocco Marconi, *Christ and the Adulteress*, panel (135 x 180 cm), signed (ROCHUS DE MARCHIONIS F.), ca. 1510?. Szekszárd (Hungary), Városi Múzeum.
179. Rocco Marconi, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (111 x 167 cm), signed (ROCHO DE MARCONI F.), late 1510s. Budapest, Szépművészeti Museum.
180. Follower of Rocco Marconi?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, as seen in a photograph in the photo collection of the Fondazione Cini, Venice. Location unknown.
181. Cima da Conegliano, *Christ among the Doctors*, panel (54.6 x 84.4 cm), ca. 1504–05. Warsaw, National Museum.
182. Albrecht Dürer, *Christ among the Doctors*, oil on panel (68 x 80 cm), ca. 1506. Lugano, Thyssen Collection.
183. Marco Basaiti, *Christ Blessing*, oil on panel (40 x 34 cm), 1517. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara.
184. Rocco Marconi, *Christ Blessing*, oil on panel (52.7 x 40.6 cm), late 1510s. Philadelphia, J. G. Johnson collection.
185. Anonymous woodcut on the title page of *Colletanio De cose Noue Spirituale* (Venice: Giorgio Rusconi for Niccolò Zoppino, 1513).
186. Anonymous woodcut in *Colletanio De cose Noue Spirituale* (Venice: Giorgio Rusconi for Niccolò Zoppino, 1513), Lii<sup>r</sup>.
187. Palma Vecchio or Giovanni Cariani?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, panel (80 x 94 cm), ca. 1510?. Chantilly, Musée Condé.
188. Palma Vecchio, *Woman in Green*, oil on panel (50 x 40.5 cm), 1512–14. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
189. Titian?, *Young Lady in Black*, oil on panel (59.5 x 44.5 cm), ca. 1520. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
190. Flemish disciple of Titian?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas, latter half of the sixteenth century. Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts.
191. Rocco Marconi, *Christ before Martha and Mary*, oil on canvas (120 x 154.9 cm), ca. 1520?. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum.
192. Rocco Marconi?, *Christ before Martha and Mary*, panel (118.7 x 170.6 cm, cut down in 1750), ca. 1510. Prague, Castle Museum.
193. Rocco Marconi, *Christ before Martha and Mary*, oil on canvas (119 x 171 cm), ca. 1515. Leningrad, Hermitage.
194. Venetian School (Bergamask?), *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (82 x 126 cm), ca. 1530. Dijon, Musée Magnin.
195. Giovanni Bellini, *St. Jerome, St. Christopher and St. Louis of Toulouse*, oil on panel (300 x 185 cm), 1513. Venice, S. Giovanni Crisostomo.
196. Marco Basaiti, *Calling of the Sons of Zebedee*, oil on panel (385 x 265 cm), s. & d. 1510. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.
197. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on wood (15.9 x 21.6 cm), mid 1540s. New York, Metropolitan Museum, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection.



198. Follower of Andrea Mantegna, *Madonna and Child with Saints and Norsa Family*, tempera on panel, ca. 1499. Originally for complex of Santa Maria della Vittoria, Mantua. Mantua, Sant'Andrea.
199. Giorgione?, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, oil on wood (70 x 100 cm), ca. 1509.
200. Lorenzo Lotto, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (124 x 156 cm), ca. 1527–29. Paris, Louvre.
201. Quentin Massys, *Ecce homo*, oil on wood, 1526. Venice, Palazzo Ducale.
202. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: 4. Ecce Homo*, woodcut (39 x 28 cm), ca. 1499. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

## Chapter One

### Introduction

Around 1593, Palma Giovane painted a large canvas commemorating Venice's involvement in the War of the League of Cambrai (1509–17) (fig. 1) for the Sala del Senato in the Palazzo Ducale.<sup>1</sup> The painting depicts the doge accompanied by a bellicose lion of St. Mark and a personification of Venice, her rapier drawn in readiness. The formidable League is represented by a female warrior bearing a shield adorned with the coats-of-arms of the numerous allies and sitting astride a bull symbolising Europe. Above the principal figures, winged Victories and personifications of Peace and Plenty announce the Republic's successful confrontation of the military threat, and imply that victory had been easily won. This "history painting" was executed about sixty years after the war's conclusion, when living memory of the trauma had long since faded and "history" could be re-written. As one might suspect, the historical truth was far different from the celebratory imagery Palma fashioned for the Venetian hall of state. The years of the Cambrai War were actually characterised by troubling political uncertainty and devastating military failures. Modern historians, in fact, consider those years to have been the worst in Venice's long history. David Chambers has even gone so far as to suggest that they should probably be known as the "Great War of Venice."<sup>2</sup>

Another painting produced at the time of the war itself perhaps comes a little closer to the truth. Giovanni Cariani painted an unusual work known today as the *Alle-*

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<sup>1</sup> Giustiniano Martinioni provides a seventeenth-century interpretation of this painting in his additions to Francesco Sansovino's guidebook; *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* [1581], 2 vols., ed. G. Martinioni (Venice: Steffano Curti, 1663), 1:344.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380–1580* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), 65.

*gory of a Venetian Victory* in the last year of the war (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> The painting employs a particularly complex symbolism, combining elements of timely pastoral, allegorical, and narrative imagery to commemorate an as yet unidentified military victory on the mainland during the Cambrai War.<sup>4</sup> The reclining female nude compositionally divides the *Allegory* in two parts: on the left a peaceful view of the Venetian lagoon stretches toward the horizon, framed by a flautist and a violist, while to the right, a battle scene unfolds before a burning city. The powerful contrast between these worlds of peace, characterised by female beauty and the harmoniousness of music, and of war, characterised by soldiers and violence, is given deeper meaning through the presence of the central female nude. Her hair, blown forward by the wind, and the attribute of the sphere signifying volatility identify her as an incarnation of *Occasio*, or Opportunity, a figure closely linked with the dangerously fickle *Fortuna*.<sup>5</sup> In the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento it was widely believed that Fortune had a powerful and terrifyingly uncontrollable influence on

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<sup>3</sup> Sgarbi dated the work to between 1512 and 1515 on stylistic grounds. Sgarbi, “1518: Cariani a Ferrara e Dosso,” in *Paragone* 33, no. 389 (July 1982): 3–18. Rodolfo Pallucchini, however, has noted that the bell tower in Piazza San Marco that appears in the background already displays the pointed roof it was given in 1515, thus suggesting that the work dates to 1516. Thus, the painting would have been executed in Venice shortly before Cariani left for Bergamo in 1517. Rodolfo Pallucchini and Francesco Rossi, *Giovanni Cariani* (Bergamo: Credito Bergamasco, 1983), 138–39 (cat. no. 70).

<sup>4</sup> Sgarbi, “1518: Cariani a Ferrara,” 7; and Pallucchini and Rossi, *Giovanni Cariani*, 139.

<sup>5</sup> On the figure in Cariani’s painting as *Occasio*, see Sgarbi, “1518: Cariani a Ferrara,” 6. For a discussion of the intertwined iconography of *Occasio* and *Fortuna*, see Erwin Panofsky, “Good Government or Fortune?” in *Gazette des beaux-arts* 68 (November 1966): 308–311. For the particular conflation of these figures in early-Cinquecento Italian art, see F. Kiefer, “The Conflation of *Fortuna* and *Occasio* in Renaissance Thought and Iconography,” in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1979): 1–28; and Laura Signoretti, “La fortuna. Alcune raffigurazioni nei secoli XVI e XVII in Italia,” in *Grafica d’arte* 28 (October–December 1996): 8–17. By mid-century, the Dominican Remigio Fiorentino resident in Venice in the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo described how Fortune was frequently depicted in art in a letter he wrote to the painter Francesco Salviati. His primary description matches quite closely with the figure in Cariani’s painting: “Ordinariamente si suol far una donna nuda, con chioma lunga d’avanti, come l’occasione, per esser elle quasi una medesima cosa, appoggiata a una ruota, la quale è in significato dell’instabilità delle cose. E la dipingevon nuda...” The letter is dated 30 April 1555 and is reproduced in Jennifer Fletcher, “Francesco Salviati and Remigio Fiorentino,” in *Burlington Magazine* 16 (1979): 794–795. For other near contemporary depictions of *Occasio*, see the Mantuan fresco in the style of Mantegna and Marcantonio Raimondi’s print entitled *Allegory of Occasio*. On both images, see Rudolf Wittkower, “Chance, Time and Virtue,” in *Journal of the Warburg Institute* (1937/38): 318–320.

the course of events that could only be overcome, on occasion, by human virtue.<sup>6</sup> The experience of the Italian Wars, characterised by frequent and unforeseeable shifts in alliance among the powers involved and dramatic military failures on the battlefield, did much to reinforce this notion.<sup>7</sup> For all its celebration of Venetian virtue, the painting's association of *Occasio* with the events of the Cambrai War thus gives an important glimpse of contemporary thought about the unpredictability of war and the ever-present danger of Fortune's influence.

The paintings by Cariani and Palma frame the same historical circumstances in intriguingly different ways; the former presents an almost philosophical ambiguity in its characterisation of the war, and the latter unabashedly radiates an emphatic confidence that belies the far more difficult truth. Whereas Palma's work offers a classic example of the propagandistic tone of official, late sixteenth-century Venetian art, the unique imagery of Cariani's *Allegory* generates a number of questions. How would such a painting have fit into the larger context of artistic production in Venice during the Cambrai War? What other kinds of art or modes of artistic expression did the experience of the war inspire, and in what sorts of artistic media? What purposes did art serve in the throes of such an ordeal? Perhaps surprisingly, art historians have only begun to address these questions. To date, investigation of the relationship between Venetian art and the tumultuous events and consequences of the Cambrai War has been sporadic and limited in its scope. In response, this dissertation gathers and synthesises the existing literature in order

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<sup>6</sup> See the discussion in Panofsky, "Good or Bad Government," 311.

<sup>7</sup> On the emergence of the theme of *Fortuna* in Italian literature from the French invasion of Italy in 1494 onward, see M. Santoro, *Fortuna, ragione e prudenza nella civiltà letteraria del 1500* (Naples: Liguori, 1967). On the particular prominence of Fortune in the writings of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, see G. Proccacci, "La fortuna nella realtà politica e sociale del primo Cinquecento," in *Belfagor* (1951): 407–421. Proccacci also begins to trace this theme in the Venetian context in Sanudo's writings. Fortune also plays a prominent role in the letters of the Vicentine nobleman Luigi da Porto; on this, see A. Olivieri, "'Dio' e la 'Fortuna' nelle *Lettere storiche* di Luigi da Porto," in *Studi veneziani* 13 (1971): 253–273.

to construct a broader picture of the relationship between early-Cinquecento Venetian visual culture and the experience of the Cambrai War. It then expands upon this through the presentation of new research.

The lack of scholarly work on this subject could well be a consequence of the formal beauty and innovativeness of the art of the time.<sup>8</sup> It was the era of the mature yet ever-creative Giovanni Bellini, the innovative Giorgione, and the ambitious young Titian—arguably, the most dynamic era in the history of Venetian art. The innovations introduced in painting took myriad forms, ranging from the interpretation of new subject matter to experimentation with the expressive potential of oil paint, and from the development of greater figural monumentality to the cultivation of artistic mood and atmosphere. Other media, too, were undergoing transformation. Woodcuts and engravings were proving fertile ground for new work by printmakers such as Giulio Campagnola; artists such as Tullio Lombardo were bringing new refinement to Venetian sculpture; and the architects of Mauro Codussi's generation were continuing to revolutionise architectural style.

Given the artistic vibrancy of the Venetian art scene, it is only natural that many scholars have focused on the more formal aspects of early-Cinquecento Venetian art. However, while such scholarship is undeniably important, the art should not be divorced from its historical context. We should not ignore the fact that this period of intense artistic innovation coincided directly with one of the Republic's most arduous periods of political difficulty. In fact, it is reasonable to imagine that this remarkable time of artistic

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<sup>8</sup> On this, see Deborah Howard, "Giorgione's *Tempesta* and Titian's *Assunta* in the Context of the Cambrai Wars," in *Art History* 8, no. 3 (September 1985), 271.

creativity would, at least in part, have been sparked, and subsequently fuelled, by an equally singular set of historical circumstances.

### **1.1 The Historical Context: The Cambrai War<sup>9</sup>**

When Charles VIII crossed the Alps in 1494 intent on taking Milan and Naples, the nature of politics on the Italian peninsula was changed forever. The French invasion initiated an uninterrupted series of complicated and destructive military struggles for control of northern Italy known as the Italian Wars (1494–1529). Virtually all of the major powers of Europe became involved. Italian politics were no longer concerned with the scuffles between a collection of Italian duchies, princedoms and city-states. Instead, the Italians found themselves caught up in a desperate battle to resist the threat of domination by much larger foreign states ruled by monarchs and emperors. The wars lasted over three decades, until the Peace of Bologna finally brought them to an end in 1529.<sup>10</sup> The darkest years in Venetian political history, those of the War of the League of Cambrai (1509–1517), occurred in the middle of this combative period.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Venetians had dramatically changed their traditional foreign policy by turning their attention away from the east, the historical source of their influence as a maritime republic, in order to focus on territorial expansion on the Italian *terraferma*. The initial reason for this change was the need to protect important trade routes, but as the century wore on, territorial acquisition on the mainland

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<sup>9</sup> See the timeline of the war included as Appendix A.

<sup>10</sup> For an overview and analysis of the Italian Wars, see Piero Pieri, *Il Rinascimento e la crisi militare italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1952), 320–615.

became a goal itself.<sup>11</sup> Beginning with the taking of Vicenza in 1404, the expansion continued until around 1500, when the Venetian *Stato da terra* included territory as far flung as Apulian ports in the south, Friulian towns in the north, and parts of Lombardy in the west (see figs. 3, 4). However, as the fifteenth century drew to a close, the other powers of Europe grew concerned about the unchecked growth of the Republic and its potential consequences.<sup>12</sup>

In 1508, the German emperor and the kings of France, England and Spain signed a secret alliance in the town of Cambrai with the purpose of destroying and partitioning the Venetian mainland empire.<sup>13</sup> The League gained important approval from the church when Pope Julius II joined its signatories in the winter of 1509. His involvement quickly gave the war a spiritual dimension, which was expressed through his excommunication of the Republic in April of that year.<sup>14</sup> The first real battle waged between the forces of the League and those of Venice took place on May 14 in Lombardy. Due to the strategic errors of the Republic's generals, the French vanquished the Venetian army quickly and with ease. The battle came to be known as the Rout of Agnadello and is remembered as

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<sup>11</sup> On the process of and motivations behind the Republic's expansion of the *Stato da terra*, see Michael Mallett, "La conquista della Terraferma," in *Il Rinascimento politica e cultura*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (v. 4 of *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*) (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1996), 181–212; and the discussion in Nicolai Rubinstein, "Italian Reactions to Terraferma Expansion in the Fifteenth Century," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John Rigby Hale (London: Faber, 1973), 197–217.

<sup>12</sup> For an excellent overview of Venetian mainland expansion and the changing political situation of Venice towards the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, see Michael Mallett, "Venezia e la politica italiana: 1454–1530," in *Il Rinascimento politica e cultura*, 284–290; and Piero Pieri, "Intorno alla politica estera di Venezia al principio del Cinquecento," in his *Scritti vari* (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1966), 121–61.

<sup>13</sup> On the League of Cambrai and its intentions, see F. Cipollini, "La lega di Cambrai," in *Rivista d'Italia* 13 (January 1910): 59–85; Federico Seneca, *Venezia e il papa Giulio II* (Padua: Liviana, 1962), 91–122; and Innocenzo Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi dello stato veneziano* (Naples: Guida Editori, 1974), 149–63.

<sup>14</sup> On the relationship between Julius II and Venice, see Seneca, *Venezia e il papa*, 17–55.

the worst in Venetian history.<sup>15</sup> In the two months that followed, the League swept across the undefended *Stato da terra*, and conquered all of the mainland territory previously acquired by the Republic.<sup>16</sup>

Although terrified, the Venetians decided to launch a campaign to recapture Padua, a city of strategic and ideological importance because it was the closest and oldest of the former *Stato da terra*. The campaign was a success, and although Maximilian soon returned to reclaim Padua in one of the most aggressive sieges in European history, the Venetian defence held firm. The hope that the Republic could one day recover the *terraferma* was thus restored.<sup>17</sup> In spite of the initial victory of the League at Agnadello, the winter of 1509 saw the League's allies increasingly hampered by poor organisation, which granted the Venetians the necessary reprieve to develop a strategy of war. The Republic's primary tactic was to dissolve the League, and their efforts soon bore fruit. Julius II had come to realise that Venice's survival was essential to Italy's defence against the growing threat of foreign domination. He therefore lifted the interdict in February 1510. In the following year, he formed an alliance with the Venetians and the Spanish known as

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<sup>15</sup> The literature outlining the singular impact of the Rout of Agnadello on Venetian history and politics is extensive. However, some particularly rich sources include Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, esp. chap. 8 ("Stato e società alla luce di Agnadello"); Lester J. Libby, Jr., "Venetian History and Political Thought after 1509," in *Studies in the Renaissance* 20 (1973): 7–45; and Federico Chabod, "Venezia nella politica italiana ed europea del Cinquecento," in *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento*, ed. D. Valeri (Florence: Sansoni, 1958), 29–55. To place the Cambrai War in the larger context of Venetian military activity during the Renaissance, see Michael Mallett and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice c. 1400–1617* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), esp. 211ff.

<sup>16</sup> For a general account of the war's events, see Mallett, "Venezia e la politica," 284–90. For more detailed accounts, see Samuele Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 vols., 3rd ed. (Venice: Libreria Filippi Editore, 1974), 5:123–229; and Pieri, *Rinascimento e la crisi militare*, 399–535.

<sup>17</sup> On the recapture and subsequent defense of Padua, see Angiolo Lenci, *Il leone, l'aquila e la gatta: Venezia e la lega di Cambrai: Guerra e fortificazioni dalla battaglia di Agnadello all'assedio di Padova* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2002). These events also provide the focus of the discussion in chaps. 2 and 3 of this dissertation.



the Holy League, in order to rid the peninsula of the “barbarians,” particularly the French.<sup>18</sup>

Although the League of Cambrai had dissolved and the Republic was no longer friendless, the struggle for control of northern Italy persisted. For the next five years, frequent changes in alliance regularly redrew the military playing field. This instability was further exacerbated by the unpredictable and usually ineffective military campaigns launched by all of the players. When it came to allegiances, the Venetians were particularly opportunistic. In one such instance, the French had defeated the Holy League at the Battle of Ravenna in April 1512 but were forced to withdraw due to severe losses. In swift order, Venice took advantage of the withdrawal and regained most of its former holdings on the *terraferma*. Then, in a complete about-face, Venice resolved to improve its chances further by changing sides, and in March 1513 signed the Treaty of Blois with the French. Unfortunately, the French proved to be of little help against the new German-Spanish alliance. In June of that year, the French were routed at the Battle of Novara, and Venice was left unprotected. The Republic consequently reached a new nadir in the autumn of 1513, when German and Spanish troops easily reclaimed all of the territory Venice had recaptured the previous year, with the exception of Padua and Treviso. The enemy army pushed all the way to Mestre and from the edges of the lagoon fired cannon at Venice. However, due to rampant malaria and food shortages, the besieging troops were forced to withdraw, and thus fortune offered Venice another window of opportunity for recovery.

In the last two years of the war, Venice and its French allies engaged in aggressive military efforts to reclaim the former *Stato da terra* once again, particularly territory

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<sup>18</sup> On Venice’s relationship with Julius II in this period, see Seneca, *Venezia e il papa*, 123–69.

in Lombardy. Although the campaigns were fraught with difficulty, the determination of the Venetians eventually paid off. In December of 1516, after eight years of struggling for survival, a truce ended the war. Maximilian I ceded the last of the former Venetian territories in his possession to the French, who then restored them to the Republic. Just a few months later, on 17 January 1517 the Venetians rode triumphantly into the city of Verona,<sup>19</sup> thus completing the recovery of virtually all of the territory with which the Republic had begun the war eight years earlier.

Given the Republic's abrupt change of fortune in 1509 and the difficult years that followed, Venetians felt both political and spiritual despair during the war. The disastrous consequences of its foreign policy during the Quattrocento not only proved that its government was flawed and foolish, but also challenged the beloved myth of the political perfection of the Republic.<sup>20</sup> This realisation also prompted Venetians to question another of their dearest beliefs, that their unparalleled piety had earned them the status of a chosen people of God. The dramatic loss of the *Stato da terra* implied that Venice no longer enjoyed divine approval.<sup>21</sup> In essence, the Cambrai War shook Venice to its ideological and spiritual foundations. Aside from these more intellectual and emotional concerns, the war also had a serious impact on daily life in the lagoon. Due to the loss of the *terraferma* and a lack of merchant traffic, trade in many kinds of goods was frozen, and prices of es-

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<sup>19</sup> Marino Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 58 vols. (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1879–1903), vol. 23, col. 477.

<sup>20</sup> On the problems instigated by the Cambrai War within the Venetian system of government, see Robert Finlay, *The Politics of Renaissance Venice*, esp. chap. 4 (“Patriciate and Constitution in the Italian Wars”); and idem, “The Immortal Republic: the Myth of Venice during the Italian Wars (1494–1530),” in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 4 (1999): 931–44; and Libby, “Venetian History and Political Thought.” On the myth of the patriciate’s perfection and how the war brought this into relief, see Donald E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

<sup>21</sup> On the spiritual consequences of the political and military events of the Cambrai War, see Felix Gilbert, “Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai,” in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London: Faber, 1973); and Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, esp. chap. 1 (“Sentimento religioso e senso politico dei veneziani”), and chap. 8 (“Stato e società alla luce di Agnadello”).

sential foodstuffs like grain and wine skyrocketed. Taxes also became increasingly burdensome, as the state desperately tried to fund the war effort.<sup>22</sup> All of these difficulties are easy to document, thanks to the survival of a remarkably detailed body of primary sources. Among the richest of these are the copious diaries of the patricians Marino Sanudo (covering the years 1494 to 1533) and Girolamo Priuli (covering the years 1499 to 1512).<sup>23</sup> The two diaries are in many ways complementary: Sanudo provides a reasonably calm and objective account of events with a focus on recording the details of wartime politics, whereas Priuli's entries are impassioned and highly personal. We also have valuable information about the attitudes of the non-patrician classes, thanks to the letters of the Venetian *popolano* merchant Martino Merlini written to his brother in the east.<sup>24</sup> And the letters by the Vicentine Luigi da Porto, who served in the Republic's army during the Cambrai War, help flesh out the perspective of those living on the mainland.<sup>25</sup> There is no question that the arduous experience of the conflict had wide-ranging consequences for Venetians, and surely affected their visual art as much as any other aspect of their lives.

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<sup>22</sup> On the economic difficulties of the war during the early years of the conflict, see Gilbert, *The Pope, His Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), esp. 19–36. On the Republic's financial troubles throughout the war, see Gaetano Cozzi, "Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice," in John R. Hale, ed., *Renaissance Venice* (London: Faber, 1973), 293–345. An excellent contemporary source on the subject is Martino Merlini's letters. Merlini was a Venetian merchant and his letters to his brother, who was in the east, from the first four years of the war survive. He consistently speaks of the financial difficulties brought on by the war, but see in particular his letter of 19 December 1509 as quoted in Giuseppe dalla Santa, "Commerci, vita privata e notizie politiche dei giorni della lega di Cambrai (da lettere del mercante veneziano Martino Merlini)," in *Atti del R. Istituto veneto di SS.LL.AA.* 76 (1917): 1556.

<sup>23</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*; and Girolamo Priuli, *Diarii*, 1500–12, 7 vols., Biblioteca Correr, MSS. Prov. Div. 252-c. The first four of these have been published as Priuli, *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli*, eds. Arturo Segre (vol. 1) and Roberto Cessi (vols. 2, 4) (*Rerum italicarum scriptores*, vol. 24, pt. 3; Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1912–38).

<sup>24</sup> Merlini's letters have been reproduced in Giuseppe dalla Santa, *La lega di Cambrai e gli avvenimenti dell'anno 1509 descritti da un mercante veneziano contemporaneo* (Venice: Sorteni e Vidotti, 1903); and idem, "Commerci, vita privata e notizie politiche," 1547–1605.

<sup>25</sup> Luigi da Porto, *Lettere storiche scritte dall'anno MDIX al MDXII da Luigi da Porto vicentino, primo autore della celebre novella Giulietta e Romeo*, ed. Bartolommeo Gamba (Venice: Alvisopoli, 1832).

## 1.2 The Current State of Research

In 1990 the distinguished Renaissance historian John R. Hale published a book entitled *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*. His study attempts to identify and analyse the impact of war and warfare on the art produced north and south of the Alps in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hale began his investigation by amassing imagery that reflected the physical experience of war through the representation of battle or soldierly life, something which was far more plentiful in the north than in Italy. Hale was fascinated by how rarely Italians had depicted contemporary warfare or related themes during a period of intense military activity. He concluded that the experience of war had had little impact on Italian art, and commented that too many scholars have been misguided in their search for the links between war and the visual culture of the day, something he considered to be “overimaginative parallels-spotting.” He empathised with these scholars, saying that “such attempts are understandable. They reflect a feeling of bafflement; so much war, so much art: why did the two meet so rarely?”<sup>26</sup> However, Hale drew very broad conclusions, given his study’s parameters, which focused his discussion on art’s response to *warfare* rather than to the far more complex phenomenon of *war*. War involves not only military activity, but also politics and diplomacy, and the spiritual and psychological consequences of these factors. A body of scholarship produced by specialists in the study of art has demonstrated that Hale’s discussion of the interrelationship of art and war is drastically oversimplified.

Five years before Hale published his book, Deborah Howard expressed the opposite opinion, and criticised the fact that art historians had “tended to isolate early sixteenth-century Venetian art from the highly dramatic political developments of the

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<sup>26</sup> Hale, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 145.

times.” She cited only three brief articles as exceptions to this general rule.<sup>27</sup> To redress this problem, Howard tried to stimulate discussion by selecting two important works, Giorgione’s *Tempest* (fig. 5) and Titian’s *Assumption of the Virgin* (fig. 6), and arguing that they display a connection to contemporary political events. Analysing the evidence within the pictures, she suggested that the moody *Tempest* could be understood as a private expression of anxiety, sparked by the disturbing Rout of Agnadello, while the massive, celebratory *Assumption*, begun in the last year of the war, reflected the political optimism inspired by more successful military ventures. Howard has remained convinced of the validity of such an approach,<sup>28</sup> and others have joined her in this view.

Howard’s interest in the subject was in part inspired by Michelangelo Muraro’s seminal essay on the frescoes commissioned by the Venetian government from Giorgione and Titian for the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (figs. 7, 8). Muraro convincingly argued that the decoration presented responses to shifts in Venetian-German relations on the eve of the Cambrai War, a notion which other scholars have further developed.<sup>29</sup> His discussion exemplifies the form that this kind of research has taken ever since: a brief article explicating the connections between a single, isolated work of art and the political context in

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<sup>27</sup> Howard, “Giorgione’s *Tempesta*,” 271.

<sup>28</sup> This same curiosity pervades her essay in the catalogue for the Washington/Vienna exhibition focused on Venetian art of the first three decades of the Cinquecento of this past year. Howard, “Venice: Society and Culture, 1500–1530,” in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and the Renaissance of Venetian Painting*, eds. David Alan Brown and Sylvia Ferino Pagden, ex. cat. National Gallery of Art, Washington, and Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 1–10. See also the earlier essay on the same theme, Ugo Tucci, “I tempi di Giorgione,” in *Giorgione; atti del convegno internazionale di studio per il 5° centenario della nascita, 29–31 maggio 1978*, ed. Rodolfo Pallucchini (Castelfranco: Comune di Castelfranco Veneto, 1979), 19–24.

<sup>29</sup> Muraro, “The Political Interpretation of Giorgione’s Frescoes on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi,” in *Gazette des beaux-arts* 86 (December 1975): 177–83. Muraro suggests that the complex iconography of the frescoes by Giorgione on the canal façade of the Fondaco was probably quickly unintelligible to later viewers like Giorgio Vasari because of their relevance to a specific set of historical circumstances. This connection to contemporary events is more obvious in Titian’s contribution to the decoration. One of the more notable, subsequent discussions of Muraro’s argument is Serena Romano, “Giuditta e il Fondaco dei Tedeschi,” in *Giorgione e la cultura veneta tra '400 e '500. Mito, allegoria, analisi iconologica* (Rome: De Luca, 1981), 113–25.

which it was created. While Muraro's and Howard's work encouraged similar efforts on the part of others, the studies produced have yet to be considered as an interconnected body of literature. The research for this dissertation therefore began with an attempt to determine what could be learned when these separate, fragmentary efforts were brought together and analysed together. The conclusion to which this exercise led is that a great deal of early sixteenth-century Venetian visual culture displays close, and varied, connections to the events or consequences of the Cambrai War.

The bulk of past research on this subject has focused on paintings. Painted works displaying the war's impact took myriad forms—public and private, large-scale and intimate, religious and secular. While the Fondaco decoration has already offered an example of a monumental, highly visible cycle of frescoes commissioned by the state that displayed a close connection with the war, private patrons, too, commissioned works of art in response to the Republic's difficult experience. Philip Sohm has suggested, for example, that the signing of an important alliance with France may have provided the occasion for the Scuola Grande di San Marco to commission the *Sea Storm* by Palma Vecchio (fig. 9).<sup>30</sup> Paintings commissioned for the private realm of the home have also been interpreted as presenting responses to the impact of contemporary events. An excellent example is Sebastiano del Piombo's subtle *Death of Adonis* (fig. 10). The artist produced the painting shortly after abandoning Venice for the papal court in Rome at a time when the Republic's outlook was particularly grim, a situation that may have inspired him to link the tragedy of Adonis's death with a crepuscular view of Venice in the background.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Sohm, "Palma Vecchio's *Sea Storm*: A Political Allegory," in *RACAR* 6, no. 2 (1979/80): 85–96.

<sup>31</sup> On this, see André Corboz, "L'immagine di Venezia nella cultura figurativa del '500," in *Architettura e utopia nella Venezia del Cinquecento*, ex. cat. Palazzo Ducale, Venice (Milan: Electa, 1980), 64–66. The

Prints have also proven to be fertile ground for scholars seeking the interconnect-  
edness of art and war in the early sixteenth century. Mark Zucker's study of an anonym-  
ous political cartoon that appeared in 1510 as both a woodcut and an engraving demon-  
strates how prints provided a ready medium for political commentary (fig. 11).<sup>32</sup> Lore-  
dana Olivato has shown that such commentary could also take on far grander proportions  
and more elevated artistic style by linking Titian's monumental woodcut of the *Submer-  
sion of Pharaoh's Army* to contemporary military events (fig. 12).<sup>33</sup> In contrast, Paul  
Holberton's study of Giulio Campagnola's peculiar *Astrologer* of 1509 (fig. 13) reveals  
how prints could also be employed in the production of less epic, more idiosyncratic im-  
agery reflecting the wartime vicissitudes of the Republic.<sup>34</sup>

With regard to sculpture, Anne Markham Schulz has discussed the unusual gov-  
ernment commission of tombs in SS. Giovanni e Paolo for the fallen military heroes of  
the war (figs. 14–16), to which Lionello Puppi has added an analysis of a stained glass  
window displaying heavenly warriors in the same church.<sup>35</sup> It is noteworthy that even  
though architectural projects were fewer during the war, due to economic constraints,

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argument is revisited and reinforced in Puppi, *Nel mito di Venezia. Autocoscienza urbana e costruzione delle immagini: saggi di lettura* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1994), 77–90.

<sup>32</sup> Zucker's work focuses on an anonymous political cartoon that appeared around 1510. His discussion was developed in two publications; see Zucker, "An Allegory of Renaissance Politics in a Contemporary Italian Engraving: The Prognostic of 1510," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989): 236–240; and *ibid.*, *Early Italian Masters*, vol. 24.3 of *The Illustrated Bartsch*, gen. eds. Walter Strauss (until 1988) and John T. Spike, 96 vols. (New York: Abaris Books, 1978–), 266 (cat. no. 2409.033).

<sup>33</sup> Olivato illustrates how Titian's twelve-block woodcut of the *Submersion of Pharaoh's Army* of 1515 is closely connected with the vicissitudes of the war. Olivato, "La *Submersione di Pharaone*," in S. Bettini et al., *Tiziano e Venezia; convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980), 529–37. For a later, more detailed discussion of this essay, see chap. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Holberton's discussion proposes that the *Astrologer* incorporates astrological and moral references to the trying events of 1509. Holberton, "Notes on Giulio Campagnola's Prints," in *Print Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (December 1996): 397–400. Holberton's discussion is a refinement of the astrological interpretation of the print provided in Silvio D'Amicone, "*Apocalypsis cum mensuris*. L'*Astrologo* di Giulio Campagnola," in *Venezia Cinquecento* 2, no. 3 (January–June 1992): 75–88.

<sup>35</sup> For Schulz's discussion, see her "Four New Works by Antonio Minello," in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 31, no. 2 (1987): 291–326. Puppi has developed the idea in a number of publications, but the latest discussion is found in "Gli eroi e la dissolutezza di Adone," in Puppi, *Mito di Venezia*, 57–75. This topic is discussed in detail in chap. 3 below.

those begun during these years bear the mark of the historical circumstances.<sup>36</sup> Considering architecture of the Venetian mainland, James Ackerman has demonstrated that the Cambrai War's interruption of the development of architectural style in the Veneto effectively divided Venetian architecture into pre- and post-war stylistic phases.<sup>37</sup>

Other scholars have conducted similar analyses of contemporary artistic production on the Venetian mainland. As one would suspect, their results show that art and the experience of war interacted frequently and in a diversity of ways. The study of artistic activity in Padua and Bergamo has proven particularly fruitful. For example, Francesco Rossi has brilliantly demonstrated how the opposing political allegiances of Bergamo's pro-Venetian mercantile class and pro-French patriciate received public expression through the wartime patronage of altarpieces. While the former displayed a preference for Venetian-trained artists such as Lorenzo Lotto and Andrea Previtali (see fig. 17), the latter favoured painters displaying a Milanese or Lombard style.<sup>38</sup> Along similar lines, through the study of Lorenzo Lotto's altarpiece for Alessandro Martinengo Colleoni, Francesca Cortesi-Bosco has demonstrated that, despite the military events terrorising the mainland, the war inspired patrons and artists to create eloquent expressions of patriotic religiosity (fig. 18).<sup>39</sup> Sabine de Vito has investigated similar visualisations of political

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<sup>36</sup> For example, on the modest style of the rebuilding of the Rialto market after it was burnt to the ground by a fire in 1514, see Donatella Calabi, *Rialto: le fabbriche e il Ponte, 1514–1591* (Turin: Einaudi, 1987), esp. chap. 4 (“L'avvio della ricostruzione”), 50–60.

<sup>37</sup> Ackerman, “The Geopolitics of Venetian Architecture in the Time of Titian,” in *Titian: His World and his Legacy*, ed. David Rosand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 41–71.

<sup>38</sup> Wonderful research on politically-motivated patronage of Venetian artists by pro-Venetian citizens of Bergamo during the latter years of the Cambrai War when the city was enduring foreign occupation has been done by Francesco Rossi. See Rossi, “Immagine e mito di Venezia: committenza artistica e progetto politico a Bergamo tra il 1512 e il 1525,” in *Bergamo. L'altra Venezia: Il Rinascimento negli anni di Lorenzo Lotto, 1510–1530*, ex. cat. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo (Milan: Skira, 2001), 23–33; see also Rodolfo Pallucchini and Francesco Rossi, *Giovanni Cariani* (Bergamo: Credito Bergamasco, 1983).

<sup>39</sup> Francesca Cortesi-Bosco, “Riflessi del mito di Venezia nella pala Martenigo di Lorenzo Lotto,” in *Archivio storico bergamasco* 3, no. 2 (November 1983): 213–49.



fealty in Verona, focusing on a fresco cycle produced for a private home by the Venetian artist Girolamo Mocetto in the year the war ended.<sup>40</sup>

As regards Padua, a great deal has been said about the frescoes produced for the Scuola del Santo and how they present a response to contemporary military events. Some have argued that the earlier frescoes, particularly Gianantonio Corona's *St. Anthony Freeing Padua from Ezzelino da Romano* of 1509 (fig. 19), were intended to allude to Padua's fresh release from foreign occupation.<sup>41</sup> Others have focused on the subsequent hiring of Titian to continue the cycle, perceiving in this choice the patrons' support for their newly reinstalled Venetian governors.<sup>42</sup> Alberto Rizzi's research takes a broader look at the terraferma's visual culture by chronicling and analysing the enemy's systematic destruction of images of the powerfully symbolic winged lion of St. Mark.<sup>43</sup>

Some scholars have also proposed that the war had psychological consequences for the production of art in Venice. Arthur Steinberg and Jonathan Wylie have suggested that the difficulties of the Cambrai War provided the historical circumstances that encouraged the early-Cinquecento development of what they term "natural painting"—the

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<sup>40</sup> Sabina de Vito, "La vetrata dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo, la guerra di Cambrai e gli affreschi veronesi del Mocetto," in *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 15, no. 2 (1986): 19–30.

<sup>41</sup> Corona's painting has been interpreted in different ways. Hale has argued that the presence of German *Landsknechte* in the painting suggests that the painting, produced shortly after the siege of Padua by the forces of the League, alludes to the city's release from the control of Maximilian I. However, Sarah Blake McHam has proposed that the hatred of the Paduans for their Venetian overlords would have surpassed any other, thus interpreting the first three frescoes as expressions of hope for the eventual freeing of the city from Venetian rule. McHam, *The Chapel of St. Anthony at the Santo and the Development of Venetian Renaissance Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 24–25. McHam's book actually focuses on a thorough discussion of the sculptural decoration of the Chapel of St. Anthony in the Basilica di Sant'Antonio but extends to general comments on the war's impact on artistic production in the city, especially with respect to the political upheaval and economic difficulty it caused.

<sup>42</sup> Lionello Puppi, "Tiziano tra Padova e Vicenza," in *Tiziano e Venezia; convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976*, ed. Sergio Bettini (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980), 545–58. The argument is repeated in Paul Joannides, *Titian to 1518: The Assumption of Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 107.

<sup>43</sup> Rizzi has published dozens of articles and books on the lions of St. Mark throughout the Venetian Republic, many of which make mention of how these works were considered and treated during the Cambrai War, but for a focused discussion of this topic, see Rizzi, "Leontoclastia cambraica," in *Storia dell'arte marciana: sculture, tesoro, arazzi. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 11–14 Ottobre, 1994* (Venice: Marsilio, 1997), 21–33.

style espoused by artists like Giorgione and the young Titian—as a means of “reactivating the crucial, threatened link with God.”<sup>44</sup> Feliciano Benvenuti has presented a related argument in suggesting that the later emergence of Mannerist qualities in Venetian art was partly at least a visual manifestation of Venetians’ response to the destabilising experience of the war.<sup>45</sup> While such proposals are challenging, if not impossible, to prove, they nonetheless present suggestive connections between the experience of war and the creation of art in early sixteenth-century Venice.

Three scholars have used the Cambrai War as an interpretive key for one of the most enigmatic works of the period—Giorgione’s *Tempest* (fig. 5). Deborah Howard was the first to propose the idea that Giorgione’s painting was, at least on one level, a response to the political events unfolding around the time of its creation. As a small, private, seemingly melancholic work, the *Tempest* represents the most thoughtful kind of artistic response to the anxiety generated among Venetians by the disappointing military failures of 1509.<sup>46</sup>

Paul Kaplan quickly took up the gauntlet thrown down by Howard. Only a year later, he published a reassessment of the painting’s relationship to the political events of

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<sup>44</sup> Steinberg and Wylie, “Counterfeiting Nature: Artistic Innovation and Cultural Crisis in Renaissance Venice,” in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 1 (January 1990): 54. Studies like this one and that of Feliciano Benvenuti (see n. 45) follow Frederick Hartt’s essay on Florentine Mannerism; “Art and Freedom in Quattrocento Florence,” in *Writings about Art*, ed. Carole Gold Calo (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1994), 116–34. Steinberg and Wylie try to suggest that the dramatic stylistic and technical developments which took place in Venetian painting in the first decades of the sixteenth century are largely a result of the psychological tension created by the stress of war in that period. Their argument is overly reductive in its minimising of the other influences that certainly played a role in the cultivation of what they identify as a “natural” style in Venetian art.

<sup>45</sup> Benvenuti has proposed that the events of the first two decades of the sixteenth century and their consequences helped establish the right environment for the introduction of Venetian mannerism in the art of the decades which followed. Benvenuti, “Ragioni socio-culturali per il manierismo a Venezia,” in *Interpretazioni veneziane: studi in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. David Rosand (Venice: Arsenale, 1984), 197–212.

<sup>46</sup> Howard, “Giorgione’s *Tempest*,” 275–78.

the Cambrai War in the same journal.<sup>47</sup> Kaplan's discussion finds its inspiration in the two emblems adorning the walls of the town in the background of the painting, the winged lion of St. Mark and the six-wheeled cart. The fact that the former is a symbol of Venice while the latter belonged to the Carrara family, the previous rulers of Padua, led Kaplan to suggest that the painted town represents Padua. This interpretation of the symbols is very convincing, and provides an overt connection to contemporary military events. Padua was of critical import in the Republic's struggle to regain the *Stato da terra* during the Cambrai War, because it had been one of the first and most powerful that Venice had acquired during the territorial expansion of the Quattrocento.<sup>48</sup> Kaplan bolsters the painting's possible representation of Padua with further supporting evidence, including the patron's connections with the Venetian recapture and defence of Padua, and the contemporary significance that its allegorical elements would have had, particularly the storm brewing in the sky. He concludes with the argument that the *Tempest* is "a martial allegory, though of a novel and extraordinarily supple kind," which "commemorated the battles between Venetian and Habsburg forces for the control of Padua during the summer of 1509."<sup>49</sup> While this proposal of the painting's meaning is not convincing enough to supplant all others made in the past, for the *Tempest* is undoubtedly more complex than Kaplan would have it, it is nonetheless a persuasive assessment of one of the work's more overt layers of significance.

Kaplan's interpretation of the *Tempest*'s connection to current events was not to be the last, however. Linda Carroll, in turn, attempted to refine it further. She argues that

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<sup>47</sup> Kaplan, "The Storm of War: The Paduan Key to Giorgione's *Tempesta*," in *Art Bulletin* 9, no. 4 (1986): 405–27.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 405–07.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 405.

the painting's mysterious, symbolic language can be deciphered through an awareness of Renaissance astrological practice and its application to the military events of 1509.<sup>50</sup> During the war, Venetians solicited and consulted astrological readings to help determine what the future held for the Republic. Unfortunately, the results were variable, sometimes foretelling the reclamation of the mainland and sometimes its definitive loss. Using such astrological readings, Carroll argues that the painting "appears to be another of the many attempts to ascertain through the positions of the planets whether the Republic would retain its mainland state."<sup>51</sup> She, too, focuses her discussion on the symbols in the painting. The lion represents both the astrological sign of Leo and the Venetian Republic, and the cart symbolises both a degree of Libra and, as Kaplan had suggested, the Carrara. Their coexistence in the painting may, therefore, allude to the contestation of Venetian rule of Padua.<sup>52</sup> She then considers the foreground figures as representing the relationship that existed between Venice and Padua shortly after the Paduans surrendered the latter to the League's forces in June 1509. She notes that the figures might "represent the sundering of Cancer's principal personifications, the defender of the homeland and the nursing mother."<sup>53</sup> Carroll then presents a complex discussion of the astrological significance of the various pictorial details and their positioning in space.

Despite differences in their analytical approaches, Howard, Kaplan and Carroll all arrived at the same conclusion: the *Tempest* was affected by the historical circumstances of its production. While Howard focuses more on the painting's mood, Kaplan and

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<sup>50</sup> Linda L. Carroll, "Giorgione's *Tempest*: Astrology is in the Eyes of the Beholder," in *Reconsidering the Renaissance. Papers from the Twenty-First Annual Conference*, ed. Mario A. di Cesare (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 125–40, esp. 131, 138.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 131, 136.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

Carroll concentrate on specific details. To be sure, none of these proposals offer a complete reconstruction of the painting's significance and intended meaning. Such an innovative work must have been the result of a range of influences—such as innovations in painting content, technique and function—aside from the military events of the day and their impact. What needs to be assessed is what degree of importance the latter factor might have had in the work's commission and production. To properly assess this, art historians need the proposals of Howard, Kaplan and Carroll within a broader investigation of the interrelationship of Venetian visual culture and the Republic's experience of the Cambrai War. How much and in what ways did the experience of the war have an impact upon Venetian visual culture? Could wartime art have, in its turn, even influenced the course of the war? Did certain aspects of the relationship between art and the war emerge more frequently than others? If so, why?

### **1.3 The Nature, Scope and Goals of this Dissertation**

This dissertation presents a response to these questions by investigating the nature and extent of the relationship between the Venetian experience of the Cambrai War and the art of the day. Given the numerous, narrowly focused studies on the subject, many of them by well-respected scholars of Venetian art, including Howard, Muraro and \*, the topic warranted a closer look. This research project thus began with the necessary first step of gathering these studies together for the first time and assessing and analysing them in relation to one another. Once considered as a group, each isolated piece of research thus became facets of a much larger, more complex picture of how the Cambrai War exerted a discernable influence on the production of art during the conflict, both di-

rectly or indirectly. The body of work produced by this large group of scholars suggests that the experience of the war had had an impact upon everything from the selection of artists<sup>54</sup> and the promotion or development of certain artistic styles,<sup>55</sup> to the introduction of new subject matter<sup>56</sup> and the revisitation of traditional themes.<sup>57</sup> The war also created an economic and physical reality that imposed various restraints on the production of art and, by extension, allowed other aspects to flourish, particularly with regard to encouraging investment in less expensive artistic undertakings like paintings and prints rather than architecture.<sup>58</sup> The experience of the war seems to have permeated contemporary Venetian art just as much as it pervaded the thoughts of the Venetians themselves.

The consideration of previous research coupled with the close study of the war's history identified two investigative avenues in which to direct this dissertation. The first is how Venetians used art to respond to the political issue that lay at the heart of the military conflict—the possession of the territories comprising the Republic's *Stato da*

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<sup>54</sup> It has been argued, for example, that Titian was hired to paint the frescoes in the Scoletta di Sant'Antonio because his Paduan patrons felt it appropriate to choose a "Venetian" artist after the return of their Venetian governors with the reconquest and defense of Padua in late 1509; Puppi, "Tiziano tra Padova e Vicenza," 549–50. Francesco Rossi has demonstrated that the invitation of Lorenzo Lotto to Bergamo in 1513 was motivated by a similar desire on the part of certain Bergamask patrons to express their pro-Venetian sentiment through the commission of highly "Venetian" works; Rossi, "Immagine e mito di Venezia," 23–25. In the case of the tomb monuments erected to fallen *condottieri* who helped recapture and defend Padua in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Anne Markham Schulz has argued that the choice of the second-tier artist Antonio Minello is likely the result of his being Paduan; "Four New Works," 319.

<sup>55</sup> For example, this theme is developed with regard to politically influenced Bergamask tastes in Rossi, "Immagine e mito di Venezia." On Venetian mannerism, see Benvenuti, "Ragioni socio-culturali." Sometimes this kind of connection can be overstated or exaggerated, however, as seems to happen in the essay by Arthur Steinberg and Johnathan Wylie; "Counterfeiting Nature." On this, see n. 44 above.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, the discussion of a prognosticating image of contemporary military politics in Zucker, "Allegory of Renaissance Politics"; or the discussion of Giovanni Cariani's *Allegory of a Venetian Victory* in Sgarbi, "1518: Cariani a Ferrara," 7; and Pallucchini and Rossi, *Giovanni Cariani*, 138–39.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, Sohm's discussion of the subject of Palma Vecchio's *Sea Storm* or Olivato's discussion of Titian's depiction of *The Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea*. Sohm, "Palma Vecchio's *Sea Storm*"; and Olivato, "Submersione di Faraone."

<sup>58</sup> As Howard emphasised recently, the purchase of works of art by no means ceased during the war years, but patrons seem to have been less inclined to begin larger, immovable works; "Venice: Society and Culture," 6–10. See also Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice, 1470–1790* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1972), 149.

*terra* on the eve of the Cambrai War. The second is how visual culture helped to address the profound spiritual crisis incited by the previously unimaginable political predicament in which Venetians were entangled. The methodological approach employed here is that of interpreting visual culture through the study of its historical context—political, ideological, and spiritual—primarily through the use of a wide range of primary sources. A general model for this is André Chastel’s *The Sack of Rome*, which had modeled itself after Millard Meiss’s study of art and the plague during the fourteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Chastel’s project aimed to develop a better understanding of the nature and extent of the interconnection between artistic production in Rome during the latter years of the 1520s and the chaotic political and military events unfolding at the time. His research ultimately revealed that “there was little representation of the events themselves but ... rather good examples of their consequences.”<sup>60</sup> Some of his introductory remarks are particularly useful:

There is a tendency to be surprised that in a climate as troubled and as unstable as that of Italy after 1494 culture could have held so great a place and that art could have enjoyed so many advantages. No analysis, neither sociological nor any other, has managed so far to explain this situation, except perhaps for that of Jacob Burckhardt.... Viewing “the state as a work of art,” Burckhardt tried to demonstrate the extraordinary “formalism” of Renaissance institutions, which survived in part because of the way they were perceived: their image within the collective consciousness was more important than their function.<sup>61</sup>

Like Chastel’s and Burckhardt’s work, this study investigates art’s potential functions or significance in the context of dramatic historical times. Chastel’s book provides an ideal methodological model, because the cultural crucible that took shape in Rome during the

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<sup>59</sup> For Chastel on the importance of Meiss’s study (*Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951)) to his own work, see Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

years around the sack was similar in spirit to that which had formed in Venice ten years earlier in the wake of the Rout of Agnadello. Just as Chastel used the dramatic events of the late 1520s as his point of departure for the analysis of artistic production in and around Rome, so this dissertation focuses on the political and spiritual consequences of the Cambrai War as a means of analysing Venetian art of the time. Also following his example, this study tries to determine the more immediate effects of the war on artistic production, and therefore focuses on the period of the war itself rather than on that which followed. It is important to note, however, that this concentration on the importance of historical context is not to suggest that Venetian art of the early Cinquecento is the product of political influences alone. The goal of this dissertation is to elucidate the nature and extent of one particular influence among many that helped shape and give meaning to the visual culture of Venice at the time.

In the narrower context of Venetian studies, the work of Michelangelo Muraro and Lionello Puppi has been particularly important to this project. Both scholars have frequently concentrated on the interconnectedness of art and politics in Venice during the Renaissance, often demonstrating the particular fruitfulness of studying the impact of the War of the League of Cambrai on art. As mentioned earlier, Muraro's article on the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* frescoes was one of the first publications to focus on this theme and remains an important model for new research.<sup>62</sup> Puppi's work has also been helpful for my research. A number of his studies on the relationship between Venetian art and poli-

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<sup>62</sup> Muraro, "Political Interpretation," 177–84. Muraro followed this up with later research concerned with elucidating the interconnection of the worlds of art and politics. See, for example, Muraro, "Titien: iconographie et politique," in *Symboles de la Renaissance*, ed. Daniel Arasse, 3 vols. (Paris: Presses de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1976), 1:31–37.



tics have been gathered in a recent collection of essays entitled *Nel mito di Venezia. Autocoscienza urbana e costruzione delle immagini: saggi di lettura*.<sup>63</sup>

Aside from the temporal restrictions dictated by the project's focus on the years of the Cambrai War, a number of other limitations have been imposed. First of all, the investigation has been generally restricted to visual culture in Venice itself, setting aside the artistic production of the Republic's subject territories on the mainland. Such material merits an extensive study of its own. Also, due to this dissertation's focus on exploring Venetian art in connection with historical events and their impact, the works discussed need to be datable with some precision, despite the fact that this is not possible for the vast majority of works produced in the period. The fact that the *Tempest*'s date is uncertain is indeed one of the major drawbacks of the proposals of Howard, Kaplan and Carroll. When works whose dating is less secure are discussed, this is emphasised, and their analysis is carried out with due caution.

An important aspect of this dissertation is that the breadth and variety of the visual material gathered for discussion has not been restricted. It discusses everything from autonomous prints to monumental sculpture, and from woodcuts appearing in books to large-scale paintings. In doing so, it opens itself up to the danger of being a kind of Jack of all trades and master of none. However, the formulation of a reasonable response to its

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<sup>63</sup> As above in n. 31. Other examples of his work that have served as methodological models for my own are his essay on the importance of politics to Titian's early career (with regard to both the artist's own patriotism and the opportunities afforded him). Puppi, "Tiziano tra Padova e Vicenza." For his discussion of Venice as having conceived of itself as a *renovatio imperii christiani* before the Cambrai War and then reworked itself into a *renovatio imperii romani* after it, see *ibid.*, "Verso Gerusalemme," in *Arte veneta* 32 (1978): 73–78. For his analysis of the personal iconography of Doge Andrea Gritti in his role as war hero of the Cambrai War and as one of the important motivators in transforming Venice into the "New Rome," see *ibid.*, "L'iconografia di Andrea Gritti," in "*Renovatio urbis.*" *Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti*, ed. Manfredo Tafuri, (Rome: Officina, 1984), 216–35. On the issue of the fortification of Venice's mainland holdings before and after the Cambrai War, see *ibid.*, "Bartolomeo d'Alviano e il programma di riassetto dello Stato da terra nella crisi di Cambrai," in G. Bresciani Alvarez et al., *L'architettura militare veneta nel Cinquecento* (Milan: Electa, 1988), 34–44.

research question required a significant analytical breadth in order to give weight to the conclusions drawn.

The six chapters comprising the body of this dissertation present distinct yet interconnected studies, each of which aims to elucidate a different facet of the complex relationship between art and the Cambrai War. Chapters two, three and four investigate Venice's arduous military struggle to regain the former *Stato da terra* and its political consequences, and the influence these had on the art of the period. Chapter two identifies and analyses some of the earliest Venetian responses to the war, modest yet widely disseminated prints appearing in conjunction with a variety of propagandistic texts. The next chapter traces retrospective responses to the opening phase of the war in the commission of more permanent and, hence, more authoritative works of art, such as sculpted tombs and altarpieces, during the middle years of the conflict. Chapter four continues to probe the connections between the struggle for the terraferma and Venetian art, but focuses instead on the wartime re-visitation of a more traditional visual theme, that of the winged lion of St. Mark.

Chapters five, six and seven, in contrast, explore the atmosphere of spiritual crisis triggered by the Cambrai War and the influence it exerted upon Venetian visual culture. The first of these gathers a group of printed books with custom-made woodcuts that appeared for the first time during the war and investigates how their verbal and visual imagery responded to turbulent spiritual circumstances. Chapters six and seven propose respectively that a sudden wartime interest in multi-block woodcuts and the production of paintings of Christ and the adulteress was a result of the same religious tension.

When each of these studies is considered as part of a larger whole, it becomes evident how the visual arts served as a supple medium by which Venetians could respond to, and perhaps even influence, the Cambrai War in both political and spiritual ways. It would seem that art was enlisted most often for one of two purposes: to present a more positive or advantageous interpretation of the Republic's difficult political circumstances or to act as a tool in remedying the ills that were believed to have sparked the war's outbreak and fuelled its continuation.

## Chapter Two

### First Response: Printed Imagery after the Outbreak of War

An engraving probably produced in Mantua toward the end of 1509 (fig. 11) demonstrates that visual allusions to the struggle for control of the Venetian mainland—the issue which lay at the heart of the Cambrai War—began to appear even in the earliest months of the conflict.<sup>1</sup> The print masqueraded as a prediction from Rome that purported to tell what the year 1510 held for the Venetian *terraferma* from the perspective of the Republic's enemies. In a revealing transposition into visual form, the image depicts the war as a game known as *la trottola* or “the spinning top,” an Italian version of bowling.<sup>2</sup> The pins represent the cities of Venice's pre-war *Stato da terra*. The players disposed around the game board have already knocked most of the pins down, and claimed the cities they represent. Clockwise from the top, Pope Julius II, accompanied by a page holding the oak branch of the Della Rovere family, has reclaimed four cities in the Romagna;<sup>3</sup> a page representing Louis XII of France has taken four cities in Lombardy;<sup>4</sup> a

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<sup>1</sup> The print survives in a single version now in Munich. Suzanne Boorsch has noted that the plate for the engraving was later reused by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia (some of the scrolls were not burnished away entirely and make a ghostly appearance in another print whose authorship is confirmed as that of Giovanni Antonio). Boorsch, “Mantegna and his printmakers,” in *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. J. Martineau, ex. cat. Royal Academy of Arts, London, and Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Milan: Electa, 1992), 61. Mark Zucker, however, believes that the print is not in Giovanni Antonio's style, suggesting that this artist must have acquired the plate from the actual author of the print and reused it. Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, 24.3:266 (cat. no. 2409.033).

<sup>2</sup> The game depicted is a version of Italian bowling that employs a wheel-shaped wooden projectile that rolls irregularly to bowl over pins set in a spiral rather than triangular shape. The print refers to some versions of the game that incorporate a “kingpin” as the most important goal of the game which, here has been logically identified as the Republic's capital. See Zucker, “Allegory of Renaissance Politics,” 236.

<sup>3</sup> The four cities can be identified as Rimini (RIMI), Cervia (CER), Ravenna (RAV), and Faenza (FAE).

<sup>4</sup> The page represents the French king through the symbols of the cock and the fleur-de-lys. The four cities are Bergamo (BER), Brescia (BRE), Crema (CRE) and Cremona (CREMO).

page signifying Ferdinand of Spain has annexed four Apulian ports;<sup>5</sup> and the German emperor Maximilian I, represented by a soldier paired with the imperial eagle, has claimed Verona (VER). The pins representing Vicenza (VICI), Padua (PA), and Treviso (TRE) remain erect, thus indicating that the German emperor has yet to take them from the Republic. The players' ultimate objective is the central "kingpin," which, surrounded by water, represents the city of Venice itself. Although it is unclear if and when the players will knock this over, and thus win the game, the characterisation of the Republic as helpless is unambiguously conveyed.

As the print cleverly reflects, the Cambrai War was essentially a struggle for control of the Venetian empire on the terraferma in which the very survival of the Republic was at stake. Although the League of Cambrai quickly dissolved after the pope rescinded Venice's excommunication in February 1510, the battle for the mainland dragged on for another six years. During this entire period, the Republic suffered greatly from the political, financial, and psychological difficulties the war created. Venetians found themselves trapped in a terrifying situation, one which their history, and the beliefs that this fostered, had always excluded from the realm of possibility. As a result, the legendary political unanimity of the patriciate crumbled under the pressure, and it sharply divided into two opposing groups—those who believed in the wisdom of trying to reclaim the former *Stato da terra* and those who contested it. Throughout the war, the same debate resur-

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<sup>5</sup> On the orange branch as a symbol of Spain, see Zucker, "Allegory of Renaissance Politics," 237 (n. 9). The ports represented by the pins are most likely Trani (TRA), Otranto (OTR), Monopoli (MAN), and Brandice (BRA). Although Zucker has identified the latter two as Manfredonia (MAN) and Barletta (BRA), neither of these cities were as significant as Monopoli and Brandice, both of which fell to the Spanish in 1509. A propagandistic poem celebrating the Venetian Republic published in 1501, the poet emphasises four Apulian cities Venice was proud to control that would correspond perfectly with those referred to the print: "Hai traine col bel porto che un giardino / Anchor brandice sta soto a tua tresca / Manopoli dela tua gloria lampa / Otranto e mola di tuo amor si auampa..." Francesco de' Allegri, *La summa gloria de Venetia* (Venice, 1501), f. Ciii<sup>r</sup>.

faced time and again: should the Republic attempt to reclaim the *terraferma*, or should it abandon the mainland and return its focus to its maritime empire? In spite of divided opinion, the government's eventual decision was always the same, and the Venetians continued to struggle for the *Stato da terra*.

Given the challenging and disputable nature of the Republic's chosen course of action, the visual arts were often enlisted to support this campaign. This chapter and the two that follow explore how Venetian visual culture expressed the struggle for the *terraferma* during the war. What forms did such imagery take and where was it found? What kinds of messages was it designed to communicate and how did it accomplish this? For what viewing public was it intended? And, finally, how much of an impact might it have had on its audience? In an attempt to respond to these questions, this chapter and the two that follow analyse a diverse body of works of art. Although many of these have been the subject of other studies, they have never been explored as a thematically linked group.

Due to the close relationship between the works of art in question and the particular historical moments of their production, the discussion is organised chronologically. This chapter addresses the printed imagery produced in the first years of the war, when the Republic responded to the drastic Rout of Agnadello by launching a successful campaign to recapture, and then defend, the important city of Padua. The next chapter examines later works of art referring back to Padua's reconquest, and traces how the same events were presented or "interpreted" retrospectively, and why this was appropriate. Finally, chapter four investigates the wartime vicissitudes of the dearest symbol of Venetian sovereignty, the winged lion of St. Mark, particularly during the later years

when Venice was engaged in the excruciatingly ineffective struggle to regain its former holdings in Lombardy.

This discussion emphasises works produced in two media, woodcuts and monumental sculptural monuments. The former, being cheap to make and easily disseminated, provided the ideal medium by which to respond quickly, and sometimes very instinctively, to the battles waged on the mainland. In contrast, large-scale public sculpture, while comparatively expensive and slower to produce, had the potential to exert a more authoritative influence on its viewers' interpretation of the war's events. By discussing such diverse works concomitantly, it becomes apparent that artistic responses to the military struggles of the war could appear in a variety of guises—expensive and cheap, permanent and ephemeral, sacred and secular. As one might have anticipated, the one underlying constant that links all of these works is their consistently positive or optimistic interpretation of events; it could hardly be otherwise. Less intuitive, perhaps, is the fact that such works appeared in a remarkable variety of contexts, and varied significantly in their “interpretation” of current events. Since the Paduan and Lombard campaigns took place in different phases of the war and with vastly different measures of success, they are ideal focal points, because they help shed light on two very different issues. First, they suggest how art's response to the military events of the mainland may have changed or evolved over the years of the war; and second, they show how successful campaigns sparked different artistic responses from those which failed.

## 2.1 Printing Propaganda

As the pictorial *Pronostico* indicates, prints were almost immediately employed to comment upon the tumultuous events of the Cambrai War. The dramatic rout of the Republic's army at Agnadello had given the League ample ammunition for the production of anti-Venetian propaganda. The French were some of the most aggressive in this regard. Parisian poets like Pierre Gringore and Symphorien Champier published cutting commentaries on Venetian vice and the superiority of a monarchical system of government over a republican one.<sup>6</sup> Venice's enemies on the Italian peninsula quickly followed suit. The Ferrarese were especially enthusiastic in printing material that slandered the Republic, principally because they still felt bitter about the war they had lost to the Venetians in the 1480s.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the *Pronostico*, the rich imagery was probably the product of a Mantuan artist. Naturally, the Venetians made similar use of the same resources towards their own ends. The Republic already possessed both of the elements necessary to the effective production of printed propaganda: a first-rate printing industry that provided the

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<sup>6</sup> The French were able to follow the distant campaign against Venice very closely thanks to published commentaries on events and their significance. The most cited of these anti-Venetian propagandistic works include Gringore's *La complainte de Venise* and *L'entreprise de Venise*, both published in April 1509, and Champier's treatise entitled *Le triumphe du tres chrestien Roy de France xij. de ce nom contenant lorigine, et la declination des veniciens avec larmee dudit Roy...*, published in November 1509. For an excellent discussion of these texts, see Michael A. Sherman, "Political Propaganda and Renaissance Culture: French Reactions to the League of Cambrai, 1509–1510," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 8, no. 2 (1977): 97–128. On printed, anti-Venetian propaganda in general, see Robert Scheller, "Gallia Cisalpina: Louis XII and Italy 1499–1508," in *Simiolus* 15, no. 1 (1985): 5–60; and idem, "L'Union des Princes: Louis XII, his Allies and the Venetian Campaign, 1509," in *Simiolus* 27, no. 4 (1999): 195–242. It even seems, however, that the French monarch had some anti-Venetian literature published in Italian so that it could be distributed within the Italian territory he annexed. On this, see the discussion in Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* [1942], 6 vols. (Lodi: Gianpiero Zazzera, 1996), 3:1295 (cat. no. 7525).

<sup>7</sup> On this phenomenon in general, see Vittorio Rossi, "La guerra dei veneziani contro Ferrara nel 1509. Poemetto storico contemporaneo," in *Nuovo archivio veneto* 3 (1892): 47–75. For two examples of Ferrarese anti-Venetian pamphlets, see the anonymous works entitled *Admonitione contra li venetiani* and *Frotula noua de la rouina de venetiani* published in 1509 after Agnadello. For these, see Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 3:1295 (cat. no. 7523), 1296 (cat. no. 7526).



means of manufacture,<sup>8</sup> and centuries of practice at exploiting the arts in the construction and promotion of Venetian identity.<sup>9</sup>

Although much of the war's propaganda appeared in the form of poetry and prose, Venice also had a tradition of using prints as a medium for interpreting contemporary political and military events. Around 1470, an engraving satirising the political struggle between Pope Paul II and the German emperor Frederick III had appeared (fig. 21).<sup>10</sup> The print employs a complex symbolic and metaphorical language similar to that of the *Pronostico*. Each political power is represented by an object or an animal, and their struggle is expressed through the metaphor of steering a boat. The image's appearance in Venice was surely due to the fact that Paul II, aside from being Venetian himself, had forged an alliance with Venice in 1469.<sup>11</sup> The *Pronostico*'s resemblance to this print once led scholars to believe that it, too, was the work of a Venetian.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> On the strength of the Venetian printing industry, see Horatio Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891); and Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991). See also Marino Zorzi, introduction to *La vita nei libri: edizioni illustrate a stampa del Quattro e Cinquecento dalla Fondazione Giorgio Cini*, ed. Marino Zorzi (Venice: Edizioni della Laguna, 2003), 16.

<sup>9</sup> For a general discussion of the visual tradition, see David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> The print seems to have first appeared as an engraving, and then later in other woodcut or engraved versions/variants. See cat. nos. E.III.6–7 in Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 1:251–54; and cat. nos. 2409.008–010 in Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, 24.3:221–27. See also Evelina Borea, “Stampa figurativa e pubblico dalle origini all'affermazione nel Cinquecento,” in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, ed. G. Previtali (Turin: Einaudi, 1979), pt. 1, vol. 2: 317–413, esp. 339.

<sup>11</sup> Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, 24.3:223.

<sup>12</sup> One of the first to suggest that the print was Venetian was J. D. Passavant; *Le Peintre-Graveur*, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1864), 5:190–91. Mark Zucker hesitantly reiterated the same idea much more recently on the grounds that the inscriptions bear the linguistic stamp of northeastern Italian in the consistent removal of double consonants (e.g., words like “matto” and “abbattendo” become “MATO” and “ABATENDO”); “Allegory of Renaissance Politics,” 240 (n. 22). However, the recent discovery that the same image appeared in the form of a woodcut accompanying a collection of anti-Venetian poems almost guarantees the image's production by a supporter of the League; on this, see Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo*, 43. This is not surprising, given that Hind had already noted a similarity between the style of the engraving and that of Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, an artist who collaborated with Andrea Mantegna in Mantua; *Early Italian Engraving*, 5:296. Suzanne Boorsch has since reinforced this probability by discovering that the plate used to print the engraving was later rubbed out and reused by Da Brescia. Boorsch, “Mantegna and his Printmakers,” 61.

Any work of political commentary, whether in verbal or visual form, promoted partisan perspectives on recent events. As we will see, the events that had led an enemy of the Republic to produce a work like the *Pronostico* also sparked the production of printed imagery in the lagoon with radically different interpretations supporting the Venetian cause. A comparison of these disparate visual “interpretations” of recent events reveals the calculatingly editorialising nature of such works and the mechanisms by which they operated.

The *Pronostico*’s title indicates that the image is a prediction of the coming events of 1510, thus suggesting, though not guaranteeing, that the print was produced sometime in 1509. Fortunately, as Mark Zucker first noted, the image’s highly detailed record of a particular moment in the Cambrai War provides enough information to date the print with remarkable precision. Given that Treviso, Padua and Vicenza are the only cities shown in Venetian possession, there are only two moments in the war to which the print could refer. The first of these is the beginning of the League’s campaign in May 1509, when all but those cities had been claimed by the anti-Venetian allies. The other occurred some months later in November. After having lost all of the *terraferma* except Treviso, the Republic had overcome all odds and recovered the cities of Padua and Vicenza. Zucker concluded it was the earlier of these situations that inspired the print.<sup>13</sup> However, a close analysis of the image’s other information reveals that the print was more likely inspired by the later set of circumstances.

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<sup>13</sup> Zucker cleverly attempts to pinpoint the date by closely observing which powers possessed which cities at the time the engraver produced the print, but comes to the unconvincing conclusion that the work was produced in the first turbulent days of June soon after Maximilian had succeeded in claiming Verona but before he had taken Padua or Vicenza. Zucker, “Allegory of Renaissance Politics,” 239–40.

Beyond its factual depiction of the military situation on the *terraferma*, the print expresses a sense of frustration or concern. In fact, it goes so far as to assert that the League's goal to destroy Venice is in jeopardy. Although the banderoles of the Pope, of the Spanish king and of the French king celebrate their success, each presenting a play upon Caesar's conquistatorial phrase "*veni, vidi, vici*,"<sup>14</sup> that of the German emperor criticises his weak play: "What was previously certain I have made uncertain."<sup>15</sup> The inclusion of a "wildcard" pin bearing the head of a fool and the label "MAT[T]O" among the others representing the cities pursued by the emperor further emphasises the idea that Maximilian had placed the League's campaign in peril. The couplet at the bottom of the print warns, "Take care [that] the cheese [rolling stone] doesn't knock down the joker, because if it does, the game is off."<sup>16</sup> The printmaker's concerns are clear. The League's efforts, though successful thus far, are in danger of failure if the allies do not employ caution.

This image cannot, as Zucker suggests, be referring to the heady days of June, when the League's offensive was proceeding according to plan. At that date, no one knew

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<sup>14</sup> Zucker offers excellent translations of these inscriptions. He suggests that the banderole associated with the king of France declaring "GIONI VINSI ET SPINSI" should be understood as "he arrived, he pressed forward, and he conquered." The inscription associated with Julius II that announces "TRASI VINSI ET STASI," he translates as: "he acted, he conquered and he remained." As for the king of Spain's banderole reading "EINSI ET EXTINCSI," Zucker suggests that it probably incorporates an unconventional or erroneous spelling (the first verb might be intended to be "finisi," past tense of the verb "fingere," or an abbreviated version of "eccinsi," past tense of "eccitare"), but should be understood to indicate that the Spanish had "extinguished" Venetian control of the Apulian ports. Zucker, "Allegory of Renaissance Politics," 238–39.

<sup>15</sup> The inscription in the print reads: "DEL CERTO HO FATTO INCERTO."

<sup>16</sup> The inscription reads: "GUARDATI IL ZVRLO NO[N] ABATI IL MATO / P[ER]CHE ABATENDO NVLA FIA DI QVESTO TRATO." The English translation given is that of Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, 24.3:268. In his first discussion of the print, Zucker had noted that a number of readings were possible, especially if the word 'trato' is taken to be a shortening of 'trattato', a reading which would then suggest that the second line of the couplet could be translated as "nothing will come of this treaty [of the League]." His preferred translation at the time had been: "Beware of the cheese ('zurlo'), [and] don't knock down the fool, for if you knock [him] down nothing will come of this game." Zucker, "Allegory of Renaissance Politics," 237, 240 (n. 17). However, Ottavia Niccoli later argued that the couplet is a warning to the members of the League not to rely upon its good fortune alone for success; *Profeti e popolo nell'Italia rinascimentale* (Rome: Laterza, 1987), 27, 43. Just like the present author, Zucker found her interpretation preferable to his own, later adjusting his translation to read as above.

that Maximilian's campaign to take the Veneto would prove problematic. Instead, it is far more likely that the image was produced near the end of November 1509. At this time, the *Pronostico* would have constituted an understandably apprehensive response to Venice's unexpected resurgence in the fall of that year. The Republic's military recovery had been entirely improbable, and it was surely this unexpected turn of events which induced the printmaker to incorporate the joker pin into his image of the game of war.

The emphasis of the influence of chance in the engraving's representation of the war is something we have already noted in Cariani's *Allegory of a Venetian Victory* (fig. 2).<sup>17</sup> Like this painting, the print insinuates that the outcome of military events is determined not only by human agency, but also by Fortune. The presence of this idea is revealing; while the print was produced in the first year of the conflict, the painting dates to the last, thus indicating that the concept enjoyed a presence throughout the entire course of the war.<sup>18</sup> However, for all the concern about the future expressed in the *Pronostico*, the print still implies the likelihood of the League's success. Although the image was a negative reaction to glimmers of Venetian military recovery, the artist cleverly undermined any sense of the Republic's strength by depicting its capital and subject territories as a collection of defenceless objects passively awaiting seizure. In addition, the depiction of the pope held aloft by clouds in the act of blessing the earthly events below endows the League's enterprise with God's approval and support.

The *Pronostico*'s visual commentary on recent events was evidently well received. Aside from the autonomous engraving discussed above, the image also appeared as a woodcut accompanying a random collection of anti-Venetian verses published in late

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<sup>17</sup> On Cariani's painting and its interpretation, see chap. 1, pp. 1–3.

<sup>18</sup> The presence and nature of allusions to fortune and chance in the art of the Cambrai War is an interesting theme that merits investigation but that there was not space to discuss in this dissertation.

1509 (fig. 20).<sup>19</sup> This kind of pamphlet quickly became a very popular means of disseminating propaganda during the Cambrai War. Known as *fogli volanti*, these publications usually took the form of two- or four-folio works in *quarto* and often sported a figurative woodcut on their title page.<sup>20</sup> Usually, as in the case of the pamphlet displaying the woodcut *Pronostico*, they give little or no indication of their author, publisher or date.

A comparatively small number of these pamphlet-style works have survived, but all evidence indicates they were numerous. Historians surmise that as much as nine-tenths of such popular prints have perished, because they were produced with cheaper inks and paper. They were prey to the damaging effects of exposure to light and also to the simple wear and tear of use.<sup>21</sup> As an entry in Priuli's diary of December 1509 indicates, "songs and rhyming verses" inspired by recent events could regularly be purchased on the Rialto bridge and in the city's *campi* even in the earliest months of the war.<sup>22</sup> They were produced very quickly, often within days of the events they recounted.<sup>23</sup> Many of these publications recounted significant battles in the former *Stato da terra* immediately

<sup>19</sup> The anonymously written and published pamphlet is entitled *Pronostico e profecia de le cose debeno succedere maxime dele guere comenziate per magni potentati contra venetiani* ([Ferrara?], [late 1509]).

<sup>20</sup> Such publications flowed from the enemy's printing presses after the Rout of Agnadello. The publications most likely to reach and impact upon Venetians were surely those printed in Italy, particularly in Milan and Ferrara. Many of these also included woodblock imagery. For some examples of such publications, see Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 2:578, 664, 1008 (respectively cat. nos. 3329, 3852, 5907bis); 3:1295–296 (cat. nos. 7523–33).

<sup>21</sup> For a general, and still helpful, discussion of the low survival rate of popular print, see Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450–1550* (Weisbaden: Harrasowitz, 1967), esp. 11. On recent scholarly calculations of the survival rate of popular print, see Albert Labarre, "Survie et dispartition des livres," in *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 30 (1988): 61–66; Ugo Rozzo, *Linee per una storia dell'editoria religiosa in Italia (1465–1600)* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1993): 13; Zorzi, introduction to *La vita nei libri*, 16; and Neil Harris, "Marin Sanudo, Forerunner of Melzi," in *La bibliofilia* 95, no. 1 (1993): 1–37. This kind of printed material is discussed in greater detail in chap. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Soon after the devastating destruction of the Venetian fleet on the Po by the Ferrarese in December 1509, Priuli remarked: "Se vendeva a venetia per le piazze & sopra il ponte dil Rialto secondo il solito li frotoli li verssi in rima in le canzoni dele ruine ... nel territorio ferarexe & delarmata veneta in pado[vano] contra il Ducha ferarexe ... in vergogna sua." Priuli, *Diarii*, 5: ff. 55<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> A sense of the speed with which these pamphlets were printed is provided by the fact that Martino Merlini sent pamphlets about the military problems of the Ferrarese only days after they transpired; see Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1597.

after news of them arrived, a phenomenon which is the focus of the discussion in chapter four. Others, in contrast, presented more general propaganda, usually in the form of patriotic poetry.

Given that such material was designed to be reproduced in hundreds—if not thousands—of copies, its verbal and visual imagery would have been widely diffused. One can assume that some of the anti-Venetian material printed by the enemy would have made its way to the lagoon, and one cannot help wonder how Venetians reacted to imagery like the *Pronostico*'s. While they might have appreciated the print's criticism of Maximilian's military capabilities, they would surely have been deeply disturbed at its reduction of the Republic to a set of bowling pins being casually knocked over in a game. After all, the *Pronostico* implied that the Venetians' best hope was that the League might bungle a sure thing. One way Venetians could respond to such material was to produce their own in the same pamphlet-style format. Naturally, Venetian efforts presented more positive interpretations of recent events than those of the enemy.

## **2.2 The Impact of Padua's Recapture and Defence**

Among the various events to trigger the production of such works, two of the most important were the Republic's unlikely recapture of Padua in July 1509, and the city's subsequent, and even more improbable, defence against the forces sent by the League to reclaim it in September of the same year. Even at the time, Padua's successful repatriation was understood to mark a turning point in the Cambrai War, one which implied that Venice could survive.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Francesco Guicciardini's comments on these events (*Dell'istoria d'Italia*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1738), 1:547); and those of the Venetian Martino Merlini (in Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*,

The Republic had lost Padua on 6 June 1509 in the aftermath of the Rout of Agnadello. Venetians felt the city's loss acutely for two major reasons: first, because they had never imagined that Padua could fall to an enemy given the length of time it had been under the Republic's control and its proximity to the lagoon;<sup>25</sup> and secondly, because the Paduan nobility had enthusiastically opened the city gates and welcomed the imperial troops.<sup>26</sup> As a result of the city's importance, those Venetians who were set on reclaiming the *terraferma* empire aggressively promoted the idea of recapturing Padua as a necessary first step. After much heated debate, the decision was made to attempt it, and, because Maximilian had left very few troops to defend his new acquisition, the Venetians regained Padua on July 17.<sup>27</sup>

The German emperor, however, was displeased with the unexpected loss of his recent conquest and returned in September to lay siege to the city. With the assistance of the other armies of the League, Maximilian assailed the walls of Padua with the most powerful array of heavy artillery that Europe had ever seen.<sup>28</sup> With nicknames such as "the mercy of God" (*Gnad dir Gott*), the larger German cannon weighed around 6500 kilograms and could launch a projectile weighing as much as 128 kilograms.<sup>29</sup> Only a few years after the siege, Ariosto recalled the force of the German artillery in his *Orlando*

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1564). For the confirmation of this concept in the work of modern historians, see Polibio Zanetti, "L'assedio di Padova del 1509," in *Nuovo archivio veneto* 2 (1891): 5–168; Libby, "Venetian History and Political Thought," 14–15; Hale and Mallett, *Military Organization of a Renaissance State*, 222.

<sup>25</sup> Priuli mentions that the Venetians had never fortified nearby cities like Padua because they were believed to be "*in centro civitatis Venetiarum*"; *Diarii*, 4:55.

<sup>26</sup> For more on this, see chap. 5, p. 70.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the motivations that ultimately led to this decision, and for an excellent recreation and analysis of the Senate debate, see Lester Libby, Jr., "The Reconquest of Padua in 1509 According to the Diary of Girolamo Priuli," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (1975): 323–331. The significance of this debate, and its impact upon allusions to Padua's recapture and defence, is the subject of chap. 3.

<sup>28</sup> On this, see Lenci, *Leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 40. For contemporary accounts of the strength of the German artillery at the siege of Padua, see Martino Merlini's letter of 28 September 1509, transcribed in Dalla Santa, *Lega di Cambray*, 19–21; and Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, various entries of the month of September.

<sup>29</sup> Lenci, *Leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 172.

*furioso*: “Oh, sirs, can you believe what a bombardment / of Padua the likes of which has never before been seen / that it could bring all of the walls tumbling down...”<sup>30</sup> No one doubted that the Venetians would soon be forced to renounce possession of Padua once more, and yet, against all odds, this did not happen. The Republic’s defence outlasted the League’s assault, and the enemy retreated at the beginning of October.

The Republic’s remarkable recapture and defence of the city quickly became a much needed wellspring of Venetian hope, and visual art helped facilitate this. The discussion that follows examines two Venetian woodcuts that were inspired by the Republic’s military success at Padua and that date to around the same time as the *Pronostico*. The first is a simple print produced to adorn the title page of a four-folio pamphlet entitled *La victoriosa Gata da Padua* (fig. 22). The second is a more elaborate woodcut produced for the title page of a lengthier publication entitled *La obsidione di Padua* whose lengthy poem recounts the city’s defence (fig. 26). Neither print has attracted any scholarly attention whatsoever. These images offer a precious opportunity to understand what might be considered “the first wave” of response to the tumultuous events of the Cambrai War in the visual culture of the lagoon. What is more, they each present a different way of visualising, and hence interpreting, the significance of Padua’s repatriation for the Venetian community.

### 2.2.1 Celebrating the Success of Padua’s Defence

The earliest surviving response in Venetian art to the Cambrai War seems to be a simple woodcut depicting the defence of Padua’s walls (fig. 22). The print appeared on the title

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<sup>30</sup> Canto 16, verse 27: “Signor, avete a creder che bombarda / mai non vedeste a Padua sì grossa / che tanto muro possa far cadere...” Ludovico Ariosto, *Tutte le opere di Ludovico Ariosto*, ed. Cesare Segre, 5 vols. (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1964), 1:356.



page of a leaflet presenting a song-like poem entitled *La victoriosa Gata da Padua*.<sup>31</sup> The song seems to have originated as a battle chant created by Venetian troops during the defence of Padua.<sup>32</sup> In his diary, Priuli describes the diffuse popularity of the song, commenting that throughout Padua and Venice it “was sung by young boys and others all day and night.”<sup>33</sup> He also notes that the song had already appeared in print by September 25, more than a week before the siege actually came to an end. The pamphlet reproducing the text seems to have cost the negligible price of one *bezo*—the same amount of money would have bought three or four eggs at the time.<sup>34</sup> Such a low cost placed the pamphlet within financial reach of most socio-economic classes in the city.<sup>35</sup> Given that it was both

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<sup>31</sup> *La victoriosa Gata da Padua* (Venice, [1509]). The publication appears as cat. no. 2580 in Victor Marsena (Prince) d’Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et du commencement du XVII<sup>e</sup>*, 3 pts. in 5 bks. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1907–1914), pt. 2, bk. 2: 646. For a transcription of the poem, see Lenci, *Il leone, l’aquila e la gatta*, 214–16.

<sup>32</sup> Marin Sanudo, too, mentions the publication calling it a “canzon.” Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 335 (22 November 1509).

<sup>33</sup> After describing the episode of the *gatta*, Priuli says: “Donde fu facta una canzone, la quale sarà qui in questa libro in le charte bergamine, che diceva in su su chui vole la gatha, venga fuori al bastione, che in la zima de uno lanzone trovaretti ligatta *et cetera*, che fu posto in stampa, et per tuta Padoa et Venetia il giorno et nocte dali putti et altri hera cantata questa canzone per disprectio deli inimici.” *Diarii*, 4:359 (25 September 1509).

<sup>34</sup> Sanudo records the cost of a version of the same publication printed two months later as being “un bezo”; *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 335; only months earlier, the cost of seven eggs was a *soldo*, the equivalent of 2 *bezi*; *ibid.*, vol. 8, col. 408. The *bezo* was a bronze coin minted in the north that was worth one of the smallest monetary values (one *bezo* = six *soldi* = one and a half *quattrini*) and during the war they were the only type of coin in plentiful supply. On the low value of the *bezo*, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, cols. 780–81 (where he calls the *bezi* “comode monede”), 1050; on the availability of *bezi* during the war, see *ibid.*, vol. 19, col. 414; vol. 20, col. 155. On the *bezo* in general, see Ugo Tucci, “Monete e banche nel secolo del ducato d’oro,” in *Il Rinascimento. Società ed economia*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (vol. 5 of *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima* (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1996)), 782–86. In fact, shortly before the Cambrai War, a large quantity of *bezi* were minted to allow the poor to buy their daily necessities; *ibid.*, 782.

<sup>35</sup> To give an example of earnings by mid-century, at the lowest end of the economic scale, an unskilled worker at the Arsenal was paid twenty *ducati* a year, the equivalent of 4,960 *bezi* per annum, or about fourteen *bezi* per diem; even an oarsman on a galley earned fifteen *ducati* a year, the equivalent of over 3,700 *bezi*, or ten *bezi* per diem. Both could afford to spend a *bezo* on a printed pamphlet. For the statistics regarding the earnings of these workers, see Dennis Romano, *Housecraft and Statecraft. Domestic Service in Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore/London: The John Hopkins University Press, 143; for the conversion rates, see Marino Sanudo (the younger), *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, ovvero La città di venetia (1493–1530)*, ed. Angela Caracciolo (Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1980), 63–64; and Tucci, “Monete e banche,” 772.

highly affordable and, as Priuli indicated, of broad appeal, the publication and its imagery surely enjoyed an exceptional diffusion throughout the city.

Both the poem and its accompanying woodcut refer to a colourful episode that took place at the most important point of Padua's defensive walls during the siege of the city. The bastion depicted in the print was on the northern side of Padua, where two of the city's medieval walls met at an acute angle enclosing a long, narrow strip known as the "Codalonga," or "the long tail" (see fig. 25).<sup>36</sup> The acute angle formed by the walls left the bastion dangerously exposed to enemy attack from two sides.<sup>37</sup> The League was aware of the strategic importance of the Codalonga gate; if the wall were breached at this point, the city's defence would crumble. This bastion thus became the most critical point in Padua's defence, and the enemy focused its greatest efforts there.<sup>38</sup>

During the siege, the bastion earned the rather bizarre name of the "Bastione della gatta," or the "Bastion of the female cat." The name is derived from the fact that the Venetian forces stationed there had taunted the enemy by extending over the ramparts a live, female cat tied to a lance. This seemingly strange act was the result of a well-known play on words. In the Middle Ages, the largest siege engine used to assault the city's walls was known as the *gato*, or "male cat." Thus, the exhibition of a female cat was a sexually charged challenge goading the enemy to attack the walls "passionately" with their artil-

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<sup>36</sup> For a detailed account of events at Codalonga during the siege of Padua, see Lenci, *Leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 146–88.

<sup>37</sup> Everyone seems to have come to know this as Sanudo notes it in his diary: "essendo Codalonga un pozo, et in zima de quel pozo è la porta e lo bastion, loro hano el modo de bater le mura per fiancho da una banda e da l'altra, *ita* che el campo dentro da ste mure riman spazado et bersajado da le sue bombarde." *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 188.

<sup>38</sup> For a reconstruction of the defense of the Bastione della Gata and an assertion of its importance to the general defense of the city, see Lenci, *Leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 149–70.

lery.<sup>39</sup> Considering that the cat was hung over the ramparts of the weakest point in Padua's defensive walls, the act was particularly brash. Despite the city's bombardment by the greatest array of artillery ever assembled, the defenders had nonetheless demonstrated confidence by audaciously taunting the enemy. One can easily imagine them yelling these lines at the League's troops beyond the walls:

Come up, up, up, whoever wants the lady cat,  
Come up to the bastion  
Where on the end of a lance  
You see her bound.<sup>40</sup>

There were many more noble acts of bravery that could have attracted the attention of publishers eager to capitalise on the celebration of Padua's defence. Most importantly, the victory was unique in the Republic's history because a large number of Venetian patricians had taken up arms and gone to Padua to assist the hired armies.<sup>41</sup> In addition, many individuals had performed acts of bravery that became legends in themselves. For example, Citolo da Perugia, a mercenary who had proven his worth in the months following the Rout of Agnadello, sustained a serious leg wound while leading the defence of the Bastione della Gatta during the final battle of the siege.<sup>42</sup> However, although Citolo's bravery was widely known and celebrated,<sup>43</sup> neither his exploits nor those of the

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<sup>39</sup> See Antonio Medin, *L'assedione di Padua del MDXI; poemetto contemporaneo ristampato ed illustrato*, pt. 244 of *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XVII*, ed. G. Carducci (Bologna: Romagnoli dell'acqua, 1892), 333–63; and Lenci, *Leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 179–81.

<sup>40</sup> "Su su su, chi vuol la gata / Vengi innanti al bastione, / Dove in cima d'un lanzone / La vedeti star legata." *La victoriosa Gata*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Sanudo commented on 5 October 1509: "Come si alegra con la Signoria nostra di esser levato l'assedio di Padoa. Lauda molto li zentilhomeni stati, li quali si hanno portato benissimo, e conforta si dagi a l'arte militare." *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 233. Sanudo was, in fact, so proud of his fellow patricians' contribution that he transcribed all of the names of all 174 of them who took part in Padua's defense along with 23 *cittadini* and 645 other Venetians; *ibid.*, cols. 204–10.

<sup>42</sup> Lenci, *Il leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 183–84.

<sup>43</sup> On 7 October 1509, shortly after the German troops had retreated, Sanudo remarked: "Visto il bastion di Coalonga bellissimo e forte, qual (*ha*) auto do bataglie, dove Zitolo di Perosa con la sua compagnia che era a quella guardia benissimo si portoe, el qual Zitolo è ancora in leto per la bota di l'archibuso; ma non haverà mall da conto." *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 236. In fact, Citolo is actually cited in both versions of the *gatta*

Venetian nobility was chosen to be the focus of the propagandistic text and imagery of *La victoriosa Gata*. The more noble contributions to Padua's defence would only gain recognition in the literary and visual arts at a later date.<sup>44</sup> Instead, it seems to have been precisely the outrageous gall of the *gatta* episode that earned its immediate promotion in both word and image. While the chorus cited above is relatively innocent, the song was actually remarkably vulgar. Aside from mentioning how greasy and oily the Germans were ("Su, Todeschi onti e bisonti"), and how the pope's faith was counterfeit ("Su, su papa, ... con tua fede fraudolente"), one stanza conveys the song's crude and insulting tone especially vividly:

Come on, you Italian bastards,  
[And you, you] northern scoundrels,  
Frenchmen, and Germans,  
whose daughters and wives are whores;  
Your lusts are unhealthy  
To desire the cat along with us...<sup>45</sup>

After calling the enemy's womenfolk prostitutes, the stanza introduces sexual connotations into the League's attack by suggesting that the assaulting army harboured a crude interest not only in the sexual possession of an animal (the cat), but also in the (homo)sexual "possession" of the male defenders themselves. The crassness of lines like these is a powerful reminder of the song's base origins; the song was born from the harsh

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song recorded by Medin; *Obsidione di Padua*, 311, 317. Citolo's importance at the Bastione della Gatta is also mentioned in Luigi da Porto's letters; *Lettere storiche*, 121. Also see a poem written in praise of his service at Padua that has survived in manuscript form and is transcribed in Medin, *Obsidione di Padua*, 325–26.

<sup>44</sup> For example, three tombs were erected in SS. Giovanni e Paolo to fallen mercenaries who had fought at Padua on Venice's behalf; on this, see chap. 3, pp. 90–120.

<sup>45</sup> *La victoriosa Gata da Padua*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>: "Su bastardi Taliani, / Di canaglie oltramontane, / De Francesi et Alemani / Figlie e moglie sum putane: / Vostre voglie sono insane / A voler con noi la gata..."

insults soldiers hurl at one another in battle, not from the poetry of heroic literature. As Priuli remarked in his diary, its purpose was “to disrespect the enemy.”<sup>46</sup>

The notion that the song’s crudeness was the source of its particular appeal is evident in the fact that another, decidedly less popular work printed around the same time alludes to the event in a more refined fashion. It is entitled *De admirabilitate gatte Paduane* and appeared as part of a four-folio pamphlet of varied pro-Venetian propaganda published late in 1509.<sup>47</sup> Taking the form of a more sophisticated sonnet, the poem cleverly jokes about how even history’s greatest minds, such as Pliny and Aristotle, had never classified or described the genus of the Paduan cat that had so terrified the League’s armies at the siege of Padua.<sup>48</sup> Its playful elegance contrasts sharply with the bald aggression of *La victoriosa Gata*, and it is telling that while the latter was reprinted time and again, the *De admirabilitate gatte Paduane* was not. In the euphoric days following the news of the Germans’ retreat, *La victoriosa Gata*’s crudeness evidently provided an appealingly visceral way to celebrate the good news. The song—and presumably the woodcut accompanying it—would have effectively aroused a much needed (though admittedly more base) form of patriotism, a bravado that charming poetry could

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<sup>46</sup> See above, n. 33.

<sup>47</sup> The collection of poems in which this appears is entitled *In laudem ciuitatis venetiarum* (Venice, [1509 or early 1510]), f. 3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> The poem reads as follows: “Degli animal varij historici han scritto / per gli qual lor natura e assai ben tracto / ma non anchor lhauerita e trouata / excepto mo nel Padouan conflictio // Ne Salomon ne Aristotel han ditto / nel magno alberto ne in plinio si chatta / quel che Zittol ha mostro duna gatta / q[ua]l mezo el mondo a spauentato e afflicto // Orsi: cengiali: leon: draghi e serpenti / lupi ceruieri: panthere e leopardi / son in poche hore presi e in poche zenti / questa nol Gal: non guascon ne Pichardi // Non Spagnol: non gera[n]i temuto a nienti: / con piu miara de falsi lombardi // Ueniuano gaiardi. // Per torla che era in cima dun lazzone // Questa gli a morti e posti in confusione // O famoso bastione. // Cento migliara e piu vi son trouati // Da questa gatta e morti e transfugati.” Ibid., f. 3<sup>r</sup>.

not. In short, *La victoriosa Gata* was brimming with intoxicating testosterone, the kind that spurs armies on to military victory.<sup>49</sup>

Although the language of the poem was certainly vivid enough and well-known, the publisher who printed it in pamphlet form evidently decided that it would be worthwhile to include a woodcut of the event described. This is quite remarkable, because it was more common at the time to recycle figurative woodblocks cut for earlier, costlier books that did not need to have more than a generic relevance to their new context.<sup>50</sup> Certainly the inclusion of a figurative image always made a publication more enticing and appealing, but the song's popularity would surely have guaranteed high sales on its own. So what did the image contribute or accomplish that the song on its own could not?

The woodcut presents the episode of the *gatta* quite differently from the song. While the text's powerful impact stems from its aggressive invective, that of the woodcut comes from its unexaggerated, factual description of the event. Though it is stylistically very simple, the print is rich with observed, and historically accurate, detail. In fact, modern research into the technical aspects of Padua's military defence reveals that the woodcut is a truthful depiction of how the Bastione della Gatta would have appeared. The print shows the bastion as a *casamatta*, a wood and daub structure that extended out from the walls over the protective moat encircling the city to allow better angles of defence. This is precisely the kind of bastion that the Venetians built at various points around the city

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<sup>49</sup> In fact, immediately after having talked about the publication of the battle song, Priuli described the state of Padua's defenders after the most recent defense of the bastion towards the end of September as follows: "heranno inanimati et ingargiaditi, che pocho stimavano li inimici..." *Diarii*, 4:359.

<sup>50</sup> Ever since the early efforts of D'Essling and Sander this has been known, but for a more recent and interesting discussion of the issue, see Marian Rothstein, "Disjunctive Images in Renaissance Books," in *Renaissance and Reformation* 26, no. 2 (1990): 101–20. For a specific, though general, discussion of recycled imagery in printed pamphlets, see Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 125.

during the summer of 1509 in preparation for the arrival of Maximilian's army.<sup>51</sup> In addition, the demolished walls on either side of the bastion honestly reflect the destructive power of the enemy artillery.<sup>52</sup> The German troops are shown protecting their cannonry with woven baskets filled with rocks, exactly as armies had begun to do at the time and would continue to do well into the 1800s.<sup>53</sup> In contrast with the song's crude and insulting hyperbole, the image presents a far more honest and sober truth.

The kind of observed detail that characterises the print would have been familiar to Venetians from the narrative paintings fostered by corporate patrons like the city's numerous *scuole* and the government itself. This is not to suggest that the *gatta* print could compare to the kind of visual history "recorded" in impressive Venetian *istorie* painted on mural-size canvases. However, the print's unsophisticated yet careful realism may have aimed at imbuing its subject with a sense of historical significance. As Patricia Fortini Brown has shown, the depiction of historical events, particularly hard to document ones, in Venetian art had been a means of giving them credibility since the Middle Ages.<sup>54</sup> The best known assertion of this concept is Martino da Canale's citation of the mosaics on the façade of San Marco as evidence that the translation of Mark's relics to Venice had indeed occurred.<sup>55</sup> Seen in this light, the woodcut may have represented a modest but effective way of elevating a rather childish episode to the level of history worth recording. Certainly in the case of the song, the sheer fact of its publication in print

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<sup>51</sup> See the description of the defensive measures taken at Padua in late July and August 1509 reconstructed from contemporary sources in Lenci, *Il leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 133–162.

<sup>52</sup> Sanudo described one of the worst attacks as follows: "Come la notte erano stati in arme, et i nimici hanno bombardà grandissimamente tutto eri et la notte, et butato assa' passa di muro zoso.... E nota, è stà butà a terra di le mure passa.... *Tamen* in alcuni lochi ha più reparato li reperi." *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 185.

<sup>53</sup> On the strength and protection of the League's artillery, see Lenci, *Leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 172.

<sup>54</sup> Patricia Fortini Brown's work has been very illuminating in this regard; see Brown, "Painting and History in Renaissance Venice," in *Art History* 7, no. 3 (September 1984): 263–294; and idem, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 79, 125–26.

<sup>55</sup> Brown, "Painting and History," 264.

endowed the dialect-heavy, whimsical bit of oral culture with a greater measure of significance. The same could be said of the depiction of the bastion's defence in a fixed, reproducible image.

That the woodcut was of particular help in enhancing the historical importance of the *gatta* incident finds further support in the fact that, notwithstanding its simplicity, the composition had an enduring influence. The song was reissued, sometimes in slightly altered form, in at least three later editions, each of which displayed a figurative woodcut.<sup>56</sup> The first of these, probably dating to very soon after the original printing, employed the same woodblock.<sup>57</sup> However, the third edition, published by Francesco da Salò, probably appeared shortly after the war, perhaps in the late 1520s,<sup>58</sup> and the fourth, published by Agostino Bindoni, dates to 1549.<sup>59</sup> By the time these were printed, the original woodblock was either too worn down to use or not in the possession of the publishers, because these publications display two freshly cut blocks (figs. 23, 24). These newer woodcuts possess a greater stylistic complexity than the original, but they are still essentially copies of it. The only significant difference is that in the version appearing in Francesco da Salò's edition, the walls of the city are shown intact rather than devastated by enemy artillery fire. The general consistency of the imagery's formula over time is even more remarkable when we consider that one of the editions dates to thirty-two years after the

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<sup>56</sup> On the various versions of the song, see Medin, *Obsidione*, 307–19; Vittorio Rossi, “Cronaca: Su su su chi vuol la gatta,” in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 5 (1885): 504–07; and Lenci, *Il leone, l'aquila e la gatta*, 213–16.

<sup>57</sup> See cat. no. 2583 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 647.

<sup>58</sup> *La vittoriosa gatta da Padova* (Venice: Francesco di Salò, s.a.). See cat. no. 2582 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 646. The earliest publication associated with a publisher by the name Francesco da Salò is an edition of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* dating to 1527. For a list of his publications, see *Edit16: Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, s.v. “Da Salò, Francesco” ([http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web\\_iccu/ihome.htm](http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm)).

<sup>59</sup> *La victoriosa Gatta da Padoua* (Venice: Agostino Bindoni, 1549). See cat. no. 2583 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 647.



conclusion of the Cambrai War. Evidently, the image had succeeded in acquiring a value akin to that of more traditional forms of historical record.

The influence of the original print of 1509 is felt even in the imagery of a far more respectable, semi-official publication that presents a text very different from the song whose publication had occasioned the print's production in the first place. A depiction of the siege of Padua appeared in 1521 in Niccolò degli Agostini's epic *Li successi bellici*, a retrospective history of the Cambrai War (fig. 30).<sup>60</sup> Degli Agostini was a poet best known for his chivalric romances, so his recounting of the war's events is imbued with the narrative flair of a medieval tale of knights in battle.<sup>61</sup> In the woodcut appearing alongside the narration of Padua's defence, the imagery is a powerful echo of the 1509 image. Once again, the bastion is shown as a *casamatta* extending over the protective moat. While the defenders mockingly wave the cat over the ramparts, the enemy mercilessly discharges its plentiful artillery from behind a defensive line of rock-filled reed baskets. The only significant difference between the 1521 woodcut and that of 1509 is that the eventual failure of the assault is more overtly implied. Here the breach in the wall is negligible, and behind it awaits a seemingly indomitable army of foot soldiers under the supervision of a mercenary commander on horseback. Evidently, despite the dramatic difference between the crude fighting song and Degli Agostini's more dignified, poetic work, the rougher 1509 woodcut provided an appropriate model for the more elegant imagery of a history book.

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<sup>60</sup> The history's full title is *Li successi bellici seguiti nella Italia dal fatto darme di Gieredada del M.CCCCC.IX fin al presente M.CCCCC.XXI* (Venice: Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Polo, 1 August 1521). The woodcut showing the defense of Padua bears the caption "Questo sie lassedio di Padoa" and appears on f. Di<sup>r</sup>. See cat. no. 2101 in D'Essling, *Livres à figure vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 412–13. For more on the Venetian woodcutter Zoan Andrea Vavassore, see *ibid.*, pt. 3: 109–16.

<sup>61</sup> Degli Agostini's better known publications include *Lo innamoramento de messer Lancilotto e di madonna Geneura...* (Venice: Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Polo, 31 October 1521).

The imagery of Degli Agostini's book also reveals something about the meaning and later reception of the 1509 woodcut. The book's publishers, the prolific team of Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Polo, had had only five blocks cut to accompany Degli Agostini's text. In the case of two of these, the publishers decided to have them each appear twice. One of the reused woodcuts is that showing the defence of the Bastione della Gatta. In its second appearance, it bears the caption "Questa sie la presa di bressa." The event to which the caption refers is the Venetian defence of Brescia against the French in February 1512.<sup>62</sup> The block's reuse in conjunction with this event is intriguing, for a contemporary viewer would surely never have identified the print's subject as anything other than the siege of Padua without the caption's insistence. The woodcut's details had nothing to do with the new context into which it was inserted: Brescia was being defended against the French rather than the Germans, no cat was ever hung over the ramparts, and, most importantly, despite the defenders' valiant effort, the city was lost to the enemy.<sup>63</sup> In the violent sack that ensued, many Brescians and Venetian troops were massacred by the French army. The woodcut's reuse in connection with this very different situation suggests that by 1521 the *gatta* episode had accrued broader significance; beyond being an inspirationally impudent display of military confidence on a specific occasion, it later became interpretable as a powerful symbol of Venetian fortitude.

More can be learned about the interpretation and reception of the original 1509 woodcut from a later episode in the editorial life of the song that the print was produced to accompany. In November 1509, a version of the battle song was published together

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<sup>62</sup> The woodcut is reprinted with the caption "Questa sie la presa di Bressa" in Degli Agostini, *Li successi bellici*, f. Fvii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> On the Republic's recapture of Brescia and subsequent loss to the French, see *Storia di Brescia*, ed. Giovanni Treccano degli Alfieri, 3 vols. (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1963), 2:257–56. For more on the Republic's campaign in Lombardy and the visual imagery associated with it, see chap. 4, pp. 156–72.

with another, similarly crude, song-like poem. This second text was written in the Paduan dialect and entitled *Gi è partù qui Slançeman*, or, very loosely translated, “The Landsknechts have departed.”<sup>64</sup> As the title suggests, the song celebrates Maximilian’s abandonment of the siege of Padua by cruelly mocking the withdrawal of his forces. At one point, the text even compares the Germans to roasted pigs.<sup>65</sup> Unlike the *Victoriosa Gata*, however, this work was evidently considered too scandalous. Sanudo recorded that the Council of Ten banned the printing and sale of the paired texts immediately after their publication. The government was concerned because the printed pamphlet’s coarse rhetoric was cheap to purchase, and therefore overly easy to disseminate. If the publication were to reach enemy hands, the Signoria worried that it could have a dangerously inflammatory effect on Maximilian.<sup>66</sup> The government evidently understood the powerful impact of this kind of coarse propaganda. If it had the capacity to move Venetians to patriotic fervour at a time when it would have been far easier, and probably more logical, to feel fearful of the future, then it could be equally effective at inciting the enemy to retaliation.

Given Sanudo’s emphasis of the Signoria’s concern about angering Maximilian, it seems that the Paduan song was problematic because it focused its attention on a single—and very powerful—member of the League. The *Victoriosa Gata*, in contrast, lampooned all of the League’s signatories, even the pope. This explanation finds further support in the fact that, the same day, the government permitted the publication of three

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<sup>64</sup> The poem is written in a thick Padovano, so its translation is challenging even for Paduans of today. However, after consultation with some Venetian colleagues, the translation would be more or less that presented in the text above. A version of the poem is reproduced in Lenci, *Il leone, l’aquila e la gatta*, 217.

<sup>65</sup> See the seventh stanza as reproduced in *ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Sanudo recounts: “Era stampado una canzon si chiama: *La Gata di Padoa*, con una altra in vilanescho di Tonin: *E l’è partì quei lanziman*, qual, per non offender il re di romani cussì choma si vendevano un bezo l’una, fo mandato a tuorle per li capi di X, *adeo* più non si vendeteno. *Tamen*, vene fuora altre canzon fate contra Ferara numero tre, e fono lassate vender.” Sanudo, vol. 9, col. 335 (22 November 1509).

songs disrespecting the Ferrarese.<sup>67</sup> Naturally, the Republic did not fear every enemy equally; the German empire was a far more formidable adversary than the Ferrarese, who the Venetians had already defeated in the war of the 1480s.

Consequently, in the original printing of the *Victoriosa Gata*, the image accompanying the text did just what the song attacking the Landsknecht was not permitted to do—it emphasised the defeat of the German army. Although the *Victoriosa Gata* taunts an ethnic mix of Italians, French and Germans, the print identifies the city's assailants with a single battle standard, that of the imperial double-headed eagle. Evidently, visual propaganda was allowed to cross lines that verbal propaganda could not, despite the fact that foreign eyes would have deciphered the meaning of a figurative image more easily than that of a text in an unfamiliar language.

The image's failure to inspire concern on the part of the Signoria becomes particularly noteworthy when we consider that later images of the siege continued to cast the German army in the role of the defeated. This occurs in both the prints accompanying later editions of the *gatta* song, and the more elaborate woodcut in Degli Agostini's history of the Cambrai War. Yet another image does the same. It was printed around the time of the siege's first anniversary to accompany a lengthy work entitled *La obsidione di Padua*, which recounts the events of Padua's defence (fig. 26).<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> On the poems about the Ferrarese, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 335.

<sup>68</sup> Di Cori, *La obsidione di Padua ne la quale se tractano tutte le cose che sono occorse dal giorno che per el prestantissimo messere Andrea Gritti Proveditore generale fu reacquistata: che fu adi 17 Luio 1509 per insino che Maximiliano imperatore da quella si levò* (Venice, 3 October 1510). The text is anastatically reproduced in *Guerre in ottava rima*, eds. Marina Beer, Donatella Diamanti, and Cristina Ivaldi, 4 vols. (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1989), 2:303–42. The publication is cat. no. 1688 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 207; and cat. no. 2167 in Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 1:382.

The *Obsidione* was written by Bartolomeo de Cori, a Venetian who had helped defend Padua against the League and about whom little is known.<sup>69</sup> The woodcut on the poem's title page depicts the same location as that of the *Victoriosa Gata*, and the images share a number of similarities. The *Obsidione* print shows the city of Padua in the middle ground. Its protective walls have been reduced to rubble by the enemy cannon, one of which has just fired. The Bastione della Gatta stands at the centre of the composition, encircled by the enemy occupying the foreground. Here, there is a figural group comprised of a standard-bearer, a fifer and a drummer, who are flanked by knights on the right and foot soldiers on the left.

The central placement of the Bastione della Gatta focuses on the valiant defence of the city at its weakest point. Di Cori devoted two of the six cantos of his poem—a third of the entire work—to the narration of the struggle at Codalonga, recounting in great detail all three of the major attacks repulsed by the Venetian forces stationed there. Another familiar aspect in the print is the prominence of the enemy's artillery. Five cannon are depicted, two of which are actually in the act of firing; the ruined state of the city

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<sup>69</sup> Di Cori's request to publish his poem with a copyright protecting his work survives in the records of the Notatorio del Collegio: "Ritrovandomi hora uno anno ... io Bartholamio di Cori, da Venetia, deditissimo servo di questo inclito Stato, ne la obsidione de la importantissima terra vostra di Padoa, et cum tute le forze del corpo (quale in me erano) operato quello che cadauno fidelissimo subdito die fare; et, di questo anchora non satio, cum molte diuturne et nocturne vigilie volssi affaticar la mente et debil ingegno mio (secondo le lor forze) in descrivere, a perpetua memoria di questo invicto et serenissimo Senato, tute le cose sono in dita obsidione occorse; perilchè desiderando vengino a luce, et havendo havuto licentia da li magnifici Capi proximi passadi di lo Excellentissimo Consiglio di X di stampar la prefatta opereta, per esser stà udita dal amgnifico mesere Marco Antonio Lauredano, uno de dicti magnifici Capi, supplico di novo la Excellentissima Signoria vostra degna per gratia conciedermi, come è usanza anzi innato costume di questo sancto Senato, remunerar qualunque per utile et honore di quello se affaticha, che nuina persona nel dominio vostro per tre anni ... possi stampare..." The request is catalogued as entry no. 180 in R. Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," in *Archivio veneto* 23 (1882): 174.

walls testify to the artillery's effectiveness. As Di Cori's poem frankly states, Maximilian's cannon "had no equal in the world."<sup>70</sup>

As mentioned earlier, one of the most noteworthy aspects of the woodcut is its characterisation of the enemy as exclusively German. Only the imperial army standard of the double-headed eagle appears, and the conspicuous inclusion of the artillery reinforces the identification of the army. In addition, the artist seems to have drawn on a body of print imagery representing imperial soldiers that was emerging during the first decades of the sixteenth century. The greater part of this imagery was produced by German and Swiss artists, but Italians occasionally dabbled in it, too. An example of this is an engraving attributed to Martino da Udine dating to the years of the Cambrai War (fig. 28).<sup>71</sup> From left to right, it shows a standard-bearer, a drummer and a piper, all three wearing the slashed doublets and rakishly angled caps with ostentatious ostrich feathers that characterised the German Landsknecht. The same three figures appear in a similar arrangement in the centre of the *Obsidione* woodcut. The hunchbacked drummer and the piper in the woodcut are even dressed similarly to those appearing in the engraving.<sup>72</sup>

The woodcut's depiction of the enemy as exclusively German blatantly contradicts Di Cori's account of events. Part of what amazed the poet about Venice's success in defending Padua was the wide range of enemies that comprised the assaulting army: the

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<sup>70</sup> In Canto 5, verse 58, Di Cori says that the German artillery "al mondo non han pare..." Reprinted in Medin, *Obsidione*, 105.

<sup>71</sup> According to Hale, the fifer's pose and curved sword make the image's Italian origin evident. See Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 73. See also, Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 5:244.

<sup>72</sup> The visual stereotype of the Landsknecht seems to have received its first expression in a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder dating to about 1505 in which the figures display mismatched hose, a slashed doublet and ostentatious ostrich feathers. The image also incorporated more satirical elements, such as the phallic association of sword hilt and codpiece and the waving arm that was characteristic of depictions of the "Wild Man." For a discussion of the print, and Landsknecht costume in general, see Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 43–48, 64. Interestingly, the engraving also incorporates a view of a lagoon stretching out behind the figures that suggests the soldiers are marching on Venice.

Venetians had to fight off “Spagnoï, Todeschi, Picardi, Guasconi, / Italiani, Franzosi e Ferraresi...”<sup>73</sup> In his narration of the attacks on the Bastione della Gatta, Di Cori recounts that largely Spanish and Italian forces carried them out;<sup>74</sup> few imperial soldiers were involved because Maximilian’s troops were concentrated in other areas.<sup>75</sup>

The print’s divergence from reality through the exclusion of the Spanish and Italian armies is an important detail, because it may imply how some Venetians perceived the event’s more particular significance. The image emphasises the city’s defence as a victory won primarily over the forces of Maximilian, rather than those of the entire League. Given the fact that the imperial army was the most powerful of the League, and that it had bombarded Padua’s walls with the most impressive array of artillery in European history, the woodcut effectively calls attention to why the siege’s failure was such a great victory for Venetians.

Whatever the case may be, all of the woodcuts of the siege discussed thus far show the enemy army as German and suggest the differences between what visual propaganda seems to have been able to do and what written propaganda could not. Printed propaganda of a figurative nature seems to have received less scrutiny than its verbal counterparts. Perhaps the compositional and stylistic simplicity of such prints belied their potential influence. The situation could be more a reflection of the newness of the medium employed to create the imagery than an indication that Venetians failed to recognise the impact such imagery could have. As a closer examination of the *Obsidione* woodcut

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<sup>73</sup> Canto 5, verse 25, reprinted in Medin, *Obsidione*, 96.

<sup>74</sup> The poet proudly narrates that during the first assault on the bastion, “Verso dil bastion venean distesi / Tutt’i Spagnoli con qualche Alemanno.” Canto 4, verse 5, reprinted in Medin, *Obsidione*, 72.

<sup>75</sup> See Lenci, *Il leone, l’aquila e la gatta*, 170.

will reveal, pamphlet imagery quickly became an active—and effective—arena for the dissemination of wartime propaganda.

### 2.2.2 Padua's Defence as a Sign of Divine Approval

As much as the woodcuts of the *Victoriosa Gata* and the *Obsidione* have traits in common, the two publications and their imagery are also very different. In complete contrast to the aggressive invective of the battle song, Di Cori's *Obsidione* emulates dignified literary traditions. With the aim of transforming the defence of Padua into a heroic epic, Di Cori wrote his work in *ottava rima*, modelling his narrative style after the heroic storytelling of chivalric romances. However, while Di Cori wanted to convey that the victory was the stuff of legend, he regularly reassured his reader of the accuracy of his narrative; the true course of events was inspiring enough to preclude any need for embellishment.<sup>76</sup> The *Obsidione* did not aim to ignite the kind of base patriotism stirred by the *Victoriosa Gata*. Instead, its narrative was intended to inspire awe in its readers and record a noble historical event for posterity. Given the government's efforts to monitor the publication of pro-Venetian propaganda, it is not surprising that Di Cori's poem was not only approved for publication, but also granted three years' copyright protection.<sup>77</sup> This longer work also probably cost more than the two-folio *Victoriosa Gata*. Considering the known cost of other pamphlet-like publications, the *Obsidione* may have cost around fifteen *bezi*,

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<sup>76</sup> Di Cori asserts the text's accuracy on more than one occasion. For example, one verse reads: "Et el 'vangelio sin qui v'ho narrato, / E cosi da mo avanti l'odireti; / La istoria vera ne arò seguitato, / Che in narrar quella non me pongereti; / Se ben o in rima o in verso arò fallato, / So che quel fallo a me perdonereti, / Quando una volta vi cantarò il vero / Di questa istoria, che seguir vi spero." Canto 6, verse 33, as reprinted in Medin, *Obsidione*, 118. Di Cori's audience evidently admired the factual rigour of the work as well. In the preface to the work, the Cremonese nobleman Laurentio Lampridio commented that his numerous readings of the work afforded him pleasure thanks to "la mera verità di essa cosa." Medin, *Obsidione*, 3.

<sup>77</sup> See n. 69 above.



or ten *quattrini*, in comparison with the quarter of a *quattrino* that could purchase the *Victoriosa Gata*.<sup>78</sup>

The woodcut on the *Obsidione*'s title page reflects the elevated tone of the accompanying text. If the woodcut of the *Victoriosa Gata* was, in fact, intended to infuse the defence of Padua with historical significance, the *Obsidione* print does this with greater subtlety. Despite its modest dimensions and style, the image employs a remarkably sophisticated rhetoric. It alludes only indirectly to the episode of the *gatta* through the identification of the bastion, and thus avoids the kind of details that would have inspired the presumably jocular atmosphere generated by the *Victoriosa Gata* print. The *Obsidione* print's most important departure from that of the *Victoriosa Gata* is the addition of two guardian saints watching over Padua from heaven. Held aloft by clouds, St. Mark appears on the left, flanked by the initials "S. M." and shown in the act of blessing the scene below. His tonsured companion to the right, St. Anthony, is easily identifiable by the initials "S. A." and the lily and book he holds. Thus, the two greatest patrons of the Republic as a whole and the city of Padua in particular are shown as present at the event.

The saints' appearance has obvious interpretive implications. At the very least, the holy presences above the city assert divine approval of the Republic's recapture of Padua. At the very most, they imply that the victory was won through heavenly influence.

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<sup>78</sup> There is a fair amount of documentary evidence regarding the cost of these pamphlets. The inventory of the library of Fernando Colombo, the son of Cristoforo, who purchased a number of these publications while in Italy in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century often noted their cost. For example, Fernando bought Perossino dalla Rotanda's four-folio pamphlet entitled *La rotta De Todeschi nouamente da Uenetiani in Friuoli e la presa del Conte Christopharo Fraccapane* ([Venice], [before November 1515]) for one *quattrino* in Rome in 1515; the same author's four-folio *El fatto darne fatto ad Rauena nel M.D.Xii...* (Venice, [ca. 1512]) cost the same. The anonymous, two-folio *La memoranda presa di Peschera cum tutti li successi e accidenti uarii de bataglie...* (Bologna: Giustiniano da Rubeira, [1510?]) cost only a half of a *quattrino* in Viterbo in 1515. For Colombo's records of these prices, see Klaus Wagner and Manuel Carrera, *Catologo dei libri a stampa in lingua italiana della Biblioteca Colombina di Siviglia* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1991), 344, 396, 398. Given these prices, the average cost per folio is about one quarter of a *quattrino*. As a result, a publication comprised of forty folios like the *Obsidione* would presumably cost about ten *quattrini*.

The latter interpretation becomes more plausible given that the artist omitted the city's earthly defenders entirely. This exclusion of the human element in Padua's defence is not a result of the text. On the contrary, Di Cori's exhaustive narrative presents a catalogue of the individual exploits of the main figures involved.<sup>79</sup> There is no question that for the poet the survival of the siege could never have been achieved without the brave deeds of the Venetian forces. In fact, while the poem frequently introduces religious content into the narrative,<sup>80</sup> as most politico-historical texts of the period were wont to do, Di Cori refers to the divine approval the Republic had historically enjoyed on only one occasion and very differently from the print. Speaking directly to his Venetian readers, he wrote:

It was with the help of Christ and other saints  
That you began to expand your state  
And governed it in peace for many years  
...  
But whether it is the fault of unfavourable skies or not,  
The time has arrived to set to work  
You should not be astonished, for this is the normal course of humanity...<sup>81</sup>

Di Cori was urging Venetians to take responsibility for the resolution of their politico-military plight, because they could no longer depend on the heavenly patronage they had previously enjoyed. Thus, the woodcut's implication that Padua's defence was in large part due to divine efforts is in direct conflict with the text. The publisher seems to have

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<sup>79</sup> Di Cori's text reads like a who's who of the defense of Padua. He mentions innumerable mercenaries in Venice's employ along with many of the Venetian nobles who lent their aid. One of the many examples of this is his praise of the Captain General of the Venetian forces, Nicolò Orsini, Count of Pitigliano: "Lo illustre conte Nicolao Orsino / Di drento è capitano generale, / ... / Ognior la bella insegna triomphale, / Et or dimostra a grande e picolino / Ne l'arte militar quanto sa e vale: / Magnanimo, sollicito e costante, / Strenuo, benigno, astuto e vigilante." Canto 3, verse 39, reprinted in Medin, *Obsidione*, 62.

<sup>80</sup> For example, the opening stanza of each of the six cantos begins with a formulaic, generalised appeal to either Christ or the Virgin for aid, but specifically with regard to Di Cori's writing of the poem. The second stanza of Canto 2 reads as follows: "Ch'io possa seguitar il grande assedio, / Alma regina, donami tu ingegno: / A la ignorantia mia porgi remedio..." etc. Reprinted in Medin, *Obsidione*, 31.

<sup>81</sup> "Con lo aiuto di Cristo e de altri santi / Comenzasti il tuo stato a dilatare / E in pace governato già anni tanti, / Sì che non creder ti deban mancare; / Ma se per colpa pur de' celi erranti / Ad ora el ti bisogna travagliare, / Non ti mirar, ché questo è corso umano, / Cha alquanto un stagi infermo, alquanto sano." Canto 4, verse 31, reprinted in Medin, *Obsidione*, 90.

decided to give the publication a spin rather different from that of the poem itself through the design of the woodcut created for its title page, because the artist set aside the poem in order to draw upon other sources. The publisher's decision would have been significant, since pamphlet-type works like the *Obsidione* were sold without a binding, most probably in the streets and squares of the city, and their title page was how they presented themselves to potential purchasers.<sup>82</sup> It is plausible to suggest, in fact, that the image would have done more to sell the pamphlet than the text. The print have offered a better reflection of the interests that guided the buying public, or at least what the publisher or the woodcutter perceived these to be. Whatever the case may be, however, it is apparent that the image functioned differently—or performed a different function—from the text it accompanied.

Like most Christian communities, Venetians were inclined to interpret earthly events as manifestations of God's will. Military losses thus became signs of divine disapproval, just as victories indicated divine approval. As a result, the Republic's generally triumphant history had long encouraged Venetians to believe that they were a particularly favoured people of God.<sup>83</sup> However, the shocking Rout of Agnadello and the sudden loss of the *terraferma* in 1509 put this long-standing conviction into question. Most Venetians could not help but interpret the Republic's victimisation by all of the other Christian powers of Europe as a punishment meted out by God for their sinful behaviour.<sup>84</sup> Conse-

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<sup>82</sup> On the sale of printed works, even longer books, without a binding, see Grendler, "Form and Function," 452.

<sup>83</sup> On this aspect of the so-called myth of Venice, see Staale Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Republic* (Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, 5) (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1974), 141–43.

<sup>84</sup> The principal sources on this subject are Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis," 274–92; and Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi, passim*. This particular aspect of the Venetian experience of the Cambrai War is the focus of chaps. 5, 6, and 7 of this dissertation.

quently, Venetians paid careful attention to every small change in their military fortunes, desperately seeking earthly evidence that they had not lost divine approval.

By the time Di Cori's text was printed, some relief had come in February 1510, when the pope had rescinded the Republic's excommunication. However, Venice's continuing struggle for survival left many Venetians desperate for reassurance. In fact, by the fall of that year, the Republic had again experienced a number of military disasters, some of which were felt as profoundly as that of Agnadello. The worst of these had occurred in December 1509 when a large fleet sent to recover Verona was destroyed by the Ferrarese in a surprise attack on the Po River.<sup>85</sup> As a result of such failures, the enemy had pressed forward again in June 1510, and the Venetian army was forced to withdraw from the territory in the Veneto that it had just worked so hard to reclaim. The Republic had no choice but to retreat back to Padua and Treviso, both of which were once again in danger of being lost.<sup>86</sup>

Naturally, Venetians had difficulty interpreting such shifting fortunes as indications of God's disposition toward the Republic. However, by the fall of that year, when the *Obsidione* went to press, the Republic had survived another enemy campaign and had managed to maintain control of Padua. In the midst of military failure and disappointment, the example of Padua shone like a beacon; twice it had been threatened, and twice it had been successfully defended. This pattern, as we will see, would be exploited for years to come.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> On this event and its unhappy reception by the Venetians, see Robert Finlay, "Venice, the Po Expedition, and the End of the League of Cambrai," in *Studies in Modern European History and Culture* 2 (1976): 37–72.

<sup>86</sup> On this, see Priuli, *Diarii*, 5: ff. 137<sup>v</sup>–138<sup>r</sup>; and Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 10, cols. 506–07, 512–13, 517–18, 518–20.

<sup>87</sup> For more on this, see chap. 3, which investigates the development of Padua's importance in the later phases of the war and afterward.

The *Obsidione* was thus published just months after a successful reprisal of Padua's defence. By reminding them of their (now historic) heroism in a similar predicament a year earlier, Di Cori's proud and patriotic narrative would have reassured its readers. For its own part, the woodcut would have offered a complementary—and, perhaps, more keenly appreciated—form of reassurance. In its implication that Padua's repatriation was approved by patrons as powerful as St. Mark and St. Anthony, the print's visual rhetoric assuaged the concern that was foremost in Venetians' minds—it declared that the Republic was once again in God's good graces. Evidently, it was not the time for boisterous images of a cat being dangled over ramparts to taunt the enemy; it was instead a time to address the greater, and ever-more-pressing questions raised by a war with no end in sight.

While the designer of the stylistically simple *Obsidione* woodcut may not have been innovative, he did make clever use of contemporary imagery of Germans. In an effort to make his image reassuring, he seems also to have drawn upon other sources, particularly a formula used in a successful work of art only ten years earlier, Jacopo de' Barbari's six-block woodcut displaying a bird's-eye view of Venice (fig. 29).<sup>88</sup> The image presents a remarkably detailed vista of the city overseen by two supernatural guardians, the pagan gods Mercury and Neptune. Their presence is explained in the accompanying inscriptions. Due to Mercury's role as the protector of merchants, his inscription promises the continuing success of Venetian commerce, while Neptune's declares that as long as the Republic enjoys his favour as ruler of the waters, the sea will remain calm and navi-

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<sup>88</sup> Due to its innovative nature and the popularity of its subject, the print was well known and appreciated in the lagoon. Sanudo mentions the work—as well as the fact that it cost a hefty price of three ducats; *Diarii*, vol. 3.2, col. 1006. For a modern discussion of the print and its success, see Schulz, “Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500,” in *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 425–474.

gable.<sup>89</sup> Venice's prosperous future seemed assured thanks to the positive influence of such powerful deities.

There is an evident parallel between the celebratory rhetoric employed in De' Barbari's work and that of the *Obsidione* woodcut. Although the earlier, more grandiose woodcut depicts Venice rather than Padua, and pagan deities substitute Christian saints, both images nonetheless aim to communicate the protection the Republic enjoyed thanks to the patronage of supernatural guardians.<sup>90</sup> The important difference between the prints lies in the nature of their messages. While the secular accent of the De' Barbari map implies its creation in an intellectual atmosphere of prosperity and security as a result of the investment of a foreign merchant, the *Obsidione* print appeared during an unsettling time of war at the instigation of a Venetian patriot and his *popolano* publisher. The latter work draws upon the familiar rhetoric of the former in order to provide a spiritually anxious Venetian public with a suitably reassuring image.

After the Cambrai War had ended and the buying public's needs and interests changed, it would prove more appealing to show Padua's defence as the result of human virtue rather than divine providence. Giovanni Andrea Vavassore's depiction of the siege for Degli Agostini's retrospective history exemplifies this change (fig. 30). The heavenly guardians do not appear in the post-war image. They have been replaced by a virile Venetian army ready to defend the city without otherworldly aid. Surely Vavassore would have been familiar with both the *Obsidione* and the *Victoriosa Gata* woodcuts, but the fact that he took the latter, despite its more simplistic appearance, as his model is reveal-

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<sup>89</sup> Juergen Schulz has translated the Latin inscriptions "MERCVRIVS PRECETERIS HVIC FAVSTE EMPORIIS ILLVSTRO" and "AEQVORA TVENS PORTV. RESIDEO HIC NEPTVNVS," as "I Mercury shine favourably on this above all other emporia," and "I Neptune reside here, smoothing the waters of this port." Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View," 468.

<sup>90</sup> David Rosand has noted that the De' Barbari print represents "a Renaissance humanist gloss on a venerable tradition of divine favor, a paganized inflection of a Christian tradition." Rosand, *Myths of Venice*, 12.

ing. His decision implies that the rhetorical interpretation of the event presented in the latter was better suited to the post-war atmosphere of military and psychological recovery. Vavassore adopted the appropriately earthly realism of the *Victoriosa Gata* to produce a sober image of military strength, invigorating it with a pinch of impudent pride through the continued inclusion of the cat hung over the ramparts. In a sense, one could say that the *Obsidione* woodcut offered an interpretation of the siege of Padua that ahistoricised the event too much for Degli Agostini's history book.

In fact, it was probably this ahistorical inclusion of heavenly guardians that generated the criticism of the few scholars who have paid the print any attention. In the nineteenth century, the Italian literary historian Antonio Medin disparaged the woodcut as lacking "any historical value," something he found particularly evident in its failure to present an accurate depiction of Padua.<sup>91</sup> More recently, John Hale's interest in the work was based as it "made an effort to be a real illustration."<sup>92</sup> However, the historians' disregard for the woodcut is a result of their preconceived notion of what it should be. It is only the anachronistic criteria by which they measure the print that negate its historical value: both scholars want the woodcut to offer a pure "illustration" of Di Cori's text, despite the fact that, at the time, images accompanying texts were not conceived of as direct translations of verbal content into visual form.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> In 1892, Medin commented that he had reproduced the woodcut "sebbene non abbia alcun valore storico, perché non raffigura Padua, ma una città qualunque a' piedi dei monti; infatti, mutato il nome della città che vi si legge sopra, lo stesso disegno con lievi modificazioni poté in seguito servire egregiamente ad alcuni editori del Lamento di Rodi." Medin, *Obsidione*, xxxix.

<sup>92</sup> Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 147.

<sup>93</sup> The subject of book illustration is discussed in greater detail in chap. 5. For a general discussion of the incorporation of figurative imagery into Italian printed books in the Renaissance, see David Bland, *A History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book* (London: Faber, 1969), 115–26. Paul Oskar Kristeller's study of the role of printed imagery in Quattrocento Florentine books is also helpful in the study of Venetian ones produced in the early sixteenth century. Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1897), introduction, esp. xi–xiv. On the reuse

What neither Medin nor Hale allow for is that the print's value lies not in its supposed documentation of an event, but rather in its documentation of an *interpretation* of that event. Instead of providing a factually precise record of Padua's defence, the print conveys how some Venetians wished to present—or be presented with—the victory a year after its occurrence. The differences between the textual and visual “accounts” of the siege in the *Obsidione* provide an exemplary reminder that history could be “remembered” in advantageous ways; they also demonstrate how visual imagery offered a particularly malleable, and potentially very effective, medium for doing so. In fact, the *Obsidione* must have proven to be a potent combination of visual and verbal rhetoric, for it was reproduced once again in 1515. Unbeknownst to the woodcut's designer in 1509, Padua would be besieged again in 1511, and once more in 1513.<sup>94</sup> Each attack threatened to expunge the city's successful defence in the first year of the war and the broader significance that the event had acquired. The *Obsidione* woodcut evidently provided an enduring reassurance in the face of such repeating circumstances, for when the publisher Alessandro Bindoni reprinted Di Cori's poem in 1515, he included a meticulous recutting of the original woodcut on the title page (fig. 27).<sup>95</sup>

Since the publisher of the 1510 print is unknown, it is impossible to know whether Bindoni was reprinting his own publication or copying someone else's. If he was the original publisher, then he evidently consumed the figurative woodblock in the print-

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of woodcuts in the same or other publications, see Rothstein, “Disjunctive Images in Renaissance Books,” 101–20.

<sup>94</sup> Venice was forced to defend Padua again in 1510, 1511, and 1513. For a summary of these events, see Finlay, “Foundation of the Ghetto,” 142–43.

<sup>95</sup> *La obsidione di Padua ne laquale se tractano tutte le cose che sonno occorse dal giorno che per el prestantissimo missere Andrea Gritti Proueditore generale fu reacquistata...* (Venice: Alessandro Bindoni, 22 November 1515). The publication is cat. no. 1689 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 207–08; cat. no. 2168 in Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 1:382; and cat. no. 10.6 in Beer et al, eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 2:303–342.



ing of the first edition, thus necessitating the cutting of a new block for the second. If Bindoni did not publish the *editio princeps*, however, then his edition of 1515 took advantage of the fact that Di Cori's three-year privilege had expired. His commission of a copy of the original's woodcut would thus act as evidence that the print had been well received, because Bindoni obviously felt it would continue to sell well. Regardless, it is clear that the image conceived in 1510 continued to have a powerful effect towards the end of the war, when Venice was still struggling for control of its former *Stato da terra*.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

For largely practical reasons, printed imagery provided the ideal medium for a first wave of response to the military and political events of the Cambrai War. From the earliest months of the conflict, the quick production, reproducibility and easy dissemination of printed material in both verbal and visual forms furnished favourable interpretations of the war. Such material was not programmatically produced by the state. Instead, it was the product of the trade community of publishers, printers and printmakers. Not surprisingly, this initial wave of printed material was sparked by the first event to offer Venetians a glimmer of hope. When the defenders of Padua accomplished the impossible in September 1509, woodcuts celebrated the army's virtue by lampooning the enemy. The *Pronostico* expressed the League's dismay at Venice's unexpected recapture of mainland territory in the fall of 1509, while the *Victoriosa Gata*'s text and imagery must have functioned like a powerful, patriotic antidote for all levels of society. This euphoria, however, soon cooled as the expectation of the quick end to the war that Padua's recovery had seemed to promise proved illusory. It was only natural that subsequent responses to shifting circumstances provided freshly appropriate interpretations of recent events. The

*Obsidione* exemplifies this in its very different visual rhetoric. Each image seems to have targeted different concerns at the time of their production: the *Victoriosa Gata* print helped provide a much-needed, visceral jolt of bellicose confidence, and the later *Obsidione* woodcut assuaged the ever more intense fear that God had abandoned the Venetians. The difference between the visual rhetoric in the two woodcuts demonstrates that visual culture offered a means of presenting different interpretations of current events and disseminating them.

The *Victoriosa Gata* and *Obsidione* woodcuts were among the first visualisations of a war that threatened to bring the Republic to its knees. Although some patricians experienced the horror and fear of battle first-hand when they had assisted in the recapture and defence of Padua, most Venetians never actually witnessed such events. The war took place at a distance, and its consequences were felt more indirectly—through the constant arrival of refugees, the higher cost of food and skyrocketing taxes. It was therefore woodcuts like those of the *Victoriosa Gata* and the *Obsidione* that first gave the war a visual “image.” They were, after all, cut for the purpose—rather than using stock woodblocks, as publishers so frequently did, these were created to respond directly to the events of the day. Furthermore, since the poems and imagery were printed rapidly after the events that inspired them, they would have been assimilated when the events were still topical. Thus they would have helped shape Venetians’ ideas about and involvement in the war. The rate of survival of popular printed material is very low and, therefore, the *Pronostico*, *Victoriosa Gata* and *Obsidione* woodcuts seem to be the only ones of their kind to have survived, but pamphlets like them, and, by extension, their imagery, must have been a familiar wartime sight.

Whatever impact pamphlet imagery may have had at the time of its production, it was nevertheless of short duration. Printed on flimsy paper with cheap inks, it could not have a truly enduring influence on the Venetian interpretation of the war's events. In fact, only five years after the conflict ended, the *Obsidione* woodcut seems to have lost its historical relevance and potency: in 1522, a Venetian printer—perhaps the same one who printed the first edition of Di Cori's poem—reused it in a pamphlet recounting the fall of Rodi to the Turks.<sup>96</sup> By this date, the woodblock, already showing evidence of wear, no longer presented a potent image of Venetian resistance to enemy forces; instead, it was reduced to a generic image of the siege of a city. It appears that it would be other, retrospective works of art produced in more lasting media which would later present enduring interpretations of Padua's importance during the Cambrai War.

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<sup>96</sup> The print appears on the title page of *Il lagrimoso lamento che fa il Gran Maestro di Rodi con i suoi Cavalieri, a tutti i Principi della Christianità nella sua partita. Con la presa di Rodi* (Venice: Bernardino de Viano, 1541).

## Chapter Three

### Manipulating Memory: Monumental Art Inspired by Padua's Repatriation

The woodcuts on the title pages of the *Victoriosa Gata* and *Obsidione* were among the first works of art to reflect the importance of Padua's recapture and defence, but they were by no means the last. A number of others produced later in the Cambrai War allude to the same event, though often in different ways and almost always for different reasons. As the conflict dragged on, the significance of Padua's repatriation changed and grew, and references to it in the visual culture of Venice developed accordingly. Most of these references appeared in monumental, laborious works of art produced in more expensive, canonical media and commissioned by shrewd patrician patrons.

Among the most imposing of these works were Lorenzo Bregno's sculpted altar for the church of Santa Marina (see figs. 31–36) and three tombs commissioned from Antonio Minello in 1512 for mercenaries who had assisted in the reclamation of Padua (figs. 14–16). The visual rhetoric of these monuments is rather close to that of the *Obsidione* woodcut, but these newer works erected a few years after the first heroic defence of Padua in 1509 seem to have had a far more sophisticated agenda than the woodcut. Although they have not been seen in this light before, these sculptural works seem to have presented carefully orchestrated, highly refined and decidedly partisan interpretations of Padua's repatriation that worked in concert. Instead of being designed to promote the sale of cheap pamphlets for financial gain, they seem to have been designed to influence political ideas at critical moments of the war. The discussion that follows argues that

these monuments were designed to exploit the historic victory by institutionalising it in order to lend support to the political views of their patrons.

When one considers the crass jibes that Venetian soldiers yelled at the enemy during Padua's defence and the cat that they childishly hung over the ramparts, it is difficult to imagine commemorating the event with large public monuments. However, as the *Obsidione* woodcut has already demonstrated, the crass reality can be later reinterpreted in order to place it in a more propitious light and exploit it in subtler and shrewder ways. Works of art could be a prominently visible means by which to "rewrite" the past, and the celebratory monuments produced to publicise Padua's repatriation unilaterally declared the event as a heroic success. In order to understand how they functioned differently from works addressing a similar theme from the early months of the war, we have to trace the later significance that the event acquired.

As the first years of the war passed by, it became ever clearer that Padua's repatriation was—and was likely to remain—one of the Republic's greatest military achievements during the Cambrai War. However, an examination of the significance of Padua's military vicissitudes within the context of Venetian politics during the war reveals that, perhaps unsurprisingly, the monuments present a simplification of reality. First of all, the patriciate's decision to attempt Padua's recapture in the summer of 1509, and to continue defending it, was difficult and contentious. Secondly, the success or failure of Padua's recovery came to represent the larger problem of reclaiming the whole *Stato da terra*. Finally, Padua's recapture and defence was the first and, for a number of years, the only, Venetian victory.

### 3.1 *Stato da mar Versus Stato da terra*

Padua's repatriation proved to be the single great victory that fuelled the decision to continue the fight for seven years, but the decision to reclaim the city itself had not been easy. When the League's forces arrived at the edge of the lagoon in the spring of 1509, having taken all of the territory that the Republic had acquired over the previous century, Venetians faced an important decision. Should they attempt to take back the *terraferma* or not? Although the later recounting of events in Venetian history books would have readers believe that Venetians had been unanimous in their desire to regain the mainland, the patriciate was sharply divided on the issue.<sup>1</sup> As Priuli observed, "when many Venetian nobles and citizens saw [our] terrible ruin and the loss of the *terraferma* they comforted themselves by saying that perhaps it was all for the best ... that the Republic abandon the mainland."<sup>2</sup> Priuli himself was of this opinion. Given the tense debate over the *terraferma*, polemical writings opposing the attempt to take it back began to appear. A poem published in 1509 advised Venetians to avoid battle if victory were not assured, because it was war that had allowed the enemy to reach the very shores of the lagoon.<sup>3</sup> Another poem in the same publication warned that war brought only misery and ruin.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Libby, "Reconquest of Padua," 323–31. See also the in-depth discussion of the conflict between the *Stato da mar* and the *Stato da terra* over the Republic's history paying particular attention to its reemergence during the Cambrai War in Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, 167–215.

<sup>2</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:51: "molti nobelli et cittadini venetti visti questa grande ruina et perdita de la terra ferma se confortavano et dicevano che forssi saria per il meglio et de magior utilitate de la repubblica et tuta la citade veneta per che abandonaronno la terra ferma..."

<sup>3</sup> The poem appears on f. 2<sup>v</sup> of a collection printed in 1509, the first of which is entitled *Lavs Venetorum a Miraculo per Dialogum*. It would also appear with slight variations in another collection probably dating to the same year that begins with a poem entitled *In laudem ciuitatis Uenetiarum* (Venice, [1509]). Its own title was "Venetos Illu. in perditores exprobatio," and its reprimand began "Signor Venetian non fate guerra / senon uedete hauer grandi auantazi: / scio [io so] de interessi gia ne haueti sazi: / scio [io so] i traditor vhan co[n]duto a Mergera..."

<sup>4</sup> *Lavs Venetorum a Miraculo per Dialogum*, f. 20<sup>r</sup>. The poem is entitled "Pacis utilitas contra belliq[ue] da[n]na." At one point, it declares: "Per guerra ogniuno iace: / Ville, Cita, & Paesi uano in fiamma / O benedecto sia chi pace chiama." Before arriving at the last lines quoted in the text above, the poem presents a very basic argument for avoiding war: "La guerra fa che prima el figiol mora: / che per rason contrario fa

The debate about the *terraferma* took place on both pragmatic and ideological levels. On the more practical side, money was a serious concern. Men like Priuli felt that the *terraferma* had always been a financial black hole and they opposed attempting to regain the *Stato da terra* because of the colossal resources required.<sup>5</sup> Vast armies were necessary to combat the combined forces of the League and, after the embarrassingly cowardly performance of the mercenary troops at Agnadello, many Venetians had grown suspicious of hired soldiers.<sup>6</sup> On the other side of the argument, the strongest advocates for the recovery of the mainland were noblemen who had little regard for the common good. Having invested heavily in property on the *terraferma* before the war, its loss would have resulted in their financial ruin.<sup>7</sup> Naturally, such selfish and ignoble motivations were more than transparent to those arguing the opposing point of view.<sup>8</sup>

Even if Venice's hired armies proved capable and the Republic found money to pay them, there was yet another practical problem encouraging Venetians to abandon the

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la pace: / la guerra fa di casa e roba fora. // La guerra fa el pastor lupo rapace: / la guerra di uergogne lhuomo achora: / e disperato in mal, e pertinace.”

<sup>5</sup> On the great cost of acquiring and maintaining the *terraferma* Priuli remarks: “Et in cento anni over pocho mancho, che queste citade di *terraferma* sonno state soto lo imperio veneto, se puol considerare veramente il grande numero de danari spexi, *cum* li quali, *modo loquendi*, haverianno [i senatori] comprata tuta Italia. Et questo procedeva perche questi Senatori Venetti heranno tanto inebriatti et obffuschatti in questo Stado italico, che non guardavano danari nè a spexa alchuna per fortificharlo et munirlo et provederli de ogni bisogno et far artellarie et munitione et fortificatione, che hera imposibelle judichare quanta summa de oro sia stato spexo in anni cento inzercha in simele chosse et in uno momento perduto...” Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:49–50. Priuli argues that the riches that had already been spent on acquiring and maintaining the *Stato da Terra* would have been enough for Venice to “farsse signora de tuta la christianitade...” He then comments on the cost of reconquering the mainland: “in giorni 15 tutto he statto perduto fino ale ripe salse, et se ’l bisognerà recuperarlo, bisogneranno danari assai.” Ibid., 4:51. Da Porto, too, noted in his letters that retaking the *terraferma* was going to require “allestire gli eserciti con intollerabili spese, e porli in mano di capitani forestieri che più per guadagno che per altri si conducono con noi, come molte esperienze ci possono aver ammoniti.” *Lettere Storiche*, 73.

<sup>6</sup> For Priuli's comments, see pp. 103–04. Niccolò Machiavelli had also criticized the Republic's reliance on hired mercenary troops; on this, see the discussion in Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, 179.

<sup>7</sup> Investments in the Paduano were particularly great. Around a third of the territory belonged to Venetians. See Libby, “Reconquest of Padua,” 324–25; and Angelo Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del '400 e '500* (Bari: Laterza, 1964), 173–75.

<sup>8</sup> Priuli's invective against supporters of the campaign to regain the *terraferma* was particularly strong: “questi Senatori Venetti heranno tanto inebriatti et obffuschatti in questo Stado italico [the *terraferma*], che non guardavano danari nè a spexa alchuna per fortificharlo et munirlo.” *Diarii*, 4:49.

*Stato da terra*—the fact that most of the *terraferma* cities were anxious to abandon Venice. The Republic had always believed that its subject cities were content under Venetian rule,<sup>9</sup> but when the League swept across the *terraferma* in the spring of 1509, many cities—including Padua—expressed their dissatisfaction by throwing open their gates to the supposed enemies.<sup>10</sup> As mentioned earlier, Venetians felt these defections very bitterly, especially those of Verona and Padua, because they embarrassingly debunked the myth of the Republic’s political perfection.<sup>11</sup>

Aside from practical issues of cost and feasibility, Venetian history and tradition provided a further ideological basis for supporting the renunciation of the *Stato da terra*. Looking back to better times, many Venetians nostalgically argued that the Republic’s honour and wealth had always come from the sea. It was only when the Republic had turned away from the sea and had begun to meddle with the *terraferma* that it earned the hatred and fear that led to the League of Cambrai’s formation. The desire to characterise the sea as the source of all good and the mainland as the opposite even led reactionaries such as Priuli to assert that Venetian interest in the *terraferma* was responsible for the Republic’s moral corruption. The diarist maligned the mainland as nothing more than a place for the indulgence of vice, and argued that it was time spent on a sea-faring mer-

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<sup>9</sup> In a propagandistic poem of 1501, Francesco de’ Allegri addressed the Republic, proclaiming that all of its subject cities on the mainland “Sotto obediencia de tua uoce pia / Sta uolentiera ognun sotto tuo arnesi / Ognun in pace gode sua famia / Non regna parte in lor ne odio alchuno / Con gran iustitia uiue il lor comuno...” *La summa gloria*, f. Cii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> With regard to Brescia, which Priuli calls “tanto degna et nominata citade et charissima ala Republica Veneta,” the diarist disgustedly noted that “senza bota di spada et senza colpo de alteraria et senza morte de hommo in uno momento senza respecto se havea rebellato ali sui tanto gratissimi Signori...” He went on to remark later that “di Bergamo non menor lamentatione se faceva a Venetia,” because the Venetians had had “grandissima fede in lo populo bergamasco.” *Diarii*, 4:45–49.

<sup>11</sup> The seditious Paduans were so great in number that Venice’s prisons could not accommodate them and the government’s immediate efforts to reestablish discipline and Venetian authority included the public execution of the highest-ranking Paduan traitors in the Piazza San Marco in front of vast crowds. In order to house the Paduan traitors, the Collegio had to order the emptying of the storage spaces of the Terra nuova. As Priuli venomously describes, the offenders were placed in “asprissime pregioni, perchè meritavano ogni male per la cativa voluntade et mala dispositione loro *contra* il Stato Veneto.” *Diarii*, 4:160.



chant ship that fostered the virtues of work and discipline. He summed up the intermingling of moral and practical issues perfectly when he commented: “From the sea have come riches and honour and dignity, while from the terraferma have come only war and expenses.”<sup>12</sup>

Popular published texts occasionally echoed the personal opinions recorded in Priuli’s diary. For example, the pamphlet of propagandistic verse that discouraged Venetians from waging war also included a very traditionalist poem urging them to return to the sea:

Return to the sea, Venetian sirs,  
For you are the best seamen in the world:  
All the others quickly sink  
When they see how you handle the sea.  
What are you doing trying to look after peasants...

The poem concludes with the advice that “he who wants to be rich [looks to] the sea and leaves the oxen to the peasant for sowing.”<sup>13</sup> Foreign polemical literature proffered additional encouragement, though in a far less congenial manner. A Ferrarese poet caustically advised the Venetians to “return to their fishing nets,” for they had never been entitled to

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<sup>12</sup> “Dal mare heranno pervenute le richeze et li honori et la dignitade, et dala terraferma le guere et le spexe.” As is usual with Priuli’s diary, he discusses the theme *ad nauseam*. The quote was extracted from a much lengthier passage that includes the following: “Et il principio et sublevatione dela citade veneta he proceducta dal mare et navigatione maritime, et le richeze et texori venetti sonno divenuti dal mare et viagij maritimi, et tutti questi danari venuti dal mare sonno statti consumati in la terraferma: et questo he certissimo, come spero, in altro locho qui de soto dechiarirò. Tutavolta li Venetiani heranno molto piui inclinati ala terraferma, per essere piui delectevole et piacevole, cha al mare suo antiquo et cagione de ogni loro gloria, amplitudine et honore. ...li Padri Veneti et tuta la citade heranno tanto inclinati et destinati a questa terraferma, che piui non se poteva dire, et abandonava li viagij maritimi ... perchè, essendo li nobelli et citadini veneti inrichitti, volevano triumphare et vivere et atendere a darssi apiacere et delectatione et verdure in la terraferma et altri spassi assai, abandonando le navigatione et viagij maritimi, quali heranno piui fastidiosi et laboriosi, *et tamen* dal mare procedeva ogni bene.” *Diarii*, 4:49–50.

<sup>13</sup> *In laudem ciuitatis Uenetiarum*, f. 1<sup>v</sup>: “Andate in mar signor Uenetiani / che sete i primi marinar del mondo: / ogni altro presto p[re]sto andara al fondo / qua[n]do sapran vui in mar menar le mani. / Che state affar a custodir villani/ ... / chi si vol far richo vadi in mare / Et lassi i buo al villan per seminare.” On this poem and its presentation of political ideas in a more popular fashion, see Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, 331.

territory on the mainland: “You terrible fishermen / You abandoned your nets / and began fishing for states and realms / [of which] you were never worthy.”<sup>14</sup>

### 3.2 Padua as a Political Boiling Point

All of these issues came to the surface when the League’s troops arrived on the very shores of the lagoon after taking nearby Padua in June of 1509. The debate about whether to try to restore the formerly extensive *Stato da terra* ultimately came down to the simpler question of whether to try to retake Padua. Discussion was intense and opinions varied widely; some felt the recapture of Padua a necessary course of action, while others denounced it as overly risky and devoid of benefits.<sup>15</sup> Despite all of the problems involved in Padua’s recovery, both practical and ideological, the decision was finally made to attempt the endeavour. Pietro Bembo’s government-commissioned history of the war would later try to convince readers that patricians reached the decision out of a shared sense of civic pride. However, the truth is that those favouring the enterprise prevailed by minimising their financial motivations and emphasising the need for a spectacular victory

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<sup>14</sup> Lorenzo Rossi?, [An admonition in verse addressed to the Venetians by the Ferrarese on the occasion of the defeat of the former, 22 December 1509] (Ferrara, [1510]), f. 1<sup>v</sup>: “Voi pescator crudeli / le reti abbandonasti / e a cita pescasti a stati e regni / e a cole de qual degni mai non fusti...” The poem concludes on f. 4<sup>r</sup> with an admonition to Venetians to “tornar ale reti.” The work brims with hatred for the Venetians. Among the latter’s particular faults is an insatiable hunger for territorial expansion. The Ferrarese had especially poisonous pens when it came to criticising the Venetians. Twenty years earlier they had warred with Venice and lost, leaving them with a Venetian *visdomino*. Eager to rid themselves of their Venetian overlords, the duke of Ferrara enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to join the League of Cambrai in 1509.

<sup>15</sup> The situation is summed up wonderfully in Libby, “Reconquest of Padua,” 327. A particularly revealing contemporary source is a letter by Da Porto to his friend Antonio Savorgnano in which he states: “Quei tali che non perdevano molti possessioni [with the loss of the Paduano], temendo le future spese, non consentivano alla rinnovazione della guerra.... Essendo dunque coloro che non perdevano possessioni d’avviso che non si ripigliasse la guerra, dicevano agli altri del Consiglio: che non si volessero preparare maggiori sciagure di quelle che avevano, e che fossero contenti d’avere lasciato in bocca alla loro avversa ed affamata fortuna tutto il loro stato e le possessioni di terra ferma, ringraziandola anche che a questa volesse restare contenta senza maggiormente affliggerli, che restava loro pacifico il mare, molto più atto ad arricchirli in breve spazio di tempo, che la terra in lunghissimo intervallo...” *Lettere Storiche*, 71–72.

to improve morale at home.<sup>16</sup> Some of the noblemen who supported the decision demonstrated their commitment by joining the troops directly. On July 17, 1509, the Venetian patrician Andrea Gritti led the Republic's forces to the gates of Padua and successfully recaptured the city. When Venetians looked back after the war's conclusion, this event, and the city's subsequent defence, was universally recognised as a turning-point in the war, as is evident in the influential writings of Andrea Navagero, Gasparo Contarini, Giambattista Egnazio and Andrea Mocenigo.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of the debate that Padua's repatriation had caused, its strategic importance had virtually guaranteed that it would make its way into the visual arts. Scholars have agreed that there seems to be a reference to the city's recapture by the Republic in the frescoes of the Scoletta di Sant'Antonio in Padua itself. Immediately after the imperial siege of 1509, Gianantonio Corona painted *The Meeting of S. Antonio with Ezzelino da Romano*, a fresco depicting the defeat of the Emperor Frederick II's tyrannical henchman in 1259. By depicting Ezzelino's retinue in Cinquecento Landsknecht costume, the image strongly encouraged the contemporary viewer to recognise a parallel between Padua's liberation from the emperor's clutches in the early sixteenth century and the thirteenth-century episode.<sup>18</sup>

In the lagoon itself, it would take a few more years for monumental works referring to the repatriation of Padua to appear. Lorenzo Bregno was hired by a private patron to produce an elaborate, sculptural altar for the church of Santa Marina sometime around

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<sup>16</sup> Bembo's version of events were probably largely based on the letters by his friend Da Porto that came into his possession after the Vicentine's death; on this see Cecil Clough, "Le lettere storiche di Luigi da Porto fonte della *Istoria viniziana* di Pietro Bembo," *Archivio veneto* 5, no. 108 (1963), 14; and Pietro Bembo, *Opere del cardinale Pietro Bembo*, 4 vols. (Venice: F. Hertzhauser, 1729), 4:223–28. On the true motivations behind the decision, see Libby, "Reconquest of Padua," 327.

<sup>17</sup> See the analysis of the works of these writers in Libby, "Venetian History and Political Thought," esp. 38.

<sup>18</sup> See the discussion in Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 145.

1512. The same year, the Signoria commissioned a group of tombs in SS. Giovanni e Paolo for three mercenaries who had helped the Republic reclaim Padua.

The altarpiece and tombs immediately stand out because they are large in scale and employ expensive materials. Since expendable capital was in extremely short supply during the war, the commission of imposing sculptural or architectural works of art was greatly reduced,<sup>19</sup> and what large-scale projects were begun were usually fuelled by some sense of necessity. Examples include the replacement of the Procuratie Vecchie after a fire had left the Piazza San Marco in an unacceptable state of ruin in 1512, and the rebuilding of the essential business hub in the Rialto market after a fire of 1514 had reduced the area to ashes.<sup>20</sup> In contrast to these highly visible projects, neither the Santa Marina altarpiece nor the mercenaries' tombs in SS. Giovanni e Paolo could have been considered indispensable. However, as Oliver Logan has noted, expenditure on art "did not necessarily follow the same pattern as other forms of expenditure and was not even necessarily related to the vigour of the economy;" in fact, Venetians were sometimes "inclined to put their money into buildings and works of art not least when commercial ac-

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<sup>19</sup> On this as a general rule, see Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice*, 149. At the moment of the tombs' commission, what capital the state had it was pouring predominantly into the hired armies protecting the Republic on the mainland. And as regards time, with the enemy pushing more than once to the very shores of the lagoon, Venetians may not have felt they had that in great quantities either. On the subject of architectural activity during the war, see the excellent discussion in Ackerman, "Geopolitics of Venetian Architecture," 41–71. On the subject of sculpture, see scattered references to the subject in McHam, *Chapel of St. Anthony*; and Anne Markham Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno. Venetian Sculpture in the High Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>20</sup> In the Piazza San Marco, the government immediately initiated the rebuilding of the Procuratie Vecchie after they were gutted by fire in 1512 because they could not have left such an important political space in ruin. On the Procuratie Vecchie, see Antonio Foscari, "Il cantiere delle 'Procuratie vecchie' e Jacopo Sansovino," in *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 19 (1983): 61–76. See also Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 2, 50–52; and Ackerman, "Geopolitics of Venetian Architecture," 41–71. In 1514, just two years later, the central trade hub of the Rialto market was razed to the ground by a fire. Of the various rebuilding plans proposed, the simplest, fastest, and most economically viable seems to have been selected. On this, see Calabi, *Rialto*, chap. 4 ("L'avvio della ricostruzione"), 50–60.

tivity was risky or offered limited returns.”<sup>21</sup> The monuments’ commission in a period of extreme political crisis implies that their patrons had a vested interest in their production. Analysis of the sculptural works as a group suggests that this interest was the desire to present a carefully constructed (re)interpretation of Padua’s repatriation, one whose function was quite different from that of the prints produced a few years earlier.

### 3.3 St. Marina and the Recapture of Padua

The high altar produced for the church of St. Marina by the sculptor Lorenzo Bregno at the request of the noble Bragadin family must have been one of the most imposing monuments erected during the war, though it now survives only in fragments (figs. 31–36).<sup>22</sup> Venetians had come to believe that St. Marina had lent her aid in the Republic’s recapture of the city, because victory had taken place on July 17, the saint’s feast day. To give formal expression to the state’s gratitude, on 25 June 1512 the Senate declared St. Marina’s feast day a national holiday. The decree proclaimed: “This day marked the beginning of our liberation from the evil forces surrounding us [and] from the jaws of our enemies, and [it was] from these that the city of Padua was freed not by hu-

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<sup>21</sup> Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice*, 149.

<sup>22</sup> The first edition of Sansovino’s guidebook identified Lorenzo Bregno as the artist responsible for the work, commenting that “sù l’altar grande sono collocate tre figure di marmo al naturale, scolpite da Lorenzo Bregno.” Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima* (Venice: Giacomo Sansovino, 1581), 12<sup>r</sup>. Schulz has noted that this attribution was maintained for as long as the altarpiece remained intact; it was only after its parts were dispersed and no longer considered together that the attribution was questioned. See Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 176 (nn. 12, 13). Flaminio Corner’s mid-eighteenth-century description identifies the Bragadin family as the altar’s patrons: “Altare quo sacrum Virginis depositum clauditur, Patritiae Gentis Bragadenae expensis ornatissime elaboratum, selectisque marmoribus varie compactum, tria exhibet Divarum simulacra ex alabastro laudatissima, quorum quod eminet Virginem Titularem mediam inter Sanctas Catharinam, & Mariam Magdalenam egregio opere repraesentat.” Flaminio Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae antiquis monumentis nunc etiam primum editis illustratae ac in decades distributae*, 14 vols. in 8 bks. (Venice: Giovanni Battista Pasquali, 1749), 3:255.

man action or design, but by divine aid.”<sup>23</sup> Thenceforth, every year on the seventeenth of July the saint was venerated as a special patron of the Republic with an elaborate ducal procession to her church for the celebration of mass until the Republic fell to Napoleon at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup> In a publication of 1763 promoting devotion to St. Marina, one of the procurators of her church described her proudly as a “protectress against enemy threats.”<sup>25</sup>

The official elevation of St. Marina’s status seems to have sparked the commission of a new high altar for her church. Anne Markham Schulz finds this hypothesis particularly convincing, because her stylistic analysis of Bregno’s oeuvre dates the altarpiece to around 1512, the very year in which the Senate decreed St. Marina an official patron of the Republic.<sup>26</sup> Although the altar has not survived intact—the church was torn down in the early nineteenth century, and the altar was disassembled and dispersed<sup>27</sup>—there are two eyewitness descriptions pre-dating the church’s demolition, Giovanni Stringa’s edition of Sansovino’s guidebook to Venice and a seventeenth-century manuscript in the ar-

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<sup>23</sup> The Senate’s decree survives in a copy preserved in the Biblioteca Correr in Cod. Cicogna 2043, ff. 74<sup>r</sup>–76<sup>r</sup>. It is also reproduced in Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae*, 256–57; and Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 14, cols. 420–21. The decree clearly stated that the recapture of Padua had been accomplished in part due to the divine aid of the female saint and is infused with an intense, propagandistic spirit evident even in its opening lines: “Fuit ille dies initium liberationis nostrae a comitatu malignantium at a faucibus inimicorum nostrorum, quo civitas Paduae, non humana ope aut consilio, sed divino auxilio fuit recuperata.” See the transcription in *ibid.*, cols. 420–21.

<sup>24</sup> See Giustina Renier Michiel, *Origine delle feste veneziane*, 6 vols. in 3 bks. (Milan: Alinopoli, 1829), 5:84–85.

<sup>25</sup> In a discussion of the celebration of her feast day in Venice, the procurator, F. Zorzi, describes St. Marina as “protettrice dall’insidie nemiche”; *Compendio della vita di Santa Marina vergine, Il di cui sagro incorrotto Corpo si venera in Venezia nella Chiesa Parrocchiale, e Collegiata di essa Santa* (Venice, 1763), 120.

<sup>26</sup> Schulz comments on the dating of the commission as follows: “Very likely, it was the new celebration of the saint, decreed in June of 1512 and given public expression for the first time on July 17 of that year, that provoked the commission of S. Marina’s elaborate and costly High Altar.” She allows that the execution of the work might date to a few years later due to the complications of commissioning a work of this nature during a time of war; *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 175–76.

<sup>27</sup> For a general history of the church, see Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols. (Venice: Arnaldi Forni, 1824), 1:331–32; for a detailed account of the vicissitudes of the altarpiece and its various parts, see Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 175–76.

chive of the church of Santa Maria Formosa.<sup>28</sup> Using these, Schulz was able to locate the main sculptural components of the altarpiece and reconstruct its general appearance, and concluded that it must have been a monumental work.

The altar's focal point was a life-size marble sculpture of St. Marina (figs. 31, 32), which was flanked by life-size ones of St. Catherine, with a fragment of her wheel (figs. 33, 34), and Mary Magdalen, her left hand now bereft of the attribute it once held (figs. 35, 36). When the St. Marina altarpiece was still intact, each of the three figures was set in an arched niche flanked by columns. The central bay housing St. Marina was raised a little above those of the saints on either side.<sup>29</sup> After the deconsecration of the church in 1810, the central figure resurfaced in the collection of Venice's Seminario Patriarcale sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, while the sculptures of Catherine and the Magdalen were installed in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where they still flank Andrea Vendramin's tomb by Tullio Lombardo.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> See respectively, Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, ed. Giovanni Stringa (Venice: Altobello Salicato, 1604), 110<sup>r</sup>: "Ha questa Chiesa altari sette, tra i quali il maggiore è di nobili, & ricchi marmi fabricato, & per suo maggior ornamento vi sono molti pezzi di porfido finissimo, con le sue colonne, nicchi, figure, lavori, partimenti, & corniciamenti, che formano in bel modo il disegno della pala di esso altare, sopra il quale ui sono collocate tre figure di marmo al naturale, scolpite da Lorenzo Bregno"; and Archivio di Santa Maria Formosa, MS, D'Amadeni, 1676, ff. 51ff., as transcribed in Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 176 (n. 7): "In eodem choro conspicitur altare maius, S. Marinae dedicatum, in quo eiusdem Virginis corpus requiescit. Machina magna est ex Istrio, Pario, Porphÿretico, Lacedemonio viridi, ac Tiberiaco marmore uersicolore erecta, ac speciosis coruscorum et muscosorum lapidum segmentis conspicua: cuius medium occupat S. Marinae statua maior ex alabastro efformata, ad utrumque latus aliae duae statuæ SS. Mariae Magdalenae et Catharinae Virg. Martyr. ex alabastro eiusdem magnitudinis cum priore, inferiori tamen loco positae admirantur, ac earum sculptor Laurentius Bregno laudatur. Bragadenorum antiquissimorum Patriciorum opus est, utpote, qui illud erigi mandarunt, et ante aram sibi ac successoribus suis sepe-liendi locum deligerunt. Altare et sepultura inscriptione carent, arma tamen Bragadena con dignam uetustà prosapià munificentiam tacitè loquuntur et apertè demonstrant."

<sup>29</sup> Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 175–76.

<sup>30</sup> For a detailed account of the vicissitudes of the three sculptures, see Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 69–70, 175.

St. Marina was renowned for her goodness, patience, and perseverance.<sup>31</sup> To avoid marriage and to dedicate her life to devotional meditation, from a young age she lived in a monastery disguised as a monk named Marino. When she was seventeen, however, a dishonest young woman accused the “monk” of having gotten her with child. Not wanting to reveal that she was female, and thus lose her place in the monastery, Marina affirmed the accusation and raised the baby boy as her own.<sup>32</sup> Bregno’s depiction of the saint wonderfully exemplifies her virtues. While her voluminous male habit almost entirely disguises her femininity, the small child appearing at her feet reminds the viewer of her generous selflessness in raising another’s child. Marina is also shown holding a book in her left hand, reflecting her devotional study; the pose of her right hand, now lost, is unknown, but it is possible that it was engaged in a gesture of blessing.

Marina’s female companions are presented quite differently. Mary Magdalen and Catherine both wear body-revealing, *all’antica* attire and display sensual hairstyles—the Magdalen’s hair flows loose on her shoulders, and Catherine’s is arranged in an elegant classical coiffure. The obvious femininity of these flanking figures seems to have served both to underscore Marina’s virtuous restraint and to offer the sculptor an opportunity to display his assimilation of the classical aesthetic.

Primary sources record that the lost architectural structure which once housed the three figures was made of white Istrian stone and costly marble decorated with incrustations of semiprecious stones.<sup>33</sup> The description recalls the architectural frames of other contemporary altarpieces by Lorenzo Bregno and his brother Giambattista. Their Altar of

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<sup>31</sup> Zorzi, *Compendio della vita di Santa Marina*, pt. 2 (“Divoto apparecchio alla festa di Santa Marina Vergine, disposto nelle cinque domeniche precedenti la di lei solennità”), 8–11.

<sup>32</sup> On the saint’s life, see *ibid.*, 7–20.

<sup>33</sup> See above, n. 28.



the Cross in the church of San Marco begun in 1518 and Giambattista Bregno's Bettignoli Bressa altarpiece for the church of S. Nicolò at Treviso (fig. 37) both employ a highly decorative, triple-arch format to house trios of sculpted figures. If a similar design was used for the St. Marina altarpiece, as the seventeenth-century descriptions suggest, then the work would have generated an atmosphere of celebration through its imitation of the commemorative dignity of antique triumphal arches. The classicising appearance of the flanking saints would have reinforced this further.<sup>34</sup> It would seem that the altarpiece's patron was interested in generating this effect, for Bregno's style was much closer to that of antique sculpture than that of his most successful contemporaries, including Pietro Lombardo's sons Tullio and Antonio.<sup>35</sup>

Compared to what probably preceded it, Bregno's altar would have created a far more suitable destination for the newly established ducal procession to St. Marina. In 1491, the main altar is described in the records of the Scuola di Santa Marina as displaying the chest-like reliquary housing the saint's remains and a "pala d'oro,"<sup>36</sup> a gilded altarpiece on panel that was probably one of the small iconic depictions of the Madonna and Child so common in the lagoon. Before Bregno's sculpture, the saint's only appearance in the church may have been in a series of narrative paintings recounting her life commissioned by the *scuola piccola*. Although none of these are traceable, a *scuola*

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<sup>34</sup> Schulz notes that the classicising garb of the *Mary Magdalen* is frequently found in classical representations of Juno or Ceres. She also suggests that the figure might have become a benchmark of classicising figural style at the time. Schulz, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 70.

<sup>35</sup> Schulz, unquestionably the expert on late-Quattrocento and early-Cinquecento sculptors working in Venice, asserts this; *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 80–82.

<sup>36</sup> The church had existed for two centuries before the arrival of St. Marina's relics in the early thirteenth century, the event which had led to changing its dedication from the church of Sts. Liberale and Alessio to that of St. Marina. See Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 1:331. As a consequence, there would already have been an altarpiece in place before the rededication which would have had nothing to do with St. Marina. A record of the *scuola piccola* dedicated to St. Marina from 1 July 1491 indicates that there was a "pala d'oro" on the main altar as well as a newly completed reliquary in the form of a painted chest. As reproduced in Gastone Vio, *Le scuole piccole nella Venezia dei dogi. Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane* (Costabissara: A. Colla, 2004), 200.

document indicates that one of these showed St. Marina dressed in a monk's habit and being led by her father to the monastery.<sup>37</sup> Such works, however, performed a function very different from that of an altarpiece. The diminutive figures and cluttered landscapes that these paintings surely employed would not have had the same kind of monumentality and dignity as Bregno's life-size, marble sculpture framed majestically in a triumphal arch.

The altarpiece's celebratory tone and artistic grandeur acquire a slightly hollow ring, however, when one considers them in relation to the historical truth of the event they were designed to promote. Unlike Padua's later defence, its recapture was an embarrassing affair. First of all, the manner in which the city had been lost to Maximilian mortified and distressed the Republic, for the Paduans had willingly defected to the emperor as a result of their dissatisfaction with Venetian rule. This turncoat behaviour humiliatingly discredited the mythical perfection of the Republic's government. Secondly, the fashion in which the Venetians recovered Padua was also upsetting. Although the unprecedented involvement of many Venetian nobles in the effort was a source of pride, the patricians' bitter resentment about Padua's voluntary defection had surfaced after entering the city gates, resulting in an unabashedly violent sack.<sup>38</sup> The Signoria was ashamed

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<sup>37</sup> A *scuola* record indicates that in 1493 the *banca* spent 4 ducats for "uno telero" depicting "sancta Marina con suo padre che la menava al monastier vestita in abito"; *ibid.* The latter was evidently one of a series of narrative paintings like those typically commissioned by *scuole* at the time, for Sansovino comments that the church's interior was "ornata di nobili pitture rappresenta[n]ti la uita sua..." *Venetia città nobilissima* [1581], ff. 11<sup>r</sup>–11<sup>v</sup>. The present author is unaware of the whereabouts of any of these works.

<sup>38</sup> Priuli discusses how the Senate heard on July 19 about the atrocities being committed by Venetian noblemen in Padua after the city's recapture by Venetian forces: "Li Senatori Venetti ogni giorno da Padoa haveanno qualche rechiamo deli cativi portamenti deli nobelli venetti, quali depredavanno et robavanno et ruinavanno le chaxe deli poveri citadini padoani *cum* tanta vergogna et ingnominia del nome veneto, che piui non se potria explichare, et, per quanto da chadauno *cum* veritade se intendeva, magior robamenti et ruina facevanno li nobelli venetti cha li soldati..." Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:161. See also Da Porto's letter of 25 July 1509 to Antonio Savorgnano in which he recounts how some of the most prominent Paduans hid themselves to avoid discovery by the vindictive Venetian troops, "ma i Viniziani ... finsero non poca umanità in molte cose, come in dolersi palesemente..." Da Porto, *Lettere Storiche*, 100–103.

of such ignoble behaviour; some of its members even proposed that the offenders be severely punished in spite of their noble status.<sup>39</sup> The victory of Padua's recapture, therefore, was as undeniably important as it was tainted by a profound sense of disgrace.<sup>40</sup> This might explain why the printed texts and images discussed in the last chapter celebrated the city's defence against the German troops in September 1509 rather than its re-possession two months earlier.

Even though the altarpiece and prints commemorated different events, a comparison of the appearance and rhetoric of these works is revealing. After all, while the recapture and subsequent defence of Padua may have been distinct historical episodes, they were nonetheless closely connected. In fact, the altarpiece shares a much with the *Obsidione* woodcut in particular. Both works assert the importance of divine aid in—and hence divine approval of—the Republic's military activity on the mainland. The *Obsidione* print's inclusion of beloved patron saints protecting Padua is akin to the altarpiece's acknowledgement of St. Marina's involvement in recovering the city. Bregno's work thus revives a form of rhetoric that had already appeared in Venetian visual culture in relation to Padua during the Cambrai War. In viewing the works as a pair, it seems that the message first conveyed in a cheap woodcut printed on fragile paper acquired a more eloquent

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<sup>39</sup> “Donde che, avendo *cum* grande molestia intexo questa cossa, il Principe et Padri Venetti deliberonno al tutto farne gaiarda et aspra punitione, et, convochatto il Consiglio di Dieci, deliberonno de mandare questa nocte a Padoa uno Capo del dicto Consiglio, che fu ser Hieronymo Quirini, et un Advocator de Comun, quale fu ser Marim Morexini, *cum* tute quelle auctoritade, libertade et mandati posibelli de poter retinire, prendere, condenare, impregonare, et mandare a Venetia, et amazare tutti quelli nobelli veneti et altri, quali volessenno uxare violentie et fusseno desobedientti, perchè veramente hera materia de grandissima importantia et de grandissima vergogna al nome veneto et de grande pietade ad ruinare questa povera citade de Padoa, et meterla a sacho. Et ttuta la citade veneta cridava veramente che se dovesse fare aspra provixione, *et maxime* contra li nobelli venetti, quali heranno chagione de ogni male et de far ribelli li populli, et de vergognare la nobeltade et il Stato veneto.” Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:158.

<sup>40</sup> Priuli commented that the city's recapture “et de vergognare la nobeltade et il Stato veneto...” In his description of the recovery of Padua and its aftermath, Priuli emphasises that the nobles were worse than the soldiers during the horrible sack of the city. In fact, the hired mercenary soldiers, seeing how the Venetian nobility itself was behaving, followed suit; *Diarii*, 4:154–61.

and authoritative form in the majesty of the marble altarpiece. The visual language of the later work—that of classical antiquity—also lent considerable credibility to the altarpiece’s assertion that the Republic enjoyed God’s approval and aid. This was underscored even further by the felicitous coincidence that the church of St. Marina already housed a monument commemorating the Republic’s possession of Padua, the tomb of Doge Michele Steno.<sup>41</sup> Venice had claimed Padua for the first time in 1405 under Steno’s leadership, and his tomb was adorned with the keys to the city.<sup>42</sup> When St. Marina’s feast day was made a national festival, the Senate mentioned the ducal tomb and its meaning in the declaration.<sup>43</sup>

Given that such a message was welcomed in the first months of the war, one cannot help but ask why it took so long to commission the altarpiece. In looking to Sanudo’s diary, there is no mention of commemorating St. Marina’s importance on the anniversary of Padua’s recapture in either 1510 or 1511.<sup>44</sup> So why did this idea surface in June 1512? The answer to this question emerges through knowledge of the altarpiece’s patron and the political circumstances in which it was created. By 1512, it was clear that there would be no easy end to the war. Three years of military struggle had made this an inescapable fact. The conflict’s apparent interminability continued to cause Venetians to worry that the war was divine punishment, earned by their sinful behaviour. The Senate’s establishment of a national festival on St. Marina’s day and the production of a magnificent altarpiece in her honour must have represented an attempt to respond to this. By promoting

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<sup>41</sup> On this, see Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 1:331. The tomb is now found in SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

<sup>42</sup> This “fortuitous” coincidence is noted frequently by those who comment on St. Marina and her festival; see Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae*, 3:257; and Michiel, *Origine delle feste*, 85.

<sup>43</sup> Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Cod. Cicogna 2043, ff. 74<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> On 17 July 1510, Sanudo actually notes the gathering of volunteers to go to Padua’s aid in exchange for the forgiveness of loans; *Diarii*, vol. 10, cols. 800–809. On the same day the following year, Sanudo’s entry is brief and bears no mention of the historic importance of the day or St. Marina’s significance; *ibid.*, vol. 12, col. 291.

the saint who had aided the recovery of Padua, the altarpiece would have vaunted not only God's approval of the Republic, but also, and more importantly, his particular approval of Venice's campaign to reclaim the *terraferma*.

### 3.3.1 Patronage and Purpose: The St. Marina Altarpiece

Bregno's large, ostentatiously expensive, carved altarpiece has always been connected with the wealthy, patrician Bragadin family.<sup>45</sup> The family's most prominent branch belonged to the parish of St. Marina and held *juspatronatus* of the main apse for which the work was produced. Alvise Bragadin, a Procurator of St. Mark and one of the greatest politicians in the family's history, was buried there in 1503.<sup>46</sup> By the time the Senate elevated St. Marina to the status of official patron saint in 1512, Alvise's son Francesco had become the political head of the family.<sup>47</sup> Evidence suggests that it is he who is probably responsible for the altarpiece's commission.

Aside from being an influential politician, Francesco was also a learned, humanist scholar. Nicknamed "*sapientissimus philosophus*" for his knowledge of Plato and Aristotle, he was a strong supporter of the university in Padua and even taught briefly at the Scuola di Rialto in Venice.<sup>48</sup> His privileged education surely fostered an interest in artistic patronage in general, and in the classicising style of Bregno more particularly. How-

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<sup>45</sup> Venice, Archivio di Santa Maria Formosa, MS, d'Amadeni, 1676, ff. 51<sup>r</sup>; and Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae*, 3:255.

<sup>46</sup> On Alvise Bragadin's burial, see Angelo Ventura, "Bragadin, Francesco," in *DBI*, 13:674.

<sup>47</sup> A close friend and admirer of Francesco, Sanudo hailed him as one of the most trusted and influential politicians in all of Venice. Given that Francesco was always occupying prominent posts, he was heavily involved in important decisions; see Ventura, "Bragadin, Francesco."

<sup>48</sup> On Bragadin and the Scuola di Rialto, see B. Nardi, "Letteratura e cultura veneziane del Quattrocento," in *La civiltà veneziana del Quattrocento*, ed. Guido Piovene (Florence: Sansoni, 1957), 118, 141. Bragadin's involvement with the university in Padua notably increased at the end of the Cambrai War, during which the university had been forced to close. When the conflict was over, Francesco was one of the major exponents of efforts to reopen and revive the institution. During the 1520s, most Senate declarations dealing with the operation and growth of the university in Padua bear his signature. See Ventura, "Bragadin, Francesco," 13:672.

ever, even more than this, Bragadin's activity as a politician strongly suggests that he would have been a particularly appropriate patron to commission a work celebrating the repatriation of Padua. In fact, he had already helped do so via the literary arts: he had been one of the four councillors to scrutinise De Cori's poem *La obsidione di Padua* in 1510 and approve it for publication.<sup>49</sup>

Thanks to his excellent grasp of European politics, Bragadin became one of Venice's most influential politicians during the Cambrai War. Throughout the conflict, he consistently influenced important political and military decisions, because he possessed a talent for reacting quickly to the ever-shifting alliances endlessly complicating the war.<sup>50</sup> While the political strategies Bragadin proposed often changed in response to new circumstances, his efforts always shared an unswerving goal: the recovery of the *Stato da terra*.<sup>51</sup> Bragadin had inherited his passionate interest in the Venetian *terraferma* from his father Alvise, one of the Republic's most aggressive advocates for territorial expansion in the late Quattrocento.<sup>52</sup> Following in his father's footsteps, Francesco began his early po-

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<sup>49</sup> De Cori's request for permission to publish his poem on the imperial siege of Padua is transcribed in entry no. 180 in Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia," 178. The record of the request's approval can be found in the Notatorio del Collegio. The document lists the four councillors who granted the privilege. Aside from Francesco Bragadin, there were also Andrea Corner, Lodovico Priuli, and Nicolò Donato. On this, see Medin, *Obsidione*, xvii. Bragadin is recorded as having scrutinised other propagandistic works as well. In 1517, for example, he was entrusted by the Collegio to assess the worth and merit of the ten books written by Francesco Modesto da Rimini in celebration of Venice. See Ventura, "Bragadin, Francesco," 13:672.

<sup>50</sup> Francesco was born in 1458 and by his mid-forties had become an incredibly influential politician within the Signoria. After his first election to the elite Council of Ten in 1506, he would be repeatedly chosen to fill powerful positions in the government. See Ventura, "Bragadin, Francesco," 13:672–73. He usually was alternately elected as a member of the Council of Ten, a Savio del Consiglio or a ducal councillor.

<sup>51</sup> Bragadin's influence is consistently evident throughout the war. To cite two examples: in 1514, it was largely thanks to his opposition that the government overturned the proposal that the Republic ally itself with the Turks to help combat a new Hispano-German offensive. A year later Francesco's proposal that Venice ally itself with the French was later proved wise when their combined forces won an important battle against the papal, Spanish and Swiss forces at Marignano. See Ventura, "Bragadin, Francesco," 13:673.

<sup>52</sup> Among other initiatives, Alvise Bragadin had particularly lobbied for Venetian expansion into Lombardy towards the end of the fifteenth century under the conviction that such a move would have prevented the French from retaining their holdings on the peninsula in the area around Milan. See Angelo Ventura, "Bragadin, Alvise," in *DBI*, 13:658.

litical career in the administrative management of the mainland empire. When war broke out with the German emperor in 1508, Bragadin translated his principles into action. In spite of the physical limitations from being a hunchback, he nevertheless helped defend the mainland as a military captain in the field.<sup>53</sup> Even after Agnadello revealed the folly of the expansionist policy, Bragadin's convictions remained unchanged, and he continued to encourage the Republic to fight for control of its former *Stato da terra*. By 1512, Bragadin must have understood, as did many others, that the recapture and defence of Padua was of paramount importance to the future of Venice's mainland empire. In a sea of military failures, this lone success was the only proof which suggested that the Republic could reclaim the *Stato da terra*.<sup>54</sup> As a result, Bragadin would surely have been eager to remind Venetians not only of the miraculous recapture of Padua, but also of the heavenly aid was believed to have facilitated it.

There can thus be little doubt that Francesco was the Bragadin who motivated the St. Marina altarpiece's commission. Not only did he have the education to help envisage a classicising monument, as well as an intimate understanding of the propagandistic potential of the arts, but he also had an understandable motive for commissioning Bregno's altarpiece. In its celebration of a patron saint of the Republic who had lent her aid in Padua's recovery, the St. Marina altarpiece asserted the divine approval of Venice's presence on the mainland. If God had helped Venice reclaim Padua by working through St.

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<sup>53</sup> Bragadin held the position of Savio di Terraferma in 1504 and 1506 and in the year in between was podestà of Brescia. As regards the patrician's physical challenges, he was often referred to as *il gobbo* because of his hunchback. Ventura, "Bragadin, Francesco," 13:672.

<sup>54</sup> On the importance of Padua, see, for example, Francesco Guicciardini's comments on these events (*Dell'istoria d'Italia*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1738), 1:547); and those of the Venetian Martino Merlini (in Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1564). For the confirmation of this concept in the work of modern historians, see Polibio Zanetti, "L'assedio di Padova del 1509," in *Nuovo archivio veneto* 2 (1891): 5–168; Libby, "Venetian History and Political Thought," 14–15; Hale and Mallett, *Military Organization of a Renaissance State*, 222.

Marina, this implied that he also approved of the Republic's more general effort to reclaim the entire *Stato da terra*. Bregno's new altarpiece would have defused the moralising criticism of apprehensive patricians like Priuli regarding the mainland policies of Bragadin and his fellows. What on the surface seems to be a straightforward, devotional work born of spiritual gratitude was actually, at least on one level, a polemical work designed to assert the validity of Bragadin's politics.

That Bregno's work was intended to convey a timely argument is further suggested by the disparity between the atmosphere of sure victory it exudes, with its classicising triumphal arch, and the harsher truth of reality, which brings the discussion back to the question of the work's timing. While the altarpiece has the air of a retrospective monument erected in the peace that follows war, Venice's military situation was probably as uncertain at the time of the work's commission as it had been in the spring of 1509. The months leading up to the decree of St. Marina's day as a national holiday and the commission of Bregno's altar had been characterised by frequent military disappointments, and Venetian morale was at a new low.<sup>55</sup> Although Venetians had celebrated the retaking of Brescia, Bergamo and other Lombard cities by the Venetian forces in February, the excitement and optimism was short-lived.<sup>56</sup> The French soon returned to the area with renewed resolve and reclaimed it. The recapture of Brescia was a particularly disturbing event, as the French had vengefully sacked the city and massacred many of its inhabitants. To make things worse, the talented Venetian captain Andrea Gritti was captured and carried off to Milan.<sup>57</sup> As usual, Priuli's diary reveals the "great argument and

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<sup>55</sup> See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 14, col. 105.

<sup>56</sup> On the unsuccessful but valorous defence of Brescia and Gritti's capture, see *ibid.*, vol. 13, col. 394.

<sup>57</sup> On the terrible loss of Brescia, see Priuli, *Diarii*, 7: ff. 207<sup>v</sup>–08<sup>v</sup>, 220<sup>f</sup>–22<sup>v</sup>, 272<sup>v</sup>–74<sup>r</sup>, 283<sup>v</sup>–87<sup>v</sup>; and Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 13, cols. 405ff.



upset and melancholy” that this caused in the Signoria.<sup>58</sup> According to the diarist, one of the main causes of the disaster had been the “cursed and terrible ambition for rule” of those who had promoted the enterprise—that is, Bragadin and his colleagues. He lamented, “It was because of their ... pride and ambition that the *padri veneti* were governing their discussion and thoughts not with reason and caution but rather with passion, [a circumstance] which leads to unpleasant predictions for the future.”<sup>59</sup> Even Sanudo remarked that many Venetians felt the move to retake Brescia had been badly planned, as the Republic did not yet have a strong enough foothold on the mainland.<sup>60</sup> Bragadin’s politics were under attack.

Two months of bitter despair ensued, and then Venice’s fortunes seemed to improve again. On April 6, the Republic finally reached a truce with the German emperor. The French, in the meantime, were supposed to have been vanquished near Ravenna by Venice’s allies of the moment, the Pope and the king of Spain. Venetians enjoyed the first festive Easter since the Rout of Agnadello.<sup>61</sup> As anticipated, the first reports from the battlefield suggested the French had lost, but Venice soon discovered that precisely the opposite had occurred—against all expectations, the French had won. Sanudo lamented

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<sup>58</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 7: f. 291<sup>r</sup>: “grande disputatione & travaglij & malonchomie.”

<sup>59</sup> Priuli laments that the attempt to recapture formerly Venetian cities in Lombardy is due to “la maledicta & pessima Ambitione del regnare & la loro superbia” of those who “hanno induto & facto prendere la ... imprexa.” He concludes by saying: “Et per causa ... dela superbia loro & ambitione se convenivano li padri veneti governare in le loro deliberatione & pensieri senza alchuna ragione et discretione et anzi ale loro passione che per questo se faceva cativissimo & male pronostico & pensiero de loro.” *Diarii*, 7: f. 293<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 13, cols. 501, 518.

<sup>61</sup> Even Sanudo was excited; he interpreted an Easter sermon about Christ’s resurrection that he heard in San Marco as an allusion to the Republic’s imminent political resurgence: “in chiesia di San Marco...frate Antonio da Siena, predicha a San Stephano, qual predicò *de Resurrectione*, e intrò in stati, comparò Italia e li potentati tutti a le 12 tribi; disse mal di franzesi e altri signori; laudò Pio III, ma morite presto. Concluse, questa terra haria bene.” *Diarii*, vol. 14, col. 89.

that everyone in the city was bitterly disillusioned.<sup>62</sup> This was just two months before St. Marina was elevated to the status of patron saint.

In the face of such military unpredictability and political insecurity, many Venetians must have been uncertain about the idea of persisting in the recovery of the *Stato da terra*. As Priuli and many like-minded patricians had come to believe, the sea was the source of riches and honour, while the terraferma only generated war and expenses.<sup>63</sup> However, these worrisome naysayers were opposed by a powerful faction of pro-terraferma politicians, Bragadin being among the most prominent. It would thus seem that Bragadin seized an opportunity to promote his political views through a beautiful work of art at a particularly difficult moment in the struggle to regain the mainland. Designed to assuage the fears of men like Priuli with the seductive rhetoric of religious devotion, the triumphant altarpiece promised divine support in the recovery of the mainland using Padua's repatriation as the focal point. In a sense, the institutionalisation of St. Marina as an official patron of the Republic in gratitude for her assistance in the recovery of Padua forcibly co-opted the support of every Venetian, regardless of his personal political views, for the enterprise of recovering the *Stato da terra*. The need for such support was reinforced by the Republic's persistently ineffective efforts to recover the mainland in the next few years.<sup>64</sup> So in asking why St. Marina was canonised and commemorated with an impressive altarpiece in 1512 rather than earlier or later (or never, for that matter), the

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<sup>62</sup> See *ibid.*, col. 105: "tuta la tera rimaseno molto di mala voia per tal nova, contraria a la prima..."

<sup>63</sup> See above, nn. 5 and 12.

<sup>64</sup> The French victory at Ravenna had induced Venice to shift its allegiance from the Spanish to the French, but this did not improve things as hoped. With French help, the Republic again regained its former possessions in Lombardy in the first days of June 1513, but when the Swiss routed the French at Novara on the seventh of the very same month, Venice lost the territory once more. On this period of the war and Venice's possession of cities in Lombardy, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 16, cols. 326, 329–30, 343, 350–52, 373–74, 380, 398–99; see also the discussion of this phase of the war in chap. 4, pp. 90–120.

answer may be that these choreographed acts were designed to exploit an earlier event in order to influence attitudes and decisions taking place at a later moment in the war.

The notion that Bragadin's commission of the St. Marina altarpiece was a calculated response to the military and political circumstances of the spring of 1512 becomes even more convincing when one considers that other monuments promoting similar ideas were commissioned at the very same moment by like-minded politicians, including Bragadin himself. Five weeks after the Senate declared the day of Santa Marina to be a national holiday, the members of the Council of Ten—Bragadin among them—decided to erect celebratory funerary monuments to some of the since deceased *condottieri* who had helped Venice regain and defend Padua. When these monuments are considered as a group, their shared timing and motivation reveals a programmatic effort on the part of a small political elite to promote the military success of Padua in support of their politics.

### **3.4 A Pantheon of Heroes for S. Zanipolo**

By the early sixteenth century, the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (known in Venice as S. Zanipolo) had already become a sort of “pantheon”<sup>65</sup> of great Venetians, because many doges had been buried there. However, on 31 July 1512, the Council of Ten decided to add some very different monuments, three tombs for non-Venetian *condottieri* who had died serving the Republic in the early years of the Cambrai War. Nicolò Orsini, the Prince of Nola and Count of Pitigliano, was the highest-ranking of the three soldiers, having served as captain-general of the Venetian forces. The second and third were Fra Leonardo da Prato, who had been the captain of light cavalry and second-in-command, and Dionisio Naldi da Brisighella, a former captain of the infantry. The tombs were

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<sup>65</sup> It was Puppi who coined this wonderfully apt term; “Tempio e gli eroi,” 29.

erected as a group in the transepts of the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where they are still found today. Da Prato's appears on the west wall of the north transept, while Orsini's and Naldi's are both found in the south transept, the former on the west wall and the latter above the church entrance on the south wall.<sup>66</sup> The supervision of the commission was entrusted in its entirety to Giorgio Emo, a prominent Venetian politician then sitting on the Council of Ten in the capacity of ducal councillor.<sup>67</sup> Given the extent of Emo's responsibility, it was presumably he who hired the Paduan sculptor Antonio Minello. Anne Markham Schulz has demonstrated conclusively that Minello designed and produced the monuments, although the sculptor of the gilded wooden equestrian statues remains un-

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<sup>66</sup> Venice, Archivio di Stato, Consiglio dei Dieci, Misto, Registro 35 (1512–13), f. 70<sup>v</sup>: “MDXII. Die vltimo Julij: in con. X. cum add. E cosa ben conveniente e degna del stato nostro haver a’ memoria le prestante operatione deli q. Ill. Conte de pitigliano fu capetanio General de le zente darne nostre: Mag[nifi]co D. Dionyse da Naldi fo capetanio de le fanterie, et del q. M.co e R[everen]do Fra lunardo da prato, Governador di caualli lezieri morti a’ i servicij nostri, i dispositi dei qual sono fatti nela chiesa nostra de san Zuane polo et dare c[aus]a a’ li altri che serveno di exponer la uita sua a’ beneficio & comodo de la signoria nostra. Et perho

Landeria parte: che per auctorita de questo Conseio, siano spesi ducati tresento de le intrade deputate al phisco in far tre sepulture honoreuele a’ i prefati Tre, quali azo siano spesi utelmente, siano exnunc deputadi per el Collegio nostro. Interuenendo i capi de questo conseio do Zentilhomeni nostri, quali habino la cura de spender dicti denari per quella forma & cum quel auantazo sij possibile & li parera expediente. Et insuper habino carrico de farle far sumptuose secondo la qualita & Gradi deli sopranominati, non possendo perho spender oltra dicti ducati CCC.

Preterea essendo ben conueniente che se i venerabili frati de S Zuanepolo, in loco del terreno darano per far dicte arche habino qualche emolumento, Damo sia preso: chel panno doro qual e atorno el deposito del conte de pitiglian, et quel di ueludo, che e atorno el deposito de D. Dionysio de Naldi siano donadi ad esso conuento per far do paramenti sopra i qual siano messe le Insegne de missier San Marco: et azo et il pregino el signor Dio per conservatione del stado nostro. De parte: 23. De non: 2. Non sincere: 0.”

<sup>67</sup> Giorgio Emo is listed as one of the six ducal councillors sitting on the Council of Ten for the month of July 1512 in Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 14, col. 446. Although the Ten's decree of the tombs' commission states that two of the three Capi of the council were to attend to the project, only Emo's name emerges from the documents. The first mention of his involvement appears in the records of SS. Giovanni e Paolo when, on 17 August 1512, the monks granted Emo permission to erect the tombs and to choose their locations. See Archivio di stato di Venezia, Materie ecclesiastiche, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, busta 11 (Quaderno atti del Consiglio 1450–1524), f. 61<sup>v</sup>, as cited in Puppi, “Il tempio e gli eroi,” in *La grande vetrata di San Giovanni e Paolo. Storia iconologia restauro* (Venice: Marsilio, 1982), 30. Schulz has corrected Puppi's error of transcribing the date; see Anne Markham Schulz, “Four New Works by Antonio Minello,” in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 31, no. 2 (1987): 323 (n. 67). Many references to Emo's involvement at later stages of the project appear in the church's records as well; see *ibid.*, 304–306, 319.

known.<sup>68</sup> Orsini's and Fra Leonardo's tombs took about two and a half years to complete, while Naldi's required an additional three.<sup>69</sup>

Not surprisingly, the most impressive of the tombs is that of Orsini, the *condottiero* who had held the highest rank (fig. 14). Although the effigy is an eighteenth-century substitute, it closely imitates the work it replaced.<sup>70</sup> It is made of gilded wood and shows the soldier astride his charger and brandishing the baton of military leadership. The equestrian group stands atop a sarcophagus bearing a lengthy inscription that celebrates Orsini's military exploits.<sup>71</sup> The sculpture is made all the more majestic through its placement under the central arch of a three-arched frame carved of Istrian stone with gilded accents that immediately calls to mind the celebratory triumphal arches of antiquity.

Fra Leonardo da Prato's funerary monument is in many ways similar to Orsini's (fig. 15). His, too, displays a gilded wooden equestrian effigy surmounting a sarcophagus

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 312–19. See also idem, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno*, 203–06.

<sup>69</sup> As regards the time it took to complete the tombs, Sanudo's diary is of great assistance. On 17 September 1512, the diarist noted that the bodies of the three *condottieri* had been placed in SS. Giovanni e Paolo and that the plan to construct marble tombs to house them had been already been put in motion: "E' da saper, in questi zorni, in chiezia di San Zane Polo, fu posto il corpo e la cassa dove è fra' Lunardo da Prato cavalier hyerosolimitano capitano e governor di cavali lizieri, la qual cassa è coperta di veludo negro con le arme e San Marco, e posta da l'altra banda dove è la cassa dil conte di Pitiano capitano zeneral nostro, Dionise di Naldi capitano di le fanterie, e fra Lunardo da Prato sopra dito capitano di cavali lizieri. Et fo terminato farli tre arche di marmoro in choro, et fo dato il cargo a farle a sier Zorzi Emo el consier." *Diarii*, vol. 15, col. 590. In the entry for 24 December 1514, Sanudo describes the tombs in SS. Giovanni e Paolo as largely complete: "è stà fata in choro l'arca marmorea dil conte di Pitiano fo capitano zeneral nostro da una banda, da l'altra di domino frate Leonardo da Prato governor di cavalli lizieri, e sora la porta si fa di Dyonisio di Naldi di Brixighella capitano nostro di le fantarie...." Ibid., vol. 19, col. 331.

<sup>70</sup> Schulz, "Four New Works," 305, 323 (n. 78).

<sup>71</sup> The inscription was written by Battista Egnazio, the humanist who gave Orsini's funeral oration, and reads: "NICOLAO. VRSINO . NOLAE . PETILIANQ . PRINCIPI . LONGE . CLA/RISSIMO . SENESIVM . FLORENTINI . POP . II . SIXTI . INNOCENTII . ALEXANDRI . PON . MAX . FERDINANDI . ALPHONSIQ . IVNIORIS . RE ./ NEAPOLITANORVM . IMP . FELICISSIMO . VENETAЕ . DEMVM . REIP . / PER . XV . ANNOS . MAGNIS . CARISSIMISQ . REBVS GESTIS . NOVISSIME ./ AGRAVISSIMA . OMNIV . OBSIDIONE . PATAVIO . CONSERVATA VIRTVTIS . ET ./ FIDEI . SIGVLARIS . S . V . M . H . P . P . OBIIT . AETATIS . ANNO LXVIII . M . D . IX."

that bears an inscription lauding his military bravado.<sup>72</sup> The figure's upraised arm holding the baton of command gives it a sense of immediacy and authority, but Da Prato's status as a servant of the Republic is again clearly conveyed by the appearance of Mark's lion in the arch above. Although the tombs of Orsini and Fra Leonardo share many similarities, the use of a single framing arch rather than three reflects Fra Leonardo's slightly lower rank.

The design of the third tomb, that of Dionisio Naldi, is connected to the other two. Many familiar elements are reused, including a life-size effigy of the deceased, a sarcophagus inscribed with a text eulogising Naldi's military career, and a triumphal arch-like structure of Istrian stone and marble with gilded accents (fig. 16). However, Naldi's tomb also displays significant departures designed to indicate his lower rank. His service as an infantry commander is reflected in the use of a pedestrian rather than equestrian effigy that has lost the weapon or baton it once held in the raised right hand. In contrast to the other two tombs, Naldi's is of stone. Its effigy has also been framed differently. Here, the Istrian stone arch that framed the soldiers' likenesses in the other two monuments has been moved below the sarcophagus to surround the side door to the church, and Naldi's statue is silhouetted instead against the luminous imagery of a large stained-glass window (see figs. 15, 41).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> The inscription on Fra Leonardo's tomb reads: "LEONARDVM . PRATVM . MILITEM . FORTISSIMVM . ET . EX . PRO/VOCATIONE . SEMPER . VICTOREM . PRAEFECTVM . FERDINANDI . / IVNIORIS . ET . FEDERICI . REGVM . NEAPOLITAN . SOB . VIRTVTVM . TERRESTRIBVS . NAVALIBVS . Q . PRAELIIS . FELICISS . MA/GNIS . CLARISSIMIS . Q . REBVS . PRO . VENETA . REPV . LAVRETA/NUS . PRINCEPS . ET . AMPLISS . ORDO . SENATORIVS . PRVDEN/TIAE . ET . FORTITVDINIS . ERGO . STATVA . HAC . EQVESTRI . DONANDVM . CENSUIT."

<sup>73</sup> The inscription on Dionisio Naldi's tomb reads: "IMPERATOR . DVCTOR . EQVES . MILESQ . DIONYSII . NALDI . CONDVNTVR . / HIC . OSSA . HIC . IVNIOREM . FERDINANDVM . REGNO . A . GALLIS . PVLSVM . RES/TITVIT . FLORENT . REM . PEDITATVI . PRAEFEC . ORNAVIT . VENETI . DI/GNITATEM . IMPERII . SVSTINVIT . FIDE . AC . FORTITVDINE . INCOMPAR/ INTER . ALIOS . DVCES . PEDIT[VM] . PRAEFECTVS . PATAVIVM . SERVAVIT . MORIENS . EX . NIMIIS . VIGILIIS . HOC . VIRTVTIS . SVAE . PERPETVVM .

Art historians have shown little interest in the tombs,<sup>74</sup> perhaps due to the modest skill of their author. Antonio Minello was the son of a Paduan stone mason and sculptor whose workshop had contributed to the choir screen and the tomb chapel of St. Anthony in the church of Sant'Antonio in Padua.<sup>75</sup> Minello began to work independently of his father some time in the first decade of the sixteenth century. However, he was forced to leave Padua to find work after the city was occupied by Maximilian's troops in June 1509 and subsequently sacked by the Venetians themselves in July of the same year.<sup>76</sup> Though Minello's search for work took him as far as Bologna, he also found employment in Venice; he produced his most renowned work—the small, sophisticated marble sculpture of *Mercury* now in the Victoria and Albert Museum—for the patrician Marcantonio Michiel.<sup>77</sup> It must have been commissions of this kind, as well as his work on the tombs for the Council of Ten, that led Minello to move his workshop to Venice sometime after 1521.<sup>78</sup> His career was reasonably successful, despite the competition of more talented artists such as Tullio Lombardo and Lorenzo Bregno, but documentary evidence indicates that Minello was considered as a second-tier artist. When he was contracted to carve the

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MONVMENTVM . CLARISSIMO . LAVREDANO . PRINC . EX . AMPLISS . / SENAT . AVCTORITATE .  
 MERVIT . OBIT . AETATIS . ANNO . XLV . MDX .”

<sup>74</sup> Only two publications address the tombs in detail. Schulz provides a thorough stylistic analysis that leads to the identification of the artist as Antonio Minello. Schulz, “Four New Works.” Puppi links the tombs to the stained glass window; see Puppi, “Il tempio e gli eroi”; and idem, *Mito di Venezia*, 57–75.

<sup>75</sup> Giovanni and Antonio Minello produced twenty-four statues of saints, twenty candelabra and marble decoration for the choir screen in the 1480s but only the architectural structure of the decorative ensemble has survived. On 21 June 1500, Giovanni was named the *protomaestro* of the chapel of the Arca del Santo for which he and his son were to produce a number of sculptures and the relief of the *Miracle of the Ass*. The sculptures are as yet unidentified and the relief was evidently never produced as a work of the same subject for the same chapel was later commissioned from Tullio Lombardo almost three decades later. Antonio would be commissioned to produce the relief of *The Investiture of St. Anthony* which was finished by 20 July 1517; see Schulz, “Four New Works,” 291.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 292. In 1510 and 1511 Minello was in Bologna working on the main portal of S. Petronio in Bologna.

<sup>77</sup> On Marcantonio Michiel's patronage and possession of the *Mercury* by Minello, see Jennifer Fletcher, “Marcantonio Michiel's Collection,” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1973): 382–85.

<sup>78</sup> Schulz, “Four New Works,” 294–95.

relief of the *Miracle of the Parrasio Boy* for the burial chapel of Saint Anthony in Padua, he was paid at least twenty percent less than the sum Tullio and Lorenzo received for marble reliefs of similar dimensions.<sup>79</sup>

Due to the emphasis on a collective rather than individual identity in Renaissance Venice, it was far less common to erect large-scale monuments glorifying the memory of individuals than in other parts of Italy. The creation of grandiose tombs really only began in the 1460s when Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino produced the tomb of Doge Francesco Foscari for the Frari. Subsequent doges followed this example,<sup>80</sup> but the trend did not generally extend to other members of society. Commemorative monuments for Venetian military leaders were very rare.<sup>81</sup> Although great numbers of non-Venetian *condottieri* battled in the Republic's employ during the fifteenth century, they were most often buried in their places of birth rather than in Venice. If the Republic felt that a *condottiero's* service merited special acknowledgement, this usually took the more practical forms of pay increases or grants of money or land. On the rare occasion that a mercenary in Vene-

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<sup>79</sup> See Schulz, "Four New Works," 319.

<sup>80</sup> In 1480, Antonio Rizzo produced the tomb of Doge Niccolò Tron and the tombs of Doges Pietro Mocenigo (completed 1481) and Andrea Vendramin (early 1490s) were produced respectively by Pietro and Tullio Lombardo. For a discussion of Quattrocento ducal tombs in general and of Rizzo's tomb of Niccolò Tron, see Anne Markham Schulz, *Antonio Rizzo; Sculptor and Architect* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 44–60; and Debra Pincus, "The Tomb of Doge Niccolò Tron and Venetian Renaissance Ruler Imagery," in *Art the Ape of Nature; Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, eds. M. Barash, L. F. Sandler, and P. Egan (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1981), 127–50. For the Vendramin tomb by Tullio Lombardo, see Allison Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and Ideal Portrait Sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490–1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 41ff.

<sup>81</sup> Two of the few examples are the tomb erected for the naval commander Benedetto Pesaro in memory of his military accomplishments or the monument of Vittore Cappello for the façade of the church of S. Elena. On the monument of Vittore Cappello, see Robert Munman, "The Monument to Vittore Cappello of Antonio Rizzo," in *Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971): 138–145.



tian service was formally honoured after death, the Republic usually opted to pay for a state funeral rather than erecting a permanent monument to his memory.<sup>82</sup>

The very few exceptions to these general rules—most notably the tomb of the Roman mercenary Paolo Savelli, the monument to Erasmo da Narni and the monument to the Lombard Bartolomeo Colleoni—bear important links to the mercenary tombs erected during the Cambrai War. The Savelli and Colleoni monuments are both equestrian in format and represent the only examples of this type in Venice before Minello began the equestrian tombs of Orsini and Da Prato in 1512. The high quality of Savelli's (fig. 38), which was executed in 1405 immediately after the *condottiero*'s death, has led to the proposal that it is the work of Jacopo della Quercia.<sup>83</sup> It is still found *in situ* on the upper right nave wall of the Frari. About fifty years later, Donatello completed his bronze sculpture of Da Narni astride his horse, though it is located in outlying Padua, not Venice. This in itself has significance, as will be discussed shortly, but it is significant that fully eighty years after the completion of Savelli's tomb would pass before a similar work of art appeared again in the republican capital with the installation of Andrea del Verrocchio's equestrian statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni (fig. 40) in front of the Scuola Grande di San Marco in 1496.<sup>84</sup>

Although the Quattrocento equestrian monuments certainly set the stage for those

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<sup>82</sup> For a general discussion of the Republic's system of rewards for its hired mercenaries, see Mallett and Hale, *Military Organization of a Renaissance State*, 186–198; and Michael Mallett, "Venice and Its Condottieri, 1404–54," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale, 121–45, esp. 125–28.

<sup>83</sup> On Paolo Savelli's monument in the Frari, see W. R. Valentiner, "The equestrian statue of Paolo Savelli in the Frari," in *Art Quarterly* 16 (1953): 280–93; and Wolfgang Wolters, *La scultura veneziana*, 2 vols. (Venice: Alfieri, 1976), 1:76–77, 155–156.

<sup>84</sup> On Verrocchio's monument to Colleoni, see Dietrich Erben, *Bartolomeo Colleoni: die künstlerische Repräsentation eines Condottiero im Quattrocento* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1996). To be sure, one cannot forget that between Savelli's tomb and Colleoni's monument, Donatello had produced the impressive equestrian statue of Erasmo da Narni. However, that work was in Padua rather than Venice, something that proves to be important to this discussion.

of Orsini and Da Prato, the two groups also display important differences. While all three fifteenth-century monuments were expensive to produce and of the utmost artistic quality, especially the more impressive bronze works for Da Narni and Colleoni, the early-Cinquecento ones cost much less, being made of gilded wood and limestone, and knowingly inferior in terms of artistic style.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, while the Quattrocento works were commissioned independently shortly after the deaths of the soldiers they commemorated, those begun in 1512 were produced as a group. This grouping is even more remarkable considering that each of the three men had died in different places at different times; the first death had occurred two years before the tombs' commission.<sup>86</sup> But perhaps the most significant difference is that whereas the earlier monuments were commissioned and paid for by each *condottiero*'s heirs, the later ones were the first of their kind to be both initiated and paid for by the Venetian government.<sup>87</sup> John Hale's remarks serve to underscore

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<sup>85</sup> Although we do not know the amount paid for the Paolo Savelli tomb, Donatello's *Gattamelata* and Verrocchio's equestrian statue of Colleoni were both massive, cast laboriously in expensive bronze and would have been very expensive monuments. In contrast, with a total budget of 300 ducats, the group of tombs commissioned in 1512 were far more economical. In fact, the amount spent on the three tombs together was hundreds of ducats less than was generally spent on a single sepulchral wall monument. Schulz's research into tomb contracts has revealed that a Venetian patron left an average of 600 ducats for the construction of a single wall tomb. For the sum of 100 ducats—that which the 300 ducats allocated for the *condottiero* tombs would have allowed per monument—one could usually expect no more than a simple relief slab. These facts led Schulz to remark that the tombs “are surely the cheapest tombs for their size in all of sixteenth century Venice.” Schulz, “Four New Works,” 304–05, 323 (n. 77).

<sup>86</sup> Orsini died on 26 January 1510 from what was probably a respiratory infection, Naldi died six months later on 24 July 1510 from a fever, and Da Prato was killed eight months after that in battle against the French on the banks of the Polesine on 27 March 1511. The deaths of all three men are noted by Sanudo; on Orsini's death and funeral in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, cols. 479, 491, 496, 499, 501, 502; on Naldi's death and subsequent mention of him, see *ibid.*, vol. 10, cols. 802, 839; on Da Prato's death and subsequent mention of him, see *ibid.*, vol. 12, cols. 85, 97, 114, 188.

<sup>87</sup> Although the *Gattamelata* and Colleoni tombs had been produced with the state's permission, their commission had been initiated and paid for by the family heirs. On both, see Michael Mallett, *Signori e mercenari: la guerra nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, trans. Princiville Alghisi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1983), 100. With regard to the *Gattamelata* in particular, the notion that the monument was constructed by the Republic in memory of Erasmo da Narni was invented and perpetuated by nineteenth-century historians focused on the figure of *Gattamelata* who aimed to enhance the honour conveyed by the statue; on this, see Medin, *Roma a Venezia*, 6–7; and Francesco Fapanni, “Delle statue equestri erette a' suoi capitani generali di terra dalla repubblica di Venezia,” in *Bullettino di arti, industrie e curiosità veneziane* 3 (1880): 77. Although some scholars, Valentiner in particular, have suggested that the state had already erected a funerary monument to a *condottiero* in the form of Paolo Savelli's equestrian statue in the Frari, they were probably fol-

this issue:

The tombs erected ... by the Republic for condottieri who served in Venice's wars to win back the mainland after Agnadello in 1509 were paid for by the government, but they ... were modest affairs. If the da Narni had not paid much, if not all of the cost, and Colleoni's bequest as a whole, the grandest evidences of the role in Italy of men who fought not for reasons of faith, fealty or patriotism, but as entrepreneurs for pay, would not have been created. And though the number of such fighter-businessmen was to increase, there were no more commemorations of their type on so culturally ardent, and so politically permissive a scale.<sup>88</sup>

Hale, focusing on the Colleoni and Da Narni monuments, notes the uniqueness of the tombs begun in 1512, but he does not ask why they were created. The unprecedented state patronage of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo tombs at a time when money was scarce and executive government committees had more important priorities demands an explanation. Given the rarity of such monuments, one is inclined to ask why they were produced at all, let alone as a group. Aside from the obvious purpose of the commemoration of three deceased mercenaries, the tombs must have served another function as a group. Sanudo gives us valuable insight into what that purpose might have been. After noting the installation of the two equestrian tombs in 1514, the diarist commented that the *condottieri* commemorated were "all three very loyal and [had served] at the siege of Padua."<sup>89</sup>

Schulz's interpretation of this remark deemphasises the mercenaries' shared involvement at Padua in order to focus on Sanudo's emphasis of their loyal service to the Republic. Since the decree of the tombs' commission mentions the idea of using them to

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lowing what Francesco Sansovino had stated almost two hundred years after the monument's production; see Sansovino, *Della origine e de' fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia* (Venice, 1582), f. 224<sup>v</sup>. However, Sansovino's comment was probably not the result of any direct knowledge of the Savelli monument's commission, but was far more likely a retrospective assumption based on the fact that the mercenary tombs initiated in 1512 were commissioned by the government. Wolters offers a convincing argument that it must have been Savelli's heirs who commissioned and paid for the tomb in the Frari since the *condottiero* had contributed a lot of money to the construction of the vaulting of the church itself; *Scultura veneziana*, 76.

<sup>88</sup> *Artists and Warfare*, 220.

<sup>89</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 19, col. 331 (24 December 1514): "tutti tre fidelissimi et stati in la obsidion di Padua."

encourage the fidelity of other mercenaries, Schulz argues that this was the tombs' primary purpose.<sup>90</sup> It was certainly true that a mercenary's loyalty was something that required continuous cultivation. A *condottiero* might always defect to the enemy if his present employer paid too little or too late.<sup>91</sup> However, Schulz's interpretation of the tombs' primary meaning is not entirely satisfying, in part because it follows a misguided scholarly tradition that adopts Machiavelli's criticism of Venice's reliance on mercenary troops as a filter for assessing the Republic's situation and attitudes. In reality, as Michael Mallett has shown, Machiavelli was quite ignorant of the Republic's policies and their efficacy.<sup>92</sup>

Over the course of the Quattrocento, the Signoria had developed a highly effective system of rewards to encourage the fidelity of its *condottieri* that was largely based on gifts of money and land.<sup>93</sup> In the case of Padua's defence in particular, the far more practical rewards of the riches and property confiscated from the traitorous local nobility were doled out liberally to the various mercenaries who had participated in the campaign.<sup>94</sup> Naldi was particularly generously rewarded because he had threatened to leave the Republic's employ.<sup>95</sup> The Signoria gave him a house in Padua, a lifelong, annual stipend of 200 ducats to be taken from the property of the Paduan rebels, and a 500-ducat

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<sup>90</sup> Schulz, "Four New Works," 304. For the decree's reference to the importance of loyalty, see above, n. 67.

<sup>91</sup> On the distrust of *condottieri* throughout Italy in this period, see Michael Mallett, "I condottieri nelle guerre d'Italia," in *Condottieri e uomini d'arme nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, ed. Mario del Treppo (Naples: Liguori, 2001), 347–48; and on the more particular case of such distrust among Venetians, see Mallett and Hale, *Military Organization of a Renaissance State*, 181–86.

<sup>92</sup> See *ibid.*, esp. 181.

<sup>93</sup> See above, n. 82.

<sup>94</sup> On this, see Angiolo Lenci, "L'assedio di Padova del 1509: questioni militari e implicazioni urbanistiche nella strategia difensiva veneziana all'indomani di Agnadello," in *Bollettino del Museo civico di Padova* 63 (1974): 138 (n. 35).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*; and ASV, Senato Secreta, Reg. 42, f. 44<sup>v</sup> (30 August 1509).

dowry for his daughter. Needless to say, Naldi did not quit. In light of this effective system of rewards, mercenary defection was rarely a problem.

A more accurate assessment of their function requires reflection on the tombs' viewing audience. Considering that mercenaries spent little time in the capital, they would have had little opportunity to see or be affected by monuments of this kind. The people who would have seen the tombs most often and had the time to meditate on them were the Venetians themselves. By taking the local residents as the viewers for whom the tombs were designed, a more complete reconstruction of their purpose must come from a closer examination of the works' patronage, which helps situate them within the larger contexts of contemporary art and politics.

### **3.4.1 Patronage and Purpose: The Mercenary Tombs**

Aside from Schulz, Lionello Puppi is the only other scholar to have studied the tombs closely. His explanation of their significance emerged from a study of their patronage, for he was initially interested in the large stained-glass window that occupies the wall behind and above Dionisio Naldi's tomb.<sup>96</sup> He noted that the window's lowest register is iconographically inconsistent with the theological programme developed throughout the other registers.<sup>97</sup> In this portion of the large window, St. Theodore appears on the left and St. George on the far right, while the two warrior saints in the middle are probably the titular

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<sup>96</sup> On the window, see the various essays in *La grande vetrata di San Giovanni e Paolo; storia iconologia restauro* (Venice: Marsilio, 1982), which was published on the occasion of the window's restoration in 1982.

<sup>97</sup> For the identification of the saints, see Puppi, *Grande vetrata*, 6, 30. Puppi has studied the window and its connection with the tombs. His discussion was first published as "Il tempio e gli eroi," in *Grande vetrata di San Giovanni e Paolo; Storia iconologia restauro*, but he then slightly reworked it and published it independently as *La grande vetrata della Basilica di San Giovanni e Paolo* (Venice: Marsilio, 1985); this later version of the discussion was ultimately republished in the same form in a collection of the author's essays in *Mito di Venezia*, 57–75. For another discussion of the window in a similar light, see De Vito, "Vetrata dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," 19–25.

saints of the church, the martyred Roman soldiers John and Paul. Upon discovering that the anomalous register had been produced after the rest and under the supervision of Giorgio Emo, who had also overseen the production of the tombs, he began to investigate the works as an interconnected programme.

Giorgio Emo was an influential politician who earned particularly scathing criticism for his political agenda as much as for his lack of scruples. The patrician's dedicated management of every stage of the tomb project is extensively documented in government records and in those of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.<sup>98</sup> He also took on the task of supervising the completion of the stained-glass window behind Naldi's tomb, and even became one of the church's *provveditori* in 1513.<sup>99</sup>

As with Bragadin, Emo's interest in the Venetian mainland was one he inherited from his father, Giovanni Emo, who had been heavily involved in the *terraferma* expansion during the latter half of the fifteenth century and had heroically lost his life in battle against the Ferrarese in 1483.<sup>100</sup> As an adult, Giorgio quickly established himself as one of the most committed supporters of the expansion and protection of the Venetian *Stato da terra*.<sup>101</sup> Consequently, when Charles VIII invaded Italy in 1494, Emo was among

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<sup>98</sup> Emo's involvement with the commission is extensively catalogued in the monastery records of SS. Giovanni e Paolo as well as the diaries of both Sanudo and Priuli. For reference to the relevant church and government documents, see Puppi, "Il tempio e gli eroi"; and Schulz, "Four New Works," 304, 323 (nn. 67–70). It was Emo who made the request to the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo for permission to construct the tombs in their present locations; see Archivio di stato di Venezia, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Serie registri XI, filza C, ff. 61<sup>v</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>. At one point, presumably to expedite the rapid completion of the monuments, he even intervened with the monks to help Minello obtain the materials he required; Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 10, col. 802.

<sup>99</sup> On this, see Puppi, "Il tempio e gli eroi," 32.

<sup>100</sup> Giovanni Emo had been one of the most powerful politicians of his generation. He was particularly capable as an ambassador and was entrusted with a large number of difficult diplomatic tasks, but most of his effort in his later years was channelled into some of the most important offices dealing with the government of the mainland, such as those of Savio di Terraferma and Savio di Consiglio. But despite his influence in the council hall, Giovanni seems to have been most happy when involved in more active military service; see G. Gullino, "Emo, Giovanni," in *DBI*, 42:642–43.

<sup>101</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:93.

those who perceived the event in a positive light, leading the Republic to seize the opportunity to expand the *Stato da terra* into the Romagna and Apulia. In 1508, the Republic began to feel the consequences of this opportunistic expansion when Julius II pressured the Venetians to restore cities such as Ravenna and Rimini to the papacy. Emo was among those determined to stand firm, and he almost single-handedly convinced the Signoria to deny the pope's request. When Venetians later realised that it was precisely this decision that had led the pope to join the League of Cambrai in December of that year, Emo was made to shoulder much of the blame for the tragic events of 1509.<sup>102</sup> However, even this grave diplomatic blunder did not weaken Emo's pro-terraferma stance; after the shock of Agnadello, he emerged as one of the most vocal proponents of reclaiming the mainland. Given Emo's politics, it is hardly surprising to discover that Priuli did not like him. The diarist fretted, in fact, that Emo was so land-hungry that he sought not only to recover the lost territory, but also to expand it.<sup>103</sup> Each time the political playing field changed during the war, Emo adjusted his proposals to promote the recovery of the *Stato da terra*.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> For this phase of Emo's career, see R. Zago, "Emo, Giorgio," in *DBI*, 42:634. According to Priuli, Emo was a less than honest politician who was determined to get his way whatever the cost. Priuli accuses him of regularly accepting bribes and engaging in electioneering: "messer Giorgio Emo...volentieri acceptava prexenti, et ahora in simel materia imputato che per chagione de brogij, zoè honori, non havea voluto consentire il restituire dele citade dela Romagna al Pontefice, perchè li nobelli venetti, desiderossi et cupidi di Stado, favorizavano et volevano quelli, che desideravano augmentar il Stato." *Diarii*, 4:93. According to Priuli, Emo was so intensely hated at the time that he was avoiding showing his face in the Ducal Palace. See also Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 54.

<sup>103</sup> Priuli laments that Emo and his supporters "per cossa alchuna non volenno perdere brazo di terrenno, ma piui presto augumentare..." *Diarii*, 4:93.

<sup>104</sup> In 1511, it was Emo who advocated an alliance with the Pope and the king of Spain, a proposal which the government followed thus resulting in the Holy League established in October of that year. At the same time, Emo argued for the establishment of a treaty agreement with the German emperor so that the Republic could pay whatever was necessary to recover the large part of the formerly Venetian mainland that was in the possession of the imperial army. By the spring of 1512, however, this option was no longer available and Emo responded to the shifting circumstances by proposing an alliance with France, a course of action which ultimately resulted in the Treaty of Blois signed in March 1513. These abrupt and frequent shifts in foreign policy were characteristic of Emo's counsel throughout the war; see Zago, "Emo, Giorgio,"

As Puppi has suggested, Emo's interest in the mainland makes his involvement with the tombs a logical one. The historian points out, in fact, that Emo knew and was close to both Nicolò Orsini and Dionisio Naldi, and was himself charged with organising impressive state funerals for both men immediately after their deaths.<sup>105</sup> The scholar thus argues that the tombs, along with the lowest register of the window accompanying them, represent Emo's attempt to initiate a pantheon of military heroes as a monument to Venice's glorious military destiny.<sup>106</sup>

Puppi is surely right that this was one of the tombs' levels of meaning, but the works also had a broader context that extended beyond the physical realm of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and beyond the ideological one of Emo's involvement. Such a project would have been highly polemical at the time of its initiation. First of all, the celebration of not one, but three foreign mercenaries through the erection of permanent tombs paid for by the state in an important Venetian church where doges were buried was unprecedented, and, hence, would surely have been perceived by some as inappropriate. And secondly, and more importantly, many Venetians did not view such men with either admiration or trust. One of their main concerns was the untrustworthy and pusillanimous nature of the mercenary armies upon which such an enterprise depended. After the mortifying loss at Agnadello, Priuli commented:

Soldiers and foot soldiers and all the others of an army take their pay every month and rob and plunder, having respect for nothing, and when it is time to go to battle, they run like whores...; when it is time to gain

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42:634–36. For an example of Emo's activity as Savio del Consiglio, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 13, cols. 499–500 (22 February 1512).

<sup>105</sup> On Orsini's impressive funeral, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, cols. 502–03. A funeral was also to be held for Dionisio Naldi and Emo was placed in charged of it, but due to extreme heat and a fear of the spread of the plague, it never took place; see *ibid.*, vol. 10, col. 839.

<sup>106</sup> Puppi, "Il tempio e gli eroi," 29–35.



something or make off with the spoils, they are the first to do so and they think nothing of killing people out of their greed for profit.<sup>107</sup>

The diarist's frustration regarding mercenary troops probably reflected that of many Venetians. Attempts to assuage such concerns had already been made before the tombs' commission. Orsini and Naldi, for example, were both to have impressive state funerals similar to those staged for doges, which would have done much to restore a sense of honour and virtue to the mercenary profession.<sup>108</sup> The tombs' celebration of *condottieri* who had helped the Republic repatriate Padua may even have addressed an ugly rumour of 1509. Some claimed that the German troops had succeeded in capturing the city because two of Venice's *condottieri* had supposedly defected for personal gain and had given Maximilian the aid of both their information and their troops.<sup>109</sup> Thus, the tombs seem to have addressed a primarily Venetian audience, promoting its trust and faith in the hired soldiers who were struggling to reclaim the mainland on the Republic's behalf.

Although Emo followed the project over the course of its execution, the monuments were initially commissioned and subsequently paid for by the Council of Ten. The council was an extremely influential government body that became ever more powerful during the course of the Cambrai War. A closer look at the council shows that other im-

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<sup>107</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:156: "soldati et fanti et altri de uno exercito, tiranno il loro soldo ogni mexe et rubanno et depredanno il tuto, *nulo habito respectu*, et, quando sonno per fare il facto d'arme, scampanno come putane, et suo damno a chui tocha; quando sono per avadagnar over far botini, sonno li primi et non sparagnanno la vitta per cupiditate del guadagno..."

<sup>108</sup> Puppi, "Il tempio e gli eroi," 28. Sanudo mentions Emo's involvement with Orsini's funeral and with the honoring of Naldi who, having evidently died in a heat wave and at a time of low morale, was not given a funeral: "Et per il gran caldo non li fo fato exequie, che la Signoria col principe saria andata acompagnar il corpo, et *etiam* per le malle nove e tempi occorrenti, etc." See respectively Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, cols. 502–03; vol. 10, col. 839.

<sup>109</sup> Although it would seem that this was merely a rumor spread by anti-Venetian Paduan historians, Da Porto devotes an entire letter to one of these mercenaries, Manfredo Faccini, whose supposed treason was revealed when he was captured by the Venetians while they were retaking Padua. The letter incorporates a lengthy speech Manfredo makes to Andrea Gritti and other patricians in self-defence; see Da Porto, *Lettere Storiche*, 122. See also the discussion of the event and references to it in Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, 400.

portant men were involved in the enterprise aside from Emo, and also that the tombs had connections to a larger political and artistic context. In other words, while Puppi is indisputably correct in asserting the importance of Emo's involvement, there are other factors that must be considered in assessing the tombs' intended meaning.

The Council of Ten was comprised of the "seventeen pillars"—ten members elected to the council itself, plus the doge and his six ducal councillors.<sup>110</sup> Before the Cambrai War, the Ten was a sort of Venetian secret police that dealt with state security and secret affairs, but after the military crisis of 1509 its power began to extend into foreign affairs. The unpredictable events taking place on the mainland demanded quick response, and resulted in the ever greater transfer of decision-making power from the larger, more unwieldy committees like the Great Council and the Senate to the much smaller, more efficient Council of Ten. By 1513, the Ten was largely—and sometimes exclusively—in control of decisions regarding military action and diplomatic affairs on the mainland.<sup>111</sup> Naturally, the concentration of political power in the hands of so few at such a critical time fostered resentment among patricians on the larger, less influential government committees.<sup>112</sup> The unavoidable result was that the Ten's decisions often conflicted with general opinion. Priuli was particularly critical of the committee, arguing

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<sup>110</sup> A wonderful resource regarding the workings of the Venetian government at all levels is Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*; on the Council of Ten's role in the Venetian government, see 40; for the Ten and its *giunta* as the "seventeen pillars," and on the council's vicissitudes during the Cambrai War, see 193–94.

<sup>111</sup> The power of the Ten reached its wartime apex in 1514 when the council actually began to make decisions that were not passed on to the Senate or the Great Council for debate; see *ibid.*, 186; and 190, where Finlay comments: "It would be inaccurate simply to say that the Council of Ten came to dominate Venice during the war; rather, the *Primi* as a group instinctively took refuge from a tumultuous Senate behind that executive council whose wide definition of competence made it virtually immune to scrutiny and censure." As one of many possible examples, when the ambassador from Spain arrived in Venice in July 1512, he spoke with the Capi of the Ten in private; Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 14, col. 448.

<sup>112</sup> The Senate's dissatisfaction manifested itself in obvious efforts to counter the Ten's initiatives while the larger populace of the Great Council expressed its displeasure the only way that it could: by refusing to nominate people to the executive body. Between 1510 and 1525, the Great Council rejected all nominees to the Ten an incredible eighty-two times. See Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 63, 184–93.

that it privileged the personal opinions of its members over those of the broader, disenfranchised patriciate when making important state decisions. At one point in the war, he went so far as to accuse the Ten of being “the ruin of the Venetian Republic.”<sup>113</sup>

Priuli’s bitterness surely stemmed in large part from the fact that the Ten was consistently dominated by patricians whose politics he opposed: they were uncompromisingly in support of the recovery of the mainland empire.<sup>114</sup> Given the Council’s pro-*terraferma* attitude, it is hardly surprising that Francesco Bragadin, the probable patron of the St. Marina altarpiece, was one of its regular members during the Cambrai War. In fact, when the Ten decided to commission the tombs in July 1512, Bragadin was not only on the Council of Ten—he was also one of its three *capi*.<sup>115</sup> That year, he sat on the committee with Emo, then a ducal counsellor, and thus part of the Ten’s *zonta*,<sup>116</sup> and another powerful political figure sharing the same political views, Luca Tron.<sup>117</sup> Like Emo, Tron was known for his enthusiastic support of aggressive military strategies aimed at recovering the *Stato da terra*, in spite of their frequent failure and dangerous consequences.<sup>118</sup> The collaborative sentiment that existed among these like-minded patricians

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<sup>113</sup> See Priuli, *Diarii*, 6: f. 208<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 193.

<sup>115</sup> Francesco Bragadin was elected a Capo dei Dieci on 30 June 1512 for the month of July, and again on 31 August for the month of September; see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 14, cols. 441, 642.

<sup>116</sup> Emo was elected a ducal counsellor—one of the six counsellors who joined the Doge as part of the Council of Ten—on 31 March 1512. *Ibid.*, col. 66. The position of ducal councillor lasted eight months, and so he still held the position in the month of July of the same year. *Ibid.*, col. 446.

<sup>117</sup> Luca Tron was not only frequently on the Ten, but was also often elected as one of its three Capi. In the early war years, he was Capo dei Dieci in August and September of 1510, in October and December of 1511, and in February, March, and May of 1512. See respectively, Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 11, col. 5; vol. 13, cols. 5, 277, 447, 529; vol. 14, col. 168. This means that he was on the Ten when the vote was taken to commission the tombs, because members of the Ten were elected in August and September for a term of a year. In the month of July, he also held the post of *executore* on the Collegio, the Senate steering committee; *ibid.*, vol. 14, col. 446.

<sup>118</sup> Tron was one of the noblemen who pushed for Venice’s attack on Ferrara that resulted in the destruction of the Venetian fleet on the Po River in 1509 that was almost as disappointing as Agnadello. See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 330; and Finlay, “Venice, the Po Expedition,” 37–72. However, such missteps did not reduce Tron’s influence on Venetian military strategy in the future; one of his most memorable hours during the Cambrai conflict was yet to come. In March 1514, Tron argued that the Venetian troops should be

was powerfully evident in 1514 when Emo and Tron acted in concert. At that time, the pro-terraferma position was being challenged once more because the Republic again found itself bereft of protective allies. Emo was so reluctant to relinquish the mainland empire that he went so far as to propose an alliance with the Turks—one of Venice’s worst enemies, and the enemy of western Christendom in general—which Tron seconded. Ultimately, the Signoria rejected the desperate proposal.<sup>119</sup> Thus, Emo, Tron and Bragadin, the probable patron of the St. Marina altarpiece, were among the patricians sitting on the Ten who commissioned the *condottiero* tombs.

When the tombs are placed within this broader context of patronage, Puppi’s assessment of their meaning needs to be refined. The close timing of the tombs and the St. Marina altarpiece, and the overlapping of their patrons and the political interests of these men, encourages a new avenue of discussion. Some help can be found by returning to the remarks Sanudo made about the tombs. When Schulz analysed them, she focused on the diarist’s mention of the mercenaries’ loyalty, but a more revealing detail in the diarist’s comments is likely the second characteristic the three men shared, the fact that they had

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sent to Osoppo in the Friuli to help with the defence of the fortress there as it was strategically important due to its closeness to the Austrian border. His opposition insisted that this course of action was overly risky and aggressive, but after much lobbying and speech-making, Tron won his case. The army was sent to Osoppo, ended the siege of the city, and effectively vanquished the German forces thus providing Venice with one of the very rare, clear victories over the entire arc of the war; see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 18, cols. 61–66, 70, 78, 81–82, 90. See also the political analysis in Finlay, *Politics of Renaissance Venice*, 236–37. Alvise Cappello is another example of a member of the X—and Capo dei Dieci in May 1512—who was devoted to the recapture of the mainland. He, too, had been involved in the orchestration of Venice’s immediate political response to the tragedy of Agnadello as a member of the Ten and held numerous offices in the government of the terraferma over the course of the war. He disappears from the scene that summer as he died on a boat bound for Candia in a violent storm in July. See G. Colasanti Migliardi O’Riordan, “Cappello, Alvise,” in *DBI*, 18:737–38.

<sup>119</sup> In 1514, Venice’s negotiations with Maximilian had stalled and the French were unwilling to come to Venice’s aid. Without any other recourse, Emo and his supporters preferred to ally the Republic with their historic Turkish enemies rather than lose the mainland. See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 17, cols. 366, 535; and the discussion in R. Zago, “Emo, Giorgio,” 42:635. Significantly, he was not alone in supporting an alliance with the Turks—one of his fellow lobbyists was Luca Tron. See Ventura, “Bragadin, Francesco,” 13:673; and Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 236.

all served at the siege of Padua in the fall of 1509. Using this as a point of departure, a careful analysis of the tombs reveals further evidence that they functioned as much more than commemorations of individual military courage or as efforts to inspire loyalty in other mercenaries. They also reveal themselves as complementary parts of a larger nexus of works designed by a political elite to celebrate the miraculous repatriation of Padua at a critical moment—a moment when a fresh string of military failures was encouraging many Venetians to question once again the enterprise of restoring the *Stato da terra*.

Contemporary viewers were encouraged to interpret the tombs in this way both directly and indirectly. Most overtly, the inscriptions on two of the three tombs explicitly emphasise the mercenaries' involvement in the defence of Padua. Orsini's states that he "saved the city of Padua from the very hard siege of all,"<sup>120</sup> while Naldi's recounts that "he served as the leader of the foot soldiers at Padua."<sup>121</sup> Although Da Prato's tomb does not mention his involvement in the city's recapture or defence, it was a commonly known fact that was much celebrated in Venice.<sup>122</sup>

Both the format and the appearance of the Orsini and Da Prato monuments would have encouraged contemporary viewers to perceive the tombs as a collective commemoration of Padua's repatriation. The equestrian monument as a tomb format had strong associations with Padua. First of all, it had enjoyed an earlier and greater popularity in that

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<sup>120</sup> The excerpt reads, "AGRAVISSIMA OMNIV OBSIDIONE PATAVIO CONSERVATA." For the full inscription, see above, n. 71.

<sup>121</sup> The excerpt reads, "PEDIT[UM] PRAEFECTVS PATAVIVM SERVAVIT." For the full inscription, see above, n. 72.

<sup>122</sup> Da Prato's exploits are particularly celebrated for his enthusiasm and effectiveness in Da Porto's description of the city's recapture. According to the Vicentine, the Venetians managed to breach the city walls "sì per la valorosità de' proprii soldati, come anche per quella d'un capitano de' cavalli leggieri che v'è, il quale Fra Leonardo si noma. Costui, nativo di Prato, essendo di parte ghibellina e nemico de' Francesi, venne pochi di fa ad offerirsi da se medesimo a' Viniziani, dicendo volerli egli servire in ogni modo che fosse in loro grado purchè loro soldato restasse." *Lettere storiche*, 88. The same respect for the *condottiero*'s involvement at the siege of Padua was noted by Martino Merlini; see his letter of 29 August 1509 as reproduced in Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1597.

city than in the lagoon.<sup>123</sup> In fact, one of the most renowned Renaissance equestrian monuments—Donatello’s bronze sculpture of Erasmo da Narni—had long been one of the city’s most visible landmarks. Secondly, the format was first employed in Venice itself to commemorate Paolo Savelli (fig. 38), a Roman *condottiero* who had died helping Venice acquire Padua for the first time in 1405. Savelli’s tomb inscription emphasises his connection to Padua in the same way Orsini’s and Naldi’s later did.<sup>124</sup> There are also formal parallels between Savelli’s monument and those of Orsini and Da Prato. Minello seems to have modelled the latter pair after the earlier work: all three are wall tombs comprised of wooden equestrian groups mounted atop stone sarcophagi resting on consoles.<sup>125</sup>

Colleoni’s monument plays its part in this group of works, as well. Aside from the obvious emulation of Donatello’s bronze in Padua, it also dominates the square in front of the “pantheon” of mercenary tombs erected during the Cambrai War in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The equestrian monuments to Savelli, Da Narni, Colleoni, Orsini and Da Prato were all erected in honour of *condottieri* who fought to expand and protect the Venetian *Stato da terra*. Venetians themselves, even those who assumed important leadership of the terraferma army such as Andrea Gritti, did not employ the format, with its inappropriate imperial overtones, for their own tombs. By the time Minello began his works for SS.

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<sup>123</sup> In the Santo, there was the equestrian tomb of a member of the Rogati-Negri family and on the façade of the Eremitani there was a similar monument to Francesco Frassalasta. See Wolters, *Scultura veneziana*, 76.

<sup>124</sup> The reference to Padua in the inscription reads: “...POSTQUAM CUM VENETI VIRTUS ANIMOSA SENATUS / CARRIGERAM DELERE DOMUM CUPIT OBSIDET URBEM / EUGANEAM BELLI DUCTOR CASTRISQUE LOCATIS / AD BASANELLUM QUUM IAM PROPE VICTOR HABERET / IN MANIBUS PATAVUM MELIORIS AD ALTA TRIUMPHI...” For a full transcription of the inscription, see Wolters, *Scultura veneziana*, 229.

<sup>125</sup> The mounting of a carved wooden equestrian monument on a tomb already existed as a format in Florence and Siena, but Savelli’s was the first of this type to appear in Venice; see *ibid.* Its significance also extends beyond the context of this discussion, as it was probably only the second equestrian monument to be produced during the Renaissance; see Valentiner, “Equestrian Statue,” 280–93, esp. 282.

Giovanni e Paolo in 1512, the equestrian monument had been clearly, though unofficially, designated for the commemoration of foreign mercenaries.<sup>126</sup>

Other, less visual factors suggest that the tombs commissioned in 1512 were to be considered first and foremost as celebrations of the defence of Padua. The choice of artist, for example, is significant. Surely if the Council of Ten's particular goal in commissioning the tombs was to honour three deceased *condottieri* in order to encourage similar service in others, the committee would have selected artists of high calibre and spent a reasonable sum on the project. Instead, Tullio and Pietro Lombardo and Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno, all of whom were in the lagoon at the time, were passed over for the less talented Minello, and the project's budget was set at a paltry three hundred ducats. As Schulz remarks, unlike the Lombard families of the Bregno or the Lombardo, Minello was from Padua.<sup>127</sup> She quickly sets this fact aside, however, in order to emphasise that Minello's lower cost was far more important; he would have been a suitably economical option at a time when government funds were limited.<sup>128</sup> To be sure, the Council of Ten did not want to spend great sums on the project, but the origins of the artist chosen would have had significance, for thus the celebration of Padua's recapture was the product of Paduan hands. The resulting harmony of artist and content might have helped to obscure

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<sup>126</sup> Only four other equestrian monuments would be erected in the centuries to come, three of them being for mercenaries. That in honour of Taddeo della Volpe is discussed below, pp. 120–22. Two others would appear in SS. Giovanni e Paolo itself to commemorate Pompeo Giustiniani, a Genoese general in the Republic's army who died at the siege of Gradisca in 1616, and Orazio Baglioni, a Perugian *condottiero* who helped in the same war as Giustiniani; on these, see Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima* [1664], 69–70; and Fapanni, "Delle statue equestri erette," 81–82. The last of the group is the only anomaly, being erected in 1650 in S. Stefano for a Venetian nobleman, Domenico Contarini. There has been some confusion about who this person was, as Fapanni states erroneously that the Contarini commemorated died in 1750; "Delle statue equestri," 83. However, the monument's inscription and Martinioni's discussion of the monument reveal that this Domenico Contarini was the Provveditor al campo during the Cambrai War; *Venetia città nobilissima* [1664], 132–33. However, unlike the other monuments erected to figures involved in the Cambrai War, this one was erected in the following century. It would be interesting to know the reason for this.

<sup>127</sup> Schulz, "Four New Works," 319.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

the unpleasant memory that the city's fall had been prompted by the defection of its own residents. This would not have been the first time during the war that a patron had taken into consideration the potential political significance of an artist's origins. In Padua itself, the year after it was recaptured by the Republic, the Scoletta di Sant'Antonio seems to have made an effort to express the city's renewed fealty to Venice by hiring a Venetian. It was the youthful Titian, rather than a local artist, who was selected to continue the decoration of the chapter house.<sup>129</sup>

The obsessive devotion of prominent members of the Ten to the recovery of the mainland helps explain the executive council's initiation of a project as unusual as the SS. Giovanni e Paolo tombs. Men like these would have wanted to celebrate the impressive defence of Padua after its bold recapture from the imperial forces, because the city's repatriation proved that Venice could successfully reclaim the cities of the *terraferma* from the clutches of the enemy. The *condottiero* monuments as a group celebrate this victory. Just as in the case of the St. Marina altarpiece, the tombs were directly connected to the political debates that had preoccupied the Venetian patriciate since the Rout of Agnadello—debates that addressed the question of the possession not only of Padua, but of the *Stato da terra* in general. By offering highly visible and aesthetically authoritative support for those who argued that Venice should restore the *Stato da terra*, the tombs espoused a specific viewpoint in the discussion. Their grandiose scale and triumphal arches declared that Venice was as much a force to be reckoned with on the mainland as it had always been on the sea—a force capable of overcoming the most powerful of enemies in

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<sup>129</sup> For this interpretation of the Scoletta's choice of Titian, see Puppi, "Tiziano tra Padua e Vicenza." The argument is repropounded in Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 107. Before Titian arrived to paint his three scenes for the upper meeting room of the Scoletta, earlier scenes had been painted by Gianantonio Corona among others.



the most trying of times. If this level of the tombs' meaning were expressed in literary form, it would sound much like these propagandistic verses published in 1510:

Long may you live, San Marco, for bit by bit  
You shall be the ruler of mountain and plain  
...  
Long live the Venetians  
Who will have great victory  
And will enjoy great glory  
Spending their ducats  
On mercenaries and foot soldiers  
And shall see that day by day  
They will claim lands and castles  
With a great armada on the sea  
And many subjects on land  
And they shall win back all of their territory  
As well as that of others very soon  
For God himself wills that it be so.<sup>130</sup>

If the mercenary tombs and the high altar of St. Marina were intended to function as suggested here, it is impossible to say how effective they might have been in influencing Venetian opinions about the war on the terraferma. It is interesting, however, that while these projects were still underway, one of Venice's most important *Provveditori in campo*, Bartolomeo d'Alviano, lost a critical battle to the Spanish at La Motta in October 1513. When a German reported the news to Maximilian in a letter, he joked that the Venetians should erect an equestrian statue to D'Alviano with the inscription "Destructori patriae!" The jibe suggests a diffused awareness and a mockery of the propagandistic nature of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo tombs.<sup>131</sup> Even the erection of Donatello's *Gattam-*

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<sup>130</sup> The poem appears in the pamphlet entitled *Le corrarie e brusamenti che hanno facto li todeschi in la patria del Friulo con alchune Barzellette pauane* (ca. 1510?), f. 2<sup>v</sup>: "Viua san marchio amano amano / signor sarai del monte e del piano / ... / Viua uiua uenetiani / che arano gran uictoria / a starano con gran gloria / spenderano i suoi duchati / tra homini darne e fanti usati / ... / E uederesti ingiorno ingiorno / terre chastelli lor pigliare / gran armata aran in mare / molta giente aran in terra / e uinzerano ogni lor terra / e de li altri anche apresso / perche dio lo uol lui stesso."

<sup>131</sup> In his letter Jacob de Bannissis wrote: "Merito Veneti sive vivat sive occubuerit Alviano statuam erigere debent cum inscriptione Destructori patriae!" The quote is taken from Pieri, *Rinascimento e la crisi*,

*elata* in Padua had received criticism. Soon after the monument's installation, an anonymous critic of Erasmo da Narni addressed a satirical poem written in Latin to the Venetian government. After praising the Republic's virtue, he critically asked why it would do something so out of character as to erect an equestrian statue in memory of a soldier—especially when that soldier was, in the eyes of the author, a cowardly idiot.<sup>132</sup> A more implicit criticism of the *Gattamelata* seems to have come from much closer to home. The Venetian nobleman Gasparo Contarini made a point of stating proudly that Venetians did not erect sumptuous tombs and equestrian statues to honour their great leaders, and one cannot help but wonder if he was criticising the SS. Giovanni e Paolo “pantheon.”<sup>133</sup>

The anomalous character of the mercenaries' monuments opened them up to question by both locals and foreigners. In the case of the Cambrai War tombs, the works were commissioned without total consensus—as two members voted against the project.<sup>134</sup> In 1515, when D'Alviano died, there was no talk of erecting a monument in his honour; instead, the Senate designated money for his funeral<sup>135</sup> (in S. Stefano, however, rather than in the newly established “pantheon” of SS. Giovanni e Paolo) and his widow received generous financial compensation.<sup>136</sup> The mercenary's body remained in its simple casket covered in crimson cloth in S. Stefano above a doorway on the left nave

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509–10 (n. 1); he cites his source as H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, 3 vols. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Peathes, 1920), 2:647.

<sup>132</sup> The poem was surely written after Da Narni's retreat from the forces of Niccolò Piccinino in 1438 but before his glorious victory the following year. It is reprinted in Antonio Medin, *Roma a Venezia. Satira latina del secolo XV contro il Gattamelata per il monumento del Donatello in Padua* (Padua: Giovanni Battista Randi, 1903).

<sup>133</sup> The reference to Contarini's comment is made in Gilbert, *Pope, His Banker and Venice*, 12; the author provides no bibliographic reference for Contarini's remark.

<sup>134</sup> See above, n. 66.

<sup>135</sup> For the record of the vote, see Archivio di stato di Venezia, Senato, Terra, Reg. 19, fol. 54<sup>r</sup>. See also mention of this in Finlay, *Politics of Renaissance Venice*, 228.

<sup>136</sup> Sanudo gives a long account of the generous treatment of D'Alviano's widow and the funeral held for him; on the widow, see *Diarii*, vol. 21, cols. 246–47, 541; on the funeral, see *ibid.*, vol. 21, col. 275–76.

wall.<sup>137</sup> It was not until 1628 that the government finally commissioned a monument in memory of D'Alviano from the young Baldassare Longhena and a sculptor by the name of Girolamo Paliari (fig. 44).<sup>138</sup> At this time, his casket was apparently opened and the body found still intact, so the Senate voted to dedicate 500 ducats to the construction of a commemorative monument.<sup>139</sup> Such a project was opportune at the time, for Venice was concerned that the Franco-Spanish clash then gripping the rest of Europe would soon affect the Republic as well. The Senate felt that D'Alviano's service in the equally "difficult times" of the Cambrai War would serve as an important example of military virtue for the Venetians of the early seventeenth century.<sup>140</sup>

Robert Finlay has used the 1515 vote as evidence that members of the Signoria often voted against even "entirely neutral" measures, but it would seem that erecting a monument to a mercenary during the Cambrai War was not at all a "neutral" act. This notion seems to be further evident in the fact that even D'Alviano's funeral had been poorly attended. At the end of his description of the event, Sanudo gave a sense of why this might have been, commenting that while D'Alviano had been a loyal servant of the

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<sup>137</sup> Sanudo makes no mention of the erection of a monument to D'Alviano. Martinioni's added remarks in his edition of Sansovino's guidebook indicate that the 1633 monument was the first erected in D'Alviano's honour; *Venetia città nobilissima* [1664], 1:132.

<sup>138</sup> The attribution was put forward on the basis of documentary evidence in Antonio Niero, "Un ignota opera di Baldassare Longhena a S. Stefano di Venezia," in *Ateneo veneto* n.s. 13, no. 2 (1975): 55–60. Neither the original edition of Sansovino's guidebook nor the Stringa edition mention a monument to D'Alviano; see respectively *Venetia città nobilissima* [1581], 50<sup>r</sup>; *Venetia città nobilissima* [1604], 97<sup>r</sup>–98<sup>v</sup>. Martinioni's edition, however, indicates that D'Alviano's casket had to be removed so that the doorway below it could be enlarged, thus providing at least a partial stimulus for the commission of a new monument; *Venetia città nobilissima* [1663], 132. However, it is worth noting that a little more than a decade earlier, two new equestrian statues had been erected in SS. Giovanni e Paolo to the memory of *condottieri* who had died in service of the Republic in a recent war on the mainland in the Friuli. For more on these early-seventeenth-century monuments, see above, n. 126.

<sup>139</sup> Maria Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel, Andrea Gallo, and Ettore Merkel, *Chiesa di Santo Stefano, arte e devozione* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), 33.

<sup>140</sup> On the historical events of the period, see Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 7:195–98. On the monument's connection to these, see the discussion in Niero, "Ignota opera di Baldassare Longhena," 56–7.

state, he was admittedly “un poco sbarajoso”—one who was overly reckless in matters of war.<sup>141</sup>

Whether or not the tombs proved to be effective propaganda at the time of their commission, their enduring, public presence helped them to exert a lasting effect after the war’s conclusion. When Nicolò degli Agostini’s *Li successi bellici* was published in 1521 shortly after the war, the title page woodcut displayed an equestrian statue based on the statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome (fig. 42).<sup>142</sup> Given the prevalence of equestrian tombs erected to mercenaries in Venice, the woodcut’s imagery would have been interpreted by a Venetian viewer as a *condottiero*. This post-war allusion to the mercenary’s importance becomes all the more revealing in light of the fact that one of the first visualisations of victory during the conflict—the *Obsidione*’s title page image of Padua’s defence—does not depict even one of the city’s earthly defenders. Evidently, the iconographic formula of the Orsini and Da Prato monuments came to serve as a symbol of Venice’s success in reclaiming the *terraferma*.

However, the similarities between the tomb group and the *Obsidione* woodcut are as notable as the differences. Like the print, the tombs’ design asserts that it was God’s will that Venetians would reclaim the *Stato da terra*. In other words, the tombs present the same kind of religio-political propaganda as the earlier *Obsidione* woodcut and Bregno’s contemporaneous altar for St. Marina. However, while the *Obsidione* print shares the subject of the later works, the tombs and the St. Marina altarpiece share a great

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<sup>141</sup> Sanudo disapprovingly remarked that not many people came; *Diarii*, vol. 21, col. 275–76. As it happens, Priuli had already used this term to describe D’Alviano in 1505; *Diarii*, 2:387.

<sup>142</sup> The print is the work of the monogrammist IBP, believed to be Giovanni Battista Palumba, a Bolognese artist. The work depicts the *Marcus Aurelius*, which at the time of the print’s production was in front of S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rome. The subject was depicted in a similar fashion by Nicoletto da Modena, Marco Fogolino, and Marcantonio Raimondi, the latter version being the one upon which the Master IBP’s woodcut is based. On the various versions of the image, see Borea, “Stampa figurative e pubblico,” 391–92.

deal more, for they were begun in the same period at the behest of the same, closely knit group of patrons—Bragadin, in fact, seems to have been involved in the patronage of both works. A closer examination of the interconnectedness of these artistic projects reveals that they should perhaps be understood as parts of an informal propagandistic programme.

To begin, all of the works place earthly events within an otherworldly frame of reference. This is more obvious in the St. Marina altarpiece's glorification of a saint who had lent her aid to a military endeavour, but the tombs are also rich with religio-political references, despite their celebration of earthly figures. In the case of Orsini's equestrian tomb, this is evident in the sculpted allegorical figures of virtues—Wisdom to the left and Faith to the right—that occupy the niches to either side of the effigy. Furthermore, in the lunette above the central arch the winged lion appears in gilded relief. This element was not simply an emblem of the Republic; it was also a rich symbol for Venice's right to the *terraferma* empire, a concept which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. This same symbol appears prominently on Da Prato's tomb. However, the exemplar found on Orsini's monument is the more interesting of the two, for it offers a variant on the formula. Instead of displaying the customary greeting to St. Mark ("Pax tibi Marce evangelista meus"), the book bears an unusual inscription: PAX IVSTIS ET PIIS VITA, or "Peace for the just, and for the pious, life." With the mention of peace, justice and piety, a contemporary Venetian viewer would surely have interpreted the tomb on more levels than as merely a monument to a *condottiero*.

The visual intertwining of religious and politico-military meaning is even more evident in Naldi's tomb, despite the fact that it is the least grandiose of the group. Naldi's

effigy was carefully framed by the lowest register of the window, which depicts four saintly warriors.<sup>143</sup> While the window's upper registers were designed by Bartolomeo Vivarini and executed by Giannantonio da Lodi following a Christological programme, the lowest showing the military saints is iconographically distinct and the work of Girolamo Mocetto. Puppi has convincingly shown that the window must have been part of Emo's design all along since the placement of Naldi's tomb had necessitated the removal of a previously existing tomb from that location. Furthermore, the upper registers of the window were executed beginning in 1510, whereas the lowest register with its warrior saints was produced around 1516.<sup>144</sup> The window implies that Naldi, and by extension his fallen colleagues whose tombs had been erected nearby, was literally backed by a supernatural army of valiant knights and foot soldiers. Together, the tombs and stained glass encouraged Venetians to have faith in the combined military resources—both earthly and otherworldly—fighting on their behalf in the war on the mainland. The window's heavenly soldiers thus perform a function very similar to that ascribed to St. Marina by the Senate decree of 1512 and Bregno's altarpiece.<sup>145</sup> Emo reinforced the spiritual message

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<sup>143</sup> The upper registers of the window display quatrefoils at the top of God the Father, the Annunciation, and David and Moses. Below these appear decorative marine motifs borrowed from classical relief sculpture and four standing saints: St. Paul, the Virgin, John the Baptist and St. Peter. The next two registers down are each comprised of four quatrefoils, the first set displaying the symbols of the Evangelists and the second four fathers of the church: St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, St. Jerome and St. Augustine. Finally, the last register above that of the warrior saints shows four Dominican saints: St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Dominic, St. Peter Martyr, and St. Thomas Aquinas. For a discussion of the iconographic programme of the upper registers of the window, see Augusto Gentili, "Fonti e problemi del simbolismo antiquario nella vetrata di San Zanipolo," in *La grande vetrata di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Storia iconologica restauro*, 37–50; and Puppi, *Mito di Venezia*, 57–61.

<sup>144</sup> For the history of the window, see Puppi, "Il tempio e gli eroi," 21–22; for his assessment of the interaction of the window and the mercenary tombs, see *Mito di Venezia*, 72–74.

<sup>145</sup> De Vito notes that Mocetto's involvement with the lower register suggests a patriotic meaning behind the work as the rest of his oeuvre betrays a marked pro-Venetian stance. De Vito ties the SS. Giovanni e Paolo window closely to another work by Mocetto—a series of post-war frescoes for the Casa dell'Acqua Morta in Verona—that I, too, address in a later section of my discussion. For De Vito's discussion, see De Vito, "Vetrata dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," 19–30, esp. 23–25; for a discussion of the frescoes, see chap. 4, pp. 187–88.

of the decorative programme by obtaining more tangible evidence of divine approval. To celebrate the occasion of the installation of the Orsini and Da Prato tombs at Easter in 1514, Emo had requested and obtained papal indulgences to be dispensed in the church.<sup>146</sup>

Thus, while the tombs and stained-glass window may have operated on one level as a monument to “the military glory of Venice’s destiny”<sup>147</sup> as Puppi argues, and on another as works designed “to ensure the allegiance of future mercenary replacements”<sup>148</sup> as Schulz suggests, they also communicated on yet another, and perhaps more important level. The tombs promoted the politics of the pro-terraferma patrons sitting on the Council of Ten who had commissioned them. As triumphal commemorations of veterans of the war’s most important victory, they suggested with (decidedly unwarranted) confidence that the Republic could resist the attack of its numerous and powerful enemies. And as monuments to military excellence, the tombs encouraged Venetians to have faith in their hired armies, despite regular evidence of incompetence, and inspired them with heroes who promised a bright military future at a time of great uncertainty. In short, the tombs provided a powerful and carefully crafted antidote to the polemic of those who questioned attempts to reconquer the *Stato da terra*.

Evidently, Bragadin, Emo and their colleagues decided to create more concrete and, therefore, more enduring support for their political beliefs around the third year of the war. The commission of not just one, but of a group of celebratory monuments at a time of renewed political crisis by patrons who shared the same political ideas strongly suggests that the works of art were inspired not by calm, contented nostalgia and pride as

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<sup>146</sup> See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 19, col. 331; and the discussion of this in Puppi, “Il tempio e gli eroi,” 32.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.: “la gloria guerriera del destino di Venezia.”

<sup>148</sup> Schulz, “Four New Works,” 304, 319.

their appearance would like to suggest, but rather by a conscious, urgent need for persuasive propaganda. One of the monuments, the altar for St. Marina, was commissioned by the Bragadin, a family whose most eminent member in the period of concern was a prominent, pro-terraferma politician. Francesco Bragadin, in turn, sat on the same executive council as Giorgio Emo, an equally aggressive proponent of reclaiming the mainland who supervised the production of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo mercenary tombs. (In fact, the two men shared more than this—Emo was a member of the parish of St. Marina, thus giving him a more explicit reason to have been aware of, and perhaps to have supported, the Bragadin project.<sup>149</sup>) The close timing of the commissions encourages their perception as distinct yet interrelated components of a political faction's programmatic promotion of the repatriation of Padua as a touchstone of military success in order to garner faith in and support for the attempt to recover the *Stato da terra*. This gains further significance from the fact that the idea of erecting monuments to Orsini and Da Prato had been proposed earlier but never followed through.<sup>150</sup>

When considered as two prongs of the same propaganda campaign, the *condottiero* tombs and the new High Altar of St. Marina helped their patrons support their politics by forging a new state myth out of the raw materials provided by Padua's unlikely

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<sup>149</sup> On Emo's residence in the parish of St. Marina, see Puppi, "Il tempio e gli eroi," 25.

<sup>150</sup> At Orsini's state funeral, the humanist Battista Egnazio's oration had poetically proposed that Venetians erect an equestrian statue of the captain-general so that his deeds would not be forgotten. Even if Egnazio's suggestion can be put down to a mere *topos* in an oration aiming to imitate texts from antiquity, the suggestion had at least been publicly voiced. For Egnazio's speech, see *Ioannis Baptistae Egnatii veneti oratio habita in fynere clarissimi Impe. Nicolai Vrsini Nolaie Petilianique Principis* (Venice, [February 1510]), f. Di<sup>r</sup>; as well as the Francesco Sansovino's Italian translation of it in his *De gli huomini illustri della casa Orsini* (Venice, 1565), f. 73<sup>v</sup>. With regard to Da Prato, on April 12, 1511, the Senate declared its intention to commission a tomb for him that was to cost between one hundred and fifty and two hundred ducats. The Senate decree regarding Fra Leonardo is recorded in Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta, Registro 44 (1511–12), f. 7<sup>v</sup>. Sanudo makes mention of it as well in his diary entry for April 12, 1511: "Fu posto per li diti, atento è venuto qui a la Signoria uno nepote dil *quondam* reverendo fra' Lu-nardo da Prato, qual fu morto in campo, et benemerito dil stato nostro, che li sia fato una archa dove li parerà, in la qual sia spexo ducati 200; *item*, farli le exequie *etc*. Fu presa." *Diarii*, vol. 12, col. 114.



recapture and even more miraculous defence. Like all of Venice's greatest myths, that of Padua, as presented through the group of monuments begun in 1512, was comprised of two essential elements: divine approval of the enterprise, as asserted by the St. Marina altarpiece, and the Republic's own virtue, as declared by the mercenary tombs in SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

### 3.5 Fostering the New Myth of Padua

These works were followed by others that further solidified the interconnectness of the monuments and reinforced the same message, thus guaranteeing that Padua's repatriation during the Cambrai War found a permanent place among the myths of Venice. The most important of these was the tomb of Taddeo della Volpe, a mercenary from Imola who had served the Republic through the Cambrai War and until his death in 1533. On the initiative and at the expense of the state, the monument was built the following year in the church of St. Marina, and it took the form of an equestrian group. Although Della Volpe had served in numerous campaigns, his tomb's inscription particularly emphasises his involvement in Padua's defence in the fall of 1509, and his exploits there are frequently referred to in primary sources.<sup>151</sup> Sansovino's mention of the tomb in the first edition of his guidebook actually comments that the mercenary was remembered for having per-

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<sup>151</sup> The only modern discussion of Della Volpe's tomb can be found in Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 1:333–34. The full inscription reads: "THADAEIO VVLPIO IMOLENSI EQUIE PRAEF FORTISS RECEPTAE / VRBIS PATAVII SACRA D MARINAE LVCE AVTHORI PRVDENTISS / CARNICAE ORAE PROPVGNAT ACERR EXERCITUS VENETI AD / BONONIAM SERVATORI PRAECIP ANDREAS GRITTVS DVX SENAT / Q GRATISS OPTIME SEMPER DE REP VENETA MERITO MONIMEN / AETERNUM HAC POTISS SEDE IVRE POS / VIXIT ANN LX OBIIT / MDXXXIII IANVAR M DIE XIX." The inscription is now on the wall of the cloister of the Patriarchal Seminary and is the only part of the monument whose location is still known. Da Cori celebrates Della Volpe's participation at the defence of Padua in his *Obsidione di Padua*; see Medin, *Obsidione*, 63. Andrea Mocenigo recounts that he was one of the first to storm triumphantly into the city and take control of the main piazza, leaving a wake of dead Germans behind him; see Mocenigo, *Bellum cameracense* (Venice: Bernardino de Vitale, 5 August 1525), f. Fvi<sup>r</sup>. See also Da Porto's description of Della Volpe's involvement in the recapture of Padua in his letter to Antonio Savorgnano of 25 July 1509, reproduced in Da Porto, *Lettere storiche*, 101.

formed well in what he calls “the wars of Padua”!<sup>152</sup> Obviously, the format and the location of the tomb forged links between itself and the monuments discussed above.

The decision to inter Della Volpe in St. Marina meant that the new monument joined two older ones celebrating the Republic’s possession of Padua, the tomb of Michele Steno, the doge in power at the time the city was first captured, and the main altarpiece by Bregno honouring the saint who had assisted in the same city’s later reclamation. The Della Volpe tomb definitively cemented the church’s importance as a site for the celebration of Venice’s governance of Padua. Unfortunately, given the church’s deconsecration, and the subsequent loss of Della Volpe’s tomb, one is left to imagine the effect that such an impressive collection of statuary would have had on the Venetians who participated in the annual ducal procession to St. Marina.

The format of the tomb, however, also provided the first direct visual link between the churches of St. Marina and SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the two distinct loci of the celebration of Padua’s repatriation cultivated in 1512. An engraving produced shortly before the demolition of St. Marina records the tomb’s appearance (fig. 43).<sup>153</sup> It employed the now-familiar formula of a classicising arch framing an equestrian effigy of the mercenary mounted atop a sarcophagus bearing an inscription. Its quotation of these artistic precedents further reinforces the notion that the equestrian monument in Venice was a

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<sup>152</sup> *Venetia città nobilissima* [1581], 11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>: “Da un’altro lato si scorge una statua equestre: posta dal Senato al nome di Taddeo dalla Volpe da Imola: il quale fu condottiero della Rep. & si portò valorosamente nell’ultime guerre di Padoua.”

<sup>153</sup> The engraving is an illustration taken from the nineteenth-century historian Giuseppe Alberghetti’s *Compendio della storia civile, ecclesiastica e letteraria della città d’Imola* (Imola: G. Benedetto Filippini, 1810), pt. 3: 62. It accompanies a biography of Della Volpe that concentrates on his military exploits. After listing the mercenary’s activity on Venice’s behalf, the biographer comments that a statue was erected after Della Volpe’s death to commemorate his service: “A perpetua memoria di queste gloriosissime gesta il Veneto Senato riconoscente inalzò una statua equestre.” *Ibid.*, 64. Given Alberghetti’s patriotic pride in Della Volpe’s career and the fact that he was writing the *condottiero*’s biography three centuries after his death, his comments on the tombs are to be considered with caution.

tomb format associated with *condottieri* who had helped capture or defend the Republic's mainland empire. The monument's fusion of the location of St. Marina with the formal appearance of the equestrian monuments of SS. Giovanni e Paolo seems to represent a confirmation—and perhaps culmination—of the propagandistic programme begun in 1512 by Bragadin, Emo, and their associates on the Council of Ten. Della Volpe's tomb would have done much to reinforce the institutionalisation, or mythologising, of Padua's importance in the larger arc of Venetian history.

Of course, as much as the new mercenary tomb in St. Marina helped reinforce the importance of Padua first expressed through earlier, related monuments, it was commissioned at a later time with slightly different goals. Unlike the works begun in the middle of the Cambrai War, the Della Volpe tomb was produced twenty-two years after the conflict's conclusion and in a much altered political landscape. By this time, Rome had been sacked, the Italian Wars had finally come to a close with the Peace of Bologna in 1530, and Venice had long since swapped its earlier aggressive foreign policy for a more neutral, innocuous one. When Della Volpe died in 1533, the Republic's future was tranquil and promising enough to allow Venetians to cultivate the cultural aspiration of replacing Rome as the new centre of western Christendom.<sup>154</sup>

This conceptual evolution of Venice's identity had begun under the leadership of Doge Andrea Gritti, whose election in 1523 was in large part a result of his distinguished military service during the Cambrai War. Gritti's determination and expertise had been crucial to the Republic's recovery of the *Stato da terra*, and he had played a particularly

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<sup>154</sup> On the changes in Venetian politics, see Libby, "Venetian History and Political Thought," 7–45; and Robert Finlay, "Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the rise of Habsburg hegemony, 1509–1530," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2000): 988–1031. On the refashioning of Venice as a new Rome, see the various essays in "*Renovatio Urbis*": *Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523–1538)*, ed. Manfredo Tafuri (Rome: Officina, 1984).

prominent role in the recapture and defence of Padua. A very clever politician, Gritti exploited his commendable military service at every opportunity and often used the arts as a public and permanent means of doing so.<sup>155</sup> For instance, he underscored his role in Padua's repatriation in the large votive painting he commissioned for the Ducal Palace from Titian. Although this work was destroyed in the Ducal Palace fire of 1574, its appearance is known to us through eyewitness descriptions and a print (fig. 45).<sup>156</sup> The work shows Gritti recommended to the Virgin and Child by three saints, including St. Marina with the child clutching at her skirts and a palm frond in her hand.<sup>157</sup> When Titian's painting was destroyed in the Ducal Palace fire of 1574, Jacopo Tintoretto replaced it with a new canvas (fig. 46). The fact that Gritti cultivated his association with the recovery of Padua is evident in Tintoretto's changes to Titian's work. In the replacement canvas, St. Marina has been relocated to the centre and framed dramatically by an added architectural structure. Sanudo tells us that when Titian's canvas was unveiled, viewers recognised the reasoning behind the selection of saints. He has Marina comment that she was included in the work because Gritti "was elected [doge] for having recovered Padua on my name day, July 17."<sup>158</sup> In a more presumptuous fashion, Gritti later cast himself as

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<sup>155</sup> It was soon after Gritti regained Padua that his fellow Venetians began to speak of him as a ducal candidate. See Dalla Santa, *Lega di Cambrai*, 24. As regards Gritti's artistic patronage, he has long been recognised as a crafty, intelligent patron who fully understood the usefulness and potency of art as personal political propaganda. For a general discussion of Gritti's patronage, especially as regards portraits and the inclusion of his likeness in narrative or votive works, see Lionello Puppi, "L'iconografia di Andrea Gritti," in *Renovatio Urbis*, 216–35.

<sup>156</sup> For a discussion of the painting by Tintoretto that later replaced Titian's work and the print after it, see the discussion and relevant notes in Puppi, "Iconografia di Andrea Gritti," 227.

<sup>157</sup> The importance of the painting to Gritti is also discussed in Robert Finlay, "Politics and the Family in Renaissance Venice: The Election of Doge Andrea Gritti," in *Studi veneziani* n.s. 2 (1978): 97–117, esp. 116–17 (n. 67).

<sup>158</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 55, col. 19. The entire comment reads: "Io vidi in Colegio il quaro nuovo posto con la persona et effigie di questo Serenissimo [Doge Gritti], qual se inzenochia davanti una Nostra Donna col putin in barzo, et San Marco lo apresenta, a dadrio la Nostra Donna è tre santi, San Bernardin, Sant'Alvise e Santa Marina; et è stà comentado che tra questi tre santi vene differenti achi di l'horo l'havea fatto doxe. San Bernardin diceva: 'Fo electo nel mio zorno'; Santa Marina diceva: 'E' stà electo per haver recuperà

Padua's guardian, presenting a model of the city to the Virgin in an altarpiece commissioned from Ludovico Fiumicelli in 1536 for the church of the Eremitani in Padua (fig. 47).<sup>159</sup>

Given the importance of Gritti's leadership during the Cambrai War (and particularly his involvement at Padua) to his career and his profound understanding of the propagandistic power of art, it is hardly surprising that Della Volpe's tomb was erected during his reign. In fact, the monument's inscription mentions that the tomb was erected on the initiative of Gritti and the Senate.<sup>160</sup> By cleverly drawing upon prominent monuments produced during the war itself, Della Volpe's commemorative tomb thus further entrenched the message of Padua's legendary importance in the collective Venetian consciousness. Instead of lending polemical support to the questionable pro-terraferma policy of certain patricians like the earlier monuments, Della Volpe's was designed to elevate Gritti's importance through the firmer institutionalisation of a historical event that had helped secure his election as doge.

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Padoa nel mio zorno a di 17 di luio'; Santo Alvise diceva: 'Et io son il nome di sier Alvise Pisani procurator suo consolo, qual erra nel XLI. Et lui fo causa di farlo doxe.' *Unde* San Marco visto questa differentia tra li tre santi, par lo apresenti a la Nostra Dona e il Fiol, per terminar qual di l'horò è stà causa di la electione al ducato di Soa Serenità."

<sup>159</sup> For a reproduction of the painting, see fig. 93 in Wolters, *Storia e politica*, 114. To be sure, Gritti's involvement in the recapture of Padua was by no means easy. Once the army he led had breached the city, he could not restrain the looting and burning that ensued. When news of the troops' excessive violence reached Venice, there was great disappointment. Later, when the city had to be defended against the German emperor, Gritti had to demolish a church in order to secure one of the weaker city gates and he requested that the Signoria rebuild it later. He was also approached by a nun who had had a vision that if Gritti made a particular votive offering, the city of Padua would be saved; he made the offering and, given the outcome of the affair, may have believed strongly in the offering's efficacy. Sanudo reports: "*Di Padoa. Di retori et dier Andrea Gritti proveditor zeneral*. Chome, volendo fortifichar Codalonga, fo necessario butar zoso una chiesa apresso la porta chiamata Santa Trinità, over di la Trinità, la qual li soldati non la volseno butar si non li prometeano di rifarla. Et cussi li promesseno; però prega la Signoria sia contenta la refazino. *Item*, che una serva di Dio parlò a esso Gritti dicendoli aver auto in vision si 'l feva vodo mandar una Padoa d'arzento a la Madona di Loreto di valuta di ducati 100, e cussi Idio mantengiria Padoa. E fe' il voto. S'il par a lo Signoria farlo, si no lui el pagerà e farà dil suo etc." *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 312.

<sup>160</sup> For the inscription, see above, n. 153.

Gritti's efforts would be complemented thirty years later by another monumental tomb commissioned for Leonardo Loredan by his heirs in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (fig. 48). When Loredan died in 1521, his funeral was held, like that of all doges, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and he was interred in the prestigious area of the main apse. His place of burial was initially marked only by a simple marble slab on the steps leading up to the altar. This slab no longer exists, however, because a large, impressive monument was finally erected between 1604 and 1616 in its stead.<sup>161</sup> Loredan's initial burial in front of the main apse had already placed him in the company of the "pantheon" of heroes created by the Council of Ten under Emo's supervision, but the monument posthumously erected in his memory gave this association more explicit form. The work is massive and produced with the kind of rich marbles that were not procured for the mercenary tombs. Giovan Girolamo Grappiglia seems to have provided the architectural design. Girolamo Campagna carved the lively, seated effigy of the doge at the centre, and Danese Cattaneo executed the statues of Venice brandishing a sword on the left and of the League of Cambrai bearing a shield adorned with the coats-of-arms of the signatories on the right, as well as the figures of Peace and Abundance flanking the central figures.<sup>162</sup> Although commemorating the general survival of the war, the tomb particularly emphasises the significance of Padua. The bronze reliefs in the lowest register on the right and the left are respectively personifications of Padua, surrounded by symbols of the liberal arts, and Venice in the guise of Minerva triumphing over her enemies, to be identified with the

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<sup>161</sup> On the history of the work's commission, see M. dal Borgo, "Loredan, Leonardo," in *DBI*, 65:773. On the dating of the work, which has been often erroneously placed in 1572 (by Dal Borgo as well), see Massimiliano Rossi, *La poesia scolpita: Danese Cattaneo nella Venezia del Cinquecento* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1995), 165–67.

<sup>162</sup> See *ibid.*, and Andrea da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata* (Florence: Giunti, 1983 reprint), 224.

League. Furthermore, the only two saints included in the monument's decoration, St. Justina and St. Anthony, who are found in the small bronze relief above the figure of Peace, are patron saints of Padua. The city's importance is alluded to one last time in the relief in the attic register, which shows Venice enthroned receiving the keys of Padua after its reconquest, and in the inscription as well.<sup>163</sup>

The monument's assertion of Padua's importance is precisely that which would endure in Venetian memory. In a nineteenth-century book describing the origin and meaning of state feast days, Giustina Renier Michiel states that Padua's recapture and defence was important because it was the beginning of the Republic's recovery.<sup>164</sup> In other words, by the 1800s, Michiel was presenting as fact what politicians bent on reclaiming the *terraferma* during the war itself had fervently tried to persuade their contemporaries to believe. As Loredan's tomb demonstrates, the perception of Padua's repatriation as the beginning of Venice's recovery had already been given visual expression in the sixteenth century. Moreover, shortly after the monument's completion, its message was incorporated into official state history, for Palma Giovane borrowed heavily from the work's content and rhetoric for his depiction of the doge and the Cambrai War in the Ducal Palace (fig. 1). In the painting, as Giustiniano Martinioni noted in his edition of San-

<sup>163</sup> On the tomb's description and analysis, see Rossi, *Poesia scolpita*, 167–78. See also cat. no. 24 in Wladimir Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna. Studien zur venezianischen Plastik um das Jahr 1600* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972), 278–81. The inscription reads: “D. O. M. / LEONARDO LAVREDANO PRINCIPI / TOTIVS FERE EVROPA VIRIVM CAMERACENSI FOEDERE / IN REM VENETA CONSPIRANTIVM FVRORE COMPRESSO / PATAVIO OBSIDIONE LEVATO FORTVNIS ET FILIIS PRO / COMVNI SALVTE OBJECTIS TERRESTRIS IMPERII POST / ACERBISSIMV[M] BELLV[M] PRISTINA AMPLITVDINE VINDICATA / DIGNITATE ET PACE REIP RESTITVTA EAQ / DIFFICILLIMO TEMPORE CONSERVATA ET OPTIME GESTA / PIO FORTI PRVDENTI . LEONARDVS ABNEPOS . P . C . / VIXIT . ANN . LXXXIII IN DVCATV . XIX . / OBIT . M. D. XIX.” (The inscription actually makes a mistake about the date of Loredan's death—he died in 1521 rather than 1519.)

<sup>164</sup> Michiel, *Origine delle feste veneziane*, 5:84–85: “s’instituì una festa annua il 17 luglio, giorno della recuperazione di Padua, essendo stato questo il primo passo che condusse seco tutte le altre felici conseguenze.” See also Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 1:333. It is important to point out that even those historians writing shortly after the Cambrai War mention the importance of Padua; see, for example, Moenigo, *Bellum cameracense*, f. 22<sup>r</sup>.

sovino's guidebook, "Padua is outlined on the horizon because it was the first city that Venice reconquered on the terraferma."<sup>165</sup> In essence, the myth of Padua's repatriation became one of the most important pieces of "evidence" supporting the older and greater myth of the Republic's political perfection. The collection of monuments erected in memory of the event must have played a part in its firm rooting and subsequent cultivation within the city's complex historical mythology.

At about the same time that Leonardo Loredan's tomb was being produced, another monument making reference to the same events was underway—that of Maximilian I. In the 1580s, sculptors were completing the relief decorations for the emperor's mausoleum in the Hofkirche in Innsbruck. One of the reliefs shows Maximilian wearing the imperial crown mounted on his horse, while kneeling Paduan nobles present him with the keys of the city.<sup>166</sup> This event, however, had never happened; the emperor had arrived only after Padua had already been lost to the Venetians. Its presence on Maximilian's mausoleum, however, reflects the importance the struggle for Padua had acquired for Venice's enemies as well.

### 3.6 Conclusion

The investigation of works of art addressing the recapture and defence of Padua has revealed three general phases of production. The earliest began at the time of the event itself, and took the form of inexpensive, quickly produced, and easily disseminated woodcuts. Surely, in part, a response to enemy imagery like that of the *Pronostico*, Venetian

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<sup>165</sup> Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima* [1663], 1:344: "...e lungi appare la Città di Padoua, come quella che fù prima recuperata dalla Republica."

<sup>166</sup> On the monument, see Marcello Checchi, "L'assedio di Padova del 1509 ed un bassorilievo nella Hofkirche di Innsbruck," in *Padova. Rassegna mensile* 5 (1956): 14–20.



woodcuts such as those on the title page of the *Victoriosa Gata* or the *Obsidione di Padua* offered different—and understandably more encouraging—interpretations of the same events. Widely circulated representations of the Venetians taunting the enemy by hanging a cat over Padua's ramparts must have bolstered spirits through the assertion of the virtue possessed by Venetian defenders. The title page of *La Obsidione di Padua*, for its own part, must have also heartened Venetians with the idea that divine aid had ensured the success of Padua's defence.

As the war dragged on, however, the reassuring optimism of the *Obsidione* and *Victoriosa gata* woodcuts proved premature. While the recapture of Padua was certainly a crucial step towards recovery after Agnadello, it was succeeded by a seemingly interminable series of difficulties. The Republic's efforts to reclaim the mainland were consistently disappointing and their cost threatened to bankrupt the state.<sup>167</sup> When summer arrived in 1512, Venice was still struggling for survival, and many patricians had reason to question the wisdom of trying to restore the Republic's *Stato da terra* once again. The dramatic reclamation of Padua in 1509 had not led to the retaking of the rest of the mainland as initially hoped, and, as a result, its importance and promise risked being forgotten. Therefore, in the search of a way to support their pro-terraferma agenda, a small group of influential politicians exploited Padua's repatriation as raw material that could be shaped into a highly visible, compelling and seductive argument. In what can only be interpreted as a pointed effort to promote their convictions to the public, this elite group commissioned the first monumental works of art commemorating the repatriation of Padua, and thus began the institutionalisation of the event's historical significance. The elegant and expensive High Altar for St. Marina, to be visited each year by a ducal pro-

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<sup>167</sup> On the military difficulties of the middle and later years of the war, see chap. 4 and Appendix A.

cession, asserted, through the assistance of the titular saint, that God's favour had manifested itself in Padua's recovery. In the nearby church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the tombs erected for three *condottieri* encouraged Venetians to have faith in the hired armies that had successfully defended Padua. As an interconnected group, these works proffered powerful and complementary propaganda in support of their patrons' belief that the *Stato da terra* was meant to rejoin its maritime counterpart under Venetian rule.

A great deal can be learned from the comparison of these first two "waves" of artistic response to Padua's repatriation, for while they share important similarities, they also display significant differences. For instance, parallels can be drawn between the monuments and the prints with regard to their characterisation of events. In a sense, the sculpted monuments of 1512 can be seen as revisiting the same ideas first presented in the pamphlet imagery that preceded it: the *Victoriosa Gata* woodcut vaunted the bravery of Padua's defenders as the source of victory just as the Council of Ten's tomb monuments later did; and the *Obsidione* woodcut emphasised the support of heavenly guardians as comforting proof that God approved of Venice's attempt to recapture the mainland in the same way that Bregno's altarpiece subsequently did. These parallels suggest that there were two effective ways to present or "interpret" Padua's repatriation in visual culture, something that is perhaps made understandable by the fact that the works also shared the same audience. The printed images were affordable enough for almost any Venetian buyer, while the monuments were displayed in public spaces. All of these works were produced for the general Venetian population, from *popolano* to *patrizio*.

However, for all their similarities, the two groups display important differences. This is most obvious with regard to artistic medium, which has concomitant conse-

quences on the potential function, interpretation and relative impact of the works. The printed imagery produced in the first year of the war seems to have exploited a shell-shocked community's need for comfort in adjusting to a nightmarish reality. They were produced in a relatively new and decidedly uncanonical medium, as woodcuts could be found in less refined contexts, and hence often communicated in more direct ways, than works in more respectable media. In contrast, the stone monuments were situated in prominent places of worship, and suitably displayed a far more elegant aesthetic whose very nature imbued the same messages with the greater authority of "high art." This authority was carefully cultivated by the monuments' patrons, which brings the discussion to the last important difference between the earlier prints and the later sculpted works. While the prints were surely produced on the printing presses of artisanal *popolani* in response to a market demand. The monuments begun in 1512 were commissioned by powerful noblemen with well known political agendas. In essence, one might say that while prints told people what they wanted to hear at the beginning of the war, the monuments begun three years later told people what their patrons wanted them to believe. Their enduring importance is evident in an episode of the early seventeenth century, when the Dominican monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo requested the government's permission to remove the *condottieri* monuments from the church, the government refused to even hear their petition, and the tombs remained *in situ*.<sup>168</sup>

By the third phase of Venetian art's presentation of Padua's repatriation, the situation had changed once more. In January 1517 the Republic took possession of Verona, thus concluding the recovery of almost all of Venice's former *Stato da terra*. The promise that Padua's reclamation had held for Venetians since 1509 was finally fulfilled.

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<sup>168</sup> On this, see Fapanni, "Delle statue equestre erette," 82.

The pro-terraferma patrons of the mid-war monuments had proven to be right, and later monuments would exploit and reinforce the legacy of their commissions. Recognising the importance of Padua's repatriation within both the narrower context of the war and the broader one of the Republic's entire military history, the new doge Andrea Gritti, himself a veteran of Padua, commissioned a third "wave" of works, the equestrian monument to Taddeo della Volpe among them. Taking the form of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo monuments, the latest tomb added a new hero to the pantheon of Padua's veterans, while its placement in St. Marina reinforced the church as a site for the commemorative celebration of Padua's ties to the Republic. The same idea later influenced the content and appearance of the tomb erected to doge Leonardo Loredan by his heirs. Now that Padua's repatriation had become not only history, but also legend, certain patrons enlisted art as a means of associating themselves with the event for very personal gain.

In short, despite differences in appearance, message, and motivation, all of the works discussed helped institutionalise the successful repatriation of Padua as a legendary event in Venetian history. However, it is important to remember that the story of Padua was not at all characteristic of Venice's difficult experience of the Cambrai War, which, of course, is precisely why it appeared so frequently in the art of the day.

## Chapter Four

### Symbolic Battle and the Lion of St. Mark

Aside from the works of art inspired by Padua's repatriation, many others made reference to the struggle to regain control of the former *Stato da terra*. A large group of these works can be distinguished for their use of the power of a traditional symbol, the winged lion of St. Mark. This chapter analyses this body of imagery. It is not by chance that one of the most famous depictions of this symbol—the large canvas by Vittore Carpaccio (fig. 49)—was painted in the last year of the Cambrai War.<sup>1</sup> The discussion that follows will demonstrate that the symbol took on a particular importance during the conflict which, in turn, infused its depiction during and shortly after the war with fresh significance. In comparison with the works discussed thus far, it would seem that works of art inspired by Padua's recovery may have forged a new symbol of Venetian strength, while those depicting the age-old symbol of the winged lion drew upon the familiar strength of a pre-existing one.

The winged lion is the symbol of Mark the evangelist first described in the Book of Revelation (4:7). Venice's connection with Mark and his symbol began in the ninth century when the saint's relics were brought to Venice from Alexandria. The acquisition of Mark's bones was a significant event, for it elevated Venice's international importance to that of Rome, Antioch and Jerusalem, where similarly important relics were found.

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<sup>1</sup> The most recent study to discuss the painting in relationship to the historical context in which it was created is Daniele Ferrara, "Carpaccio e lo spazio simbolico del bacino marciano: il ritratto del doge Leonardo Loredan e il leone di san Marco," in *Lo spazio nelle città venete, 1348–1509: urbanistica e architettura, monumenti e piazze, decorazione e rappresentazione. Atti del 1° convegno nazionale di studi, Verona, 14–16 dicembre 1995*, ed. Enrico Guidoni and Ugo Soragni (Rome: Kappa, 1997), 206–16. The discussion will return to Carpaccio's painting and Ferrara's discussion of it later in the chapter.

Naturally, Mark quickly became the most revered patron saint of the city, supplanting those who had come before. To consolidate the connection between St. Mark and the Republic, a number of myths about Venice's possession of Mark's relics arose. The most important is the *praedestinatio*, a legend claiming that when the evangelist had passed through the lagoon on his way to Egypt, he had been visited in a dream by an angel who foretold that his bones would one day come to rest there.<sup>2</sup> The legend's assertion that God had intended to entrust Mark's relics to the Venetians even before their city's foundation implied that the Republic's later establishment and success was the result of a divine plan. Venetians thus came to interpret their custody of the evangelist's remains as an indicator not only of their piety, but also of the political perfection of their Christian government. Much of Venice's political assurance from the ninth century on was derived from the heavenly approval implicit in Mark's residence in and patronage of the city.

Given the political and religious significance of its possession of Mark's relics, the Republic was understandably eager to emphasize its connection with the evangelist at every opportunity. The visual arts were, of course, particularly helpful in this regard, and the Venetians quickly developed a number of ways to make visual reference to their holy benefactor. The most popular of these was the depiction of the evangelist's symbol as a winged lion, described in the Book of Revelation. To remind viewers of the *praedestinatio* and its implication that the Venetians were a chosen people of God, the lion was customarily shown with an open book that, while representing Mark's gospel, also displayed

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<sup>2</sup> "Pax tibi Marce evangelista meus, hic requiescet corpus tuum." There is a great deal of literature on the importance of St. Mark to Venice's identity and on the significance of the *praedestinatio* in particular, but a particularly useful overview is still the seminal article by Gina Fasoli, "Nascita di un mito," in *Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe per il suo 80° compleanno*, 2 vols. (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1958), 1:451–52.

the angel's greeting to the saint during his sojourn in the lagoon.<sup>3</sup> The winged lion quickly became the quintessential symbol of the Republic, appearing everywhere from monumental sculpture in the Piazza San Marco to illuminations on ducal *commissioni*.

The depiction of Mark's lion developed a number of iconographic formulas, the most common being the *leone in moleca*, a roundel containing the bust of a lion whose wings curve upward and inward like the claws of a crab (*moleca* in Venetian dialect) and whose paws hold the book (e.g., fig. 50);<sup>4</sup> and the *leone andante*, displaying the lion in full-length, usually straddling a shoreline with its front paws on land, one of which holds the book, and its hind legs immersed in the sea (e.g., figs. 49, 51).<sup>5</sup>

#### **4.1 The *Leone andante*, the Terraferma and the Cambrai War**

While the *leone in moleca* was perhaps the more popular iconographic formula in the centuries immediately following the translation of Mark's relics, the *leone andante* gained particular importance in the Quattrocento, when the Republic began to concentrate on the expansion of its mainland empire. Alberto Rizzi's extensive work on the depiction of Mark's lion in the Republic has led him to assert that "in practice the *leone in moleca* is associated with the city, and the *leone andante* more with the territory. One could even

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<sup>3</sup> The Venetian scholar Alberto Rizzi has dedicated his career to the study of the Marcian lion and its visual representation in all corners of the former Venetian Republic. He has identified over a hundred iconographic variants. Though much of his work took the form of articles focused on particular geographic regions, he recently consolidated decades of research in a two-volume work, *I leoni di San Marco: il simbolo della Repubblica veneta nella scultura e nella pittura*, 2 vols. (Venice: Arsenale, 2001). The work addresses not only the history of the symbol's depiction, but also provides an exhaustive catalogue of exemplars that has been incredibly useful to my research. See also W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, "Il Leone di san Marco. Aspetti storici e formali dell'emblema statale della Serenissima," in *Ateneo veneto* 27 (1989): 57–84.

<sup>4</sup> On the iconography of the *leone in moleca*, see Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 1:47–52.

<sup>5</sup> See Wolters, *Storia e politica*, 226–27. For an extremely useful summary of Marcian lion iconographies, see Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 1:395–96.

say that the *leone andante* was more ‘imperialistic’ or ‘colonial.’”<sup>6</sup> While the winged lion in any of its forms conveyed the divine approval of Venice in a general sense, the *leone andante*’s bridging of land and sea seemed to comment directly on the Republic’s God-given right to the possession of two empires—one terrestrial, one maritime. It is therefore understandable that one of the earliest, monumental depictions of this iconography to survive in painting, Jacobello del Fiore’s work of 1415 (fig. 51),<sup>7</sup> appeared shortly after the establishment of a substantial Venetian *Stato da terra*. In the first decade of the fifteenth century, the Republic had annexed Padua, Verona, Vicenza, Belluno and Feltre, and recaptured Dalmatia.<sup>8</sup> Del Fiore’s work was produced for a chamber of justice, the Magistrato della Bestemmia, and thus implies the divine wisdom and power that the Republic gained from Mark’s patronage through the prominent use of the evangelist’s symbol.

From this period onward, the winged lion was Venice’s preferred territorial marker on the mainland. Its representation usually took the form of external frescoes, or public sculpture in relief or in the round, placed on display in the most socially or politically important areas of subject cities.<sup>9</sup> Some typical examples include the vast frescoed lions that once decorated the most visible towers of Verona as recorded in 1503 in a woodcut adorning the frontispiece of a book about the city (fig. 55),<sup>10</sup> and the lion carved

<sup>6</sup> On the significance of the combination of land and sea in the *leone andante* iconography, see *ibid.*, 1:40.

<sup>7</sup> To the left of the lion’s head are the artist’s signature and the date: “MCCCCXV DI / E PRIMO MAII / JACOBELLUS DE / FLORE PINXIT.” Instead of the usual inscription on the book held by the lion a different one appears: “LINQUITUR / HIC ODIUM / METUS O[MN]IS / ZELUS ET A[R]DOR / PLECTITUR HIC / QUAE SCELUS LI / BRATUM CU / SPIDE VERI” (“Here hate is left aside, every [fear,] jealousy and impetuosity. Here crime is punished, balanced on the needle of truth.”) Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:27 (cat. no. 152).

<sup>8</sup> On Venetian expansion on the mainland in this period, see Mallett, “La conquista della Terraferma,” 185–212.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of this practice, see Wolters, *Storia e politica*, 223–27.

<sup>10</sup> Rizzi has dubbed Verona the city of “megaleoni” since the largest frescoed versions of the symbol known to have existed on the mainland were painted there. Rizzi, “Il leone di Venezia a ‘Verona fidelis’ e



of Istrian stone that was placed atop a column in the Piazza dei Signori in Vicenza in 1473 in imitation of Venice's Piazza San Marco, which is evident in a drawing of the city dating to 1481 (fig. 56). When depicted in Venice's new *terraferma* empire, the *leone andante* became richly meaningful. Painted and sculpted lions functioned as a reminder to locals and visitors alike that the territory in which they were found belonged to Venice, but, more than that, they also declared that the Republic held possession of the territory with the assistance of its patron St. Mark, direct and irrefutable evidence of God's approval and support of Venice.<sup>11</sup>

Even beyond the Republic's boundaries, the significance of the Venetian *leone andante* was also well understood. Maximilian I rather poetically appropriated the lion iconography in a letter to the Elector of Saxony when discussing his attempt to reclaim the Friuli from the Venetians in 1507. He described how "the Venetians depict their lions with two paws in the sea, the third on the mainland and the fourth on a hill," and remarked, "We have almost conquered the paw on the mountain, for only a claw remains, which with the aid of God we shall claim...; afterwards we will set about conquering the paw on the mainland as well."<sup>12</sup> Metaphors based on the Marcian lion as rep-

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nel suo territorio," in *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 154 (1995/96): 611–71. The two frescoed lions seen in the woodcut decorated the Torre dei Lamberti and the Torre del Gardo before they were destroyed during the Cambrai War. The former is thought to have been executed when the tower was completed sometime between 1448 and 1464; the same is probably true of the latter. See respectively cat. nos. 1802 and 1804 in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:188.

<sup>11</sup> The inscriptions that often accompanied representations of the lion on the mainland made the image's double meaning explicit. A lion that once adorned the Palazzo Pretorio in Padua had been paired with an inscription that read: "SVM LEO QVO NVLLVS POSSEDDIT LATIVS ORBE / IMPERIVM PARET TERRA FRETVMQVE MIHI / ET IVSTICIAM FACIO CAVEAT SIBI QVISQVE MALORUM / VLCISCOR SCELERA QVI SECAT ENSE MEO." The inscription was recorded by Marino Sanudo, *Itinerario di Marin Sanuto per la terraferma veneziana nell'anno 1483*, ed. Rawdon Brown (Padua: Tip. del seminario, 1847), 94.

<sup>12</sup> "I Veneziani dipingono il loro leone con due piedi nel mare, il terzo sulla terra ferma, il quarto nella montagna. Il piede che posa sulla montagna l'abbiamo già quasi del tutto scalzato, non manca che un unghione, che noi coll'aiuto di Dio guadagneremo entro otto giorni; in seguito pensiamo anche di conquistare il piede che posa sulla terra ferma." This Italian translation is taken from Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del medio evo*, 7th ed., 18 vols., trans. Pio Cenci (Rome: Desclée & C., 1942), 3:731. Ironi-

resenting the Republic also took on visual form. On Albrecht Altdorfer's title page illumination for *Der groß Venedigischkrieg*, a manuscript produced for Maximilian about the war against the Venetians, shows German troops physically forcing a lion off of the mainland and back into the sea (fig. 57).

The French, too, used the metaphor of the winged lion as a means of expressing criticism of the Republic. In Jean Lemaire's treatise *La légende des Vénitiens*, written to explain why Venice was destined for ruin, the author cites the depiction of two winged lions in the stone pavement of the left transept of the church of San Marco, supposedly a visualisation of a prophecy of Joachim of Fiore, as part of his proof (fig. 59).<sup>13</sup> One of the lions was healthy and robust, with its front paws placed on land and its hind ones in water. In contrast, the other lion was scrawny and feeble, seeming to have collapsed on the ground with its hind feet barely touching the water. For Lemaire, the inference was clear: Venice's strength came from a connection with the sea, and its imminent downfall in 1509 had been brought about by an unfitting hunger for territory on the *terraferma*. Given that many of the Venetians themselves were wary of Venice's presence on the mainland after the Rout of Agnadello, it is not surprising that some of them shared Lemaire's interpretation. Although surely a creative retelling, Luigi da Porto made reference to the mosaics in his account of a Senate meeting held in June 1509 to determine whether the Republic should attempt the recapture of Padua or not. In Da Porto's account, a Venetian patrician spoke up in opposition to the idea by making reference to the floor pavement

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cally, although Maximilian's attempt to take the Friuli in the campaign of 1508 would prove unsuccessful, the remark did presage the League of Cambrai's success in the spring of 1509.

<sup>13</sup> The preface to Lemaire's work describes four prophecies foretelling the destruction of Venice while the following three chapters outline Venice's fatal flaws. His discussion of the images of the lions are reproduced in Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, 215–16. For a discussion of Lemaire's work in the context of other anti-Venetian French literature, see Sherman, "Political Propaganda and Renaissance Culture," 97–128; and Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo*, 39–40. Joachim of Fiore and the impact of Joachimist prophecy in Venice during the Cambrai War is discussed in detail later in this dissertation; see chap. 5, pp. 239, 252ff.

lions as warnings against meddling with the mainland. He argued that since the weak lion was leaving the water, it was an indication that the Venetians should not turn their backs on the maritime empire that had made them great in favour of that of the *terraferma*.<sup>14</sup> Even seemingly innocuous Byzantine *paterae* on the north façade of San Marco were interpreted as being pregnant with meaning (see fig. 58).<sup>15</sup> Although Venice's connection with Mark as symbolized by the winged lion had been a source of Venetian confidence for centuries, the disastrous and difficult circumstances of the Cambrai War seriously challenged the credibility of the symbol's traditional meaning. This became even more evident, given what happened to representations of the lion found on the mainland during the war. As the political fortunes of the Republic took a turn for the worse, so, too, did those of its most powerful symbol.

#### 4.2 *Leontoclastia cambraica*

The power of the winged lion as a symbol of the divine favour Venice was supposed to enjoy led directly to the enemy's maltreatment of its depictions. As the forces of the League swept across the *terraferma*, taking Venice's subject cities one by one, they also

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<sup>14</sup> "Essendoci stato lasciato quasi per eredità da' nostri primi padri il navigare, e lasciateci molte memorie e molte ammonizioni, che a questo solo dovessimo esser intenti. Di che possiamo farcene interpreti nel bellissimo e ricchissimo suolo della nostra chiesa di San Marco, dove, come sapete, si veggono due leoni, l'uno posto in acqua, il quale ha la sembianza di lieto, grasso e felice, l'altro veramente in terra tra fronde e fiori, ma tutto mesto, consumato dalla fame e rabbuffato. Nondimeno il volere cose nuove e 'l volerle tentare (naturale desio d'ogni umano cuore) vi fece scordare i salutiferi precetti de' nostri antichi." The quote is taken from a letter to Antonio Savorgnano dated 20 July 1509, reproduced in Da Porto, *Lettere storiche*, 93.

<sup>15</sup> Some of the reliefs are still on the north façade of the church today. Like the floor mosaics, they too are referred to in Da Porto's recounting of a Senate debate in which it served as evidence that nothing good could come of war against the German empire: "Se si dovesse, dico, aver riguardo tali segni, noi a guerreggiare con i Tedeschi grandissimo riguardo dovremmo avere; vedendosi nella facciata di questo nostro tempio, che guarda verso Rialto, posto di picciolo rilievo primieramente un leone, che volendo mordere un Tedesco armato, da lui con la spada è ferito; e poco più in alto si vede il Tedesco, sonando uno de' suoi zufoli di guerra, cavalcare un leone.... Dà di mal augurio a chi pone mente a queste cose, a lascia in maggior sospetto." Ibid., 94.

systematically stole or destroyed the representations of the winged lion, a *modus operandi* that Alberto Rizzi has termed *leontoclastia*.<sup>16</sup> The League's destruction of Mark's lion would be rivalled in its extent only by that of Napoleon at the end of the eighteenth century. However, while Napoleon's destructive campaign represented an attempt to erase the long history of independence and republican values for which the symbol stood, the League of Cambrai was responding to a more specific aspect of the symbol's meaning: the assertion that Venice's possession of the *Stato da terra* was divinely approved. The Cambrai *leontoclastia* thus created an intimate connection between a traditional symbol of Venice—depictions of the lion in visual culture—and the political issue that fuelled the war—the question of who would ultimately control the Venetian terraferma.

Many contemporary sources relate the vicissitudes of the carved and painted lions that had dotted the mainland, including Sanudo, Priuli, Da Porto and the merchant Martino Merlini. The attention that all of these men paid to the *leontoclastia* reveals that news of such activity reached Venice quickly and greatly unsettled the Venetians.<sup>17</sup> The imperial army was particularly aggressive in the destruction of representations of the Marcian lion, since Maximilian had joined the League of Cambrai in large part to avenge his embarrassing failure to take the Friuli from the Republic in 1508.<sup>18</sup> Giorgio Vasari's biography of Giovanni Maria Falconetto informs us that immediately after Maximilian had claimed Verona, the emperor hired the artist to cover over the city's numerous frescoed

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<sup>16</sup> For an excellent discussion of the consequences of the Cambrai War on the treatment of depictions of the Venetian lion on the terraferma, see Alberto Rizzi, "Il leone di san Marco e la lega di Cambrai," in *Ateneo veneto* n.s. 34 (1996): 297–314; he revisits the same topic in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 1:75–85.

<sup>17</sup> By far the best source on the subject is Sanudo. In his diary, there are detailed accounts of how the League's troops defaced or removed prominent representations of the winged lion from Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Vicenza, and Verona, among others. The only area of the Venetian mainland in which many carved and painted lions predating 1509 survived destruction was the Marca Trevigiana. Treviso was the only major urban centre on the mainland that never fell into enemy hands. See Rizzi, "Leone di san Marco e la Lega," 298–99.

<sup>18</sup> On Maximilian's motivations for joining the League, see Cipollini, "Lega di Cambrai," esp. 67, 71, 77–8.

lions with an imperial symbol, the double-headed eagle.<sup>19</sup> Evidently one painter was not enough to replace the multitude of lions adorning the city (or Falconetto was moving too slowly for Maximilian's tastes), because the emperor soon hired another local, Girolamo dei Libri, to carry out the same task.<sup>20</sup>

In Vicenza, the winged lion sculpted in stone that had been in the city's main piazza atop a monumental column was smashed to pieces by Maximilian's troops and replaced a little over a month later with a sculpture of the imperial eagle bearing a gilded crown.<sup>21</sup> One of the most remarkable examples of imperial *leontoclastia* took place in the small town of Feltre. Although Venice had managed to reclaim the town from German troops in late 1509, the imperial army returned once more in the summer of 1510 and mercilessly sacked the city. A local historian recorded that Maximilian had a fresco painted on the clock tower in the main square of an enormous double-headed eagle holding the neck and flank of a lion in its claws,<sup>22</sup> an apt visual expression of the German emperor's vengeance.

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<sup>19</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1878–85), 5:320. The *leontoclastia* in Verona was very thorough because the city was in Maximilian's possession for the entire war. See Rizzi, "Leone di Venezia a 'Verona fidelis,'" 615.

<sup>20</sup> Dei Libri was a less willing collaborator, being a *marchesco*, and was at one point overheard saying that the lions he was painting "*durabunt tempore curto*." However, as a Veronese *novello* recounting the episode explains, Dei Libri quickly defused his employer's anger by explaining that his comment referred not to the duration of imperial rule in Verona, but rather to the poor quality of the pigments he was made to use: he claimed to be worried that they would not long resist the destructive effects of the weather. The episode is referred to in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 25–26. For the *novello*, see G. Gerola, "Iscrizioni e stemmi veneti scalpellati sulle fortezze veronesi," in *Madonna Verona. Bollettino del Museo civico di Verona* 5 (1911): 14–15.

<sup>21</sup> The present sculpture is a restored work by the Lombard sculptor Martino del Vedelo produced in 1520 and put in place on 30 March 1520 to replace the original sculpture by Giovanni Antonio di Milano of 1473 that was destroyed during the Cambrai War. The work was produced in Venice and then transported to Vicenza where it was gilded. See respectively cat. nos. 1749 and 1750 in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:182. See Da Porto's report of this event in a letter written to Antonio Savorgnano in Udine on 12 June 1509, reproduced in Da Porto, *Lettere storiche*, 81–82. Also see the discussion of these events in Rizzi, "Leontoclastia cambraica," 26–27.

<sup>22</sup> The local historian was named Bonifacio Pasole, and his work is cited in Rizzi, "Leontoclastia cambraica," 28–29.

Perhaps the most interesting instances of *leontoclastia* occurred in the Lombard cities that the French had annexed from the Venetians. Like Maximilian I, Louis XII wanted to diminish the Republic's strength by eradicating its most important symbol. However, he had joined the League of Cambrai out of mere greed, and therefore lacked the German emperor's more vengeful motivation. As a result, the French often treated the lions they encountered rather differently. For example, when Louis' troops took Bergamo in June 1509, they encountered a sculptural ensemble pairing lion and doge, a close imitation of those on the Porta della Carta of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice at the time, on the façade of the Palazzo della Ragione. Instead of destroying it, the French carefully pulled down the work and shipped it back to Milan as *spolia* of war. In fact, the theft allowed for a more creative desecration of the lion and doge sculptural ensemble. Sanudo reported news that at some point along the journey, the enemy defaced the work: "When the golden St. Mark was taken from Bergamo to Milan, the French and the Milanese put a cucumber in the doge's mouth and under the words 'Pax tibi Marce' wrote 'As long as he holds no territory on the terraferma.'"<sup>23</sup> The added phrase imbued the French vandalism with a more specific significance by implying that the Republic, as symbolised by the evangelist, would enjoy the peace promised by the angel's greeting only if it were to renounce its possessions on the mainland. The disrespectful placement of a cucumber in the doge's mouth metaphorically underscored this message by suggesting that the Venetians had, rather literally, bitten off more than they could chew in establishing a *Stato da terra*.

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<sup>23</sup> For the initial removal of the sculpture from its original location, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 448. It was only a few days later that the diarist recorded what was done to the sculptures on their way to Milan: "quando fu portato il San Marco d'oro da Bergamo a Milano, milanesi e francesi misero un coccomero in bocca al doge e sotto le lettere Pax tibi Marce scrissero Dummodo nihil habeat in terra firma." Ibid., col. 518. Other incidents of the lion's abuse occurred as well. Sanudo records that when the French king made his entry into Milan, there was a triumphal float on which a lion was being menaced from the water by a dragon and from the water's edge by a cock picking at its eyes; *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 511 (13 July 1509).

It is also very likely that it was interpreted as having more vulgar, sexual connotations. To counter the insult and injury caused by this vandalism, a promisingly portentous account of the lion's journey arose. Sanudo enthusiastically reports that although the lion fell from its cart three times, it always landed on its feet, "which was a very good omen."<sup>24</sup>

The account of this sculpture's encouraging behaviour reveals the powerful need to defend the Marcian lion and what it represented. When the invading armies destroyed the terraferma lions, they were discrediting the deeper message these works were intended to convey. The winged lion's significance as a symbol resulted from the fact that it was a religious symbol that had acquired a political dimension: it had come to signify the divine approval of the Republic as expressed through the patronage of an evangelist. In short, although the winged lion's destruction or defacement ultimately confirmed the symbol's meaning by recognizing it as important enough to destroy, its gradual disappearance from the mainland also effectively called that very meaning into question. Venetians could not ignore the *leontoclastia*, because it eroded the foundations upon which they constructed their belief in both the Republic's political (and moral) supremacy and their right to a mainland empire. Without the divine approval of God and the special protection of Mark, what could the Republic hope to be?

### 4.3 Symbolic Battle

The systematic *leontoclastia* opened up a new field of combat, challenging Venice to defend itself not only physically on the battlefield, but also ideologically and psychologi-

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<sup>24</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 500. This becomes a trope that recurs in relation to the journeys of other sculpted lions transported to Milan or France as well; see *ibid.*, col. 478.

cally in symbolic battle. Venetian responses to this “call to arms” manifested themselves in a myriad of ways, the most important taking visual form and being either performative or artistic in nature.

Sanudo’s diary recounts the extensive festivities that took place in Piazza San Marco When Bergamo briefly returned under Venetian rule in 1512:

When news arrived that Bergamo had been retaken, everyone was overjoyed and they came to the Piazza with flags yelling “Mark, Mark,” and carrying a cock [to represent the French] skewered on a pitchfork with an eel in its mouth to represent the coat-of-arms of Milan, and there was much noise in the Piazza with everyone celebrating, and a large bonfire was prepared in front of San Gimignano where a live cock and an eel in the form of a serpent were burned while the Bergamasks danced around it. And so in various *campi* there were bonfires and parties as a sign of our happiness, ... all because we were recovering our empire.<sup>25</sup>

Given Venetian awareness of the League’s maltreatment of images of Mark’s lion in Bergamo in the spring of 1509, we can easily understand this kind of symbolic retaliation three years later when the city rejoined the Republic. The burning of the live rooster with an eel stuffed in its mouth as symbols of the French and the Milanese operated in the much same way as the abuse of Bergamo’s sculpted lion.

This same kind of retaliation in visual culture also took on a more concrete form in a propagandistic publication that came off the presses of Venice around the same time as the Venetians were ritualistically burning roosters. A two-folio leaflet entitled *Papa Iulio secundo che redriza tutto el mondo* bears an anonymous woodcut showing Julius II

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<sup>25</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 13, col. 455: “inteso l’aquisto di Bergamo, tuta la terra fo in alegreza, et venivano con bandiere e loro driedo cridando: ‘Marco, Marco’ per Piazza, et portono una forcha con uno gallo impichado, qual havia una anguilla in bocha, ch’ è l’arma di Milan, et era grandissimo rumor in Piazza, tuti jubilando, e fo preparato uno gran focho in cao di la Piazza verso San Ziminian con uno gallo vivo di sopra e una anguilla in forma di bisca, e cussi poi impiono focho, balando fachini atorno e brusoe il gallo. Et cussi in diversi campi fo fato fochi et feste in segno di letizia, et a San Ziminian in Piazza fo sonado campanò; questo perchè recuperevemo il nostro stato.” The translation of “fachino” as “Bergamask” was common at the time; Priuli comments: “Le citade veneta veramente era piena de simel Bergamasci in ogni tempo, e se chiamavano fachini, quali se adoperavano molto in vendere e comprar robe in ogni condizione.” *Diarii*, 4:47.



skewering a cock with a cross (fig. 61).<sup>26</sup> The various signatories of the Holy League, one of whom, at this point, was Venice, stand nearby to support the pope's endeavour to rid the Italian peninsula of the French. The Republic is represented by the doge, here shown wearing an ermine-decorated robe and the ducal *corno*. The contemporary viewer would certainly have understood the woodcut's message: the Christian world, represented by a globe surmounted by a cross, could only be righted through the defeat of the French.

As regards the treatment of the lion as a symbol, Venetians seem to have responded to the *leontoclastia* in a very direct fashion. In a letter of late 1509, Nicolò Machiavelli mentions that the Republic was prominently repainting Mark's lion in the *terraferma* cities its armies recovered, but with a significant alteration: "It is heard that the Venetians are repainting [the lion of] St. Mark in all of the places that they come to repossess, who exchanges his book for a sword, something that suggests they have come to realize that books and study are not enough to control territory."<sup>27</sup> If such lions were, in fact, being frescoed, they did not last long and none have survived; since Venice repeatedly lost almost all of the territory it managed to regain, these new lions would have been destroyed upon the enemy's return, just as the originals had been. However, the image of the sword-wielding lion survives as a popular trope in Venetian wartime poetry, such as

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<sup>26</sup> The pamphlet's full title is: *Papa Iulio secundo che redriza tuto el mondo. Lamento dil Re di Franza contra le Cita de Lombardia: Et della morte de gli soi baroni E de la uictoria del Re dingilterra come ha rotto il campo delli francesi schiera per schiera* (Venice, [1512]). The copy consulted here is in the British Library. The artist included the monogram "c" to identify him, but it is not known to whom the initial refers. See cat. no. 1759 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 247–48.

<sup>27</sup> "Intendesi come e' Viniziani, in tutti questi luoghi de' quali si rinsignoriscono, fanno dipingere un San Marco, che in scambio di libro ha una spada in mano, d'onde pare che si sieno avveduti ad loro spese che ad tenere li stati non bastano li studj e e' libri." Nicolò Machiavelli, *Legazioni e commissarie*, ed. Sergio Bertelli, 3 vols. (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1964), 3:1202. The letter is dated 7 December 1509 and was written from Verona. The type of lion described by Machiavelli is not common; on this, see Wolters, *Storia e politica*, 225.

an anonymous sonnet written during a phase of the war in which the French were an enemy of the Republic:

St. Mark, what are you doing? Come, come, do not tarry any more;  
Take justice in hand, for the Cock is here:  
...  
Do not study any more, put down your book.  
Do you not dare to call out cock-a-doodle-doo?  
Reach out your paw and pull the Cock towards you,  
For the year, the month, the moment and the day have arrived  
In which the roosters will depart with their feet in the air.  
Put “*Peace be with you, Mark*” behind you,  
Crying war, ...  
And with sword in hand, confront the [French] king...<sup>28</sup>

The poem’s verbal imagery corresponds closely with what was supposedly being painted in the recuperated areas of the *terraferma*. It is not surprising, then, that one of the few surviving examples of a sword-wielding lion from the years of the Cambrai War appears in a woodcut adorning the title page of a pro-Venetian printed pamphlet. The four-folio publication entitled *Spauento de Italia* recounts a series of political and military events from Julius II’s decision to join the League of Cambrai in 1509 to his lifting of the excommunication of Venice in 1510.<sup>29</sup> Little is known of the author, Francesco Maria Sacchino (from Modigliana, near Forlì), aside from the fact that he was a Venetian partisan who seems to have known Dionisio Naldi, one of the mercenaries to whom the Republic erected a monument in SS. Giovanni e Paolo.<sup>30</sup> Although the pamphlet bears no date, the

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<sup>28</sup> “Marco, che fai? Su su, non tardar più; / prendi justicia in man, che ’l Gal è qui / e poi che fatto ti ha d’un no un sì, / non studiar più, deponi il libro giù. // Non odi tu gridar cucurucù? / tra’ de la zampa e tira el Gal a ti, / ché giunto è l’anno e ’l mese e ’l punto e ’l dì / che i galli se n’andran coi piedi in su. // Poni *pax tibi Marce* drieto a te, / gridando guerra, toscò, absentio e fel, / e cum la spada in man affronta il re...” The anonymous poem is reprinted with twelve others, all written during the Cambrai War, and is reprinted in Antonio Medin, ed. *Nozze Lazzarini-Sesler, Sonetti per la Lega di Cambrai 1508* (Padua: Fratelli Gallina, 1900), 13.

<sup>29</sup> Francesco Maria Sacchino, *Spauento de Italia* (s. l., s. a.). The pamphlet is comprised of six folios.

<sup>30</sup> On the pamphlet and its author, see Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:63–64. The authors note that the poem includes a few celebratory octaves dedicated to Naldi that suggest a degree of familiarity between the poet and the *condottiero*. On Dionisio Naldi, see chap. 3, pp. 90ff.

text concludes with an optimistic prediction of the Republic's future thanks to its renewed friendship with the pope, thus strongly suggesting that the work was written soon after the interdict's rescission.<sup>31</sup> Sacchino's optimism is echoed in the publication's title-page woodcut (fig. 60). On the right, the Italian peninsula appears as a crowned maiden clinging desperately to an oak, which represents the Della Rovere papacy. Turning over her shoulder, she witnesses the rebirth of the winged lion, which suggestively re-emerges from its tomb. The animal's menacing jaws are open and ready to snap, and its right fore-paw holds a sword with which to attack the seemingly defenceless French cock on the far left. Perhaps Machiavelli's report stemmed in part from having seen or heard about a printed image like this one.

Such printed imagery and ritualistic performances such as the burning of the cock in Piazza San Marco served to combat the enemy through the mockery of a symbol of its strength. Moreover, they also indicate one of the ways in which visual culture played its part in the war effort. However, as potent a drug as a ritualistic act may have been, the woodcuts would necessarily have had a wider-reaching and more lasting influence, thanks to their physical nature, multiple reproductions and easy dissemination (Martino Merlini sent such works as far afield as the Orient<sup>32</sup>). Evidence of the power of printed imagery already emerged in chapter two's examination of the *Victoriosa Gata* and *Obsidione di Padua* pamphlets. These early works seem to have established a trend. As the war dragged on, it would appear that this type of publication increasingly proved to be a

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<sup>31</sup> See Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:64. Regardless of when the text was written, the pamphlet must have been printed before November 1515, for this is when Ferdinando Colombo acquired a copy for his collection, and there is no reason that the pamphlet should not date to 1510 as the text implies.

<sup>32</sup> In his letters to his brother, Merlini enclosed a "frotola" about the Ferrarese in August 1510 and another about the rout of the French army by the Swiss the next month; see Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1597.

popular means of packaging and disseminating pro-Venetian propaganda, frequently making use of symbolic means to convey its messages in both verbal and visual forms. One of the symbols that figured ever more prominently in such publications seems to have been the Republic's most precious—and, not coincidentally, most threatened—symbol: the lion of St. Mark.

The woodcut accompanying Sacchino's *Spauento de Italia* had already employed the lion, but its use in this kind of context seems to have peaked during the latter years of the conflict, when the Republic was struggling to regain control of its former holdings in Lombardy. A remarkable group of three pamphlets display the *leone andante* in connection with these later campaigns (see figs. 52, 53).<sup>33</sup> Images such as these, produced during a war fought on both practical and symbolic levels, must have helped to counter the *terraferma leontoclastia* by keeping a precious symbol alive in the visual culture of the lagoon. The verbal and visual elements of the war pamphlets sometimes functioned in concert, reinforcing one another and offering their audience a hopeful vision of the future. In order to reconstruct the meaning and importance of the pamphlet imagery of lions, it is important to establish the nature and purpose of the texts it accompanied.

#### 4.3.1 Printing “Newspapers”

A dependence on international trade had always given Venetians a vested interest in following current events because of the potential impact they could have upon the financial fortunes of mercantile activity.<sup>34</sup> Traditionally, Venetians had gotten most of their information about current events from diplomatic reports or merchants' letters arriving from

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<sup>33</sup> These pamphlets and their title page woodcuts are discussed below, pp. 156–73.

<sup>34</sup> Sardella, *Nouvelles et spéculations*, 83.

abroad whose content was disseminated by word of mouth.<sup>35</sup> These modes of communication were significantly amplified in the latter decades of the fifteenth century with the emergence of Venice's powerful printing industry. Although it was not until the middle of the Cinquecento that a true information market and body of publications serving its needs developed,<sup>36</sup> Venetian printers began to explore the possibility of mass-producing accounts of the news as early as 1478.<sup>37</sup> The first surviving instance in which a number of publications survive relating to a particular series of events seems to be at least five pamphlets from 1499 to 1500 recounting the successful Franco-Venetian campaign to recapture Milan.<sup>38</sup>

As informative as these early news pamphlets may have been, Venetians—printers and purchasers alike—seem to have only developed a strong interest in their potential uses with the onset of the Cambrai War. The protagonists of the conflict included all of Europe's most important powers, and its battles were fought on an unprecedentedly grand scale (e.g., the aggressive, imperial siege of Padua in 1509), often with unpredictable or surprising results. Arguably, the news had never been more absorbing, since, for the Venetians, the war's purpose was the Republic's destruction. As Venice's very survival depended on the outcome of political and military activity on the mainland,

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<sup>35</sup> On the effectiveness of this system within the lagoon community, see Elizabeth Horodowich, "The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice," in *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 22–45.

<sup>36</sup> As Mario Infelise has pointed out, a papal bull of 1568 discusses the "arte nuova" of printing and distributing news pamphlets, thus suggesting that this form of communication was being consciously developed at that moment. In Venice, it is not until 1572 that the Council of Ten in Venice displayed an attempt to regularise the publishing of news. Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 10, 16–18.

<sup>37</sup> The pamphlet of 1478 is entitled *La Guerra di Genova contro Milano* ([Venice]: [Christoph Arnold], [1478–79]) and appears as cat. no. 1.1 in Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:23.

<sup>38</sup> For the five publications of circa 1500, see cat. nos. 6.29–31, 6.33–34 in *ibid.*, 1:38–41. These are also discussed later in this chapter; see pp. 166–70.

interest in the news intensified significantly.<sup>39</sup> Martino Merlini complained frequently to his brother, then in the East, that he did not know the latest news, as for example when he commented that “of the news, I do not know what to tell you with confidence, for one hears nothing firm or good.”<sup>40</sup> The printing industry exploited this interest by increasing its production of cheap, two- or four-folio “news” pamphlets.<sup>41</sup> Due to their ephemeral nature, few of these have survived, but primary sources and modern calculations indicate that they were popular and numerous.<sup>42</sup> In fact, Priuli informs us that even in the earliest months of the war they had become a common phenomenon in Venice, being sold “as usual” on the Rialto bridge and in *campi* throughout the city.<sup>43</sup> Merlini’s letters confirm this, indicating as well that these pamphlets were printed very quickly after the events they recounted, often in just a matter of days.<sup>44</sup> André Chastel has suggested it was the tumultuous Sack of Rome that precipitated the development of the earliest Italian jour-

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<sup>39</sup> Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, 17–18.

<sup>40</sup> “Da novo non so che dirte chon verità perché zero se sente de fermo de bon.” As quoted from a letter of March 1511 in Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1599. He makes virtually identical remarks in two other letters of the same month and in one of April; see *ibid.*, 1599–1600.

<sup>41</sup> The increase in news pamphlet production in Venice during the Cambrai War has never been discussed in the bibliographic literature, but it is clearly evident in a perusal of Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:23ff.

<sup>42</sup> Hirsch lists “news sheets” as one of the twelve kinds of printed material that was less likely to survive; Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 11. For more on the very low survival rate of popular print, see chap. 2, p. 36 (n. 21).

<sup>43</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 5:55<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>. Soon after the devastating destruction of the Venetian fleet on the Po by the Ferrarese in December 1509 Priuli remarks: “*Se vendeva a venetia per le piazze & sopra il ponte dil Rialto secondo il solito li frotoli li verssi in rima in le canzoni dele ruyne...nel teritorio ferarexe & delarmata veneta in pado[vano] contra il Ducha ferarexe [?] in vergogna sua. Ahora [sigurra] il contrario che in ferara et altri lochi di Ittallia si vendevano li frotoli & verssi in rima del rompere larmata veneta in pado[vano] che he stato molto magior vergogna et chussi vanno li successi di questo mutabile mondo et perho per opinione mia hera grande manch[ansto] per la citade veneta di lassare vendere simel verssi in rima et frotoli inpregiuditio di alchuno dovendo molto bene considerare chel possa venire in contrario & quanto sia mutabile la fortuna. La citade veneta senza dubio et cum veritate hera molto sconsolata & male contenta et tanto de mala voglia et cum poca speranza di bene quanto dire si potesse non tanto posso n[e] descrivere*” (my italics).

<sup>44</sup> In 1510, Merlini wrote to his brother of recent events at Ferrara and includes a “frotola” on the same subject with it. He also indicates that a number of these had been produced and that others were to come off the presses later that day: “Te mando una frotola fata novamente da Ferrara; l’è da zorni 4 che la xe fata, e da poi è seguito altro che non è suxo; per zornata se ne farà dele altre, e per i primi con mior nove, pi-azendo a Dio, te le manderò.” As quoted in Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1597.

nalism,<sup>45</sup> but there were obviously earlier waves of such activity, one of them taking place in Venice during the Cambrai War.

Most of these cheap publications recounted significant battles in the former *Stato da terra*, from the Padovano to the Friuli, and from Lombardy to the Romagnol;<sup>46</sup> three of the surviving pamphlets narrate the important Battle of Ravenna in April 1512 between the French and the Holy League (Venice, Spain, the papacy).<sup>47</sup> Like the *Victoriosa Gata*, they cost very little, usually one or two *quattrini*, making their purchase possible for Venetians of all but the very lowest levels of society.<sup>48</sup> They rarely give any indication of author or publisher.

Given their nature as a commodity created for widespread sale, the printers, publishers and writers involved in the production of wartime news pamphlets were responding to a market demand. The Venetians who bought these pamphlets were not only thirsty for information about events on the mainland, but also desperate for the comfort that good news could provide.<sup>49</sup> As a result, the leaflets were not at all the kind of non-

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<sup>45</sup> Chastel, *Sack of Rome*, 18.

<sup>46</sup> For Di Cori's *Obsidione di Padua*, see above, chap. 2, pp. 51ff. On events in Friuli during 1510, an anonymous author penned a pamphlet entitled *Le corrarie e brusamenti che hanno facto li todeschi in la patria del Friulo* (s.l., s. a.) (see cat. no. 2367 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 552) while Perossino dalla Rotanda later wrote a pamphlet entitled *La rotta De Todeschi recepta nouamente da Uenetiani in Friuli e la presa del Conte Christopharo Fraccapane* that certainly dates to 1513, when Count Cristoforo Frangipane was captured by the Venetians at Gradisca (see cat. no. 1803 in *ibid.*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 268–69). On events in Lombardy, there are a number of works, all of which are discussed in greater detail below. They include the anonymously written and published *La vera Noua de Bressa de punto in punto come andata* of 1512 or *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia*.

<sup>47</sup> On the battle of Ravenna, see Perossino dalla Rotanda's *El fatto d'arme fatto ad Rauenna nel M.D.xii. Adi. xi. De aprile* printed by an unknown publisher probably in 1512 (cat. no. 1754 in *ibid.*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 245); Paolo Danza's *Il Fatto Darne fatto a Rauena col nome de Tutti Icondutieri*, published by an unknown publisher, also probably in 1512 (cat. no. 1755 in *ibid.*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 245–46); and the anonymous *El fatto d'arme fatto in Romagna sotto Ravenna nel M.D.XII.*, published in Venice first by Agostino Bindoni around 1512, and then again by Andrea Vavassore at a later date (respectively cat. nos. 1756 and 1757 in *ibid.*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 246).

<sup>48</sup> On the affordable cost of pamphlets, see chap. 2, p. 40.

<sup>49</sup> Historians have taken strangely little interest in these publications. While scholars like Mario Infelise have investigated the history of news publications in Italy, almost no mention is made of these early pamphlets and their significance. For Infelise's limited remarks, see his *Prima dei giornali*, 17–18.

partisan, factual accounts of events that modern news reporting purports to be. They were actually closer in nature to the chivalric romances that were still popular in early-Cinquecento Venice,<sup>50</sup> for the pamphlets, too, were written in verse, usually in *ottava rima*, and heroised their contemporary protagonists by comparing them to the greatest warriors of antiquity and the Middle Ages. The events they recounted were thus elevated to the status of epic and, in the process, heavily editorialized.<sup>51</sup> Since military victories were considered evidence of divine favour, just as defeats reflected heavenly disapproval, the news could provide rich material for the production of propaganda. However, not all Venetian consumers “bought” the pamphlets’ hype. Priuli was well aware of the publications’ skewed—and often dangerously misleading—interpretation of recent events, and actually argued that the government should not permit their sale.<sup>52</sup> Merlini seems to have taken a more positive view, remarking to his brother in a letter that “as soon as there are pamphlets with better news, if it be pleasing to God, I will send them to you.”<sup>53</sup>

Keeping in mind that the business of printing the news was in its very infancy, the leaflets’ format and sensationalism is probably due, in large part, to the fact that many of them were printed versions of public recitals. Their verses would have been performed aloud in the open spaces of the city by men known as *saltimpanchi* (literally “those who jump up on a bench”) or *cantimbanchi* (“those who recite from a stand”), because they performed on makeshift wooden platforms to raise themselves slightly above the crowds who gathered to listen to them. These writers-cum-actors seem to have toured the *piazze*

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<sup>50</sup> Even the prosaic Sanudo had a large personal collection of chivalric works; see Vincenzo Crescini, “Marin Sanudo precursore di Melzi,” in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 5, no. 13 (1885): 181–85. On the popularity of chivalric romances in Italy in the sixteenth century, see Marina Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria: il Furioso e il romanzo italiano del primo Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987).

<sup>51</sup> See Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 147.

<sup>52</sup> See the lengthy quote above, n. 43.

<sup>53</sup> See above, n. 44.



of Italian cities, performing their works and then selling them in printed form.<sup>54</sup> This context of consumption is significant to the understanding of the pamphlets' appeal and the kind of people who may have purchased them, for it implies that many heard the verses first and bought them in print afterward, perhaps almost as a sort of physical memory of the lived event.<sup>55</sup> Under such circumstances, it is even conceivable that those who bought the cheap leaflets were not literate, a possibility that would imbue any visual imagery incorporated in the publications with additional importance.

The imagery displayed on the title pages of the pamphlets was not always new or complex. Probably due to the desire to keep the pamphlets' information current and the cost of production low, publishers did not often invest the money or the time in making new or extensive imagery for them. The leaflets usually bear a single woodcut on the title page, just as the *Obsidione di Padua* does. Hand in hand with the pamphlets' chivalric tone, this print was often a generic image of knights in battle recycled from an earlier publication of a medieval romance and having nothing to do with the specifics of contemporary events.<sup>56</sup> The title page of Perossino dalla Rotanda's *El fatto d'arme fatto ad Ravenna* of 1512, for example, displays an image borrowed from a chivalric romance of two knights jousting outside a castle while vast armies clash behind them (fig. 63).<sup>57</sup> A similar sort of image adorns the title page of Theodoro Barbieri's *El fatto d'arme di*

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<sup>54</sup> On this, see Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Milan: F. Angeli, 2003), 103–06; and Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo*, 17–21.

<sup>55</sup> This kind of ambulant performance and sale of printed versions has thus far been little researched, but Rosa Salzberg is currently completing a doctorate at the University of London that addresses the question of the connections between popular pamphlets and oral performance (working title, "From Print Shop to Piazza: Cheap Print in the Streets of Early-Cinquecento Venice"). Her research demonstrates that many of the people writing and printing these works were known to have performed their works and sold printed copies of them afterward.

<sup>56</sup> See Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 147.

<sup>57</sup> Dalla Rotanda, *El fatto d'arme fatto ad Rauena nel M.D.Xii. Adi.xi. de aprile* ([Venice], [ca. 1512?]). A similar woodcut adorns the title page of a couple of other pamphlets including another written by Dalla Rotanda entitled *La Rota de Uenetiani fatta nouamente adi.vii. de Octobre*; on this, see cat. no. 17.127 in Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 88.

*Maregnano* of 1515 (fig. 64). Woodcuts of anonymous, timeless battle like these added nothing to the interpretation of the texts they accompanied. Instead, they merely served to indicate the publication's martial subject to prospective buyers.

Some printers and publishers, however, did come to recognize that pamphlet imagery could be effectively employed toward the very same propagandistic ends as the text it accompanied. They probably also felt that, if carefully chosen, it could help increase sales. Pamphlets presented themselves to the buying public via their title pages, since they were sold unbound, and this must have encouraged publishers and printers to think carefully about what would make them most appealing to buyers. De Cori's *Obsidione di Padua* has already provided an early example of the potentially powerful impact that a woodcut-text pairing could have. However, the *Obsidione* is slightly different from the pamphlets discussed in this chapter. It was published a full year after the siege of Padua, and was therefore not designed to provide up-to-the-minute information. Its retrospective nature, as well as its greater length (ten folios, rather than two or four), thus set it apart from the more typical news publications appearing in the lagoon during the Cambrai War.

A more representative example of wartime news pamphlets is one published in Ferrara to malign the Republic by recounting the decimation of its army on the Po River. Written by an anonymous poet, the two-folio leaflet is entitled *Processo de mali fruti e pensadi omicidi de li signori venetiani con la presa del polesine*. Although the text is undated, it must have been printed between December 22, 1509—the day of the battle on the Po—and late February 1510, when the pope revoked the Republic's excommunica-

tion, for the text makes it clear that this has not yet happened.<sup>58</sup> However, despite the pamphlet's quick production, its text and imagery are cleverly crafted to work together. The author characterizes the rout on the Po as inevitable divine retribution for Venice's long, dirty history of territorial expansion, one that he traces all the way back to the wars against the Carrara in the fourteenth century. The text's criticism of the creation of the *Stato da terra*, and the exuberant celebration of its loss, is complemented by the imagery of the figurative woodcut on the pamphlet's title page (fig. 62). The print shows the doge, four noblemen and a friar with their hands clasped in mourning. While they stand on solid ground, their beloved lion is shown as a pathetic, harmless creature confined to a gondola floating offshore. Its forepaws, precisely those that are always shown dominating the mainland in the *leone andante*, have been cruelly severed, and now lie innocuously at the Venetians' feet. The woodcutter has effectively tamed the winged lion and put it in its place. As the poet states, "the proud lion will enslave himself to the [French] cock / and in the future will not be able to fly."<sup>59</sup> In this woodcut, the private imagery of Altdorfer's illumination in Maximilian's *Der groß Venedigischkrieg* (fig. 57) has assumed a far more potent form, because it could be easily disseminated to a broad public. It is hardly surprising, then, that the resurgent lion proudly on the title page of the *Spauento de Italia* came off the press a short time after the *Processo de mali fruti*. In fact, the woodcut adorning the *Spauento de Italia* seems to be more representative of the kind of imagery that began to adorn the title pages of news leaflets than that of the *Obsidione di Padua*.

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<sup>58</sup> The pamphlet was probably printed in Ferrara in 1510; see cat. no. 1.76 in Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:63.

<sup>59</sup> *Processo de mali fruti*, f. 1<sup>v</sup>: "El fier leone al gal farse mancipio / e per futuro non pora volare..." As reproduced in Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 2:352.

The available evidence suggests not only that the title page prints of pamphlets were increasingly exploited for propagandistic purposes during the latter half of the war, but also that imagery of the Marcian lion figured ever more prominently within them both verbally and visually, particularly in its *andante* form. This phenomenon is evident in a group of four pamphlets printed from 1513 to 1517 that reported news about Venice's campaign in the Bresciano, the only the present author could find. While the earliest of these displays woodcuts reused from a chivalric romance, as often happened, the later three incorporate a woodcut depicting the *leone andante* (see figs. 52, 53).

So far these *leone andante* prints have been almost entirely neglected by art historians, probably due to their production in a less canonical medium and their unremarkable quality. In fact, the only discussion of the title page woodcuts of the early sixteenth-century Venetian news pamphlets, however brief or dismissive it may be, is in a book about art written by a historian. In his *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*, John R. Hale observes that "there was a spate of military news pamphlets produced in Italy during the wars, some in prose, others in excitedly clumsy verse," but he quickly disparages their "token woodcuts," which he argues were included merely "to advertise their wares."<sup>60</sup> Hale's dismissal of the pamphlets' woodcuts, however, is based on their failure to meet anachronistic expectations. Hale wanted the prints to be "illustrations" of the text they accompanied, despite the fact that this function had yet to be codified. If, instead, we understand that the images were not intended as literal illustrations, but as symbols pregnant with meaning, their potential to function as more than crude advertisement begins to become apparent. These leaflets helped keep a powerful Venetian symbol alive in a time when its significance, as well as its very existence, was being threatened. Their printed

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<sup>60</sup> Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 147.

imagery was just as editorialising as the contents of the texts with which they were paired.

#### 4.3.2 The Reconquest of Lombardy on Paper and in Practice

The Republic's distant possessions in Lombardy were the first to be taken by the League after the rout of the Venetian army at Agnadello, but they proved exceedingly difficult to control. Some cities in the region changed hands frequently during the war and experienced the occupation of German, French and Spanish troops at different moments.<sup>61</sup> Interest in the events unfolding in Lombardy was great enough to inspire the first known printed map of the region, a remarkably large, ten-block woodcut. Unfortunately, no impression has survived, but the one recorded in Ferdinando Colombo's collection bore the date 20 September 1515, just four days after the important Battle of Marignano took place.<sup>62</sup> It was probably the model for a single-block map of Lombardy produced by Lucantonio degli Uberti around the same time (fig. 54).<sup>63</sup> There is no doubt that Lombardy was in the news and, as a result, in the imagery of the day.

Venetian attempts to regain and maintain control of Brescia were particularly fraught with difficulty. After the Rout of Agnadello, the Brescian nobility had divided itself into two opposing political camps, one supporting Venetian rule and the other favouring the French. The latter group had won out in the spring of 1509 and Brescia had

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<sup>61</sup> Brescia was one of the cities that experienced this; see C. Pasero, *Francia Spagna Impero a Brescia. 1509–1516* (Brescia: Fratelli Geroldi, 1958).

<sup>62</sup> On the map, see Peter Barber, "The Maps, Town-Views and Historical Prints in the Columbus Inventory," in Mark P. McDonald, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus: A Print Collector in Seville*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum Press, 2004), 1:256–57; 2:570.

<sup>63</sup> This is the earliest surviving map of Lombardy, and its only impression is in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele at Rome. On Lucantonio's map, see *ibid.* As Barber notes here, Lucantonio seems to have been capitalising on the interest in maps of regions that were in the news at the time. This would become typical of subsequent generations of mapmakers, who updated the views of cities and territories by including the most recent newsworthy information.

voluntarily surrendered itself to Louis XII.<sup>64</sup> Just as everywhere else, Brescia's lions were eradicated or carried off as *spolia* of war.<sup>65</sup> As time wore on, however, the arrogance of the French governors led Brescians to regret their defection from the Republic and resulted in a revolt on 2 February 1512. Venetian troops led by Andrea Gritti arrived immediately to support the effort, and soon a number of other Lombard cities including Bergamo revolted in an attempt to return to the Republic.<sup>66</sup>

To celebrate and exploit the recapture of Brescia, an unidentified author signing himself only as "M.C." wrote a leaflet recounting the achievement entitled *La vera Noua de Bressa de punto in punto come andata*.<sup>67</sup> The publisher did not take the time to include new pictorial imagery, as the pamphlet displays three small woodcuts of generic battle between knights that have no direct relationship to the text and were probably recycled from a chivalric romance published earlier (fig. 65). The poem itself, however, employs the politically and spiritually charged symbol of St. Mark to generate powerful rhetoric, speaking of how the lion had begun to "open its wings" with the recapture of Brescia.<sup>68</sup>

Italy was so distressed and tired,  
Everywhere oppressed by barbarians,  
That she did not think it possible that she would ever be free  
Or recover her lost territories,  
Yet here is the beautiful lion who raises his claws  
[Finally] leaving "Peace to you Mark" and books behind,  
Powerfully seizing Brescia

<sup>64</sup> For an account of these events, see Degli Alfieri, ed., *Storia di Brescia*, 2:257–56.

<sup>65</sup> Sanudo recounted that an eye-witness had reported that the stone lions of Brescia had been systematically destroyed while that of bronze that had been in the main piazza was taken to Milan; *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 416.

<sup>66</sup> On the vicissitudes of Brescia in this period of the war, see Degli Alfieri, ed., *Storia di Brescia*, 2:257–56.

<sup>67</sup> *La vera Noua de Bressa de punto in punto come andata* (Venice, Alessandro Bindoni, [ca. 1512]). The pamphlet consists of two folios. See Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:405–08; cat. no. 1264 in Sander, *Livre à figures vénitien*, 1:222.

<sup>68</sup> *La vera Noua de Bressa*, f. 1<sup>v</sup>. This same propagandistic verbal image must have been very diffused during the war for it appears earlier in a poem included among a collection of others published under the title *In laudem ciuitatis Uenetiarum*, probably in 1509 or 1510. The poem is entitled *Ad hostes Ueneto[r?]* barbaros was written after the reconquest of Padua and concludes "Marco contra tutti ha aperto lale" (f. 3<sup>v</sup>).

And making the city obedient to [the Republic]...<sup>69</sup>

The literary metaphor used to convey the *Stato da terra*'s restoration is that of a lion setting aside the "peace of Mark"—an allusion to the angel's greeting in the legend of the *praedestinatio*—in order to unsheathe its claws for battle. The pamphlet's imagery sounds much like a verbal version of the painted, sword-bearing lions described in Machiavelli's letter, and its optimism is boldly reinforced in the *barzelletta* appended to the end of the publication. This concluding text predicted what the future held "now that beautiful Brescia has been reclaimed," declaring that Venice would inevitably recapture numerous other cities, particularly Bergamo, Cremona, Crema and Verona.<sup>70</sup>

The pamphlet was written and printed within weeks of the events it recounts, for it does not allude to what happened after Gritti's army had arrived to protect Brescia: not only did Venice fail to regain additional territory, but Brescia itself was lost once again just weeks later.<sup>71</sup> The French seized the city on February 19 and sacked it in a merciless fashion.<sup>72</sup> The Venetians, swept up by premature enthusiasm, were in the midst of celebrating Brescia's recovery when news of the sack arrived.<sup>73</sup> Just as Priuli had lamented,

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<sup>69</sup> *La vera Noua de Bressa*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>: "Era si Italia gemitosa e stanca / Oppressa da barbari in ogni parte / Che mai pensossi ritrouarsi franca / Ne piu ricuperar le antiche parte / Ma ecco il bel lion che alza la bra[n]ca / Cu[m] te[m]po: e lassa pax marce e le carte / Da[n]do de piglio a bressa si potente / Fazendo la al suo stato obediante..."

<sup>70</sup> The repeated refrain in the poem is "hor che presa bressa bella." See, for example, *La vera Noua de Bressa*, f. 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> The pamphlet can be confidently dated to the end of February also because it alludes at the end to the siege of Bologna as being still in progress, an event which was brought to its conclusion by mid-February; on this, see cat. no. 1.85 in Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:68.

<sup>72</sup> Of the sack, Luigi da Porto wrote in a letter of 25 March 1512 that "in poco spazio di tempo furono per la città più corpi di morti bresciani che di soldati: tanto era l'odio che i Francesi loro portavano!" When it became apparent that the Venetians would not be able to hold the city, Gritti apparently said to the troops: "non combattete oramai più, chè la vostra fatica è vana, dachè la terra è perduta; riducetevi meco, e cedete all'avversa fortuna e al volere del nemico cielo." Da Porto, *Lettere storiche*, 293–94. For a modern account of the sack, see Degli Alfieri, ed., *Storia di Brescia*, 2:259–70.

<sup>73</sup> Da Porto begins: "Tutte le campane della città ... si posero sonando a farne letizia; di maniera che grandissima quantità di popolo si raunò sulla piazza e nella corte del palagio...aspettando di momento in momento la nuova conferma. Sedeva ancora la Signoria, quando l'annunzio del vero giunse propriamente in quello che tante campane sonavano di letizia; e come che non si fosse voluto farne consapevole la moltitu-

*La vera noua de Bressa*, and probably others like it, had “sold” Venetians a false sense of security about the future of military events on the mainland. Needless to say, the sense of disappointment in Venice was severe; as Sanudo described it, “everyone was talking about how Brescia had been lost and sacked with a great number of deaths, and so they were all like the dead.”<sup>74</sup> Although it was Carnevale, Sanudo complained that the heavy atmosphere made it seem like Holy Week.<sup>75</sup>

There was a quick response to these events in enemy print. An anonymous, pro-French Italian crowed Louis XII’s success in *La rotta e presa fatta a bressa per li francesi*, a pamphlet printed shortly after the sack of Brescia.<sup>76</sup> Although lacking figurative imagery, its description of the expulsion of the Venetian forces would have been easy for readers or listeners to picture. Another publication of the same year entitled *Historia nova della rvina de venetiani* reiterated the same ideas, but this time pairing them with a suggestive recycled woodcut.<sup>77</sup> The print shows a landscape in which a crowned female figure, her arms thrown wide, laments a bare-breasted woman lying prone on the ground, and presumably dead, before her (fig. 66). To the left, one of the three figures communicates her distress through gesture. The print surely depicts an episode from a chivalric narrative, but the meaning it acquires in this new context is equally clear, especially when one considers the *barzelletta* with which the pamphlet concludes.

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dine, dissimulando i Signori la cosa, e dissolvendosi, la Signoria si disciolse ancor essa.” The letter concludes: “In tal guisa ebbero i Viniziani la mala novella di Brescia, cioè sonando a festa tutte le campane della loro città. Così ci schernisce la fortuna, e molto spesso de’ fatti nostri la crudele si ride, e si prende giuoco!” Da Porto, *Lettere storiche*, 296.

<sup>74</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 13, col. 512 (25 February 1512): “Tuta la terra fo piena esser certo Brexa persa, et messa a sacho, et con occision grandissima, *adeo* tutti rimaseno come morti.” For more on the discord that the loss of Brescia created, see *ibid.*, col. 501 (22 February 1512).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> The work bears the date of 1512, but there is no indication of the author’s identity or the place of publication. The work is anastatically reproduced in Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 2:411–14.

<sup>77</sup> The full title reads *Historia nova della rvina de venetiani. Cvm lo processo delli mali contracti che lor facano: Et una Barzeletta de bressa che se lamenta de la grande desgratia occorsa in essa Cita* (s. l., [1512]). The pamphlet is reproduced anastatically in *ibid.*, 2:417–20.



Its opening lines read: “I am Brescia who has been made to weep / with great suffering and wringing of the hands / because for having brought the Venetians inside my walls / my people are broken-hearted with me.”<sup>78</sup> Reappearing in this new context, the woodcut’s wailing figure could become Brescia, and the woman lying on the ground could represent her assaulted and dying people. A similar sort of figure was used to personify Italy in another pamphlet-length publication of a few years earlier.<sup>79</sup> Circulating among the enemy, and probably occasionally reaching Venice, such imagery gave a disturbing visual form to an event that few had actually witnessed, but about which all had heard.

Shortly after Brescia’s return under French rule, Louis XII gave it to the Spanish in gratitude for their assistance with the war in Lombardy, but subsequent shifts in alliance among the major powers completely changed the situation. With the Treaty of Blois signed on 23 March 1513, the French allied themselves with their former enemies, the Venetians, and promised to help the Republic regain its former possessions in Lombardy. Ironically, with the shifts in allegiance that had occurred, this included taking Brescia back again from the Spanish. This did not create any problems for the French, however, because the Spanish had recently entered into an alliance with England and the papacy against them.

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<sup>78</sup> *Historia nova della rvina de venetiani*, f. 2<sup>v</sup>: “Bressa son che posta in pianto / gran stridor el bater mani / per tor dentro Venetiani / el mio popul me sta afranto...”

<sup>79</sup> The text was written by Pierpaolo Venturino, printed in Pesaro in 1510 and entitled *Euocatione con lachrymosa querela della afflicta Roma alla Serenissima Maiesta della Vecturioso et inuicto maximiano Re de Romani per Perpaulo Venturino da Pesaro*. Venturino was a partisan of the papal cause, and so the poem implored the German emperor to band together with Julius II against the French after the League of Cambrai had dissolved. The frontispiece bears an image of a nude woman in the attitude of the Venus Pudica while snow, hail, rain, and wind assault her from all directions. She is also surrounded by menacing figures emerging from rents in the sky: a hand with a sword, a demon-like creature, something that looks like fire, and another unidentifiable element. The print bears the inscription “ITALIA FRAGELATA,” “fragelata” being an old version of “flagelata.” The copy consulted is at the Fondazione Cini, Venice.

The events that ensued led to the publication of an anonymously written pamphlet entitled *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia dapoi chel signor Bartolomio gionto in campo*.<sup>80</sup> The work extols the successes that Bartolomeo d'Alviano, the mercenary discussed briefly in the previous chapter for his aggressive military strategy, was achieving with the Venetian army in Lombardy in the spring of 1513, a fact which dates it to shortly thereafter. D'Alviano had only recently rejoined the Venetian forces, for he had been captured by the French at the Rout of Agnadello and spent four years as their hostage. His release had come about with the signing of the Treaty of Blois. D'Alviano's return, coupled with the Republic's encouraging new alliance with the French, gave fresh impetus to the Lombard campaign. The pamphlet recounts the events of May 1513: the French had reclaimed Milan, and D'Alviano had regained Peschiera, Salò and Cremona for Venice and was preparing to lay siege to Brescia.<sup>81</sup> The author wrote the poem with a very optimistic view of the future that strongly echoes the earlier pamphlet of 1512. In the opening stanza he urged Venice to celebrate: "you will acquire glory and fame / without any doubt," and "there will be neither countries nor lands / that will not surrender to you."<sup>82</sup> As in the earlier news leaflet, however, such hyperbole, while surely uplifting and much appreciated, was hardly justified. It would be two more years before Venetian troops would ride through the gates of Brescia.

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<sup>80</sup> The work's full title is *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia dapoi chel signor Bartolomio gionto in campo: E come le ariato il campo de Francesi: col nome de tutti i condutieri Nomi darne Caualli lizieri, Fantarie, Artelarie. El numero e la quantita de tuta la gente sua* ([Venice], [1513]). The British Library catalogues its example with the tentative year of publication as 1515, but the events discussed took place during the eventful months of May and June 1513, concluding with the capture of Genova by the French alluded to on the verso of the pamphlet's last folio. See cat. no. 2567 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 642; and cat. no. 4009 in Sander, *Livre à figures vénitien*, 2:691.

<sup>81</sup> For the recounting of the recapture of Peschiera and Salò, see *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>; for the recapture of Cremona, see f. 1<sup>v</sup>. For a modern account of events, see Degli Alfieri, ed., *Storia di Brescia*, 2:281–83.

<sup>82</sup> *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>: "Godi marco e tu Venetia / ... / Gloria e fama acquistarai / Senza nulla dubitanza / ... / or non sera terra ne stato / non si renda in le tue mano."

*Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia* is of particular importance in the context of this discussion, because it is, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest surviving news pamphlet published during the war to show the Marcian lion. The skilfully produced woodcut depicting the lion in its *andante* form appears, as was customary, on the recto of the first folio (fig. 52). Even more significantly, the print seems to have been specifically produced to accompany a publication relating to Venice's campaign in Lombardy, rather than recycled. Not only is the single, surviving example of the woodcut the one appearing in the 1513 news pamphlet, but also the lion is shown in an unusually specific location. Inland from the body of water, two cities to the left and right labelled "BRESA" and "BERGOMO" clearly place the lion in Lombardy. The image is entirely illogical in a cartographic sense, for hundreds of kilometres separate the cities from the Adriatic. However, its creative representation of the paired empires of land and sea presents a rather literal visual transposition of the verbal metaphors that had figured prominently in the 1512 pamphlet: here, the lion spreads its wings over Brescia before the viewer's eyes. Its tail even seems to curl possessively around the city.

Whereas the visual imagery of the 1513 woodcut corresponds closely to the verbal metaphors of the 1512 publication, its relationship with the text, however, is not as close. For example, the text does not employ military or spiritual metaphors involving the winged lion. Nor does it mention Bergamo, despite the fact that the city appears prominently in the woodcut. Such disparities suggest that the print might have been produced to accompany an earlier publication recounting previous military events in Lombardy that has been lost. This would reaffirm the notion that many more news pamphlets were pro-

duced in the latter stages of the war than have survived.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, two other pamphlets relating to later phases of the Venetian campaign in Lombardy display related imagery.

One of these is an anonymous pamphlet celebrating the recapture of the city by French and Venetian forces. It is entitled *La noua de Bressa con vna Barzelleta in laude del Re de Franza e de san Marco*, and was written—and probably performed by—Paolo Danza, a poet and publisher.<sup>84</sup> Danza published more than one news leaflet in the latter years of the war,<sup>85</sup> a fact which is particularly interesting given that, at some point in his career, he seems to have been entrusted with the printing of government *avvisi*, or notices.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps it was his patriotic poetry that earned him the approval and patronage of the Venetian government.

Danza wrote his *Noua de Bressa* because there was still news from Brescia to report. The editorializing of the 1513 pamphlet had been overly optimistic—the campaign to recapture Brescia at that time had borne no fruit. In the fall of 1515, d’Alviano tried again, though this campaign brought about his death during the siege of the city on October 7. Under the new guidance of Andrea Gritti and Teodoro Trivulzio, the Venetian forces persisted in the enterprise. In March 1516, the Republic was forced to abandon the plan briefly and withdraw towards Cremona, for the Germans, who now also wished to lay claim to the disputed territories of Lombardy, had returned to the area. Fortunately for

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<sup>83</sup> On the survival rates of popular print, including “news” pamphlets, see chap. 2, p. 36 (n. 21).

<sup>84</sup> The publication gives no indication of publisher or date, but the author names himself in the final stanza. The pamphlet is comprised of two folios. It is reproduced in Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 2:563–66. See cat. no. 2490 in D’Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 611–12; and cat. no. 1264 in Sander, *Livre à figures vénitien*, 1:222. Danza was a bookseller, poet, printer; on his career, see Zanan-drea Steno, “Danza, Paolo e Prospero,” in *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani. Il Cinquecento*, eds. Marco Menato, Ennio Sandal, and Giuseppina Zappella (Milan: Editrice bibliografica, 1997–), 1:362–64.

<sup>85</sup> Aside from the *Noua de Bressa*, in 1512 he had published *Il Fatto Darne fatto a Rauena col nome de Tutti Icondutieri* ([Venice]: Paolo Danza, s. a.). This work, however, did not have a print on its title page; see cat. no. 1.110 in Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:80.

<sup>86</sup> See *ibid.*, 363. Six *avvisi* can be connected quite confidently with Danza.

the Republic, Maximilian returned north shortly thereafter, when his inability to pay the Swiss troops in his employ made him fear their defection. The Venetian forces seized the opportunity, resuming the siege of Brescia with French assistance. The city was finally won on 26 May 1516.<sup>87</sup> As Danza recounts precisely this series of events, the work can be confidently dated to the spring of that year.

The *Noua de Bressa* shares a number of important characteristics with the pamphlets that preceded it. Like the *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia*, a woodcut of a *leone andante* appears on the title page of Danza's work (fig. 53). The block is more roughly carved and lacks the earlier image's geographic specificity. At this late point in the war, it would be reasonable to imagine that such a title-page image would have announced the pamphlet's discussion of military events on the mainland, evincing an obvious connection with such earlier works as *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia*, which dealt with similar themes. In fact, Danza's work provides the link that binds the body of news pamphlets recounting the Lombard campaign together. Aside from employing visual imagery similar to that of *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia*, the 1516 *Noua de Bressa* directly recycles some of the verses appearing in *La vera Noua de Bressa* of 1512. The opening stanzas, as well as some others, are precisely the same as those of the earlier text, while the rest are new ones replacing the specific exploits of the 1512 campaign with those of the more recent campaign of 1516. As a result, the second verse reads just like the one from the 1512 pamphlet cited above: "Yet here is the beautiful lion who raises its claws / [Finally] leaving "Peace to you Mark" and books behind, / Powerfully seizing Brescia /

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<sup>87</sup> On this phase of Brescia's history during the Cambrai War, see Degli Alfieri, ed., *Storia di Brescia*, 2:287–96.

And making the city obedient to [the Republic]...<sup>88</sup> The borrowing deserves a moment's consideration, for the earlier pamphlet, signed "M.C.," was surely not by Danza's hand. This free copying offers a reminder that such works had developed a sort of visual and literary formula that the buying public would easily have recognised, particularly thanks to the prominent display of the *leone andante*. However, it can be argued that Danza's reuse of the verses made them more effective, for above the recycled description of the bellicose lion was now an image of it. Surely the hope the text aims to convey would have acquired greater impact when the reader simultaneously saw the indomitable lion presiding over the mainland. *La noua de Bressa* is the first of the surviving pamphlets to present such closely interconnected verbal and visual imagery.

Images of the *leone andante* in pamphlets addressing the recapture of Lombardy acquire a particularly poetic quality considering how the French had treated the winged lion upon their arrival in Lombardy in 1509. As had occurred with the Bergamask lion discussed above, the most precious Brescian sculpture of the lion—the only one like that found in Venice on the column in the Piazza San Marco—was taken to Milan by the French.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, the Brescian theft was given a more positive interpretation by *marcheschi* just as the Bergamask one had been. In the crowd of witnesses, one Venetian partisan shouted that the lion's transfer to Milan was a sign that the Republic would one day rule there as well.<sup>90</sup> Since the rebellious comment was prompted by the maltreatment of a representation of the lion, perhaps the *leone andante*'s appearance in publications supporting Venice's recapture of its Lombard territory should be understood, at least in

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<sup>88</sup> *La noua de Bressa con vna Barzelleta*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>: "Ecco il bel Leon alza la brancha / Con te[m]po: e lassa pax marce e le carte / Dando de piglio a Bressa si potente / Fazendola al suo stato obediente."

<sup>89</sup> For a contemporary account of events, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 416 (18 June 1509). On the Brescian lion, see Rizzi, "Leontoclastia cambraica," 23.

<sup>90</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 416.

part, as a conscious response to *leontoclastia* in that area. In fact, although Brescia was not one of the most loyal of the Republic's mainland possessions, Venetians affectionately ignored this by calling it "Brixia fidelis."<sup>91</sup> Seen within this context, the sale and dissemination of the pamphlets' printed lions helped revitalise both the symbol, which was being physically threatened with extinction, and the idea it represented, that Venice had a divinely approved right to her mainland empire.

The coupling of *leone andante* woodcuts with verses celebrating the recovery of the *Stato da terra* acquires deeper meaning when one considers that it had historical precedents. In fact, the very same image had first appeared in four publications produced at the turn of the century (see figs. 67, 68, 69), three of which are pamphlet-type publications written in *ottava rima* and identical in format to those discussed thus far. Two were written by Ercole Cinzio Rinuccini, evidently a supporter of the Venetian cause.<sup>92</sup> Rinuccini's works describe events in northern Italy from the return of the French to the peninsula and their taking of Milan in 1499 to their capture of Ludovico il Moro in April 1500.<sup>93</sup> The use of the *leone andante* on the frontispiece was apt, for the French had claimed Milan with Venetian aid, and, as a result, the Republic had expanded its *Stato da terra* by annexing formerly Milanese holdings, including Cremona and Ghiara d'Adda.<sup>94</sup> The earlier of the two pamphlets makes this clear in its opening lines. Here Rinuccini expressed the hope that the "honourable Senate of Venice..., having acquired a part of [the

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<sup>91</sup> Alberto Rizzi, "L'emblema della Serenissima nel bresciano," in *Atti del Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 153 (1995): 635–36.

<sup>92</sup> See Beer et al., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 2:132–33.

<sup>93</sup> Rinuccini, *Istoria come il stato di Milano al ponte e stato conquistato* (Venice, [ca. 1500]), and *Istoria noua dela Rotta e presa del Moro e Aschanio e molti altri baroni* (Venice, [ca. 1500]). The author goes so far as to mention his own exploits in one of the battles recounted in the poem; see *Istoria come il stato di Milano*, reproduced in Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 2:132–33.

<sup>94</sup> See Mallett, "Venezia e la politica italiana," 281.

duchy of Milan]” would “pray to God that this territory will be forever happy for [being part of] our worthy and excellent Venetian Republic.”<sup>95</sup>

Verbal imagery of aggressive, bellicose lions, however, is nowhere to be found in Rinuccini’s texts. Instead, it appears only in the third, anonymous pamphlet, which also describes battles waged by the Republic to protect its territorial possessions, though in this case, “in mare e in terra.” The leaflet bears the title *Istoria noua de larmata dela illustrissima signoria di Vinetia & del turcho & dele crudelissime guerre che sono in mare e in terra*.<sup>96</sup> After recounting Venice’s involvement in the taking of Milan, the text goes on to narrate the less felicitous events that had been taking place in the east, which had culminated in the important Venetian naval victory in the gulf of Lepanto in late 1499. The verbal imagery of the poem echoes the visual imagery of the frontispiece on more than one occasion, the most poetic perhaps being the metaphorical description of the Republic’s attack upon the Turks: “here come the Venetians so wise / with their great lion accompanied by all of its followers / with its claws and teeth so sharp...”<sup>97</sup> The importance of the lion metaphor is underscored by the text’s frequent mention of the Republic’s virtue, the characteristic that guaranteed the Venetians God’s mercy and aid.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> The complete opening lines of the pamphlet read as follows: “Istoria come il stato di Milano al ponte e stato conquistato. Zoe Milano, nouara, pauia, tortona, alixandria della paia, borgo, nono, rocha di raza, uoghiera, piasenza, parma, lodi, cremona, & in che modo & per che ti fugi el signor ludouicho moro & como prima parlo al populo e quello il populo li rispose dallo inuitto & cretianissimo Re Ludouicho bene merito di franza ducha di milano con lo aiuto & fauore dello inclito Senato di Vinesia & loro meritamente hauendone acquistato in parte pregando idio che sempre tali stati sieno felicissimi & precipue la nostra degna & excelsa republica ueneta.” *Istoria noua dela Rotta e presa del Moro*, reproduced as cat. no. 5.1 in Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 2:131.

<sup>96</sup> *Istoria noua de larmata dela illustrissima signoria di Vinetia & del turcho & dele crudelissime guerre che sono in mare e in terra* (Venice, [ca. 1500]). See the comments on the poem in Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 1:172.

<sup>97</sup> *Istoria noua de larmata*, f. 3<sup>v</sup>: “ecco iuinitiani si saputi / col gran lion con tutta la sua setta / con gli artigli codenti tanto arguti...” See also, anastatic reproduction in Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 4:262.

<sup>98</sup> *Istoria noua de larmata*, ff. 3<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>; and Beer et al. eds., *Guerre in ottava rima*, 4:262–64.



The last of the four turn-of-the-century publications sharing the crude woodcut is Francesco de' Allegri's *La summa gloria di Venetia* published in 1501 (fig. 69). This work is a more serious undertaking than the other pamphlets. It is significantly longer (twenty folios rather than four, making it similar to the *Obsidione di Padua*), and its author, a Veronese poet resident in Venice, had received a government privilege to protect the publication from piracy.<sup>99</sup> The text takes the form of an encomiastic poem lauding the Republic that at first glance seems quite different from the other pamphlets' semi-journalistic narratives.<sup>100</sup> However, both the poem's date and its contents indicate that De' Allegri composed the work in an effort to counteract the fear generated by the war against the Turks, which had begun in 1499 and did not end until the Venetians ceded a considerable part of their maritime empire in 1503.<sup>101</sup> Entire folios of the poem present an extensive list of the Republic's mainland holdings, encouraging Venetians to take pride in the size and riches of their *terraferma* empire; one of the stanzas boastfully names all of Venice's holdings in Lombardy, including the recently annexed Cremona.<sup>102</sup> The author then becomes defensive. Anticipating a dubious response on the part of his audience to the poem's positive portrayal of the Republic's fortunes, De' Allegri directs his comments to Venice herself: "To me you will say, oh, what glory do you give / To my crown so magnificent; / How can I celebrate, you will ask, / What the dragon [the Turk] has devoured," like Lepanto and Modon, when "I am still afraid for Corona / Scutari and

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<sup>99</sup> On De' Allegri and the privilege, see Alessandro Scarsella, "Allegri, Francesco," in *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani*, 1:21–22.

<sup>100</sup> De' Allegri, *Summa gloria*, f. Cii<sup>r</sup>. The work appears as cat. no. 1318 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vé-nitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 33–34; and cat. no. 231 in Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 1:40.

<sup>101</sup> For an overview of the war against the Turks, see Bernard Doumerc, "Il dominio del mare," in *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, *passim*.

<sup>102</sup> See De' Allegri, *Summa gloria*, f. Cii<sup>r</sup>–Ciii<sup>v</sup>.

Negroponte...”<sup>103</sup> The loss of Modon is not only the latest event mentioned in the text, but it was also a military failure whose impact was powerfully felt in the lagoon.<sup>104</sup> To counteract the inauspicious implications of these events, De’ Allegri then emphasises the Republic’s reclamation of the island of Cefalonia, one of the few high points in the war against the Turks.<sup>105</sup> Promising that the Venetians will overcome the infidel, he asserts that, “the roar of the lion will make tremble / Every power of land and sea.”<sup>106</sup> The *Summa gloria* encouragingly paints a (rather misleading) picture of an exultant time in which the lion of St. Mark “enveloped the world with its wings.”<sup>107</sup> Perhaps De’ Allegri’s employment of the same kind of lion rhetoric found in the Cambrai War pamphlets suggests that it served as a model for the later works. After all, it is clear that De’ Allegri’s text, like the later publications, was written to bolster a Venetian audience in a time of political uncertainty. It is hardly surprising that the Signoria awarded him a publishing privilege.

Encomiastic works describing a triumphant present and promising an even brighter future would have surely been as well received in 1501 as they later were in the 1510s. However, for all their similarities, there are also significant differences. Whereas De’ Allegri exploited the stable control of the *terraferma* to counter the fear of losing the maritime empire, the later leaflets had to promote the idea that the government of the *Stato da terra*, at this point *unstable*, could be restored. The fact that texts with such different messages produced in related yet distinct circumstances could share the same pic-

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., Civ<sup>r</sup>: “Ame dirai o tu che gloria doni / A mia corona si magnificata / Come mi posso gloriar disponi / Di quel chel draco si mha diuorata / Di lepanto modon or mi preponi / Et anchora per coron son spauentata / Di scutar e negroponte mi dichira / De lor mia gloria sento esser amara...”

<sup>104</sup> On the sequence of military events and their impact, see Doumerc, “Il dominio del mare,” 162–63; and Mallett, “Venezia e la politica italiana,” 281.

<sup>105</sup> De’ Allegri, *Summa gloria*, Di<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., Civ<sup>v</sup>: “El rugito de lo leon faran tremare: / Ogni potentia da terra e da mare...”

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., f. Biv<sup>r</sup>: “stendeua a tuttol mondo lalli...”

torial frontispiece is a direct reflection of the symbol's dual nature. While in the *Summa gloria* the woodcut lion reinforced the Venetian claim to the maritime empire in the Cambrai War pamphlets, it just as effectively asserted the Republic's right to the *Stato da terra*.

The connection of the Cambrai War pamphlets with those of circa 1500 is underscored once more in 1516. The *leone andante* woodcut made a fourth and final appearance on the first page of an anonymous leaflet entitled *Questa e la pace da dio mandata quale da tutti era molto bramata*. The work was printed just after the Pact of Brussels brought the Cambrai War to a close, and the territorial disputes between the Germans and the Venetians were settled once and for all in December 1516.<sup>108</sup> The treaty assigned much of the Friuli to Maximilian, but Venice regained Verona. After almost eight uninterrupted years of imperial occupation, the Republic finally reclaimed the city in January 1517. Verona's recovery marked the end of the Republic's long and arduous campaign to restore the pre-Agnadello *Stato da terra*.

The pamphlet is comprised of three separate poems, the first of which rejoices in the long-awaited reunification of the Republic's mainland empire. The uninspired text is little more than a list of the towns—mention Padua, Treviso, Crema, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Verona—that had returned under Venetian rule.<sup>109</sup> What is particularly noteworthy, however, is that this post-war pamphlet follows a very different sort of tex-

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<sup>108</sup> The copy consulted is in the British Library. Neither the publisher nor the date is indicated in the publication. The library catalogue suggests a tentative dating of 1515, but this cannot be the case given the text's inclusion of Verona amongst the mainland cities that had returned under Venetian control, since this latter event did not take place until 23 January 1517, a result of the signing of the Treaty of Brussels on 3 December 1516.

<sup>109</sup> *Questa e la pace*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>: "O tu Padoa con Treviso / con la Marca Triuisana / canta hormai con dolce riso / el prefatio de osana / poi che con la mente sana / nel tuo albergo tu starai / non piu affanni no[n] piu guai / che la pace data hai. / Gloria sia a lalto Dio. / ... / o tu Crema o tu Cremona / che sei fior de Lombardia / Bressa Bergamo e Verona / e tu Vicenza mia buona / su laudiamo quel che in croce / tutti cridi ad una uoce / benedetto el signor pio. / Gloria sia a lalto Dio."

tual model. Instead of being a chivalric tale of military exploits, it closely resembles a hymn. It encouraged the newly recovered cities to “sing hosanna” and fostered a psalm-like quality in its recurring chorus of “Glory be to God on high.”<sup>110</sup> In a way, *Questa e la pace* seems to have given thanks in 1517 for what De’ Allegri had taken for granted in 1501—the Republic’s control of the mainland. Paired with such prayerful verses, the *leone andante* on the title page receives, in a sense, a slightly different gloss. Rather than being a battle-ready beast, its spiritual significance—as an indication of God’s approval of the Republic’s presence on the mainland—is once more confidently brought to the fore. Thus, abandoning military metaphors that exploit the lion and its strength, the text expresses gratitude for the return of the political state of grace pictured in the woodcut.

As much as the *leone andante* had figured prominently in wartime pamphlets inspired by the Republic’s campaign in Lombardy, it reclaimed a broader meaning after the conflict had ended. On the title page of *Questa e la pace*, the *leone andante* ceases to be a polemical image promising a future that was entirely uncertain and becomes once more a representation of political reality, rather than political fantasy. In other words, the state of affairs presented in the woodcut was finally in harmony with reality. The woodcut’s recycling imbues it with a new significance—here it becomes a symbol of the Republic’s successful reassertion of its rightful presence on the Italian mainland and its recovery from almost a decade of strife and uncertainty. In a way, the fact that the image of the *leone andante* hardly changed from pamphlet to pamphlet (in fact, in the pamphlets of 1516 and 1517, the very same block was used) must have helped convey a sense of stability, however unpredictable and fickle the reality had been.

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

The renewed interest in propagandising news pamphlets emblazoned with the *leone andante* during the Cambrai War facilitated two important things. First, it brought the beleaguered symbol back into the public eye. Accounts by contemporaries such as Sanudo, Da Porto and Priuli indicate that everyone knew of the *leontoclastia* taking place on the *terraferma*. Pamphlets narrating Venetian military successes and bearing the very symbol that the enemy was so determined to eliminate must have been a practical and easily disseminated form of patriotic expression. Sanudo gives a glimpse of how diffuse paper lions could be in a description of Padua after Venice had reclaimed it: “In Padua, I saw many houses with flags bearing Mark’s lion flying from their balconies, and [other] lions on the doors and in the shops made of paper.”<sup>111</sup> This description suggests that there was a real business in the production of such images, at least on auspicious military occasions. Considering the small number of pamphlets that have survived, it is quite probable that at least two printers employed the *leone andante* in their production, one of them churning out a series of works with the same woodblock. Unfortunately, the nature of such printed images, designed for use and probably glued to walls and doors where they then disintegrated with time, reduced their likelihood of survival. A glimpse of what the grander ones might have looked like can be had in a four-block woodcut of the *leone andante* produced around 1500 (fig. 73), the time when early pamphlets emblazoned with the same image were being put on the market. One can even assume that some of the leaflets must have reached areas of the *terraferma* that had returned to Venetian control, especially the Padovano, the Trevigiano and parts of the Vicentino. Under such circumstances, paper lions would have provided an encouraging visual echo of the more monu-

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<sup>111</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 527: “Et im Padoa Jo vidi molte caxe con bandiere di San Marco fuora di balconi, e San Marchi, su le porte e su le botege, di carta.”

mental exemplars in stone or fresco whose physical destruction had left behind a kind of symbolic void and an ideological threat.

#### 4.3.3 Painting and Sculpting the Winged Lion

While private publishers and printers of the artisan class were churning out prints and pamphlets featuring the Marcian lion, there were also members of the ruling class commissioning works of the symbol. Some of the most notable were produced at the behest of government patrons and took the form of stone reliefs and large-scale paintings. All of them were produced for prominent display in official spaces. This surely enabled them to reassert the lion's importance in a more authoritative fashion than the more ephemeral pamphlets and prints being sold in the public spaces of the city.

The earliest of these large-scale works seems to be the twin reliefs of the *leone andante* on the top of the campanile of the church of San Marco (fig. 70). A serious earthquake in 1511 caused enough damage to the bell tower that structural work was necessary to stabilise the building. Unfortunately, the government coffers were empty, and it seemed that no funds were available to pay for the project. However, Antonio Grimani, one of the *procuratori* of St. Mark, would apparently not accept this. After searching through old records in the Ducal Palace for help, he supposedly discovered a reference to some trunks of gold and jewels that had been hidden in the treasury a century earlier. Once rooted out, their contents was valued at over six thousand ducats, an impressive sum that was immediately dedicated to the campanile's restoration and beautification.<sup>112</sup> The "newly rediscovered" funds facilitated the addition of a new cube-shaped volume

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<sup>112</sup> On this, and for reference to the primary sources that comment on this, see Gregorio Gattinoni, *Il campanile di San Marco. Monografia storica* (Venice: Giovanni Fabbris, 1910), 60–61.

surmounted by a gilded, four-sided spire. The new structure was also to be decorated with monumental sculpture. Four reliefs were produced to adorn the four façades of the new extension, two of them being grandiose representations of the *leone andante*. Although the lions on the campanile today are replacements (the originals were destroyed by Napoleon), contemporary descriptions indicate that they are faithful to the old.<sup>113</sup>

The lions were only a part of a more complex sculptural programme. Complementing them, twin representations of a crowned woman holding a sword and scales and sitting on a Solomonic throne (with lions' heads as armrests) appeared on the north and south sides of the cubic extension. In addition, a gilded wooden sculpture of the Archangel Gabriel was placed at the tip of the tower's new spire (see fig. 70). The programme was carefully considered, for all of these elements share two important aspects: they are politico-religious in nature and assert Venice's piety and close relationship to God. The crowned figure of the twin reliefs was a popular Venetian symbol that conflated a personification of Justice with one of the Venetian state, thus presenting them as a single entity. The best known example is an anonymously carved relief on the exterior of the Ducal Palace (fig. 71).<sup>114</sup> Located among the tracery quatrefoils on the *piazzetta* façade of the *piano nobile*, the roundel had been on visible display since the early fifteenth century. The Angel Gabriel, too, had already appeared on the nearby Ducal Palace in a relief on the northwest corner of the *piano nobile*. Gabriel had an important connection to state mythology, for it was believed that the Venetians had founded the Republic on the day of the Annunciation—March 25—in the year 421. In the same way that Christ had taken on human form that day as a spiritual saviour, so the Republic had been established in order

<sup>113</sup> See cat. no. 18 in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:17.

<sup>114</sup> On the roundel and its interpretation, see Wolters, *Scultura veneziana*, 1:46–47, 178–79 (cat. no. 49); Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 174–75; and Rosand, *Myths of Venice*, 26–33.

to effect the political salvation of Christian Venetians.<sup>115</sup> In fact, the figure of Venice-Justice and the angel Gabriel had also appeared together in an early-Quattrocento work by Jacobello del Fiore that once hung in the Ducal Palace (fig. 72).<sup>116</sup>

Thus, for contemporary Venetians, as new as the campanile's decorative programme may have been, it was composed of long familiar elements. As in the news pamphlets of the very same period, nothing innovative was introduced. Instead, traditional ideas about the Republic's special political and spiritual connection to God were imbued with a fresh vitality through the revival of symbols that represented these ideas most effectively. The significance of the campanile's new decoration is clear in Sanudo's description of the celebration held on 6 July 1513. As the angel was put in place, horns and fifes played music, and milk and red wine were poured from the top "as a sign of gladness." Sanudo immediately understood the celebration's votive character, for he prayed that "God is disposed to allow [us] a happy hour and the growth of this Republic."<sup>117</sup> The use of the campanile as a medium for this prayer-like invocation was particularly apt, for many had interpreted the earthquake that had threatened to bring it down as a sign of God's displeasure with the Venetian people.<sup>118</sup>

Given the decorative programme's visual rhetoric and its seeming response to doubts about God's attitude toward Venice, it is not surprising that the man who oversaw the project was an avid supporter of the attempt to recover the terraferma. Although An-

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<sup>115</sup> On this, see *ibid.*, 13.

<sup>116</sup> For an excellent analysis of the painting's meaning, see Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 175.

<sup>117</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 16, col. 467 (6 July 1513): "In questa [*sic*] zorno, su la piazza di San Marco fo tirato l'anzolo di rame indorado suso con trombe e pifari a hore 20; et fo butado vin e late zoso in segno di alegrezza, che prego Idio sia posto in hora bona et agumento di questa republica."

<sup>118</sup> Gattinoni reproduces a wide variety of contemporary commentary on the earthquake and its spiritual significance; *Campanile di San Marco*, 54–60. It is worth quoting Martino Merlini's comments on the event: "De qui se sta chon gran spavento per i traramoti [*sic*] son stadi ... che ognun sta chon gradissimo spavento de qualche gran sentenza da Dio per i nostri gran pechadi." As quoted in Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1599.



tonio Grimani had been exiled from the Republic after losing an important naval battle against the Turks in 1499, the Venetians had welcomed him back with open arms after the Cambrai War broke out. From then on, Grimani's political acumen ensured that he was regularly elected to high-ranking offices, particularly on the elite Council of Ten or the Senate steering committee, from 1510 until his election as doge in 1521. His continued prominence allowed him to exert considerable influence on Venetian foreign policy and military strategy.<sup>119</sup> Grimani expressed the extremity of his dedication to the reestablishment of the *Stato da terra* most obviously in 1513, when he supported an alliance with the Turks as a feasible solution to the problem of the mainland's defense.<sup>120</sup> His politics, therefore, were identical to those of patricians such as Francesco Bragadin and Giorgio Emo, discussed extensively in chapter three. Emo, the overseer of the S. Zanipolo pantheon of heroes, had, in fact, put forward the proposal of the Turkish alliance.<sup>121</sup> In light of this, it is appropriate that Grimani's artistic patronage promoted the same political ideas that works commissioned by Bragadin or Emo did; the campanile, with its prominent *leoni andanti* and assertive, politico-religious programme, provided highly visible support for the pro-terraferma agenda. The lions' placement on the campanile was particularly eloquent, for one faced east, towards the sea and Venice's maritime empire, and the other west, towards the disputed territories of the *Stato da terra*.

Grimani's project shared something else with those spearheaded by Emo and Bragadin. Like the sculptural works designed to celebrate Padua's repatriation, the bell tower's decorative programme must have seemed a little premature. Just months after the inaugural celebration described by Sanudo, the German army carried out a very success-

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<sup>119</sup> On Grimani's political career, see R. Zago, "Grimani, Antonio," in *DBI*, 59:593–95.

<sup>120</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 17, col. 535.

<sup>121</sup> On the patronage of Emo and Bragadin, see chap. 3, pp. 84ff.

ful campaign in the Veneto. By October, Maximilian's troops were again threatening Padua and Treviso, and had arrived on the very shores of the lagoon. In order to assess the situation on the beleaguered mainland, Sanudo and some of his peers climbed the campanile. The diarist did not like what he saw. Fires were burning in nearby Mestre as the Germans sacked the city, and their cannon, though too far away to be effective, fired continuously into the lagoon. The sights and sounds of Maximilian's activity instilled fear in Venetian hearts.<sup>122</sup> It must have seemed rather ironic to be watching such a horrific spectacle from the bell tower with one of Grimani's freshly unveiled *leoni andanti* above their heads.

It is difficult to say if other sculpted lions were produced in Venice during the war years, because Napoleon's iconoclastic campaign in the eighteenth century was so effective. However, some impressive works of art displaying the same iconography from the earlier period did manage to escape destruction. Two of the most monumental are Vittore Carpaccio's well-known canvas (fig. 49) and a less discussed, but equally grandiose painting by Cima da Conegliano, the *Lion of St. Mark with Sts. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalen and Jerome* (fig. 75).<sup>123</sup> Carpaccio's work is signed and dated to 1516, and stylistic analysis of the Cima places it around the same year.<sup>124</sup> Both paintings are very large and were commissioned for government offices by patrician pa-

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<sup>122</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 17, col. 118.

<sup>123</sup> Cima's *Lion* was only reattributed to him in recent years. From Marco Boschini onwards, the work was often attributed to Giovanni Marescalco; *Le minere della pittura* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1664), 264. Sandra Moschini Marconi follows Boschini's lead in the (now dated) catalogue of the Gallerie dell'Accademia, though she does note the literature's connection of the painting in some capacity with Cima; see cat. no. 152 in Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia*, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto poligrafico, 1955), 1:142–3. T. Borenius and Bernard Berenson shifted the attribution to Cima, in which they are followed by most modern scholars; for a bibliography and discussion, see Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 155.

<sup>124</sup> Rizzi dates the work to "poco prima il 1516"; see cat. no. 731 in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:69. Peter Humfrey seconds this dating, though allowing for the possibility that the work could date as early as 1506; Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano*, 155.

trons. Carpaccio's hung in the office of the "Officiali al Dazio del Vin," located on the Riva del Ferro near the Rialto, while Cima's was displayed in the Magistrato della Mesetaria in the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi.<sup>125</sup>

The canvases by Carpaccio and Cima are essentially early-Cinquecento revisitations of a painting type whose popularity had been established a century earlier. As the Republic had expanded the terraferma empire in the early 1400s, the Venetians produced large-scale images of the *leone andante* to adorn their government offices. Most notably, Jacobello del Fiore's work of 1415 was in the Magistrato della Bestemmia (fig. 51) and Donato Bragadin's of 1459 was on prominent display in the Avogaria (fig. 74). In each work, the lion's book bears an adapted inscription inspired by the nature of the location.<sup>126</sup>

The close link between the early-Cinquecento paintings and their Quattrocento predecessors has caused modern art historians to criticise an apparent lack of artistic inspiration in the later works. Peter Humfrey has suggested that Cima's painting is "among [his] least inspired works" produced for one of his rare and "uncongenial" government commissions.<sup>127</sup> The scholar's acknowledgement of the painting's rigid, traditional appearance even led him to propose that its retardataire appearance might indicate that the painting dated to as early as 1506.<sup>128</sup> Vittorio Sgarbi's analysis of Carpaccio's work is

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<sup>125</sup> As regards the Carpaccio, scholars mistakenly believed for a long time that it came from the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi, but Pietro Scarpa has determined that it in fact decorated the office of the men responsible for the taxing of wine; Scarpa, "Vittore Carpaccio: identificazioni e proposte," in *Arte documento* 5 (1991): 60–62. On the Cima and its original location, see Peter Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano*, 12.

<sup>126</sup> For the inscription in Del Fiore's work, see above, n. 7. In Bragadin's work, the book held open by the lion bears a *monito* for the magistrates of the office: "LEGIBUS QUIBUS IMMODERATA HOMINUM FRENATUR CUPIDITAS QUEMPIAM PARERE COGATIS." The scrolls paired with the flanking saints function similarly; see Wolters, *Storia e politica*, 227. For more on Bragadin's painting, see cat. no. 153 in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:27–28.

<sup>127</sup> See Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano*, 12.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

more productive. He has described the canvas as having “an obviously old-fashioned spirit, expressed with an almost provocative consciousness.” In particular, he notes the 1516 *Lion*’s close relationship to Jacobello del Fiore’s work, especially in its imitation of the earlier lion’s facial type and its use of a linear style characterised by a “late-Gothic flavour.”<sup>129</sup>

Sgarbi’s recognition of the retardataire quality of Carpaccio’s work as a potentially conscious decision on the part of the artist generates an important question: Why did Carpaccio produce a lion in 1516 that, as Sgarbi has rightly noted, is less naturalistic than one he painted a decade earlier for the Scuola di San Giorgio?<sup>130</sup> Perhaps the answer to this lies in the fact that not just one, but two artists had produced markedly “old-fashioned” works depicting the same symbol for similar patrons and locations around the same time. Thinking of the two paintings as products of the same political circumstances, and keeping in mind the fact that Cima’s work was also retardataire, helps reveal the logic behind their particular pairing of content and form. It would certainly help explain why the elderly Cima, who was principally known for altarpieces and rarely received commissions from the Venetian government or patriciate, was chosen to paint such a work.<sup>131</sup>

There was a good reason to commission painted lions that visually echoed those of the past, rather than newer, more innovative ones in 1516. Produced in a time of politi-

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<sup>129</sup> Sgarbi best articulates this point of view noting that the painting has “uno spirito palesemente arcaico, espresso d’altronde con una consapevolezza quasi provocatoria rispetto agli sviluppi coevi della pittura veneta. Le corrispondenze con le opere di Jacobello e di Bragadin non si limitano infatti alle sole analogie di struttura. Nel definire l’immagine leonina, Carpaccio indugia in un linearismo di vago sapore tardogotico che ne limita la resa volumetrica e l’efficacia naturalistica anche nei confronti dello stesso animale raffigurato nelle *Storie di San Gerolamo*. L’improbabile maschera digrignata esibente una dentatura umana più che felina, in evidente forzatura del modello di Jacobello, contribuisce a rafforzare l’impressione di un’intenzionale rigidità nel trattamento della figura.” Sgarbi, *Carpaccio* (Milan: Fabbri, 1994), 230.

<sup>130</sup> Sgarbi, *Carpaccio*, 230.

<sup>131</sup> Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano*, 9–10, 12.

cal difficulty, Carpaccio's and Cima's works would have been reassuringly familiar on both iconographic and aesthetic levels. In other words, it was no doubt the paintings' familiarity that made them desirable. As revivals of a traditional icon in a decidedly pre-war style and format, they must have communicated a comforting sense of undisturbed continuity with Venice's pre-Agnadello history. Here, there are no swords or indications of battle, as their frescoed cousins had displayed on the mainland during the war years. Even the inscriptions appearing on the lions' books are traditional. Instead of incorporating new ones related to the location's function, as Del Fiore's and Bragadin's works had, Cima's and Carpaccio's simply reproduce the customary greeting of the angel to St. Mark. In these wartime paintings, "Pax tibi Marce evangelista meus" bespoke the peace that Venice was hoping to enjoy shortly. The works' iconic fidelity to visual tradition indeed gives them a timeless quality. As David Rosand has remarked about Venetian art more generally, "maintaining pictorial tradition was essential for maintaining the myths of Venice."<sup>132</sup>

Thus, rather than asking artists to reinvent the wheel, patrons of *leone andante* imagery were asking them to do the opposite in their choice of subject matter. As a result, they chose artists who either were perceived as espousing an older, more conservative style (both Cima and Carpaccio were in the last years of their careers<sup>133</sup>), or could at least be called upon to paint in such a mode. If the paintings' patrons had wanted something new and different, they could have hired Titian. Eight years earlier he had already worked for the government on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi frescoes, and he enjoyed an ever-increasing popularity. When the *Lions'* old-fashioned appearance is interpreted as a con-

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<sup>132</sup> Rosand, *Myths of Venice*, 75.

<sup>133</sup> Cima seems to have died in 1517; Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano*, 3. Carpaccio died in 1526; Sgarbi, *Carpaccio*, 18.

scious choice rather than as fossilised taste or artistic laziness, it helps illuminate the paintings' function. Like the campanile's lions, these majestic canvases facilitated the powerful resurgence of a traditional iconography then under threat in the authoritative environment of official spaces of power.

Despite their rather archaic style, the paintings introduce subtle yet important iconographic changes. Indeed, Cima's and Carpaccio's adaptations of the *leone andante*'s visual tradition do much to reveal the polemical nature that the symbol had acquired during the Cambrai War. Given the official character and destination of Carpaccio's work, it is not surprising that four of its five patrons were patricians who shared Antonio Grimani's politics in supporting Venice's campaign to recover the *Stato da terra*.<sup>134</sup> Girolamo Bragadin, Francesco Foscari, Jacopo Venier and Marcantonio Manolesso all offered their services in the defence of Padua or Treviso at different times, and the latter two also performed the important roles of *provveditore* or *podestà* in a number of cities on the mainland.<sup>135</sup> However, recalling that many Venetians doubted the wisdom of continuing to meddle on the mainland, Daniele Ferrara has convincingly suggested that Carpaccio's painting expresses its patrons' awareness of this debate by presenting a calculated response to it. As Ferrara points out, the painting's most interesting aspect is its departure from tradition in the unusual depiction of the terrestrial empire dominated by the lion. Although this was customarily characterised by rolling hills and castles, as in Bra-

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<sup>134</sup> Scarpa has identified the five patricians by matching their coats-of-arms, as they appear along the painting's lower edge, with the list of men who filled the office at the time of the painting's production; see Scarpa, "Vittore Carpaccio," 60.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 208. Bragadin and Foscari defended Padua and Treviso in 1510; see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, cols. 797, 841. Venier would do the same in 1511 (ibid., vol. 12, col. 357) after having served as the *provveditore* at Montagnana in 1510 (ibid., vol. 11, cols. 182, 234, 250, 267, 275, 313, 387, 411, 420, 441). For his part, Manolesso was *podestà* of Motta and then Monselice in 1511 (ibid., vol. 12, col. 573; vol. 13, cols. 58–59, 195, 230). All four men offered services in the defense of Padua and Treviso once more in 1513 (ibid., vol. 17, cols. 279, 255, 291, 312).

gadin's canvas (fig. 74) and the pamphlet woodcuts, Carpaccio depicted a rich variety of meticulously rendered plant life instead.

The flora presents a variety of plants that convey a range of symbolic meanings; some are associated with virtues or have healing properties, and others are poisonous or harmful. Ferrara argues that this juxtaposition of good and bad—of virtue and vice—communicated a more ideological or reflective characterisation of how to perceive Venice's relationship to the *terraferma*. While the painting's emphasis of the lagoon would have reminded viewers of the importance of the *Stato da mar* as the historical, and perhaps pre-eminent source of Venetian power, the depiction of the *terraferma* would have encouraged them to “cultivate” the mainland empire with care and consideration. Seen in this way, the painting responded to contemporary concerns regarding the relative merits of the mainland in a patently cautious way.<sup>136</sup> Priuli, for instance, would have found little to upset him in such an image despite his distrust of pro-*terraferma* politics.

Ferrara's interpretation of the painting is very convincing, because, as the scholar himself recalls, Venetians were inclined to analyse depictions of lions carefully. Senators may have even referred to those appearing in San Marco during political debates about military strategy on the mainland.<sup>137</sup> Having probably witnessed those debates, Carpaccio's patrons would have been aware of the image's potentially polemical nature. Hence, the artist's reconfiguration of the traditional iconography could very well have been devised to avoid depicting the territories and towns whose future governance was still uncertain and the debate that surrounded them.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Ferrara, “Carpaccio e lo spazio,” 210–13.

<sup>137</sup> On this, see above, pp. 137–38.

<sup>138</sup> Ferrara, “Carpaccio e lo spazio,” 210–13.

Ferrara's interpretation is further confirmed by considering the painting within the broader context of wartime imagery, including pamphlet imagery. In the years leading up to Carpaccio's and Cima's commissions, printed lions seem to have "papered" the city, always appearing in unambiguous contexts. In fact, Paolo Danza's *La vera Noua de Bressa* was being sold in the streets just months before Carpaccio finished his work, and the related lion on the *Questa e la pace* would have been available only months afterwards. Pamphlets like these also indicate that military metaphors based on the winged lion quickly became a prominent part of the patriotic rhetoric of wartime oral culture. The symbol was inextricably linked to the attempt to recover the *terraferma*. Therefore, considering Carpaccio's work in relation to the woodcut of the *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia* (fig. 52), the omission of the traditional *terraferma* view cannot help but seem even more conscious and deliberate. In the print, the identification of the cities in the background gives the *leone andante* a more pointed meaning by situating it geographically and, consequently, temporally. This "grounding" of the lion thrusts the image right into the middle of the political issues and debates of the moment. In contrast, Carpaccio's decision not to identify the land upon which the lion's front paws rest prevents the painting from making as polemical a statement.

The difference between woodcut and painting is understandable, given the respective functions of their imagery. While the print was produced to accompany a propagandistic text inspired by the events of the moment, the painting celebrates the grandeur of the Venetian Republic with a sense of timeless endurance. Perhaps one could say that the prints sparked bold patriotism while the painting exuded calm reassurance. The contrast reveals a surprising flexibility of meaning in contemporary *leone andante* imagery.



As variations on a theme, the print and the painting can be considered to represent two conceptual extremes. Indeed, Ferrara perceives Carpaccio's painting as being extreme enough to have altogether eliminated the Venetian mainland from the image; he argues that the viewing angle of the *bacino* places the lion's front paws on the island of San Giorgio.<sup>139</sup> Although this assessment seems a little far fetched, Ferrara's point is important. Carpaccio's painting displays a different formulation of a traditional iconography that has significant consequences for its interpretation and, hence, its effect.

This is further underscored in the way Cima's canvas offers a sort of painted analogue to the 1513 woodcut. Like Carpaccio's, Cima's maintains a high level of fidelity to the traditional *leone andante* while also introducing conscious changes to it: this conventional lion dominates an unconventional rendering of the terraferma. The rolling hills and meticulously rendered castles evoke the foothills of the Dolomites. The sea, meanwhile, though still clearly identified by the shells on its shore, is downplayed; its dimensions seem to be those of a lake rather than the sea.<sup>140</sup> This is one of the few cases in which the maritime element is so obviously subordinated to the landscape in a depiction of the *leone andante*.<sup>141</sup>

This landscape is a forceful statement of Venetian ownership and control of the mainland. Ferrara was hesitant to assert this,<sup>142</sup> but the painting's similarity to images like the 1513 woodcut would surely have laid any contemporary viewer's doubts to rest. Furthermore, although the selection of saints included in the painting probably reflects the

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 210.

<sup>140</sup> On the idea that the water in the painting is a lake, see Boschini, *Minere*, 264; and cat. no. 152 (attr. to Giovanni Buonconsiglio) in Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia*, 1:264.

<sup>141</sup> Rizzi notes that the landscape combines elements from different areas of the Venetian terraferma, including the Trevigiano and the alpine foothills; Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 1:40, 2:69. On this, see also Ferrara, "Carpaccio e lo spazio," 209, 215.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 114.

patrons in some fashion, they may have had additional meanings. First of all, their presence enhances the image's implication that the Republic's control of the *terraferma* enjoyed divine approval. In fact, Mark's appearance as both man and symbol seems to emphasise this. Perhaps more importantly, the pairing of the Magdalen and St. Jerome on the right seems to introduce a penitent tone to the image. As the next chapters will demonstrate, Venetians considered penitence to be one of their greatest weapons in the Cambrai War, so such an emphasis would be appropriate. Indeed, with its symmetrical arrangement of saints balanced on either side of the lion, the painting almost takes on the quality of a Venetian *sacra conversazione*.

#### **4.4 Postscript: The Lion after the War**

Shortly after the monumental *Lions* were completed, there was no longer any need for either Carpaccio's caution or Cima's exaggeration. The question of the extent of the Venetian *Stato da terra* was settled definitively in December 1516 with the Pact of Brussels. Although they had been on the brink of destruction numerous times during war's eight years, the Venetians once more controlled almost all of the mainland territory that had been theirs before the conflict. While today's historians may marvel at the Republic's good luck, contemporary Venetians merely had their hopes and expectations fulfilled; the promise carried in wartime portrayals of the *leone andante* had once more become reality. Such imagery could now be joined by post-war imagery reaffirming and celebrating this event.

The most common post-war representation of the winged lion appeared on the mainland. Every city in the recovered *Stato da terra* was quickly branded as Venetian

territory through the commission of sculpted or frescoed Marcian lions, which were then displayed in the most important areas of the city. In many *piazze*, a column bearing a lion sculpted in the round in imitation of the colossal column in the Piazza San Marco was erected for the first time,<sup>143</sup> and many other sculpted ones were placed on city gates (see figs. 79, 80).<sup>144</sup> Padua, in particular, received lions on the Porta Venezia, the Porta Liviana, the Bastione Portello Nuovo and the Porta S. Croce.<sup>145</sup> Similar lions were placed on the Porta di S. Tomaso and the Porta dei SS. Quaranta in Treviso,<sup>146</sup> and on the Porta Vescovo in Verona.<sup>147</sup>

The lion's return to Verona is particularly noteworthy, for the city had passed the entire war in the hands of the German emperor. As soon as Verona changed hands, one of the loyal citizens' first acts was to unearth the sculpted lions buried eight years earlier to protect them from destruction by the imperial troops.<sup>148</sup> (Such an unusual act surely indicates both the preciousness of the object to those who buried it and their certainty that it would have been destroyed if less extreme measures were taken.) For its part, the Republic quickly commissioned several enormous lions to adorn the city. The fact that many of these, like the vast *leone andante* painted on the exterior of the Castel S. Pietro in

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<sup>143</sup> Alberto Rizzi, "Colonne marciiane e contesti urbani nello Stato Veneto prima e dopo Cambrai," in *Lo spazio nelle città venete 1348–1509: urbanistica e architettura, monumenti e piazze, decorazione e rappresentazione. Atti del primo convegno nazionale di studio. Verona, 14–16 dicembre 1995*, ed. Enrico Guidoni and Ugo Soranzi (Rome: Kappa, 1997), 190–202.

<sup>144</sup> On this subject in general, see Sohm, "Palma Vecchio's *Sea Storm*," 177–78; and Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 1:83. For the specific examples illustrated here, see cat. nos. 1425 and 1423 in *ibid.*, 2:150.

<sup>145</sup> See Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:168. Here the author presents cat. no. 1618 as dating to 1519; cat. no. 1623 being of 1517 (destroyed); cat. no. 1620 as produced in 1518 (destroyed); and cat. no. 1624 as produced in 1517 (survives in fragmented form in Museo Civico di Padova; see cat. no. 1630).

<sup>146</sup> See Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:149–150. Here the works are presented respectively as produced in 1518 (cat. no. 1416), and as produced in 1517 (cat. no. 1419).

<sup>147</sup> See cat. no. 1848 in *ibid.*, 2:192.

<sup>148</sup> For a contemporary account, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 476. On the *leontoclastia* in Verona more generally, see Rizzi, "Leone di Venezia a 'Verona fidelis,'" *passim*.

1516,<sup>149</sup> took the form of frescoes is rather poetic, for Verona had been famous for its vast, painted *leoni* before the Cambrai War (see fig. 55).<sup>150</sup>

Meaningful representations of the *leone andante* could also appear in private homes as expressions of loyalty to the Republic. For example, Girolamo Mocetto decorated the walls of a room in the Casa dell'Acqua Morta in Verona with frescoes that incorporated a *leone andante* in 1517 (fig. 76). Unfortunately, the image was mutilated when a window was installed where the front half of the lion used to be.<sup>151</sup> The entire cycle, probably produced for the Cattanei family whose coat-of-arms appears in the decoration,<sup>152</sup> survives in only fragmentary form in the Museo di Castelvecchio at Verona. Appearing within a larger decorative programme, supplementary imagery instils the lion with a more constructed meaning regarding Venetian dominance of the subject cities of the terraferma. An image of the doge seated among his senators (see fig. 76), as well as the arms of Doge Leonardo Loredan and the Gradenigo family, directly link the cycle to the Venetian ruling class. Their virtue, and, hence, the virtue of the state, is expressed through the depiction of two episodes from classical history—the *Continence of Scipio Africanus* and *Trajan and the Young Widow* (figs. 77, 78). Scipio's generous restitution of the young fiancée to her betrothed and Trajan's postponement of his military campaign to administer justice to a young widow elegantly imply the Republic's equally virtuous treatment of its own subjects—presumably, in this case, the Veronese. Justice had always been important to Venetians, for belief in the political perfection of their government demanded the possession of this virtue and the wisdom it required. However, as Sabina de

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<sup>149</sup> See cat. no. 1848 in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:192.

<sup>150</sup> See above, p. 135 and n. 10.

<sup>151</sup> De Vito, "Vetrata dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," 26. The lion is cat. no. 1822 in Rizzi, *Leoni di San Marco*, 2:190.

<sup>152</sup> De Vito, "Vetrata dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," 26.

Vito has pointed out, the programme does much more than this. By pairing visual references to the government of the Republic with stories of that of ancient Rome, the cycle relates Venice to the antique city. Such an association cannot help but imply the vastness of Venice's terrestrial holdings, the very same holdings which the Republic had recently regained and which are shown under the *leone andante*'s protection.<sup>153</sup>

It is also significant that the choice of artist was by no means random. Mocetto was a Murano-born, Venetian-trained artist. He had also worked for some of the most prominent patrons in Venice, the Council of Ten. Mocetto had helped design the large stained-glass window in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, overseen by the powerful patrician Giorgio Emo. Thus, his selection by the cycle's patrons seems to be a patriotic gesture, much like that made by the Paduans who hired Titian to produce frescoes for the *scuola* of St. Anthony after the Republic recaptured their city.<sup>154</sup> In short, the cycle was probably an overt effort on the part of its Veronese patrons to reassert a connection with the capital.

One of the most revealing and appropriate post-war appearances made by the lion is on a coin minted in 1523 during the *dogado* of Andrea Gritti (fig. 81). The coin was a silver *mezzo soldo*, or *bezzo*, a very small denomination that would have been used in everyday transactions and handled by almost all levels of society. Here, the *leone andante* appears with the symbol of the cross above the lion's book and paired with the inscription "IN HOC SIGNO VINCES."<sup>155</sup> The appropriation of the famous phrase associated with the Emperor Constantine confirms the lion's importance as a symbol of great spiritual and political power. The coin seems to imply that just as Constantine had triumphed

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<sup>153</sup> De Vito, "Vetrata dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo," 26–29.

<sup>154</sup> On Titian's work in Padua, see chap. 1, p. 16 and n. 54.

<sup>155</sup> See Nicolò Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete di Venezia descritte ed illustrate*, 3 vols. (Venice: Tipografia Libreria Emiliana, 1907), 2:169 (cat. nos. 161–64; pl. XXIV, no. 10); and Rudt de Collenberg, "Leone di san Marco," 67.

at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge under the sign of the cross and by divine plan, so had Venice survived the assault of its enemies under important Christian signs—the cross in a figurative sense, and the winged lion in a more literal one. The coin’s reference to the founding moment of Christian, imperial Rome not only echoes the rhetoric of the frescoes in the Casa dell’Acqua Morta, but it also alludes to the new identity that Venice was beginning to craft for itself by the mid-1520s under Gritti’s leadership.<sup>156</sup> After having survived the combined onslaught of the greatest powers of Europe, the Republic had reason to consider itself the Renaissance equivalent of the Roman empire of antiquity, regardless of how jeopardised its survival had been.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

During the War of the League of Cambrai, both the conflict’s premise and the enemy *leontoclastia* imbued the winged lion with a timely significance, especially in its *andante* form. With its forelegs firmly planted on land and its hind legs in the sea, the *leone andante* asserted exactly what the League of Cambrai had been established to challenge—the notion that Venice had a divinely approved claim not only to the *Stato da mar*, but also to the *Stato da terra*. During the conflict, the symbol had enjoyed a prominent presence in the visual culture of the city. While its painted and carved incarnations on the mainland were being destroyed or carried off by enemies, the lion was reproduced over and over on the printing presses of the city. Though scholars like Hale have found little interest woodcuts like these, their number and timeliness must have given them a remarkable impact. At times, they may have had a more enduring influence than the

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<sup>156</sup> On Gritti, see chap. 3, pp. 122–24. On his generation’s attempt to refashion Venice as the “new Rome,” see the essays in Manfredo Tafuri, ed., “*Renovatio urbis*.” *Venezia nell’età di Andrea Gritti* (Rome: Officina, 1984).

flimsy paper on which they were printed suggests. One cannot help but notice, for instance, the striking similarity between the lion pouncing on the French rooster in the *Spauento de Italia* woodcut (fig. 60) and Palma Giovane's painted beast in his canvas for the Ducal Palace (fig. 1). The comparison, however tenuous, should serve as a reminder that what seems to be of little consequence to modern eyes had much greater impact at the time of its creation.

These paper symbols were joined by more impressive commissions from the ruling class for official locations where the state promoted its identity. When the Republic survived the war and recovered most of its mainland territory, the *leone andante*'s promise had come true. It was only with Napoleon's arrival that the symbol was once again threatened with extinction. The French emperor knew, as the collective powers of Europe had known in the early sixteenth century, that as long as the winged lion was in evidence it would continue to fuel the deep-seated belief in Venice's divinely supported claim to sovereignty. The lion would never have attracted Napoleon's attention as it did if it had not been for its auspicious visual presence during the Cambrai War.

Some important connections have emerged between the body of imagery discussed in this chapter and the works of art relating to the repatriation of Padua discussed in the previous two. In both cases, works of art were produced by both *nobili* and *popolani* for the same broad cross-section of Venetian society. In addition, the patricians who commissioned official works displaying the lion seem to have shared the same pro-terraferma politics as those who used the visual arts to promote Padua's importance. Art was certainly a means of asserting a self-congratulatory interpretation of the war for the sake of foreign visitors, but, and perhaps more importantly, it also helped influence the

attitudes and decisions of Venetians themselves during the conflict. This chapter also reinforces the notion put forward in chapter two that the printing industry was highly active in the production of timely imagery.

However, some noteworthy observations are also generated by the differences between the two groups of imagery, particularly with regard to the nature of their visual rhetoric. Works inspired by the attempt to celebrate and exploit the recapture of Padua resulted in the production of works that varied greatly in iconography and style over the course of the war. In contrast, works depicting the *leone andante* were far closer to one another in appearance, because their strength derived from their depiction of a traditional symbol. Tapping into the wellspring of a long-standing visual formula rich with meaning, their similarity reinforced their collective meaning. Considered together, these two veins of artistic production—that which capitalised on the force of pre-existing symbols of Venetian strength and that which aimed to establish new ones—demonstrate how various wartime art commenting upon Venice's struggle for the *terraferma* could be. It would seem that while art referring to Padua's recapture and defense had harnessed the event's propagandistic potential, the art produced in response to much less successful military campaigns such as that in Lombardy had to function differently.



## Chapter Five

### Picturing Piety: Woodcut Imagery in Wartime Religious Books

The previous three chapters have discussed works of art that responded to the Republic's military predicament by presenting an encouraging elucidation of events, one that often exploited the spiritual realm in order to offer the best interpretation of the political one. In contrast, this chapter and the two that follow investigate a different way in which Venetians used art as a means of responding to and shaping their experience of the war. Since the myth of the Republic's political perfection was inextricably intertwined with that of Venice's unparalleled piety,<sup>1</sup> the war's challenge of the former necessarily undermined the latter.<sup>2</sup> Venetians could not help but interpret the attack of all the other Christian powers of Europe as a scourge sent by God to punish a once favoured people for their descent into sinfulness. As a result, the Cambrai War was characterised not only by a political crisis, but also by a spiritual one. While Venetians employed religious processions, fasting and prayer as means of expressing city-wide atonement, they also enlisted the visual arts to assist in their search for spiritual purification or comfort.

Unlike the works discussed in the first three chapters, the greater part of those that responded to Venetian devotional needs were produced for use in more private settings. However, print culture proved to be as popular a medium for the communication of spiritual messages as it was for the presentation of interpretations of the war's political dimension. Just as printers and publishers filled a need for printed accounts of the "news"

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<sup>1</sup> On the interconnectedness of religion and government in Venice, see Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la Crisi*, chapter one ("Sentimento religioso e senso politico dei veneziani"); and idem, "Storiografia e problemi intorno alla vita religiosa e spirituale a Venezia nella prima metà del '500," in *Studi veneziani* 8 (1966): 447.

<sup>2</sup> See the discussion in Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis," 274–92.

during the war, so they sensed a market for certain kinds of religious books, many of which also featured plentiful figurative imagery. Venice was a renowned centre for printing, and by the time of the Cambrai War already had a well established tradition of enriching books with woodcuts.<sup>3</sup> Although some scholars maintain that this imagery was essentially decorative in nature,<sup>4</sup> the addition of woodcuts was costly and labour-intensive. In a time of war when money was scarce and the book market comparatively slow, publishers must have believed that figurative imagery made devotional books either more appealing or more effective and, thus, more saleable. Paul Kristeller was surely correct in arguing that woodcuts in Renaissance books were “characteristic of the taste of the people, because the demand for it came from them.”<sup>5</sup>

In early sixteenth-century Venice, printers were beginning to explore the potential uses of figurative prints in books. As discussed briefly in chapter two, woodcuts in books were not “illustrations” of the texts they accompanied in the modern sense of the word; this concept had not yet been codified by the early Cinquecento.<sup>6</sup> To be sure, word and image were both parts of a larger whole, but evidence gathered from the study of late-Quattrocento and early-Cinquecento Venetian books suggests that these two components often functioned differently from one another. Marian Rothstein’s exploration of the common reuse of woodcuts in a single book or in multiple publications during the Ren-

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<sup>3</sup> On the Venetian printing industry, see Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*. For an overview of the inclusion of figurative woodcuts in Venetian books, see Lino Moretti, “Il libro illustrato veneziano del quattro e cinquecento,” in *Revue des études italiennes* n.s. 27, no. 4 (December 1981): 334–43; and André Chastel, “La cité di livre illustré,” in *ibid.* 350–63.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Grendler consistently refers to imagery in books as “illustrations” and takes a very reductive approach to their discussion and interpretation. He is most interested in how the price of a work was influenced by the presence or absence of imagery of high or low quality. See Grendler, “Form and Function,” 458–59. More specifically on the topic of Venetian publications, E. H. Ramsden has suggested the same idea. Ramsden, “Early Venetian Illustrated Books: The Essling Collection,” in *Apollo* 104, no. 17 (July 1976): 39.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1897), viii.

<sup>6</sup> See chap. 2, p. 62 and n. 93.

aissance reveals the complexity of the phenomenon. Her research suggests that the recycled images should be understood as “disjunctive,” because they performed a communicative role that was distinct from that of the text.<sup>7</sup> Paul Kristeller has proposed a framework for understanding the function of woodcut imagery in Florentine incunabula that could apply equally well to many early-Cinquecento Venetian books. He argues that figurative woodcuts in books aimed “to speak more impressively to the religious feeling or to the imagination of the reader than the words alone are able to do”—they were meant “to stimulate the imagination, not to bind or force it.”<sup>8</sup>

This chapter demonstrates the truth of Kristeller’s claim by exploring the nature and function of the woodcut imagery appearing in three of the devotional books printed in Venice during the war. The first is an admonishing moral manual derived from Innocent III’s *De miseria conditionis humanae* that features small, custom-made woodcuts for each of its thirty-two chapters. The second and third books are connected with the Book of Revelation. The *Apocalypse Ihesu Christi* is a devotional work that pairs a series of large, elaborate woodcuts designed after Albrecht Dürer’s print series of the 1490s with a medieval vernacular translation and exegesis of the Biblical text. The other, a prophetic work entitled *Expositio magni prophete Joachim*, presents an illustrated collection of Joachimist texts that foretold the spiritual and political future through the interpretation of the rich symbolism of John’s apocalyptic vision. These books function well as a study group, for together they demonstrate the range of woodcut imagery produced during the war—from small to large, from plain to sophisticated, and from base to elevated—and

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<sup>7</sup> Rothstein, “Disjunctive images,” *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, xi.

thus help to reveal the equally various ways in which such imagery facilitated devotional meditation at the time.

### 5.1 The Spiritual Crisis Sparked by the Cambrai War

An explanation of the appearance and function of visual imagery in devotional books must begin with an explication of the crisis that prompted its production. Even before the first battle of the Cambrai War, the conflict's spiritual dimension had been clear. On 27 April 1509, just a few weeks before the Rout of Agnadello, Pope Julius II excommunicated the Venetian Republic.<sup>9</sup> The Signoria did its best to disregard the interdict and prevented its publication in the lagoon.<sup>10</sup> Venice's enemies, however, eagerly reproduced it in other parts of the peninsula.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the excommunication had practical effects that could not be hidden or ignored. This was made particularly evident when the Benedictine monks of San Giorgio Maggiore and San Nicolò al Lido abandoned their monasteries in compliance with Julius II's interdict.<sup>12</sup>

Although the Venetians might have imagined that their aggressive foreign policy in the Quattrocento would eventually prompt their neighbours to take action, they were surprised when the League of Cambrai was formed in 1508. This lack of foresight was

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<sup>9</sup> Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 5:145.

<sup>10</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 142: "Noto. In questi zorni fo ordinà a tutti li oficiali, che la note fevano varde, che si niuna poliza era messa su colone o altrove, la tolesseno zoso et la portasseno ai cai di X, e posto di zio custodi; e mandato a dir a Castello al patriarcha, si venisse algun breve o messo dil papa per descomunega, non lo lassasse publicar." Sanudo then concludes with the remark that "la terra non teme dita scomunica," but evidence suggests that most were more concerned about this than he claimed to be. For more on the prevention of the bull's publication in Venice, see Antonio Niero, *I patriarchi di Venezia* (Venice: Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1961), 56.

<sup>11</sup> An anonymous Ferrarese or Roman publisher printed an eight-folio, pamphlet-style publication consisting of an admonishing text directed at the Venetians and a reproduction of the papal bull of excommunication. The work appears as *Admonitione contra li venetiani* in Sander, *Livre à figures italiens*, 3:1295 (cat. no. 7523).

<sup>12</sup> On the departure, and later return, of the Benedictine monks, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 10, cols. 7–8, 16; and Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 239.

due in large part to the fact that they perceived themselves to be divinely favoured. The Republic had always exemplified the virtues of justice and wisdom: it had been auspiciously founded on the day of the Annunciation, and its pious people had been entrusted with the guardianship of an evangelist's relics.<sup>13</sup> As a result, when the League routed the Republic's forces at Agnadello, the Venetian community went into a kind of spiritual shock.

The military defeat and the loss of the *Stato da terra* that followed were not merely problems of earthly politics. They also had serious spiritual implications. In a speech to the Great Council, Doge Leonardo Loredan expressed a widely held perception that the devastating military loss was the result of God's desire to humiliate the Republic.<sup>14</sup> Venice's unexpected change of political fortune left most Venetians to conclude that they had somehow lost God's approval, and that the war was his means of exacting punishment.<sup>15</sup> In a letter to his father, the young Pietro Bembo bemoaned "the harshness of the Lord toward our burdened and troubled Republic."<sup>16</sup> Priuli spoke for many when he lamented that God had "permitted and ordained the ruin of the Venetian empire."<sup>17</sup> Others even went so far as to liken the League's attack to the kind of religious crusades that western Christendom usually led against the infidel.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> On Venice as a perfect Christian republic, see Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 30–31, 223–24. On Venice as a chosen people and the legend that the Republic was founded on the day of the Annunciation in the year 421, see Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 141–42, 175.

<sup>14</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 497.

<sup>15</sup> All of the League's signatories characterised the war as being the result of God's design, especially the French. On this, see Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, 160–63, 221–87.

<sup>16</sup> Bembo remarked upon "la durezza di N[ostro]. S[ignore]. verso la nostra gravata e affannata rep[ublica]." The quote is taken from a letter of 10 November 1509 reprinted in Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*, ed. Ernesto Travi, 4 vols. (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1990–93), 2:32.

<sup>17</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:29: "il magno et grande Idio habia permesso et ordinato questa tanta ruina delo Imperio Veneto."

<sup>18</sup> The Venetian merchant Martino Merlini, for example, commented in a letter of 23 June 1509 to his brother, "non vojo dir liga ma cruziata, contro questo povero stado, che mai per christiani sea posudo unir et ligar contra turchi chani et infedelli una tal cruziata chome iano fato contra dei nui poveri venezian." As

In a speech to the Senate, the patriarch asserted that it was “due to our sins, [that] our troubles come,”<sup>19</sup> because the only reason God could have wished to punish the Venetians so dramatically had to be for their sinfulness. Understandably, this explanation created a powerful groundswell of contrition throughout the city.<sup>20</sup> The doge himself frequently told the Great Council that penitence and purification were the key to Venice’s survival, and his pleas became only more urgent as the war dragged on.<sup>21</sup> Echoes of the doge’s concerns can be found throughout the primary literature. Martino Merlini, for instance, stated in 1512 that “if God has meted out this punishment for our sins, he wants to see us abandon our sinful ways and return to him, otherwise we will not be capable of anything.”<sup>22</sup> Even after Venice’s excommunication was lifted and the Republic began to show signs of recovery, the fear of God’s wrath did not abate.<sup>23</sup> As late as 1516 the patriarch renewed his condemnation of Venetians for their immoral behaviour and warned

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transcribed in Dalla Santa, *Lega di Cambrai*, 8. Similarly, in a letter to a friend of 10 March 1509, Luigi da Porto comments on “questa tanta crudeltà ... usata ai Veneziani, di far loro contro una crociata quasi fossero Infedeli, a cui tutto il resto de’ Cristiani avesse giusta querela.” Da Porto, *Lettere storiche*, 28–29.

<sup>19</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 4, col. 499 (29 January 1510): “per li pechati si fa, vien le adversità.”

<sup>20</sup> Evidence of this abounds in both of the major diarists of the period, Sanudo and Priuli. See the extensive discussion in Gilbert, “Venice in the Crisis,” *passim*, esp. 277.

<sup>21</sup> The first occasion was on the eve of war: “prometeva vitoria et agumento dil stado, si fassemo queste 3 cosse: Prima ricomandarsi a Dio et extegnirsi di pechadi, zoè di la biastema e il nephando vitio, e per tutti i cantoni si biastema; e si pregasse *in corde* il nostro signor Dio a voler aver questa republica per ricomandà. L’altra far justicia a tutti e non romper le leze per balote, che non si pol più far i soi officij e vien pregà per arme *etc.* *Tertio* exortò tutti, chiamando fioli, fradelli e padri a pagar le soe angarie, e non vardar l’um l’altro, perchè, si perdemo, perderemo un bel stado, non sarà più gran consejo, non saremo più in una terra libera nati, come semo *etc.* ... Concludendo, si voreno esser valenti homeni, extegnirsi de i pechadi et far justicia e pagar e aidar la terra, haremo vitoria contra li nostri inimici, ch’è potentissimi, perchè Dio ajuta la justicia *etc.*” Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 117 (22 April 1509).

<sup>22</sup> “Se Dio ne desse queste punizion per qualche nostro pechado, el se vuol veder de lasar i pechadi e tornar a lui, chè altramente non fasemo zero.” As quoted from a letter by Merlini of 2 July 1512 in Dalla Santa, *Commerci*, 1554.

<sup>23</sup> Sanudo reports that in October 1513, the doge was obliged to repeat his plea for moral reform once more: “E poi mandati fuora quelli non erano dil Consejo, el Principe si levò in piedi, e disse con parole molto accomodate e meglio che mai io sentissi, ch’el sa ben, come è noto a tutti di questo Consejo, la strage auta contra ogni rason dai nimici, processa per li nostri pecati... E ch’el nostro Signor Dio è stà corozato con nui....” Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 17, cols. 245–46.

them once more about the danger of incurring God's anger.<sup>24</sup> One of the most revealing episodes is the response to an unusually powerful earthquake that shook the lagoon in 1511. The patriarch told the Venetian people that the event was a sign of God's displeasure with their sinfulness, and many believed it.<sup>25</sup> A small group of Venetians even decided to quickly establish a *scuola* devoted to the "Beata Vergine del Terremoto,"<sup>26</sup> and it was in this moment that Antonio Grimani undertook the project of adding the spire to the bell tower, as discussed in chapter four.<sup>27</sup>

Confronting the possibility that the war was a form of divine punishment, the Venetians made penitence and behavioural reform prominent aspects of the war effort.<sup>28</sup> For its part, the government implemented a variety of official measures designed to help the Republic regain God's favour. Some of these included the organisation of penitent processions in Piazza San Marco and city-wide fasts,<sup>29</sup> as well as making changes to Venetian legislation. For instance, the imposition of ever stricter sumptuary laws during the war indicate that some Venetians persisted in vainglorious displays while others fretted about the consequences.<sup>30</sup> The Signoria went so far as to establish three new *censori sopra i vicij*, moral watchdogs responsible for ferreting out and punishing Venetian "vice"

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<sup>24</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 21, col. 452.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, cols. 84–85. For Sanudo's lengthy description of the earthquake, see *ibid.*, cols. 79–82; for more on the earthquake, see Gattinoni, *Il campanile di San Marco*, 54–60. Priuli's description of the earthquake and its meaning is particularly dramatic; *Diarii*, 7:130<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> The *scuola* was established at the church of S. Bartolomeo sometime before 3 October 1513 when a document records that its members received use of an altar in the church. Interestingly, the document also mentions that they intend to celebrate the feast day of the Assumption in particular. See Vio, *Scuole piccole*, 414.

<sup>27</sup> Mention of the earthquake appears in chap. 4 on p. 173.

<sup>28</sup> Felix Gilbert's pioneering study on this subject is still the best; see Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis," 274–92.

<sup>29</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 12, cols. 84–85; and vol. 8, col. 300: "Noto. Il patriarcha nostro, visto queste cosse contrarie, dubitando Idio non sia corozato contra di questa cità, ordinò a li piovani fosse fato asaper a tutte le caxe, doveseno dezunar doman, mercore, a di 23 e 24 e 25, ch'è venere e sabado, per placar la ira di Dio; et cussi fo ordinato e tutte la terra dezunoe."

<sup>30</sup> See Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis," 275.

in its myriad forms.<sup>31</sup> One particularly ridiculous incident recorded by Sanudo wonderfully underscores the extent to which Venetians believed moral reform was the key to surviving the war. In the spring of 1510, the Collegio wrote letters to the military leaders in the field, asking them to avoid incurring God's anger by preventing their soldiers from blaspheming. The *provvedadori*, however, lamented that the task was impossible, unless they punished the sin as the Turks did—by cutting the sinner in two.<sup>32</sup> In other cases, however, the Venetians could act more effectively. This is particularly evident in the eventual decision to confine the city's Jewish residents to the *ghetto*, the first of its kind in European history. Believing that God disapproved of the intermingling of Christian and Jew, the segregation was a measure designed to placate his ire.<sup>33</sup>

Less official measures instigated by private individuals or groups paralleled the more official initiatives implemented by the state. Martino Merlini stated:

Reason would have us give Fortune her reign and not interfere with her, for we cannot win her favours, but what shall we do? We will appeal to God, his glorious mother and a few saints we hold dear with some orations and masses, so that He will want to put an end to such misfortune and grant us his grace so that we can return to a better state; yes, I will do all that is possible, beginning with [paying for] masses and orations to be said and giving some alms, so that our Lord God, in his infinite clemency, will have mercy on us and help us.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 10, col. 36: "Restò cosejo di X...perchè voleno proveder a li vicij sono in questa terra, maxime di sodomie ex utraque parte, di monache, di zuogi e altri vicij, a la qual provision il principe è molto caldo instigato da domino Antonio Contarini patriarcha, et voleno consejo di X far tre censori sopra i vicij, perpetui, i qualli intrino in tutti li Consegij."

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, col. 33: "In questi zorni per Colegio fo scritto un a lettera a li provedadori in Campo: doveseno persuader quelli soldati a non biastemar per non iritar l'ira dil signor Dio contra de nui, *maxime* hora che le cosse nostre vanno prosperando. Et essi provedadori risposeno: questo è impossibile remediar per esser mal vecchio, et si 'l volesse proveder bisogneria far a la turchescha, che come blastemano sono tajati per mezo."

<sup>33</sup> The word *ghetto*, in fact, comes from the delimited Jewish neighborhood established in Venice in 1516. The area had previously been hosting the city's foundry, and metal-working in Venetian is *gettare*. On the formation of the ghetto as a war measure, see Finlay, "Foundation of the Ghetto," 140–154. See also Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, "Venice between Jerusalem, Byzantium, and Divine Retribution: The Origins of the Ghetto," in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (1991): 163–179.

<sup>34</sup> "La raxon el vuol che damo luogo ala fortuna et non chontrestar chon essa, chè non la poremo guadagnar; ma che faremo nui? Rechoremosse a meser domine Dio et ala sua Madre gloriosa et a qualche Santo



Merlini's letter also indicates the frequency of corporate acts of piety, particularly in the form of processions:

Every day processions are held in the neighbourhoods carrying Christ's body and other reliquaries, and chanting, with many men and women participating, and many candles, praying that the Saviour will deliver us from the evils of war, plague, and hunger.<sup>35</sup>

The merchant describes a people whose spiritual anxiety demanded expression and release, and who believed that their consequent penitence, particularly when put on public display, could help improve their situation. Similar events from much later in the war appear in Sanudo's diary. In the Lenten season of 1515 there were regular processions in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio:

Tonight at eight o'clock the procession at the church of the Servi was continued with the children dressed as usual in white clothing, holding candles in their hands and followed by the friars.... There were many people; [the procession] will take place again tomorrow and Sunday, so that four days a week throughout the Lenten season in the hopes that it will help to placate God's anger.<sup>36</sup>

Aside from performative acts of penitence, other, more enduring efforts were made. An eloquent example is the commission, only a few months after the war had begun, of an altarpiece to the Holy Virgin of Peace by the lay confraternity specifically dedicated to

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nostro devoto chon qualche orazion e mese, che voja zesar tanta fortuna e donarne grazia che tornamo in prestino e in mior stado; sì che io de qui farò tute quele provixion me sarà posibelle, prima chon dele mese e orazion et qualche limoxena, che meser domine Dio, per sua infinita misericordia, ne arà pietade et ne ajuterà...." As quoted from a letter by Merlini of 2 July 1512 in Dalla Santa, *Commerci*, 1554.

<sup>35</sup> "Ogni zorno se fa prezesion per le chontrade e se porta el Corpo de Christo, et chui altre reliquie chon le letanie, chon molti omeni e done driedo, chon grande luminarie, pregando el Salvator che ne deliberi da mal de guere, peste e fame. Avemo chon l'ajuto di meser domine Dio ch'el morbo è pur zesado... Che meser domine Dio fazi chusi ogni altro nostro mal..." As quoted in Dalla Santa, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1601. See also the discussion of Merlini's comment in Cervelli, *Machiavelli e la crisi*, 18–19.

<sup>36</sup> Sanudo, vol. 20, col. 20 (2 March 1515): "In questa sera, a hore 22, fo continuato ai Servi a far la procession solita con puti e pute vestite di bianco, con candeled in mano, e poi li frati e il predicator maestro Helia da Brexa col mantello di bixo da heremita, cantando le litanie. Vi era assa' persone; cussi farà doman et Domenega, sichè 4 zorni a la setimana questa Quaresema si farà tal processione a placar l'ira di Dio." See also *ibid.*, col. 462, in which Sanudo expresses distaste for the processions, but notes that many people, especially women and children, took part in the ritual.

Mary's pacific nature.<sup>37</sup> Just like processions and fasts, artistic patronage facilitated the kind of spiritual expression that could help make Venice the Most Serene Republic once more.

But the Cambrai War may have done much more than simply encourage penitential devotion; it also seems to have prompted reflection on larger issues, such as the relative virtues of the contemplative and active paths to salvation.<sup>38</sup> Venetian patricians were instructed to favour the latter, because their public duties were something to which they were born, but during the war some began to take a different view. Tommaso Giustiniani and Vincenzo Querini, two young, university-educated patricians from powerful families, decided to abandon their civic responsibilities and retreat to the meditative peace of a Camaldolese monastery on the mainland.<sup>39</sup> In a letter to his good friend Gasparo Contarini, Giustiniani admitted that "one can live morally and achieve salvation while living in [Venice] in one's family home," but quickly added that "it is surely a difficult thing for the weak." His own will was "not sufficient to fight against the many temptations that in [Venice] and in my home were always at my side."<sup>40</sup> Giustiniani paints a picture of Venice as a sinful environment that offered its youth too many opportunities to stray from the

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<sup>37</sup> On 18 November 1509 the Scuola della Beata Vergine della Pace commissioned a new altarpiece at the expense of Benedetto Contarini. Vio, *Scuole piccole*, 183.

<sup>38</sup> On the general spiritual atmosphere in the early sixteenth century, see the discussion in G. Fragnito, "Cultura umanistica e riforma religiosa. Il *De officio viri boni ac probi episcopi* di Gasparo Contarini," in *Studi veneziani* 11 (1969): 75–189, esp. 89. On the particular issue of the relative benefits of the active and contemplative lives, see G. Alberigo, "Vita attiva e vita contemplativa in un'esperienza cristiana del XVI secolo," in *Studi veneziani* 16 (1974): 177–225.

<sup>39</sup> On Giustiniani, who took the name Paolo when he retreated to the Camaldolese monastery, see Giuseppe de Luca, "La storia della pietà nell'umanesimo: Il beato Paolo Giustiniani," in *Letteratura di pietà a Venezia dal '300 al '600*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1963), 43–59. On both Giustiniani and Querini, see H. Jedin, "Contarini und Camaldoli," in *Archivio per la storia della pietà* 3 (1959): 86; and Eugenio Massa, *L'eremo, la bibbia e il medioevo in umanisti veneti del primo cinquecento* (Naples: Liguori, 1992), 18–35.

<sup>40</sup> Giustiniani commented: "si può stando nella patria, nella casa sua ben vivere e salvarsi...sicuramente è cosa molta più difficile a quelli che sono deboli, come io conosco in parte le forze mie, che non sono bastanti a combattere a fronte a fronte con molti nemici, che nella casa mia e nella patria mia mi stavano sempre a' fianchi, più sicuro mi è parso il fuggire." The quote is taken from Alberigo, "Vita attiva," 188.

proper moral path. As Contarini noted in a letter to Querini, his friend's isolation from the distressing war and the civic concerns it engendered permitted them to pursue their personal salvation, free from worldly distraction.<sup>41</sup> However, the young men's decision to leave Venice earned them criticism from their peers,<sup>42</sup> and even the sympathetic Contarini did not follow their example.<sup>43</sup> Admittedly, the spiritual choices that Giustiniani and Querini made were an extreme response to the moral climate of the day, but they were, at least in part, a reaction to the same atmosphere that so agitated their compatriots.

Thanks to his diary, Girolamo Priuli's meditations on the war's religious implications and their causes are among the best documented. The diarist's discussion of these issues is incredibly repetitive, and his obsession with them gives a strong sense of their contemporary importance. Priuli's moralising analysis of his society generated a lengthy

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<sup>41</sup> In a letter to Querini of 10 March 1512, Contarini commented to his friends: "Voi starete lì remosso da le perturbation de le guerre et de ogni altra civil turbolentia." The letter is reproduced in Jedin, "Contarini und Camaldoli," 86.

<sup>42</sup> It was evidently well known that they left to go to Camaldoli, because Sanudo notes the fact. See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 11, col. 720; vol. 13, col. 252. The news of Giustiniani's decision interested the Venetian patriariate greatly. In a letter to Giustiniani, Pietro Bembo remarks that the nobility was talking a lot about his abandonment of the city, and that the gossip had gotten far enough out of hand for them to have mistaken him for Giustiniani: "Un priore di quelle vostre parti havea scritto a San Christophoro de Muran come io m'era fatto monacho in Camaldoli ne l'heremo, et già m'era vestito. La qual cosa, recitata da quelli padri a M. Zorzi Emo et ad un altro nostro gentilhomio de gravità et detta da loro et affermata da altri, havea piena tutta la città di questa voce. Et già era creduta et passata a casa mia, quando io giunsi a Venetia. Et era già si penetrata in credenza che apena credevano che io non fussi con voi, tuttavia vedendomi." The letter of 30 August 1511 is reproduced in Massa, *Eremo, la bibbia e il medioevo*, 76. In his correspondence, Contarini begged Querini to defend his name and honour, for many believed that he had abandoned his *patria* in its hour of need out of a fear of war, thus demonstrating a greater concern for himself than for the common good; see G. B. Ross, "Gasparo Contarini and His Friends," in *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1970): 211.

<sup>43</sup> In fact, even Contarini came to conclude that God's grace would insure salvation even for those who lived an active life in society and in the service of the state. On the difference between Giustiniani and Querini on the one hand and Contarini on the other, see Cervelli, "Storiografia e problemi," 455–466. On Contarini's ideas and post-war career, see Elisabeth G. Gleason, "Gasparo Contarini fra chiesa romana e riforma di Lutero," in *Rivista diocesana del patriarcato di Venezia* 68 (October 1983): 9–19, esp. 10; John Martin, "Spiritual Journeys and the Fashioning of Religious Identity in Renaissance Venice," in *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 3 (September 1996): 363–364; and Felix Gilbert, "Religion and Politics in the Thought of Gasparo Contarini," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe; Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison*, eds. T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 90–117.

catalogue of Venetian sins that left no one beyond reproof.<sup>44</sup> The most worrisome was arrogant pride, especially on the part of the patriciate, a sin that both Venetians and their enemies put forward as an explanation for the Republic's loss at Agnadello.<sup>45</sup> The doge himself told the Great Council that it was "due to our pride [that] all of these powers allied themselves against us."<sup>46</sup> The next serious concern was the disregard of justice by the ruling class, which was accused of seeking to serve its own interests more than those of the state.<sup>47</sup> These offences were particularly grave, because they not only stained the soul of the individual, but they also inhibited the proper functioning of the Republic as a political entity.

As dire as problems of injustice and pride may have been, however, they were only the beginning; Priuli and many of his compatriots fretted that moral rot was everywhere. Perhaps the most horrific was the common practice of male homosexuality,<sup>48</sup> but women were guilty, too. Their vanity and coquettishness contrasted disappointingly with

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<sup>44</sup> Two of the occasions upon which Priuli focuses with fervour on the sins of the Republic are in June 1509 and March 1511; see respectively 4:29–37; and 7:129<sup>v</sup>–130<sup>f</sup>. The similarity of the discussions gives a sense of how the problem was a consistent issue over the course of the war.

<sup>45</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:29–30. The diarist returned to this problem years later after the Venetian forces lost the recently recovered Brescia to the enemy once more; Idem, 7: f. 293<sup>f</sup>. For enemy propaganda maligning Venetian *superbia*, the writings of the Frenchman Jean Lemaire are particularly lively; see chap. 4, pp. 137. Condemning the excessive pride of Venetians as their Achilles's heel is a theme that emerges in Italian works, as well. In an anonymous poem probably printed in Ferrara, the author remarks: "O mondo ciecho o tenebrosa valle / misero e quel che pone in te speranza / e del timor de dio nulla li in calle / O superbia mondana & aroganza / como per certo alfin mal tracti quelli / che no[n] stima[n]do gli altri i[n]te han fida[n]za / Tanto regium: tanti paesi belli / habiam perduti per superbia nostra..." *Lamento de venetiani* (s. l., [1509?]) (see Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 2:664 (cat. no. 3852)). For a full transcription and brief discussion, see Antonio Medin and Ludovico Frati, *Lamenti storici dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, 6 vols. (Bologna: Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1890), 3:97–116.

<sup>46</sup> Sanudo records the doge as having said, "per nostra superbia tutte queste potentie erano acorda contra de nui, perchè tohavemo el cielo." Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 497.

<sup>47</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:29–30.

<sup>48</sup> Priuli lamented that this serious crime, which had brought about the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, went unpunished because high ranking members of the Signoria were themselves guilty of the vice. See Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:35–36: "Uno altro nephando et pernizioso vitio, quale molto hera adoperato et aprexiato in questa citade, che hera il vitio *contra naturam*, chiamato sodomia, per il quale in le carte antique se lege che il grande Idio mandò il fuocho in le due citade tanto note chadauno." Priuli also blames parents for letting their boys become effeminate and homosexual, claiming that if these improper young men had received the appropriate guidance, "forssi che le chosse non sarianno passate a questo modo et li cielli non haverianno permesso tanta ruina." See also Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 499.

the virtuous restraint of their ancestors and led to sinful lasciviousness.<sup>49</sup> Even the city's nuns lived dissolutely, their nunneries often characterised as brothels.<sup>50</sup> Martino Merlini reiterated the same litany of sins in a letter to his brother, though far more succinctly: "We must acknowledge our misdeeds before the mercy of God, such as blasphemy, [our] lack of justice and [our] great pride, usury, theft, sodomy and [other] sacrileges, [for] in this city these sins stink to high heaven."<sup>51</sup> If the foundation of Venice's greatness was, as had long been maintained, the virtue and piety of its citizens, then Venetians could hardly wonder that their morally bankrupt Republic was on the brink of political disaster.

## 5.2 The *Disprezamento del mondo* of 1515

Since social values were one of the primary forces that directed the use of printing in the Renaissance,<sup>52</sup> the desire to increase devotional activity during the war seems to have created a demand for books that addressed the spiritual issues at hand. Printed texts accompanied by figurative imagery provided vehicles for the communication of much needed religious support and succour. An particularly rich example of such publications is the *Opera nouamente composta del disprezamento del mondo in terza rima: & hystoriata* (henceforth *Disprezamento*), which was issued on 12 June 1515 by Giorgio Rusconi for the editor/publisher Niccolò Zoppino and the street-vendor/*cantastorie* Vincenzo de

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<sup>49</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:37.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 4:34; and Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 10, col. 36. This was a long standing problem, as evident from the comments of a preacher in San Marco on Christmas day in 1497 (see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 1, cols. 836–837), but it reached a boiling point during the war. On the aggressive reform initiated by patriarch Antonio Contarini during the war, see Niero, *Patriarchi di Venezia*, 57–59.

<sup>51</sup> "Chonvegno rechognoserse davanti la miserichordia de Dio di nostri mensfati, chome xe el biastemar, la pocha justizia e gran superbia, uxure, ranpine, sodomie e sacrilegi, in questa tera de questi tal pechadi puzava fin al ziello." Letter by Merlini as transcribed in Dalla Santa, *Lega di Cambrai*, 12.

<sup>52</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis's work on this subject is seminal; see the chapter entitled "Printing and the People," in Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), esp. 192.

Polo.<sup>53</sup> The book presents a much abridged vernacular translation in *terza rima* of the *De miseria humane conditionis*, a work written by Cardinal Lotario dei Segni in the last decade of the twelfth century, shortly before he became Pope Innocent III. The Italian text was prepared by an Augustinian monk named Fra Agostino da Colonna, about whom little is known.<sup>54</sup> A short collection of prayers to the Virgin composed by the popular Aretine poet Bernardo Accolti is also appended to the main work.<sup>55</sup> The book contains thirty-five figurative woodcuts.

Lotario's *De miseria* exemplifies the *contemptus mundi* tradition by positing that human life is dominated by suffering, from which release can only be gained through the salvific power of God.<sup>56</sup> The text is divided into three parts: the first addresses the corruption of the human body; the second catalogues man's sins in order to condemn his moral failings; and the third asserts the inevitability of death and the terror of the Last Judgement by drawing on the Bible's description of the Apocalypse.<sup>57</sup> Lotario emphasises man's physical and moral weakness in the hopes of renewing the humility of his readers. The text is very learned and cites a wide range of patristic works. Surviving in more than seven hundred manuscripts and over forty printed editions, the book was well

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<sup>53</sup> Innocent III, *Opera nouamente composta del disprezamento del mondo in terza rima & hystoriata*, trans. and ed. Agostino da Colonna (Venice: Giorgio Rusconi for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Polo, 12 June 1515). This publication is cat. no. 1850 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 2: 292; and cat. no. 3512 in Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 2:610.

<sup>54</sup> All that is known is that he came from Colonna, near Rome. The only sixteenth-century title associated with his name of which the present author is aware is the *Disprezamento del mondo*.

<sup>55</sup> Known as l'Unico Aretino, Accolti was a colorful character who was far more famous for his *strambotti* and poetic improvisation than for his pious verse. There seems to be no record of his having been in Venice, so the prayers to the Virgin that appear in the *Disprezamento* were likely copied from a publication produced in another Italian center. On Accolti, see L. Mantovani, "Accolti, Bernardo," in *DBI*, 1:103–04.

<sup>56</sup> See Christoph Egger, "A Theologian at Work: Some Remarks on Methods and Sources in Innocent III's Writings," in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 26.

<sup>57</sup> The three sections of Lotario's text are entitled *De miserabili humane conditionis ingressu*, *De culpabili humane conditionis progressu*, and *De damnabili humane conditionis egressu*. For an English translation, see Innocent III, *De miseria conditionis humane*, trans. and ed. Robert E. Lewis (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1978).

known by the Renaissance.<sup>58</sup> Not surprisingly, many Italian humanists did not agree with Lotario's critical portrayal of humankind. First Petrarch, and then Bartolomeo Facio and Giannozzo Manetti, wrote works that challenged the *De miseria*'s premise.<sup>59</sup> Given the critical fortune of Lotario's work during the fifteenth century, the decision to publish an accessible Italian translation of it in Venice in 1515 is noteworthy. The spirit of moral reformation then sweeping the city probably made Venetians more receptive to the *contemptus mundi* tradition. After six years of war, many of them must have been sympathetic to Lotario's message that life was suffering, and that man was morally weak and in constant need of spiritual discipline. Indeed, the patrician-turned-hermit Tommaso Giustiniani had intended to write his own work on this theme.<sup>60</sup> The *Disprezamento* must have been a financial success, for the *editio princeps* was soon followed by four more editions.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> The Latin *De miseria* was easily available in both manuscript and printed form when Fra Agostino produced his vernacular abridgment, although none of the latter had been published in Venice. For catalogues of these, see Innocent III, *Lotharii Cardinalis (Innocentii III), De Miseria Humane Conditionis*, ed. Michele Maccarone (Lugano: Thesaurus Mundi, 1955), x–xxii. No Venetian printed editions are listed as predating the 1515 *Disprezamento*.

<sup>59</sup> To be fair, Lotario had always intended to write a second treatise explicating the dignity of man, he just never wrote it. As a result, Petrarch was the first to offer a sort of informal rebuttal of the *De miseria*'s point of view in works like his *De viris illustribus* or *De remediis utriusque fortunae*; see Francesco Petrarca, *De viris illustribus*, critical edition by Guido Martellotti (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1964). In the fifteenth century, direct rebuttals of Lotario's work appeared in Bartolomeo Facio's *De excellentia hominis* of 1448 and Giannozzo Manetti's treatise *De dignitate et excellentia hominis libri IV* of circa 1452, works which finally concretised the notion of the dignity of man that had been expressed only implicitly earlier. On Manetti's work and its relationship to the *De miseria*, see *Two Views of Man: Pope Innocent III—On the Misery of Man; Giannozzo Manetti—On the Dignity of Man*, trans. and ed. Bernard Murchland (New York: F. Ungar Pub. Co., 1966). Poggio Bracciolini is an exception to this general rule; he completed his *De miseria humanae conditionis* in 1455.

<sup>60</sup> Gasparo Contarini makes Giustiniani's intention clear in a letter to Giustiniani himself of August 1516: "Federigo, nostro fratello, con grande desiderio aspecta qual tractato De contemptu mundi et de excelentia amoris divini, el qual scrivere li prometesti, quando eravati de qui. Ogni giorno mi sollicita che vi scriva di questa cosa." Jedin, "Contarini und Camaldoli," 112. Contarini indicated that Giustiniani had yet to write the treatise in a letter of April 1518; *ibid.*, 115.

<sup>61</sup> D'Essling and Sander note four later editions of 1517, 1520, 1524, and 1537. See cat. nos. 1851–54 in D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 292–3; and cat. nos. 3513–16 in Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 2:610–11.

Fra Agostino's work adaptation of Lotario's work, however, is different from the original in many ways, one of the most important being its inclusion of extensive visual imagery. Along with a large frontispiece and a smaller print of S. Niccolò included with the preface (Zoppino's publisher's mark), a small, distinct woodcut appears with each of the book's thirty-two chapters. The imagery is all in the same simple, linear style that characterised Venetian book illustration at the time. It seems to have been produced by the same hand or, at least, by the same workshop. Many of the cuts include the initials "i.c." combined with the symbol of a small column, or the initial "c" by itself, or just the column.<sup>62</sup> Nothing is known about the woodcutter or shop to whom these marks allude, but it seems reasonable to imagine that the initial "c" and the column both stand for the name "Colonna."<sup>63</sup> If this were the case, it would be tempting to imagine that the cutter was related to the text's editor/translator, Fra Agostino da Colonna, and probably collaborated with him on the woodcuts' design. Such collaboration seems to have been rare, and therefore would suggest that the *Disprezamento*'s woodcuts were a carefully integrated and important aspect of the book. Other, more concrete evidence support this idea. First of all, the work's title emphasises the presence of visual imagery by advertising that the book is "hystoriata." Secondly, none of the woodcuts appears more than once, despite the fact that it was common practice to repeat the use of certain figurative blocks in a single publication.<sup>64</sup> What is more, none of them appear anywhere else until after 1515,<sup>65</sup> thus

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<sup>62</sup> The cuts displaying both "i.c." and the column are on ff. Diiir, Diiiv; those bearing the lone initial "c" are on ff. Biii<sup>r</sup>, Div<sup>r</sup>, Ei<sup>r</sup>, Eiv<sup>r</sup>, Fi<sup>r</sup>, Fii<sup>r</sup>, Fiv<sup>r</sup>, Fiv<sup>r</sup>, Fiv<sup>v</sup>, Gi<sup>v</sup>, Gii<sup>r</sup>; those showing only the column are on ff. Dii<sup>r</sup>, Ei<sup>v</sup>, Eii<sup>v</sup>, Eiii<sup>r</sup>, Fi<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> See D'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 3: 122.

<sup>64</sup> See the discussion in Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450–1550* (Weisbaden: Harrasowitz, 1967), 48–49; and Rothstein, "Disjunctive Images in Renaissance Books," 101–120.

<sup>65</sup> For example, Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Polo published Antonio Cornazano's *La Uita e Passione de Christo: Composta per Misser Antonio Cornazano in Terza Rima nouamente impressa & hystoriata* (Venice, 25 October 1519). After the first two books recounting Biblical events preceding and including the



confirming their specific production for the *Disprezamento*. Evidently, the book's printer and publishers made a concerted effort to produce a complete set of images that relate specifically to the text they accompany. This is even more remarkable given that, to the best of my knowledge, no earlier manuscript or printing of Lotario's text had incorporated visual imagery. This is likely due to the fact that Latin works intended for learned study were rarely illustrated.

The inclusion of extensive figurative imagery indicates that Agostino's translated abridgement was not directed at an intellectual elite. Instead, the *Disprezamento* displays all of the physical characteristics of a "popular book" as codified by Paul Grendler: it is in a small, *octavo* format; it uses the early Roman typeface; its text is composed in liling *terza rima*; and it includes an abundance of woodcut imagery.<sup>66</sup> The book's text confirms what its appearance implies. In his prefatory remarks, Fra Agostino claims to have prepared a vernacular translation of Lotario's work "in order that uneducated men can benefit from its lessons just as learned men can."<sup>67</sup> Moreover, the same goal informed the better part of Niccolò Zoppino's production as editor.<sup>68</sup> This shared interest in a less

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Passion of Christ, the third book discusses faith in relation to recent events, particularly the struggle against the Turks. Two woodcuts from the *Disprezamento* reappear in this third book, that accompanying the chapter entitled "Del ambizioso" depicting five monks and that accompanying the chapter entitled "Dello stato dei magnati" (fig. 84). Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, respectively ff. Eiii<sup>r</sup> and Aiv<sup>r</sup>. The frontispiece was also later reused for the *Expositione pacis proemium* (Venice: Felice da Bergamo, [ca. 1515–25]).

<sup>66</sup> Grendler discusses four different popular books and book types—the *Fior di virtù*, the *Imitatio christi*, the *Officium beatae Mariae Virginis*, and chivalric romances—in order to determine patterns in the connection between their appearance and function. Of these, only the *Imitatio christi* was routinely without illustrations, a characteristic that Grendler plausibly attributes to the book's emphasis on mental reflection on Christ's suffering and the importance of the text's description as a means of meditational visualisation. See Grendler, "Form and Function in Italian Renaissance Popular Books," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (Autumn 1993); for the *Imitatio Christi*'s lack of imagery, see 467; for the rich imagery of the *Officium* and chivalric texts, see respectively 470 and 473–75.

<sup>67</sup> Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, f. Ai<sup>v</sup>: "perche li homini indocti ne possino pigliare qualche constructo come li altri docti."

<sup>68</sup> Zoppino was dedicated, both as an editor and as a publisher, to the printing of books that made material accessible to a broader, more popular public. He translated some works into the vernacular, edited ones that were overly erudite for a less rigorous readership, and chose to publish material that would have a wide appeal. On this, see Lorenzo Baldacchini, "Un editore 'volgare': Nicolò d'Aristotele de' Rossi, detto lo

learned audience confirms Grendler's assertion that a "popular" book was to be "within the intellectual grasp of ordinary readers of little learning and lower social status."<sup>69</sup> In the light of the *Disprezamento*'s popular nature, exposure to it was not restricted to the literate alone; the book's contents would have been made accessible to a broader audience by being read aloud, something often done at the time.<sup>70</sup> The text makes frequent allusions to being recited, and the sing-song rhythm of its *terza rima* would have been easy to read and pleasingly familiar to the Italian Renaissance ear.<sup>71</sup> The book's figurative woodcuts would have taken on an even greater importance for the illiterate viewers who heard the text read to them.

### 5.2.1 The *Disprezamento* and Its Political Context

A close study of the *Disprezamento* reveals a great deal about the attitudes and concerns of early sixteenth-century Venetians, for Fra Agostino and his publishers adapted Lotario's medieval work to their contemporary audience. The *Disprezamento* cultivated a direct connection to the contemporary political reality of Venice through both text and image. Even before laying eyes on the text, the large title-page woodcut (fig. 82) encouraged prospective buyers to believe that Fra Agostino's work possessed a timely significance.

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Zoppino (1503–1544)," in *L'Europa del libro nell'età dell'umanesimo. Atti del XIV convegno internazionale (Chianciano, Firenze, Pienza 16–19 luglio 2002)*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Franco Cesati Editore, 2004), 233–44.

<sup>69</sup> Grendler, "Form and Function," 453.

<sup>70</sup> On the Renaissance practice of reading books aloud, see Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture*, 214; and Noakes, "The Book Market in Quattrocento Italy," in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 11, no. 1 (1981): 52.

<sup>71</sup> In chapter two, "Dello stato dei magnati," Fra Agostino enjoins his reading or listening audience "to listen to my verses"; Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, f. Aiv<sup>v</sup>. The text also frequently acquires the tone of speech by addressing the reader or listener in the second-person singular or plural.

The print displays four men standing on the curved horizon of a landscape inscribed with a large circle representing the world. Each figure's identity is conveyed by his distinctive clothing: from left to right, they denote a nobleman, an emperor, a pope and a king, thereby encompassing all of the major spiritual and temporal figures in Europe. Since they have all been stripped of the headgear symbolising their rule, the image suggests that they are unworthy of their leadership, and the stormy sky implies some sort of divine dissatisfaction with them. A contemporary viewer would surely have been inclined to interpret the figures as representing the four major leaders struggling for control of northern Italy at the time—an Italian patrician, Maximilian I of Germany, Pope Leo X and Louis XII of France. Interpreted in this fashion, the image becomes a critical depiction of early-Cinquecento European politics and sets the tone for the reception of the rest of the book.

The second chapter reinforces the connection between Fra Agostino's work and the politics of the day. Entitled "On popes," it addresses men occupying the papal office and discusses the kind of behaviour appropriate to them.<sup>72</sup> The text begins: "O, sacred popes and good shepherds / That you not seek wealth or realms / Nor war, nor discord, nor errors / You are miserable because you seek the kind of honour / That does not stem from the Holy Spirit."<sup>73</sup> Fra Agostino frankly accuses popes of becoming too involved in worldly affairs and inappropriately thirsting after temporal power obtained through the accumulation of wealth and territory. He urges popes to spurn this earthly path in favour

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<sup>72</sup> Chap. 2, "De pontifici," in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Aiii<sup>v</sup>–Aiv<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., ff. Aiii<sup>v</sup>–Aiiii<sup>r</sup>: "O Pontifici Sacri e buon pastori / de non seguite robba non piu regno / non guerra non discordia non errori // Quanti di uoi pochi uanno al segno / doue ful diuo Pietro e Celestino / chel mondo dilor fama ancho ne p[e?]gno // Nissun di uoi cerca lor camino: / miser perche cercate tanto honore / se non procede da spirto diuino..."

of a more suitable spiritual one.<sup>74</sup> As if to emphasise this, the woodcut preceding the chapter depicts an enthroned pope in the act of blessing who is, however, divided from the earthly landscape of rolling hills and castles behind him by a low wall (fig. 83). Although Fra Agostino mentions no particular pope's name, the chapter's reprimand would have applied particularly well to Julius II and Leo X. Furthermore, given that the Republic's difficulties found their root cause in Julius II's decision to join the League of Cambrai six years earlier, Venetians would have been receptive to the chapter's pleas. The timely importance of this chapter's message is confirmed by the fact that Fra Agostino both created it, for there was no equivalent in Lotario's text,<sup>75</sup> and placed it near the beginning of the book.

The next chapter also received special attention from Fra Agostino. Entitled "How short and miserable the life of magnates," it laments the difficulties facing the laymen "who rule the earth."<sup>76</sup> Lotario had buried this chapter in a later part of his work, where it functioned merely as a supplementary example of sinful ambition.<sup>77</sup> In contrast, Fra Agostino gave the chapter greater importance in the *Disprezamento* by moving it forward and by making significant changes to it. Rather than abridging the original chapter, Fra Agostino's adds to it. Furthermore, the chapter in the *Disprezamento* seems tailored to address a particular segment of the Venetian community, namely, the noblemen who

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., f. Aiiir: "ad voi dico Pontifici e prelati: / che non seruete le diuine legge. // Che cerca honori chi robba chi stati / o miseri non pensate al uostro fine / non uedete che qui non sian lassati."

<sup>75</sup> There is no chapter bearing a title or a focus that directly corresponds with the "On popes." Mention of ecclesiastical figures and the behavior appropriate to them does occur in the text, but Lotario never dedicated his discussion exclusively to this subject.

<sup>76</sup> Chapter three, "Dello stato De Magnati," in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Aiv<sup>v</sup>–Bi<sup>v</sup>. For the quote, see below n. 77.

<sup>77</sup> In Lotario's text, the chapter on the miserable life of magnates is immediately preceded by chapters devoted to the criticism of the ambitious man and excessive desire (*Of the ambitious man*, *Of excessive desire*, and *An example of an ambitious man*), and is followed by chapters addressing the sinfulness of proud and arrogant men (*Of the diverse characteristics of the proud*, *Of the pride and fall of Lucifer*, and *Of the arrogance of men*); see Innocent III, *De Miseria Conditionis Humane*, trans. and ed. Robert E. Lewis (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 182.

governed the Republic. The woodcut paired with this chapter announces this immediately, for the five men of varying ages represented are dressed in patrician caps and robes, instead of the crowns and cloaks of kings or emperors (fig. 84). To the chapter's text, Fra Agostino added a lengthy criticism of the desire to acquire territory and expand one's realm of political influence to Lotario's emphasis of the misery and brevity of the life of great men. The text asks, "what is it worth using your people / to acquire new foreign lands / consuming your flesh and your bones," when "acquiring mountains and plains" does not help obtain salvation.<sup>78</sup> To Venetian ears in 1516, this would surely have sounded like a disparaging remark about trying to obtain control of the Italian mainland.

Again, Fra Agostino's textual addition seems to have been inspired by contemporary circumstances. A Venetian patrician reading or listening to these words while looking at the accompanying woodcut in 1515 must have perceived an allusion to the behaviour that had brought about the Cambrai War. He also would have felt targeted by another of Fra Agostino's digressions from Lotario's text. The friar included a lengthy rebuke of those who disregarded the pursuit of justice and of those who selfishly hoarded their wealth, both problematic behaviours that were characteristic of the nobility during the war.<sup>79</sup> Even if a Venetian wished to pretend that the text was directed at someone else, the woodcut must have prevented this possibility. This first series of chapters on territorial politics, when read in 1515, would have had an undeniable timeliness.

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<sup>78</sup> Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, f. Aiv<sup>v</sup>: "O voi chel mondo pigliate in gouerno / De attendete un poco ala mia rima / e uederete quanto sia lo scherno // Quando fortuna ua conducto in cima / e che credete di stare in riposo / presto ui fa manchare e non ui stima / ... // Che ual con uostre genti far la mossa: / e acquistar paesi nuoui estrani / consumando le carne e le uostre ossa // Poco ual acquistar montagne o piani / el tanto affatigar ui gioua poco / che tutti pensier uostri restan uani // A quanto breue si resta nel loco / ad uoi dico chal fin non ce pensate: / el tempo ui diuora piu che foco..."

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., f. Av<sup>r</sup>: "In terra come uedi tornerai / e lassarai ogni tuo ricco thesoro / chal fin non e se non tormenti e guai // Iustitia poco non ui fa dimoro / ciaschedun al denar si piega e inclina / queste la punitione questo el martoro // Non ui comanda la legge diuina / che uoi amiati in terra la iusticia / e uo uiuer cercate di rapina."

### 5.2.2 The *Disprezamento* and the Condemnation of Sin

The second group of chapters in the *Disprezamento* was just as applicable to contemporary experience as the first, though in a different way. After describing the various ways in which life consists of suffering, Fra Agostino turns to part two of Lotario's work, the description and condemnation of man's propensity to sin. Eleven chapters censure a host of vices, including injustice, avarice, drunkenness, gluttony, luxury, homosexuality, ambition, pride and vanity. As much as these were perennial problems in Christian communities, contemporary sources indicate that almost all of them were particularly troublesome in Venice during the Cambrai War. (Interestingly, however, the monk chooses to leave out covetousness, a sin which, it could be argued, had been responsible for landing Venetians in the predicament of the Cambrai War.) Thus, the second part of the *Disprezamento* would have provided a devotional remedy to the sense of sinner's guilt that plagued the Venetians like a disease.

As a sort of manual for salvation in reverse that paired the description of each sin with a woodcut, the book required the visual representation of the human sins it condemned. Since pictures and words communicate differently, the *Disprezamento*'s woodcuts rarely present direct transpositions of verbal passages into visual form. More often, the prints signify the subject of their respective chapters independently of the text, something that was already evident in the first few chapters of the book (figs. 83, 84). In order to facilitate reflection upon the issues addressed in the accompanying text, the woodcuts' designer employed a variety of means. In some cases, he depicted the transgression itself and, in others, he opted for allegory. However, the context of their viewing—in connection with a text that aggressively admonishes immoral behaviour—necessarily condi-

tioned their interpretation, and also engendered an unusual sort of artistic decorum. As a result, despite their stylistic and compositional simplicity, some of the woodcuts are quite singular within the broader visual culture of early-Cinquecento Venice.

The prints for the chapters on the condemnation of pride demonstrate the two different kinds of imagery found in the *Disprezamento*. Pride was a sin that greatly preoccupied Venetians after the war's outbreak, for many believed that the arrogance of the ruling class was the primary motivation for God's apparent desire to punish the Republic.<sup>80</sup> Consequently, Fra Agostino's inclusion of two chapters denouncing the sin, rather than just one, seems to be a response to contemporary concerns that would have struck a chord with readers and listeners.<sup>81</sup> The tailoring of the text to its contemporary audience is particularly evident in the chapter entitled "Against the arrogance of the proud." Here, the vice of pride seems to be ascribed to the Venetian nobility by characterising the sinfully proud man as one who thinks too well of himself, because his peers honour him "in piazza" and "in consiglio." The friar makes the connection even closer when he comments that such a man "uses war to seek new things and places his own needs before those of the common good."<sup>82</sup>

The two woodcuts representing pride are very different. The first exemplifies the kind of allegorical imagery employed in the book. It displays a landscape in which a crowned man holding a sceptre is seated on a sort of throne made of his own subjects (fig. 85). By presenting *superbia* in an allegorical fashion, the print facilitates a more philosophical reflection on the sin. For Venetians, the idea of considering oneself a king

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<sup>80</sup> See above, pp. 203–04.

<sup>81</sup> Chapters twenty-one and twenty-two, "Della superbia" and "Contro la rogantia de superbi," in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Eiv<sup>r</sup>–Fi<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., f. Fi<sup>r</sup>: "el superbo ricerca cose nuoue / in guerra el proprio pone e ben comuno // Sentir non uole."

ran counter to their sense of collective identity, something which distinguished the Republic from other kinds of political states. The woodcut accompanying the second chapter, in contrast, employs a very different approach by showing a man threateningly pursued by a beggar wielding a club (fig. 86). Here, the sinner is clothed in the long robes and cap of a member of the Venetian Signoria, thus encouraging the reader/viewer to feel a more direct and personal connection with the imagery and, thus, with its admonishing message. Although both woodcuts would have enhanced the reader/viewer's comprehension of and meditation on the textual content of the book, the first achieves this through the indirect means of allegory, whereas the second employs a more direct, or descriptive approach. The woodcuts' designer used the latter more often than the former, which suggests that he perceived this type of imagery to be more effective at admonishing the sinful behaviour described in the text. The book's Venetian handlers must have felt a sin's abhorrence more powerfully when the person condemned for it in a woodcut had the aspect of a peer. As shortly will become apparent, this more explicit approach also created some of the *Disprezamento*'s more unusual woodcuts.

Chapter thirteen and its woodcut demonstrate how the book's visual imagery could make the text directly relevant to a Venetian public.<sup>83</sup> The chapter rebukes men entrusted with judicial responsibilities who insolently disregard their sworn duties,<sup>84</sup> and accuses them of privileging their personal interests over those of justice. Particularly heinous was the tendency to favour friends and financial gain over truth and honesty in the

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<sup>83</sup> Chapter thirteen, "Della acceptione dele persone," in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Dii<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., f. Dii<sup>r</sup>: "O tristo ad voi che persone acceptate / Che da precio corretti o chi damor / E la santa iustitia non amare / Chi segue de consigli piu dottore / A meriti di cause non satende / Ma de doni pigliate sol tenore / A la pecunia lanimo vi pende / E di ragione non seguite traccia."



supposed dispensation of justice.<sup>85</sup> The chapter concludes with a plea to these sinners to avoid making an enemy of God by mending their ways.<sup>86</sup> In 1515, Fra Agostino's criticism of Venetian injustice would have cut deeply. Although the Republic vaunted justice as the cornerstone of its government, there was little evidence of this in the political reality of the early sixteenth century.<sup>87</sup> Electioneering and perjury were widely practiced, and many believed that after Agnadello the cities on the terraferma had enthusiastically abandoned the Republic because of the corruption of the Venetian government on the mainland.<sup>88</sup> To a Venetian, the chapter's message would have been clearly directed at the ruling class, an assumption that the accompanying woodcut confirms. The print shows a young noble inviting an older peer to join his fellow patricians at a banquet (fig. 87). Though at first the scene seems to be a social occasion, the absence of any ladies gives it the aspect of a political gathering. Viewed in conjunction with the admonishing text and in the larger context of wartime politics, the print would surely have seemed an unsavoury display of patrician elitism and privilege to contemporary Venetians. The text's warning would have seemed all the more real to such viewers, because the people engaging in sinful behaviour in the prints looked like their neighbours, or even themselves.

The importance of money during the financially difficult war years gave Fra Agostino's condemnation of avarice the same timely relevance. As the friar had done with the serious sin of pride, he expressed his particular censure of this vice by dedicating

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<sup>85</sup> The privileged treatment of the rich and the disrespect of the poor receives particular condemnation. Ibid., f. Dii<sup>r</sup>–Dii<sup>v</sup>: “Al ricco sempre li date fauore / El pouer negligente laudite / E cosi lo strariate a tutte lhore / ... / El pouer grida e voi nollo sentite / El ricco parla ogniun da vdienda.”

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., f. Dii<sup>v</sup>: “Tener sempre ritta la iustitia / Se dal signor non vuo farte nemico / E piu non sequita vna tal iustitia.”

<sup>87</sup> For a thorough discussion of the problems plaguing the Venetian government during the Cambrai War, see Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, chap. 4: “Patriciate and Constitution in the Italian Wars.”

<sup>88</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:30–39.

two chapters to it, rather than just one.<sup>89</sup> Here again, the text had particular contemporary relevance. When the *Disprezamento* was published, avarice was a prickly issue among the patriciate, because the Republic's capacity to fend off its enemies was seriously hindered by a lack of financial resources. Although the doge repeatedly urged the ruling nobility to give generously to the war effort, his appeals never generated the necessary capital.<sup>90</sup> The government was forced to employ ever more desperate fund-raising techniques, many of which compromised the Republic's laws and values. For example, new legislation was put in place to allow a murderer to receive pardon if he could pay the right sum. Even worse, however, was the sale of prestigious offices through the election of the highest bidder, rather than the man who was right for the job. By the time Fra Agostino's book was published, even the prestigious post of Procurator of St. Mark could be purchased for the right price.<sup>91</sup>

Given the unpleasant consequences of Venetian avarice, Fra Agostino's two-chapter denunciation of the vice served as a sharp reprimand. In the first, a man with a full chest of gold seems willing to come to blows before sharing even a small amount of his wealth with another (fig. 88). And in the second, a miser is so determined to hoard his riches that he buries them with a shovel (fig. 89). The figurative woodcuts that accompany the friar's diatribe would have further reinforced his message by presenting an embarrassing visualisation of miserly behaviour.

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<sup>89</sup> Chapters fourteen and fifteen, "Della auaritia" and "Di certe proprieta delli Auari," in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Dii<sup>v</sup>–Div<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 497. Renewed appeals were made in October 1513; *ibid.*, vol. 17, cols. 245–46.

<sup>91</sup> See Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 168–81, offers an extensive discussion of the measures the government took—and the principles it compromised—in order to raise money for the war.

Fra Agostino's book was not aimed exclusively at male patricians, however. Chapter twenty-three entitled "Del superfluo ornato" is devoted to the discouragement of female vanity and the lascivious behaviour to which the sin so often led.<sup>92</sup> The text disparages the kind of women who coquettishly bat their eyelashes and adorn themselves with expensive pearls and rich fabrics.<sup>93</sup> The accompanying woodcut displays a group of four women (fig. 90). Two nuns and a demure matron appear on the left. The fourth woman is younger than the others, and gazes indulgently at her own reflection in the large mirror she holds in her right hand. Her vanity is further underscored by her elegantly coiffed hair and elaborate attire. The long train and deep sleeves of her dress contrast greatly with the simpler, more modest clothing of the other figures.

At the time that the *Disprezamento* was published, both the woodcut and the text would have spoken volumes to Venetian ladies (and to the men who clothed and admired them). During the war, the government made sumptuary legislation more severe for two major reasons: first, because frivolous spending on private fashion was keeping many self-interested patricians from funding the war; and secondly, because it was a visible sign of immorality and a tendency to vice.<sup>94</sup> By 1512, the government took the issue seriously enough to establish the *Provveditori alle pompe*, a magistracy whose sole purpose was to punish infractions of the sumptuary laws.<sup>95</sup> In fact, the offices of the *Provveditori*

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<sup>92</sup> Chapter twenty-three, "Del superfluo ornato," in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Fi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis," 275.

<sup>95</sup> See Sanudo's discussion of the office, its duties and its declarations in *Diarii*, vol. 14, cols. 113–17. For more on the *Provveditori alle pompe*, see Giulio Bistort, *Il magistrato alle pompe della Repubblica di Venezia* (Venice: Tip. Libr. Emiliana, 1912), 32–54. Regarding the impact of the establishment of the *Provveditori alle pompe* on the remainder of the sixteenth century, see Piergiorgio Mometto, "'Vizi privati, pubbliche virtù.' Aspetti e problemi della questione del lusso nella Repubblica di Venezia (secolo XVI)," in *Crimine, giustizia e società veneta in età moderna*, ed. Luigi Berlinguer and Floriana Colao (Milan: Giuffrè, 1989), 237–72, esp. 263.

were made permanent just months before the *Disprezamento* came off the presses.<sup>96</sup> In a speech given to the Great Council shortly after the war had begun, Doge Loredan condemned showy, expensive dress as dangerous evidence of Venetian *superbia*. He particularly lamented that everyone was wearing deep “dual sleeves,” which had once been reserved only for doges and doctors.<sup>97</sup> As Sanudo’s own record of the sumptuary laws indicates, the costly, ostentatious dress worn by the young woman in the woodcut was exactly the kind of garment that the state was trying to outlaw.<sup>98</sup> Other items of dress that came under criticism were gold ornaments and chains. In January 1510, it had been declared that neither men nor women were to wear such items “durante la presente guerra.”<sup>99</sup>

Many women did tone down their appearance in the puritanical atmosphere created by the war. Luigi da Porto noted that after news of Agnadello reached the lagoon, many women “ceased to dress in their proud way.”<sup>100</sup> Martino Merlini confirmed this. He remarked: “you no longer see women as they used to be, but instead all gathered together with candles in their hands, and many of them blame themselves [for our plight] with tears in their eyes and sighs.”<sup>101</sup> In light of this, a viewer looking at the woodcut of vanity

<sup>96</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 19, cols. 426–27.

<sup>97</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 497 (8 July 1509): “et tutti spendeva, tutti portava fodre, e al suo tempo si portava veste de giri da mezo in suso, et tutti porta veste a manege dogal, prima el doxe sollo e miedegi in questa terra le portavano.”

<sup>98</sup> See Stella Mary Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians, 1495 to 1525* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), 51–52. Sleeves were a particularly sensitive issue. The problem was first emphasised in legislation of 1503 and 1504, but arose again in January 1508. *Ibid.*, 55–56, 64; see also Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 5, col. 653.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 11, col. 474. The most complete discussion of the problem in the diaries occurs upon the election of the *Provveditori sopra le pompe*: vol. 14, cols. 114–17.

<sup>100</sup> Da Porto remarked: “tutta Vinegia in dieci giorni è cambiata di aspetto, e di lieta è divenuta mestissima; chè oltre che molte donne hanno dimesso il loro superbo modo di vestire, non s’ode più per le piazze e per i rii nella notte alcuna sorte di strumenti, de’ quali, con sommo diletto degli abitanti, questa città a tale stagione suol essere abbondevolissima.” Da Porto, *Lettere storiche*, 62–63.

<sup>101</sup> “Le done tu non le vedi più come le andavano, ma tute alla tonda, con le cande le in man, et molte desse con le lagreme ai occhi e sospiri chiamarse in colpa.” From a letter by Merlini of 23 June 1509 transcribed in Dalla Santa, *Lega di Cambray*, 12; and *idem*, *Commerci, vita privata*, 1568.

would have been inclined to interpret the young woman's showy dress as an inappropriate, sinful display. Just like the other chapters' prints, the vanity woodcut brought the text's message closer to home. With the figures dressed in contemporary clothing, their misbehaviour became all the more palpable for the book's audience.

The effort to make the *Disprezamento* woodcuts relevant to their early-Cinquecento viewers becomes particularly apparent when one considers the kind of woodcuts that usually appeared in devotional books. One of the most popular in Venice was the *Fior di Virtù*, which was written by Fra Tommaso Gozzadini of Bologna around 1300 and frequently published in Venice.<sup>102</sup> It was a moral manual divided in chapters. Each of these discussed either a virtue or a vice and was comprised of four parts: a definition of the focal characteristic, a comparison with an animal, a biblical and patristic discussion, and a historical example. Although the first Venetian edition of 1471 did not include imagery, most later editions displayed a figurative woodcut in each chapter.<sup>103</sup> However, the woodcuts in the *Fior di virtù* were very different from those of the *Disprezamento*. Whereas the latter boasted imagery of local design, all of the richly illustrated Venetian editions of the *Fior di virtù* modelled their imagery after one printed in Florence.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, instead of presenting imagery that is distinct from, yet thematically related to, the text, as the *Disprezamento* does, the *Fior di virtù* woodcuts offer for-

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<sup>102</sup> The first edition was printed in 1471 by Adamo di Ammergau in Venice. Over fifty editions appeared throughout Italy before the turn of the century, of which twenty-three were printed in Venice. See Fra Tommaso Gozzadini di Bologna, *Fior di virtù historiato* [Florence, 1498], modern reprint (Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze/Electa, 1949), unpaginated postscript.

<sup>103</sup> Some of these include: Matteo di Codecà (14 July 1492); Matteo di Codecà (1493); Cristoforo de Pensis (6 October 1496); Giovanni Battista Sessa (14 June 1499); Cristoforo de Pensis (24 April 1500); Giorgio de' Rusconi (25 July 1500); Giovanni Battista Sessa (3 February 1502); Bernardino de' Vitali (1504); and Giovanni Tacuino (1515).

<sup>104</sup> Although the book was first printed in Venice, the art historical literature focuses largely on Florentine editions. On the Florentine origins of the woodcut imagery in Venetians editions, see L. Donati, "Le vicende del *Fior di virtù*," *Bibliofilia* 76, no. 3 (1974): 175–207.

mulaic visualisations of the text. Each woodcut displays both the animal and the historical example of the virtue or vice as described in the chapter. For example, in a Venetian edition of 1492, the scenes in the chapter on envy show Cain slaying Abel and a family of hawks, just as the text describes (figs. 91, 92).<sup>105</sup> The same year that Giorgio Rusconi printed the *Disprezamento*, Giovanni Tacuino reissued the *Fior di virtù*, but the imagery in the latter would not have had the same immediacy or direct applicability to the lives of early-Cinquecento viewers as that of the *Disprezamento*. Images of Cain in an animal skin would have been far more difficult for a Venetian to relate to than images of his or her peers clothed in contemporary dress committing a similar sin. The *Disprezamento* woodcuts' departure from available models such as the *Fior di Virtù* implies a search for something more appropriate or effective.

The vanity woodcut, along with a few others, help further elucidate the nature and function of the *Disprezamento*'s figurative imagery when it is considered in relation to other forms of artistic production. The motif of a beautiful young woman also appeared in autonomous, painted works of art in the same period. The print conveys a clear, moralising message through the juxtaposition of female vice and virtue: the stylish young lady narcissistically absorbed in her own reflection presents a jarring contrast to the three more demure, respectable women. However, in the same year that the *Disprezamento* was published, other young women with mirrors appeared in paintings by Giovanni Bellini and Titian (figs. 93, 94).<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> This edition of the *Fior di virtù* was published in Venice by Matheo di Codecà on 14 July 1492.

<sup>106</sup> Giovanni Bellini's work is signed and dated 1515. Titian's *Young Woman with a Mirror* is generally agreed to date to ca. 1515 on the basis of style. See the recent summary of critical opinion on this subject in Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 260.

These paintings, as Elise Goodman-Soellner has remarked, “are among the most visually seductive and at the same time most iconographically subtle works” of the Cinquecento.<sup>107</sup> The ladies’ voluptuous beauty and varying degrees of dishabille have generated a widely ranging interpretations of the paintings’ nature and function.<sup>108</sup> In the nineteenth century, Jacob Burckhardt suggested that Bellini’s *Young Woman with a Mirror* is a sensual image of Pietro Bembo’s mistress.<sup>109</sup> Later, such scholars as G. F. Hartlaub and Erwin Panofsky instead characterised Bellini’s painting as a kind of *vanitas* image.<sup>110</sup> More recently, scholarship has once again changed direction. Goodman-Soellner reinterpreted the painting as a visual trope for the ideal lady described in Petrarchan love poetry, and Rona Goffen suggested that its virtuosic depiction of perfect female beauty was Bellini’s means of expressing painting’s superiority over sculpture.<sup>111</sup> In acknowledgement of the image’s complexity, Goffen proposes that the woman depicted may also, on another level, have represented a chaste wife.<sup>112</sup> For Jodi Cranston, the Bellini may be a fusion of a couple of these interpretations. She argues that although the painting puts the observer in the position of the nude woman’s lover, thus evoking an erotic response on one level, the inclusion of the mirror makes reference to a *vanitas* topos popular in the literature. In some poetry, the male lover encourages his lady to put her mirror away, not only because he is jealous of it, but because it is an inappropriately vain activ-

<sup>107</sup> Elise Goodman-Soellner, “Poetic Interpretations of the *Lady at her Toilette* Theme in Sixteenth-Century Painting,” in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 426.

<sup>108</sup> See Goffen, *Titian’s Women*, 65–86, on the idea that Titian’s pictures of women like the Munich *Allegory of Vanity* or the Paris *Young Woman with a Mirror* are complex and operate on multiple levels of meaning and interpretation.

<sup>109</sup> Bembo writes a poem mentioning a portrait Bellini supposedly made of his lover, and Johannes Wilde attributes the idea that this painting is the Vienna canvas to Burckhardt; see his *Venetian Art from Bellini to Titian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 51.

<sup>110</sup> G. F. Hartlaub, *Zauber des Spiegels* (Munich: Piper, 1951), 82–83; and Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic* (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 94.

<sup>111</sup> Goodman-Soellner, “Poetic Interpretations,” 426–42.

<sup>112</sup> Rona Goffen, “Bellini’s *Nude with a Mirror*,” in *Venezia cinquecento* 1, no. 2 (July–December 1991): 185–99.

ity. Cranston finds this even more overt in Titian's *Young Lady with a Mirror*, because the lover appears in the painting itself.<sup>113</sup> The question of the moral standpoint or the genre of paintings such as Bellini's or Titian's is consistently what fuels their modern interpretation—are they portraits, allegories of vanity or genre scenes with erotic overtones?

The *Disprezamento*'s vanity woodcut and its accompanying text present a new point of comparison for these paintings. The woodcut and the paintings share a number of characteristics. Like the woodcutter, both Titian and Bellini give their subjects the appearance of contemporary Venetian women—Bellini's figure has a fashionable, pearl-adorned snood, while Titian's is dressed in early-Cinquecento clothing.<sup>114</sup> The print and the paintings were also produced at the same time and under the same socio-cultural circumstances. Unlike elegant Petrarchan poetry and intellectual *paragone* debates, Fra Agostino's book was a contemporary bestseller designed as a response to the spiritual exigencies of Venetians at the time. The urgent moral problems that had provoked the *Disprezamento*'s publication, and consequently the design of the vanity print, would likely have also played into the interpretation of the paintings. The *Disprezamento*'s vanity woodcut may even imply that some Venetian viewers would have been predisposed to interpret—and, perhaps, to criticise—these images in a moral key. In Titian's work, for instance, the shadowy male presence could have been easily perceived as a reference to the kinds of lascivious activities to which vanity so easily led.

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<sup>113</sup> Cranston, *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 157–61.

<sup>114</sup> As regards the Bellini, the snood was a Venetian *reticella* that can also be seen in contemporary works like Tullio Lombardo's *Bacchus and Ariadne* relief in Vienna. Goffen, "Bellini's *Nude with a Mirror*," 186. In Titian's *Young Woman with a Mirror*, the female figure's clothing consists of the chemise and the overdress that comprised the contemporary dress of a Venetian woman. Rona Goffen, *Titian's Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 72–74.



In comparing the print to the paintings, it is important to address the question of viewership. Were the people who purchased the paintings the same ones who bought the *Disprezamento*? It is possible that the paintings were produced for the kind of people that Fra Agostino's book criticised. Those who flaunted the sumptuary laws were presumably less concerned with the spiritual consequences of their moral actions, and could very well have commissioned paintings like those of Titian or Bellini as erotic depictions of female beauty. If this were true, then the print could be considered as a morally unambiguous revisitation of the potentially ambiguous paintings. The woodcutter's addition of the matron and the nuns narrows or controls a viewer's interpretive response in a way that Bellini's and Titian's works do not. Seen in this way, the print and the paintings would be different visual responses to the moral issues facing Venetians at the time—whereas the paintings celebrated sensual earthly beauty, the print appropriated the same motif for the purpose of moral criticism.

Further light is shed on this question by a story written by a Venetian named Niccolò Liburnio and published during the war in 1513, just two years before the *Disprezamento*.<sup>115</sup> The story recounts the trial of an adulteress in which the primary evidence is a painting of her with her lover by Giovanni Bellini. The author describes the painting in great detail, but its most significant characteristic is that it showed the male lover fondling his beautiful adulteress's breast.<sup>116</sup> Liburnio was describing a type of image that was reasonably common at the time, and which survives in works such as the Northern

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<sup>115</sup> The story is the sixth in the collection published as Niccolò Liburnio, *Le Seluette di Messer Nicolao Lyburnio* (Venice: Penci da Lecco, 1513). Una Roman D'Elia is the first art historian to discuss Liburnio's story and its approach to the interpretation of a painting by Bellini; see D'Elia, "Niccolò Liburnio on the Boundaries of Portraiture in the Early Cinquecento," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 37, no. 2 (2006): 323–50.

<sup>116</sup> Liburnio, *Seluette*, f. 69<sup>v</sup>.

Italian printmaker Zuan Andrea's engraving (fig. 96)<sup>117</sup> and early-Cinquecento paintings (figs. 97, 98). The painting was used by both the prosecution, who presented it as a repulsive depiction of contemporary sinners who wanted to flaunt their immoral activity,<sup>118</sup> and the defence, who praised it as a poetically fictional work much like the stories of classical mythology.<sup>119</sup> Lacking an interpretive context to guide the viewer's understanding of the image, the painting had the potential to generate very different interpretations—one jocular and base, the other moral and elevated. Even the prosecutor's response to the image contains an ambiguity; he remarks that while the work was undoubtedly lovely and artistically praiseworthy, one could not help but question the integrity of its creator.<sup>120</sup> As Una Roman D'Elia has convincingly suggested, paintings like this one seem to have intentionally created a sense of ambiguity by blurring the lines between different genres and exploiting their respective benefits. By presenting contemporary ladies, the pictures gained an appealing immediacy; and by putting them in suggestive poses and situations, they exploited the entertaining license of literary fiction.<sup>121</sup>

One could imagine that Liburnio's attorney would not have expressed the same concern about the appearance of a similar sort of image with the chapter on lust in the *Disprezamento* (fig. 95). The print shows a young, heterosexual couple locked in a lovers' embrace. Their rendezvous takes place in a hidden corner, with a view of the countryside seen through the doorway. The lady's left hand snakes around her lover's neck while the other is suggestively close to his belt. The gentleman's right hand, in turn,

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<sup>117</sup> The print actually survives in two states and a copy. On these, see Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, vol. 25 (commentary) of *The Illustrated Bartsch*, gen. eds. Walter Strauss (until 1988) and John T. Spike, 96 vols. (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), 276–79.

<sup>118</sup> Liburnio, *Selvette*, f. 69<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> For the defense attorney's comments, see *ibid.*, f. 83<sup>v</sup>–84<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 69<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> D'Elia, "Niccolò Liburnio on the Boundaries," 345–46.

reaches into the bodice of the woman's dress. Given the context for which it was created, the woodcut was obviously intended to show its viewers what *not* to do; the print's appearance in the *Disprezamento* purged it of the kind of interpretive ambiguity that so discomfited the adulteress's prosecutor.<sup>122</sup> It thus follows that the book's woodcuts could only function as they ought when considered in conjunction with the accompanying commentary. Given the woodcuts' interpretive dependence on the text, the visual material has to be understood as a supplement or complement to the verbal, rather than as an entirely independent or parallel medium of communication. It is tempting to imagine that the recontextualisation of dangerously ambiguous imagery in the *Disprezamento* woodcuts suggests that Venetian art was perhaps just as much in need of moral reform as Venetian behaviour.

### 5.2.3 Artistic Decorum in the *Disprezamento* Woodcuts

The attempt to increase the devotional impact of the *Disprezamento* woodcuts through the depiction of contemporary sin resulted not only in the reuse of familiar motifs. It also necessitated the production of new imagery that did not correspond to previous visual traditions, some of which pushed the limits of what seems to have been considered appropriate for artistic depiction. During the Renaissance, an artist was to design a given work of art such that its appearance and nature were appropriate to its function and context. While these rules were unwritten, artists were keenly aware of them.<sup>123</sup> The decorum

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<sup>122</sup> It is interesting to note that the woodcut may have had an influence on an artistic project in Rome, Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican Loggia produced just two or three years after the *Disprezamento*'s publication (fig. 99). The depiction of Isaac and Rebecca being spied on by Abimelech there is remarkably close in composition. The author is grateful to David McTavish for noting this connection.

<sup>123</sup> Most formal discussions of the topic began to appear around mid-century, with the major exception of Leon Battista Alberti's treatises, a fact that has led study of artistic decorum to concentrate more on art produced in the second half of the Cinquecento. For a discussion of the low and high styles in art and their

appropriate to a given work depended upon a variety of factors, especially content, narrative mode, medium, size and function. Generally speaking, a large painting of an elevated subject conveying a moral message required a more elegant, artistically refined style than a small print representing a secular aspect of contemporary experience. In effect, prints were one of the media that usually allowed artists to challenge or redefine the customary limits of artistic decorum.<sup>124</sup> This definitely proves to be true of some of the *Disprezamento* woodcuts, especially those representing homosexual activity and drunkenness (figs. 100, 101).

Chapter seventeen, entitled “On drunkenness,”<sup>125</sup> is accompanied by a woodcut showing a young man seated at a table with an oversized flagon and tankard (fig. 101). Having evidently overindulged, the man clutches his middle and vomits on the floor. The print is remarkable for a number of reasons. First of all, Italian Renaissance artists rarely had occasion (or opportunity) to depict inebriation, and secondly, its depiction lies well outside the bounds of the decorum customarily applied to contemporary visual art. To find visual imagery of a similar nature, one needs to look to the art of Germany or the Low Countries. For example, the *Winebag and Wheelbarrow* (fig. 102), a 1521 woodcut by Hans Weiditz, addresses the same issue of inebriation. In this case, the drunk is so full of wine that it spurts out his mouth and makes his stomach too heavy to carry without the assistance of a wheelbarrow. As Weiditz’s prints often do, the *Winebag* satirises human

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discussion in sixteenth-century literature and art, see Patricia Emison, *Low and High Style in Italian Renaissance Art* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997). See also Philipp P. Fehl, *Decorum and Wit: The Poetry of Venetian Painting* (Vienna: IRSA, 1992).

<sup>124</sup> See Patricia Emison, *Low and High Style in Italian Renaissance Art* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), and Una Roman D’Elia, “The Decorum of a Defecating Dog,” in *Print Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (2005): 23–25.

<sup>125</sup> Chapter seventeen, “Della ebrieta,” in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Ei<sup>r</sup>–Ei<sup>v</sup>.

foibles through visual exaggeration.<sup>126</sup> However, whereas Northern artists frequently visualised the sins of the flesh in grotesque or aggressive ways to convey a moral message through the intermingling of laughter and disgust, Italian artists did not.<sup>127</sup> Thus, the exaggeration scale of the tankard's size and the figure's vomiting in the *Disprezamento* woodcut demonstrates a rare employment of a foreign idiom as a moralising tool in Venetian art. The closest Venetian art comes to the *Disprezamento*'s candid depiction of inebriation is probably Giovanni Bellini's *Drunkenness of Noah* (fig. 103). However, in this case, the figure's drunkenness—and even his nakedness—is contextualised by the fact that the painting is a religious *istoria*. The intoxicated figure depicted by Bellini is not a contemporary Italian in a tavern, but a Biblical personage. The viewer's identification of Noah necessarily conjures up both narrative and allegorical contexts that dictate the most significant levels of the image's interpretation.<sup>128</sup> Whereas the *Disprezamento* print firmly grounds the drunken indulgence in the earthly realm, Bellini's image immediately communicates on the more elevated planes of the spiritual and the allegorical. Although Rona Goffen has proposed, unconvincingly, that Bellini's painting is in large part autobiographical,<sup>129</sup> Stefano Coltellacci's research demonstrates that the painting's meaning was probably linked to the politically and spiritually trying times in which it was

<sup>126</sup> Weiditz was active in Strasbourg and Augsburg in the first decades of the sixteenth century and probably studied with Hans Burgkmair. He produced book illustrations, including those for a printed herbal. On Weiditz, see Christa Grossinger, *Humour and Folly in Secular and Profane Prints of Northern Europe, 1430–1540* (London: Harvey Miller, 2002), 175–77, 182 (n. 8).

<sup>127</sup> On the rougher humour of moralising Northern Renaissance art, see *ibid.*, esp. chap. 3 (“Standards of Morality”), 55–88; and chap. 8 (“Scatology and the Grotesque”), 171–82; and Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives. Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

<sup>128</sup> For analyses of Giovanni Bellini's work, see Stefano Coltellacci, “Studi belliniani; *La Derisione di Noè a Besançon*,” in *Giorgione e la cultura veneta tr '400 e '500; Mito, allegoria, analisi iconologica*, ed. Maurizio Calvesi (Roma: De Luca, 1981), 80–87; *idem*, “*Oboedite praepositis vestris, et subiacete illis*. Fonti letterarie e contesto storico della *Derisione di Noè* di Giovanni Bellini,” in *Venezia cinquecento* 1, no. 2 (1991): 119–56; and Daniel Arasse, “Giovanni Bellini et la mythologie de Noè,” in *Venezia cinquecento* 1, no. 2 (1991): 157–83.

<sup>129</sup> Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini*, 249, 252.

conceived. His extensive investigation of the biblical story's exegesis in writing and in art over the centuries indicates that Noah's derision was regularly interpreted as addressing issues of moral and political order.<sup>130</sup>

One wonders what Venetians might have made of the *Disprezamento*'s woodcut if they were to have seen it independently of Fra Agostino's text. For, in some ways, the contrast of the woodcut and the painting recalls the issues of context that made the print of the young woman with the mirror different from paintings of the same motif. Certainly, the woodcutter's use of visual exaggeration—the spraying vomit, the over-sized tankard—might have introduced an element of humour to the print's interpretation. However, this would not have been at all decorous in a book like Fra Agostino's. The print's designer must have believed that the image's appearance alongside a verbal admonishment ensured an appropriate interpretation. In other words, the mediating presence of an unambiguous text permitted a less restrictive sense of decorum in the visual imagery that accompanied it.

The text may help in understanding the unusually exaggerated mode of the print. Fra Agostino's chapter on drunkenness emphasises that excessive drinking leads to other sinful acts, the most worrisome being a despicable propensity to reveal secrets.<sup>131</sup> During the war, wagging tongues had become a political liability. Government secrets and information, to which only the most elevated members of the ruling class should have been privy, were continually leaked to the public, and everyone felt free to express opinions on

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<sup>130</sup> Coltellacci, "*Oboedite praepositis vestris*," esp. 133–48.

<sup>131</sup> On drink leading to luxury, see Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, Ei<sup>v</sup>. On the problem of keeping secrets, see Ibid., f. Ei<sup>r</sup>: "Risponde ad me qual e piu cosa brutta / che lhomo quando e zeppo e pien de vino / di mente alieno e sempre questo rutta / trema nel corpo e non ritien secreto." He later states once more that a drunk "nel parlar non e manco discreto."

political matters, even if they were poorly informed.<sup>132</sup> One can imagine what damage could have been done when anxious Venetians chatted over a drink (or two); as Fra Agostino himself asserts, “where there is good wine there is great ruin.”<sup>133</sup> The friar’s diatribe particularly emphasises the physical disgust that the inebriated provoke—their burping, bodily shaking, distorted expressions and stinking breath.<sup>134</sup> Thus, the image of the vomiting drunk offers a description of drunkenness that is as unpleasant and forthright as the text it accompanies. Presumably, the extreme grotesqueness of the verbal description provoked a corresponding frankness in the visual imagery. As indecorous as the woodcut may seem, when considered in relation to the conventions of decorum that governed visual art under most other circumstances, its crudity was perfectly suited to the function it served in the book for which it was created.

The unusual sense of artistic decorum occasionally apparent in the *Disprezamento* woodcuts comes to the fore particularly strongly in the print accompanying the chapter on “coyto contra natura.”<sup>135</sup> This expression referred to all sexual acts in which the conception of a child is neither possible nor the aim, but Fra Agostino focused his invective on male homosexual activity.<sup>136</sup> Reflecting this particular concern, the woodcut shows two young men dressed in contemporary clothing embracing (fig. 100). When the *Disprezamento* was published, Venetians were deeply worried about the prevalence of homosexual behaviour in their midst. Fra Agostino’s lament that the sin was horrifyingly common and too often went unpunished echoed the same concerns that both the patriarch

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<sup>132</sup> On the strength of the oral transmission of information, see Horodowich, “Gossiping Tongue,” *passim*, but esp. 36–38. On more than one occasion Priuli lamented that people were talking too much about recent events in ways they should not. See, for example, Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:108–109.

<sup>133</sup> Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, f. Ei<sup>r</sup>: “doue miglior uino e gran ruina.”

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, f. Ei<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> Chapter nineteen, “Del coyto contra natura,” in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Eii<sup>v</sup>–Eiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

and the government had reiterated since the war's outbreak.<sup>137</sup> The intensity of Venetian concern is understandable. Sodomy had led to the destruction of entire cities in the Old Testament, and this punishment did not seem far removed from the potential annihilation that the Venetians themselves were facing.<sup>138</sup>

However, even if homosexuality was a grave concern at the time of the book's publication, depicting it in visual art was uncommon. The forthright imagery of the woodcut in the *Disprezamento* is, to the best of my knowledge, unprecedented in Italian art of the period. To be sure, this simple print is unremarkable when compared to the far more explicit imagery of homosexual couples produced in later periods; but depicting homosexuality in any fashion in Renaissance Italy was rare, perhaps even more so in republican Venice.<sup>139</sup> The closest that social mores allowed artists to come to the visual representation of male-male intimacy was usually in the depiction of figures from antiquity, such as Jupiter and Ganymede.<sup>140</sup> However, it should be kept in mind that even imagery of Jupiter and Ganymede was constrained by implicit rules of decorum. As James Saslow has shown, a depiction of the lovers was usually acceptable in one of two circumstances: if it appeared in a Neoplatonic context in which Ganymede represented the human soul lifted upward by the rapture of divine love; or if the subject's homoerotic power

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<sup>137</sup> For Fra Agostino's remarks, see Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, f. Eiii<sup>r</sup>. For the discussion of sodomy by the patriarch and Venetian politicians, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 499; vol. 10, col. 36; vol. 12, col. 84–85; and Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:35–36; 5:128<sup>v</sup>; 7:130<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> Both Fra Agostino's text and Venetian legislation on the crime remark on this fact. Venetian laws outlining the surveillance and punishment of sodomy often refers to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah in extensive preambles. For a transcription of one of these, see Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crimes and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 109. Fra Agostino's remarks are more anxious: "Legerai de leuitico sua prosa: / Doue ti parla di tanto peccato / Quanto la pena sia pericolosa / ... / Cinque citta senza compassione / Di solpho e foco ne fece vendetta / E lalto Dio dette punitione / E dispianto la nominata setta / Ma hoggi chi vi pensa chi lo stima..." Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, f. Eiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> See James Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 7, where the author notes that in Venice "homosexuality was prevalent but not expressed artistically."

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 39–41.



was minimised through the depiction of Jupiter in the guise of an eagle.<sup>141</sup> It also bears pointing out that the few sexually suggestive depictions of the Jupiter and Ganymede to survive from the Renaissance are one-of-a-kind works of art intended for the private consumption of a specific patron, not books printed in hundreds of copies destined for sale to a wide and varied audience.<sup>142</sup>

Considering both the artistic decorum and the historical context of the war years, it seems likely that the obsession with inhibiting homosexual activity in Venice during the war inspired an autonomous contemporary print of the sin's consequences. In May 1516, the printer Fra' Ippolito di Pregnachi di Brescia requested a privilege for a woodcut showing "la storia dei Sodoma e Gomora."<sup>143</sup> Although no such print has survived, if it was produced, it must have displayed or been intended to display the cities' destruction. Just like Bellini's *Drunkenness of Noah*, it would not have directly linked the vice with the modern reality of its viewers. In comparison, the candid woodcut of young patricians embracing in the *Disprezamento* clearly established the imagery's relevance to modern life in Venice.

It is clear that the designer of the *Disprezamento*'s woodcuts or his employers felt that the circumstances permitted—if not encouraged—imagery of contemporary moral corruption. Most of the woodcuts show images of sinful Venetian patricians, merchants, drunks, homosexuals, wives and daughters, rather than abstracted concepts or allegories. Given the tense spiritual climate of Venice during the war, this must have had a powerful

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid. For an example of a Neoplatonic depiction of Jupiter and Ganymede, see Filarete's bronze relief on the doors of St. Peter's. For a well known example of the depiction of Jupiter as an eagle carrying Ganymede off to Mount Olympus, see Correggio's painting in Vienna.

<sup>142</sup> On this, see *ibid.*, 39; and Michael Hirst, "A Drawing of the *Rape of Ganymede* by Michelangelo," in *Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 864 (March 1975): 116.

<sup>143</sup> Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, Reg. 18, f. 32<sup>v</sup>, and Reg. 26, f. 22<sup>v</sup>.

impact. When Fra Agostino reproved his readers and listeners directly through the use of the second-person singular or plural, the same people simultaneously saw “themselves” engaged in immoral behaviour. The rarity of such critical imagery of contemporary life presumably would have made it all the more effective as a stimulus for devotional reflection.

There is one last woodcut in the *Disprezamento* that deserves attention, for unlike the others, it does not address moral issues. Rather, it speaks more directly to the atmosphere of spiritual anxiety that powerfully shaped the *Disprezamento* and its figurative imagery. The print accompanies a chapter entitled “On the fear of dreams,” which speaks of how sleep offers no respite from one’s worries (fig. 104).<sup>144</sup> The text laments: “He who lives is always afraid, in the square, in the street, at home and even in bed.”<sup>145</sup> The woodcut depicts a man sleeping in bed whose dreams—or, rather, nightmares—have taken the form of two unnatural creatures swooping down toward him. The first disturbingly combines a turtle’s head with the body of a bird, and the other is a worm-like creature with a sort of lizard head that menacingly stretches its arms toward the sleeping figure. Despite its simplicity, the image combines two elements that had made significant appearances in contemporary Venetian visual culture, a troubled sleeper and aberrant creatures of uncertain origin.

The theme of sleep in Venetian Renaissance art has been a popular subject among modern scholars, particularly in relationship to sensual images of drowsing female nudes.<sup>146</sup> Despite its differences from works such as Giorgione’s Dresden *Venus*, the *Dis-*

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<sup>144</sup> Chapter eleven, “Della paura dei Sogni,” in Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, ff. Civ<sup>v</sup>–Dii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., f. Di<sup>r</sup>: “e quel che uiue sempre e in timore / in campo in uia in casa anchora in letto.”

<sup>146</sup> Millard Meiss launched this kind of study with his “Sleep in Venice: Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities,” in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 111 (1966): 348–382. A number of

*prezamento* woodcut should also be considered in connection with some contemporary imagery of sleep. For example, Marcantonio Raimondi's so-called *Dream of Raphael* combines a sleeper with ghastly creatures, too, though in a very different way (fig. 106). The engraving cannot be dated securely, but scholars generally place it between 1506 and 1509, just before the artist ended his sojourn in the lagoon to head for Florence.<sup>147</sup> Great efforts have been made to locate the print's subject in literary works,<sup>148</sup> but no definitive source has been found. Consequently, many have come to believe that there is no single source, and that, instead, the print presents a creative pastiche of a number of them.<sup>149</sup> Whatever the engraving depicts, one factor is common to all discussions of it—the sense of danger and fearfulness its mysterious imagery generates. The dramatically illogical lighting and the city in flames discomfit the viewer and create an undeniable mental tension. Francesco Gandolfo has proposed, in fact, that the scene in the background actually

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articles have since taken up the theme, most notably Jaynie Anderson, "Giorgione, Titian and the sleeping Venus," in *Tiziano e Venezia*, 337–42; and more recently Patricia Emison, "Asleep in the Grass of Arcadia: Giulio Campagnola's *Dreamer*," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 271–92.

<sup>147</sup> The print very likely dates to Marcantonio's time in Venice, because it employs themes prominent at the time in the visual culture of the lagoon and displays a stippled execution that points to the influence of the technique's Venetian inventor, Giulio Campagnola. On the Venetian style and content of the print, see Innis H. Shoemaker and Elizabeth Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, ex. cat. Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1984), 74; and Konrad Oberhuber and M. Faietti, eds., *Bologna e l'umanesimo, 1490–1510*, ex. cat., Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1988), 156–158.

<sup>148</sup> The literature regarding the print is extensive. Some of the attempts to "decipher" the print by associating it with a literary source include: F. Wickhoff's suggestion that it depicts Servius's *Commentary* on Virgil in which two virgins are described taking refuge in a temple one night when a storm blew up; G. F. Hartlaub's that it depicts the Dream of Hecuba; Maurizio Calvesi's that it depicts the dreams of Dido as she sleeps next to Anna. See respectively Wickhoff, "Giorgiones Bilder zu römischen Heldengedichten," in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlung* 16 (1895): 37–38; Hartlaub, "Giorgione im graphischen Nachbild," in *Pantheon* 18 (1960): 78–80; Calvesi, "La morte di bacio. Saggio sull'ermetismo di Giorgione," in *Storia dell'arte* 7, no. 8 (1970): 185–88.

<sup>149</sup> For example, see the discussion of the print in Craig Harbison, "Meaning in Venetian Renaissance Art: The Issues of Ingenuity and Oral Tradition," in *Art History* 15, no. 1 (1992), 19–37, esp. 19–21; and Alessandro Nova, "Giorgione's *Inferno* with Aeneas and Anchises for Taddeo Contarini," in *Dosso's Fate: Painting and Court Culture in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Luisa Ciammitti, Steven F. Ostrow, and Salvatore Settis (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1998), 44.

constitutes the depiction of psychological energy—the world of dreams itself.<sup>150</sup> This atmosphere, along with the work's date, have led some scholars to suggest that on at least one level the print represents a response to the general instability of the sixteenth century's first decade, culminating for the Venetians in the outbreak of the Cambrai War.<sup>151</sup>

A work produced during the war itself conveys the same atmosphere of tension in a similar, though more earthly, fashion. Girolamo da Treviso's *Nude Reclining in a Landscape* of 1515, now in the Galleria Borghese, displays a figure clearly related to Giorgione's Dresden *Venus* (fig. 107).<sup>152</sup> By placing her in an ominous rather than idyllic landscape, however, this painting undermines the sense of peace communicated by the drowsing woman. In the background, a contemporary Italian city on the crown of a hill emits black smoke, while threatening storm clouds have inauspiciously gathered above. As Luigi Coletti has noted, the woman's calm sleep seems to be yet undisturbed by the events happening on the other side of the deep gorge that isolates her in the foreground, but it is unclear what might happen.<sup>153</sup> The suggestive juxtaposition of tranquil sleep and threatening, unidentifiable danger destabilizes the viewer in much the same way as Marcantonio's print. One scholar has described it as a disturbing reworking of the arcadian perfection represented in Giorgione's work.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Francesco Gandolfo, *Il "dolce tempo": Mistica, ermetismo e sogno nel cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1978), 95–110.

<sup>151</sup> See, for example, Harbison, "Meaning in Venetian Renaissance Art," 32.

<sup>152</sup> The painting was first attributed to Girolamo Savoldo, but Luigi Coletti recognised the signature "H.R.T.V" on the *cartellino* as an indication of Girolamo da Treviso's authorship; Coletti, "Girolamo da Treviso il giovane," in *Critica d'arte* 1 (1936): 172–80. As it happens, Marcantonio's print and Girolamo da Treviso's painting have already been discussed in relation to one another, though not in connection with the years in and around the Cambrai War; see Gandolfo, *Il "dolce tempo,"* 92–93.

<sup>153</sup> Coletti, "Girolamo da Treviso," 172.

<sup>154</sup> On the notion of a destabilisation of the Arcadian landscape in Venetian art as a form of poetic or psychological response to the traumatic early years of the sixteenth century, see Unglaub, "*Concert champêtre*: The Crises of History," *passim*.

The presence of the unnatural creatures in the “fear of dreams” woodcut also encourages a comparison with another well-known engraving, *The Astrologer* by Giulio Campagnola of 1509 (fig. 13). Dating to the first year of the Cambrai War, this print has been convincingly interpreted as a melancholic meditation upon a popular astrological prediction about Venice’s post-Agnadello predicament. Contemporary astrological manuals suggest that the numbers and symbols on the astrologer’s sphere probably refer to the dramatic events of that year, for the background presents a lagoon city evoking Venice. This led Silvio d’Amicone to argue that the demonic creature, which seems to derive from Albrecht Dürer’s print of the *Adoration of the Beast* from the Book of Revelation, represents an allegorical embodiment of the dangers of the period.<sup>155</sup> Patricia Emison has noted that the ant-like appearance of the creature on the shore may have been designed to represent an evil omen, because a contemporary manual on the interpretation of dreams identifies the presence of ants as such.<sup>156</sup>

A number of publications were printed in the first decades of the sixteenth century on the nature and interpretation of dreams.<sup>157</sup> This is understandable, given what Priuli had to say in 1509 during the period of Maximilian’s siege of Padua: “There was no one in Venice who dreamed his usual dreams, most especially the Venetian senators, who were not at a lack for these, or for worrisome thoughts, and gulps and sighs all day and night. Without a doubt, the entire city is more upset and feels more endangered than I can

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<sup>155</sup> D’Amicone, “*Apocalypsis cum mensuris*,” 75–88. Paul Holberton has offered further discussion of the work from the same perspective; Holberton, “Notes on Giulio Campagnola’s Prints,” 400.

<sup>156</sup> The dream manual by Artemidoro di Daldi was published in 1518 with a chapter on “Delle formiche”; see Emison, “Asleep in the Grass,” 285.

<sup>157</sup> For example, Agostino Nifo’s *De artificiosa somniorum interpretatione* was appended to the commentary on Aristotle’s *De somno et vigilia* in a publication printed around 1512. Macrobius’s commentary of Cicero’s *Dream of Scipio* was also published for the fourth and fifth times in 1513 and 1517.

describe.”<sup>158</sup> Certainly, Priuli would have been able to relate to the *Disprezamento* woodcut of the sleeping man being menaced by demonic creatures more easily than to Campagnola’s *Astrologer* or Raimondi’s strange dreamscape. Like many of the book’s other figurative prints, it brings visual motifs from the broader realm of visual culture into contact with the everyday world, thus presumably making the foreboding atmosphere more real. The creatures disturb the sleep of a clothed man, rather than that of female nudes; they are no longer on the shores of the lagoon, but in Venetian bedrooms. It is perhaps the most direct visual expression of the tension that permeates the entire volume.

### 5.3 Wartime Meditation on the Book of Revelation in Venice

The *Disprezamento*’s function as a manual concerned with salvation is particularly evident in the last chapters, beginning with “Della munditia del cuore.” It is a scathing rebuke, lamenting that the virtuous are few and the sinful many, and lists all of the sins of humankind, ranging from greed to murder, and from vainglory to fornication.<sup>159</sup> By describing the days leading up to the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgement, the chapters that follow emphasise the consequences of immoral behaviour.<sup>160</sup> It is an appropriate end to a book admonishing sinful living, for as another spiritual manual published in 1514 asserted, pondering the end of the world and Christ’s return offered excellent encouragement to the faithful to “behave well,” so that their souls would be welcomed into

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<sup>158</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:323: “Non he persona ahora in Venetia, quale la nocte dormisse li sui soliti somni, *et maxime* li Senatori Veneti, ali quali non manchavanno et li pensieri et li singulti et sospiri *tota die ac nocte. Et sine dubio* tuta la citade veneta se atrovava in molto magior fastidio et affanno di quello descrivo...”

<sup>159</sup> Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, f. Fii<sup>v</sup>: “Fra tanta gente pochi son trouati / Che di malitia non sien zeppi e pieni / ... // O vita de mortali quanti beni / Tu perdi per seguir tanti peccati / E di vitii ti pasci e ti mantieni.”

<sup>160</sup> The final chapters (xxv–xxxii) include: “Of the Stench of Dead Bodies,” “Of the Useless Penitence of the Sad,” “Of the Fires of Hell,” “How the Damned Are Never Freed,” “Of the Day of Judgement,” “Of the Tribulations Leading to the Final Judgement,” “Of Divine Judgement,” and “How Nothing Can Help the Damned.”

heaven.<sup>161</sup> Among the woodcuts in the *Disprezamento*'s final chapters, the one accompanying "Of the tribulations before the Final Judgement" is particularly dramatic. The text describes the End of Days and a world beset by war, earthquakes, famine, and tempests.<sup>162</sup> The chapter's accompanying woodcut therefore displays a group of people terrorised by a rain of fire that has already claimed one victim, a figure lying prone on the ground (fig. 105).

Although Christians had always meditated on the End of Days and the Last Judgement, throughout Europe such activity enjoyed particular intensity in the last two decades of the fifteenth century. This was largely the result of an astrological conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in 1484 that foretold great suffering.<sup>163</sup> Fear of the future dangers spread quickly thanks to a sharp increase in itinerant apocalyptic preachers. Their sermons presaged what was to come by teasing out connections between the prophetic narrative of the Book of Revelation and the social, political and religious circumstances of the period.<sup>164</sup> The frequent mention of such sermons in the early sixteenth century indicates that Venetians were particularly receptive to this kind of preaching.<sup>165</sup> In March

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<sup>161</sup> Cherubino da Spoleto, *Opera deuotissima del Reuerendo padre Frate Cherubino da Spoliti: de la vita spirituale Bellissima* (Venice: Melchiorre Sessa, 22 September 1514), f. 7<sup>v</sup>: "La quinta cosa da pensare e il finale & generale iudicio quando Christo giudicara il mondo. Et ogni persona laqual hara facto bene sara posta ad mano dextra: & chi hara facto male alla mano manca. Et in quel tempo non giouera ne hauer habuto signoria ne ricchezza ne forteza ne corporale bellezza: se non hauere facto bene. Fa bene adunque & in quel di del iudicio sarai sicuro."

<sup>162</sup> Innocent III, *Disprezamento*, f. Giii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>163</sup> On the importance of astrology in the early Cinquecento and on the impact of *grandi congiunzioni*, see Cesare Vasoli, "Temi mistici e profetici alla fine del Quattrocento," in his *Studi sulla cultura del rinascimento* (Manduria: Lacaita, 1968), 182–86; Eugenio Garin, *Lo zodiaco della vita. La polemica sull'astrologia dal Trecento al Cinquecento* (Bari: Laterza, 1976), chap. 1: "Astrologia e storia: Albumasar e le 'grandi congiunzioni,'" 3–31; and Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 4:439–84, 5:159–77.

<sup>164</sup> On the rise of apocalyptic preaching, see Vasoli, "Temi mistici e profetici," 180–240; and G. Tognetti, "Profezie, profeti itineranti e cultura orale," in *La cultura* 18 (1980): 427–34. On the prominence of it in Italy, see Niccoli, *Profezie e popolo*, 123–60.

<sup>165</sup> In the spring of 1513, three such preachers sermonised in different parts of the city in a single day. See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 16, col. 53.

1510 Sanudo heard a preacher warn of a series of apocalyptic events, including bloody battles, threatening astrological conjunctions, plague and natural disasters. Venetians found the predictions of an immediate political or religious significance, such as the sacking of a city in Lombardy and the imminent death of a prominent ecclesiastical figure, more interesting still.<sup>166</sup> In 1515, Sanudo recorded that many of the preachers working in the city during Lent had been brought to the Ducal Palace by the *capi* of the Council of Ten, who instructed them to stop preaching about “matters of the Republic” and to confine their comments to the condemnation of sin.<sup>167</sup>

Given the popularity of apocalyptic preaching and its relation to current events, it is not surprising that publications of or about the Book of Revelation appealed to Venetians during the Cambrai War. The most notable of these were the *Apokalypsis Ihesu Christi* (henceforth *Apokalypsis*), printed in 1516, and the prophetic *Expositio magni prophete Joachim* (henceforth *Expositio*), edited by the Venetian Augustinian friar Silvio Meuccio and published that same year.<sup>168</sup> Each book demonstrates a different way in which the Book of Revelation, and imagery inspired by it, held relevance for Venetians faced with the spiritual difficulties brought on by the Cambrai War. As a result, the books’ figurative imagery is also different, despite the fact that the two publications share the same subject matter. The *Apokalypsis* presents grandiose, sophisticated woodcuts, whereas the *Expositio* features small ones displaying the simple style of the *Dis-*

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, cols. 48–49.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, col. 620: “In questa matina, li predicatori, *maxime* quel di Servi, frate Helia da Brexa di Frati Minori, fra Zuan Maria di Arezo di San Stefano et altri, fono chiamati da li Capi di X et *etiam* quello di San Zane Polo fra Gasparo da Perosa, et fono admoniti che in le sue predicatione non parlaseno di cosse di Stado ma *solum* sopra i pechadi: *ita* che *de caetero* essi predicatori fono riguardosi assai.”

<sup>168</sup> *Apokalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). On this, see D’Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 1, bk. 1: 189–201, cat. no. 205; Sander, *Livre à figures italien*, 2:633 (cat. no. 3651); and Angela Nuovo, *Alessandro Paganino (1509–1538)* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1990), 163–64 (cat. no. 39).



*prezamento* prints. As will become apparent in the following discussion, their distinct appearances are a direct result of their respective functions.

### 5.3.1 The *Apokalypsis Ihesu Christi* of 1516

In 1515, the successful publisher Alessandro Paganino issued the Latin text of the Book of Revelation with an Italian translation and commentary by Fra Federigo da Venezia, a fourteenth-century Dominican who grew up in Venice and then taught and studied in Padua.<sup>169</sup> When Fra Federigo translated the biblical book into the vernacular and provided a commentary in 1393/94, his aim was to make the complex work accessible to a broader public.<sup>170</sup> Despite its Venetian origins, the book was first printed in Rome around 1470.<sup>171</sup> The first Venetian edition was Paganino's of 1515. It was longer and larger in format than devotional books like the *Disprezamento* and had no figurative imagery. However, the following year Paganino printed a sixteen-folio supplement to the 1515 printing of Fra Federigo's work. Entitled *Apokalypsis Ihesu Christi*, it again presented the Book of Revelation in Latin, but this time with a series of fifteen full-folio woodcuts illustrating its content with exquisite detail. While the *Apokalypsis* presents some of the most complex and grandiose woodcuts ever to appear in Venetian books, they were not of purely local design.<sup>172</sup> Instead, the imagery of Paganino's supplement was derived from Albrecht Dürer's *Apocalipsis cum figuris*, a devotional tool that had been issued in

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<sup>169</sup> Fra Federigo is sometimes referred to as Fra Federigo Renaldo, as on EDIT16. On Federigo and the fortune of manuscripts of his commentary, see Anthony Luttrell, "Federigo da Venezia's Commentary on the Apocalypse: 1393/94," in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 27/28 (1964–65): 57–65.

<sup>170</sup> The humanist Pier Paolo Vergerio recorded that Federigo spoke in both Latin and Italian in order to be better understood; on this, see *ibid.*, 57.

<sup>171</sup> The Roman edition was published by either Ulrich Han or Sixtus Reissinger and erroneously ascribes the translation and commentary to Nicolaus de Lyra. On this, see cat. no. 59 in Ruth Mortimer, *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts*, 2 vols. in 4 bks. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974), vol. 2, bk. 1: 79–80.

<sup>172</sup> The print shares the simple style and composition that characterised the imagery in the *Disprezamento* discussed earlier.

both German and Latin editions in 1498, and again in 1511 in Latin (see figs. 108–113).<sup>173</sup>

The task of attributing the Venetian woodcuts is complicated. Variations in style from print to print suggest that at least two woodcutters, or perhaps more than one designer, were involved.<sup>174</sup> The presence of initials or a signature in seven of the fifteen woodcuts indicate the involvement of a “Zova Andrea,” or Giovanni Andrea, or his workshop (see, for example, figs. 108, 114).<sup>175</sup> A number of printmakers by this name seem to have been working in northeast Italy at the time,<sup>176</sup> but it is perhaps more likely that this one was the young Giovanni Andrea Vavassore detto Guadagnino. Although at

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<sup>173</sup> On the book and its woodcuts, see *Sixteenth Century German Artists: Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 10 (commentary) of *The Illustrated Bartsch*, gen. eds. Walter Strauss (until 1988) and John T. Spike, 96 vols. (New York: Abaris Books, 1978–), 327–45.

<sup>174</sup> See the discussion and bibliography in cat. no. 14 in Michelangelo Muraro and David Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia veneziana del Cinquecento*, exh. cat., Fondazione Cini, Venice, and National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976), 86.

<sup>175</sup> The tenth woodcut bears the inscription “zova andrea.” Here the lower-case “z” stands in for the letters “Gi” in the Venetian dialect version of the name “Giovanni,” “Zuan,” or “Zoan.” The monograms marking other woodcuts include one with “z.A.” (frontispiece), another with “Z.A.D.” (first), and six with “I.A.” (the “I” here indicating the name Giovanni once again, but in its Latin form) (third, eighth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth). Traditionally, such initials were believed to identify a woodcut’s designer. However, as Hind has noted, this is not clear. First of all, those bearing the same initials can vary markedly in quality and style. This leads him to suggest that perhaps the initials indicated workshops rather than individual cutters or designers; Hind, *Introduction to a History*, 2:466–68. See also, Helena Szépe, “The *Poliphilo* and Other Aldines Reconsidered in the Context of the Production of Decorated Books in Venice,” PhD dissertation, Cornell University (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1992), 63–64.

<sup>176</sup> The separation and distinction of these various Giovanni Andreas has generated a lot of debate. Opinions on the subject ranges from an inclusive view, which lumps the various Zoan Andreas into a single individual, to attempts to discern multiple artists sharing the same name. For the suggestion that there was only one Giovanni Andrea, see, for example, Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, 5:79–91. Passavant posits that the same artist was responsible for both the *Apocalypsis* woodcuts and Mantuan prints after Andrea Mantegna. For an attempt to discern more than one Zoan Andrea, see, for example, Victor Massena (Duc de Rivoli) and Charles Ephrussi, “Zoan Andrea et ses homonymes [Part I],” in *Gazette des beaux-arts* 5 (May 1891): 401–15; and idem, “Zoan Andrea et ses homonymes [Part II],” in *Gazette des beaux-arts* 6 (September 1891): 225–44, esp. the conclusions drawn on 243. The authors perceive four distinct artistic personalities including the Mantuan, a woodcutter who produced the *Apocalypsis* imagery, another later woodcutter, and, finally, the well documented Giovanni Andrea Vavassore detto Guadagnino. However, this is made problematic by Suzanne Boorsch’s assertion that the Zoan Andrea who supposedly collaborated with Andrea Mantegna is actually Giovanni Antonio da Brescia; see Boorsch, “Mantegna and His Printmakers,” 56–66. By the same token, Boorsch’s own discussion is not without its problems, due to her dogged determination to negate the existence of any Zoan Andrea in northeast Italy. Her evidence does strongly support the belief that the Mantegna copyist by that name never existed, but since she neglects all woodcuts and, by extension, all book illustration, her discussion offers little help with regard to the identity of the Zoan Andrea who signed seven of the Venetian Apocalypse prints.

this time Vavassore would have only been at the beginning of his career, he was later to become a markedly successful entrepreneur in various aspects of Venetian printing.<sup>177</sup>

Attribution of the six unsigned prints is more challenging, especially as some of them display a notable creativity in their divergence from the German originals. Sometimes these changes may have resulted from the need to adapt Dürer's much larger images to a smaller format—while the German prints are approximately forty by thirty centimetres, the Venetian ones measure about twenty-seven by twenty. More often, however, the notable differences from Dürer's prints seem to be the product of either a theological or an artistic motivation. For example, the *Vision of the Seven Candlesticks* differs significantly from its model (figs. 110, 111). Most notably, John is lying down instead of kneeling, and the figure of God the Father is standing holding keys in his hand, rather than sitting with a book. Alterations such as these seem to have resulted from a fresh reading of the Biblical description of the event, for they bring the image even closer to the text.<sup>178</sup> It may also be that a different model was consulted in this particular print's design.<sup>179</sup> Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat have aptly described aspects such as the

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<sup>177</sup> Over the course of his career, Vavassore played various roles in the book trade aside from the production of woodcuts, including those of bookseller and printer. As a woodcutter he seems to have achieved particular success in the 1520s, while as a publisher his career seems to have taken off a little later. As regards his activity as a bookseller, documentary evidence indicates that by 1544 he had a bookshop near the Ponte dei Fuseri. For an investigation of Giovanni Andrea's career, see D'Essling and Ephrussi, "Zoan Andrea et ses homonymes [Part II]," 225–44. For information on his activity as a printmaker, see Passavant, *Peintre-graveur*, 5:89; and Anne Markham Schulz, "Giovanni Andrea Valvassore and his Family in Four Unpublished Testaments," in *Artes Atque Humaniora. Studia Stanislaw Mossakowski Sexagenario Dicata* (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1998), 117–125. For supporters of the identification of the author of the Apocalypse prints as the young Vavassore, see Passavant, *Peintre-Graveur*, 5:79; and catalogue entry no. 25 by Giulia Bartram in *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, ed. Francis Carey, exh. cat. British Museum, London (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 142–43.

<sup>178</sup> D'Essling may have been the first to notice the discrepancies; *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 1, bk. 1: 189–201. For an overview of the scholarly discussion of this, see the catalogue entry on the woodcut in Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 86–87 (cat. no. 14A).

<sup>179</sup> The only illumination of the Apocalypse to appear in a Venetian manuscript of Fra Federigo's text shows John lying down; and Domenico Campagnola produced a closely related image around 1550 in one of a series of twenty-eight Apocalypse drawings based on Giusto de' Menabuoi's trecento fresco cycle for the baptistry of the Duomo in Padua, which probably informed the *Apokalypsis* print, too. On the draw-

Italianate treatment of the drapery as reflecting a shift “from German into Italian, from the irrational to the formal.”<sup>180</sup> The *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* also departs from the German original in its compositional details and style (figs. 112, 113).<sup>181</sup> Here, the most evident difference is a reduced sense of the modelling and negative space that had made Dürer’s print so effective through the consistent employment of a heavier, almost painterly line throughout the composition.

The creative force evident in these prints has led to the suggestion of a number of important artists as their creators. Focusing primarily on the distinctive *Vision* and *Four Horsemen*, print scholars have variously argued that either Titian, Domenico Campagnola or Ugo da Carpi was involved.<sup>182</sup> In the case of Titian, this is a challenging task. First of all, it necessarily raises unanswered questions about the division of labour between Titian, as the supposed designer, and the person who cut the block.<sup>183</sup> Secondly, it does not seem that painters, including Titian himself, became actively involved in the production

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ings, see A. E. Popham and J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon, 1949), no. 161. Martin Clayton has noted the connection between Campagnola’s drawing and the print; see Clayton, “Drawings by Domenico Campagnola after Giusto de’ Menabuoi’s Apocalypse Frescoes,” in *Master Drawings* 42, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 316.

<sup>180</sup> Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, “Titian’s Woodcuts,” in *Print Collector’s Quarterly* 25 (October 1938), 465.

<sup>181</sup> On this print, see Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 87 (cat. no. 14B).

<sup>182</sup> In the case of the *Vision*, as well as the *secunda*, *quarta*, *quinta*, *sesta* and *settima*, D’Essling has argued the involvement of the young Domenico Campagnola, and Michelangelo Muraro and David Rosand have agreed with this. See D’Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 1, bk. 1: 201; and Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 86–87. For an additional, undecided discussion of this possibility, see Clayton, “Drawings by Domenico Campagnola,” 315–16. For their part, Hans Tietze and Erica Tietze-Conrat have suggested that Titian may have produced a couple of the unsigned woodcuts, particularly the *Vision of the Seven Candlesticks* (fig. 110); see Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, “Titian’s Woodcuts,” 465. Peter Dreyer has disagreed, however, and attributes this woodcut and four others to Ugo da Carpi, a woodcutter who collaborated with Titian around the time of the book’s publication; Caroline Karpinski finds three of Dreyer’s attributions convincing. Peter Dreyer, “Ugo da Carpis venezianische Zeit im Lichte neuer Zuschreibungen,” in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 35, no. 4 (1972): 282–301; and Karpinski, “Some Woodcuts after Early Designs by Titian,” in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39, no. 4 (1976): 264. Karpinski attributes to Ugo the *Secunda figura* (*The Vision of the Seven Candlesticks*), the *Quarta figura* (*The Four Horsemen*), and the *Quinta figura* (*Opening of the Fifth and Sixth Seals*). On the grounds of their “crude execution,” she gives the remaining blocks—the *Sexta*, *Septima* and *Nona*—to Zoan Andrea; *ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> Titian is known to have drawn on blocks and left the cutting to others; see Vasari, *Vite* [1568], 7:437; and Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 55, 59–64.

of woodcuts for Venetian books until decades later, though Titian had begun to design autonomous woodcuts by this point.<sup>184</sup> The proposal that printmakers such as Campagnola or Ugo da Carpi were involved is more credible. In Ugo's case, he had already been involved in producing woodcuts for books by this time.<sup>185</sup> Ultimately, although it is unlikely that the attribution of the woodcuts' design will ever be clarified, the sophistication of some of them definitely suggests the contribution of creatively independent artistic minds.

The scale and complexity of the prints made them an ambitious and challenging project—the anonymous woodcutter who designed the prints for the *Disprezamento*, for example, would presumably have found it more than a little intimidating. Furthermore, Paganino surely would not have risked investing in such an expensive project if those paid to realise it had not been up to the task. The time and resources invested in the woodcut series argue that it had great importance in the publisher's eyes; and if Paganino's intuition was right, it would have held the same interest for the book-buying public. The manner of the imagery's presentation further suggests its importance. By placing them on the recto of each folio, Paganino afforded the woodcuts an informal priority just

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<sup>184</sup> On this question in general, see Szépe, "Poliphilo and Other Aldines," 72–73. Some have associated fifteenth-century painters such as Gentile Bellini with the illumination of manuscripts, but this is, of course, a very different kind of imagery; see, for example, Christiane Joost-Gaugier, "A Pair of Miniatures by a Panel Painter: The Earliest Works of Giovanni Bellini," in *Paragone* 30 (1979): 48–71. Titian is generally agreed to have designed the full-page, chiaroscuro woodcut that appears as the frontispiece to Pietro Aretino's *Stanze in lode di Madonna Angela Sirena* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1538); see Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 63–64. Francesco Salviati may also have designed woodcuts for another book by Aretino also published by Francesco Marcolini, *La Vita di Maria Vergine* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1539); see David McTavish, *Giuseppe Porta called Giuseppe Salviati* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1981), 35–37.

<sup>185</sup> On Ugo da Carpi's career, see Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker, and Hans Vollmer, *Thieme/Becker. Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zu Gegenwart*, vol. 5/6, s.v. "Carpi, Ugo da." Ugo was producing woodcuts for books before he began collaborating with Titian; Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 59.

as Dürer had done in his book.<sup>186</sup> Consequently, the text was relegated to the verso of each folio, sometimes even appearing after its corresponding illustration. Due to this unsynchronised placement of word and image, Dürer's and Paganino's books engaged their intended public in parallel and independent ways—as viewers and as readers. Since those leafing through the book encountered the visual representation of the narrative before the verbal one for the first folios of the book, an emphasis was placed upon viewing.

So why did Paganino have these remarkable, ambitious woodcuts made? It was certainly not because earlier manuscripts or printed editions of the *Apocalypse* had included extensive visual imagery. They rarely had any imagery at all, and if they did, it was limited in quantity and complexity.<sup>187</sup> All evidence thus suggests that the woodcuts were designed to provide an additional means of facilitating spiritual reflection on the Book of Revelation. In the first place, the woodcuts were designed to supplement an already printed exegetical work in the vernacular, something which is evident in the reduction of Dürer's larger prints to the same folio size of the 1515 publication of Fra Federigo's commentary. After all, the addition of the illustrated supplement resulted in a rather odd volume, because it presented the Latin text twice. This repetition could only have been designed to give the reader or listener an additional means of accessing and meditating upon the mysteries of the Biblical text, thus complementing the verbal option of Fra Federigo's exegesis with the visual one of the woodcuts. In fact, it is tempting to imagine that Paganino's decision to produce the illustrations only one year after publish-

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<sup>186</sup> On this, see Erwin Panofsky, *La vita e le opere di Albrecht Dürer*, trans. Carlo Basso (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1967), 70–71.

<sup>187</sup> For example, a manuscript copied for a Venetian resident in Crete in 1415 is remarkable for containing two illuminations, one depicting John dictating the scriptures and another showing the vision of the seven candlesticks (fig. 110).

ing the vernacular commentary may suggest that the buying public had not found Fra Federigo's work appealing enough without them.

The idea that the woodcuts were created to increase the devotional usefulness of the book's contents is not surprising, for Paganino demonstrated a consistent interest in producing books for a broad public rather than an intellectual elite. He customarily favoured vernacular texts, usually using Latin only where it was unavoidable, as in the case of liturgical books. At the time that he printed the *Apokalypsis*, one of his most innovative and profitable ventures was the development of the highly affordable, palm-sized *ventiquattresimo*.<sup>188</sup> The production of an illustrated supplement to Fra Federigo's exegesis thus was entirely in line with Paganino's interests as a publisher, for the woodcuts would have broadened the work's appeal and shifted it slightly into the category of more popular publications. The prints would have been simultaneously affecting and valid devotional stimuli, because their rich detail followed the verbal descriptions so closely. The changes made from Dürer's woodcut in the Venetian *Vision* imply that the image's faithfulness to the verbal text was of particular importance (figs. 110, 111). Furthermore, their placement on the recto of the folios allowed them to present an uninterrupted narrative that ran parallel to the text appearing on the folios' verso.

Like the *Disprezamento*, the *Apokalypsis*, too, should probably be understood as a response to the atmosphere of behavioural reform that characterised Venetian life during the war. The strongest support for this view is the timing of Paganino's project. It had taken eighteen years for a Venetian publisher to exploit Dürer's successful publication, even though the fashion for copying the German's prints had peaked about a decade ear-

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<sup>188</sup> See the discussion of Paganino's publishing oeuvre and its guiding principles in Nuovo, *Alessandro Paganino*, 32–63.

lier. Understandably, Venetian interest in Dürer's designs seems to have been at its height during the artist's stay in the lagoon around 1506.<sup>189</sup> Local artists had immediately tried to exploit his work by copying or borrowing from his woodcuts. Sometimes artists even included the German's monogram to facilitate a work's sale. Marcantonio Raimondi was one of the most active copyists. Before leaving Venice for Rome around 1508 or 1509, he copied seventeen of Dürer's prints. Most of these were after the series of woodcuts showing the Life of the Virgin, which had been completed only a few years earlier.<sup>190</sup> In light of this, it is curious that no one hurried to copy the powerful Apocalypse series, for these had been available since 1498. The only reasonable explanation for the delay is that a market for imagery of John's vision did not emerge in Venice until around 1516. This particular kind of devotional aid began to appeal to Venetians only after the war had shifted their devotional interests and concerns. The nearly contemporaneous publication of the *Expositio* and the *Disprezamento*, both enriched with figurative woodcuts of similar subject matter, reinforces this idea.

The preface to Fra Federigo's translation and exegesis of the Book of Revelation may also help to shed light on Paganino's decision to publish it in Venice in 1516 for the first time:

I cannot restrain myself, for I am very unhappy that the present century is still in great calamity, due to the violent wars, despite the fact that it is full of thriving talents in every subject and most of all in those things pertaining to the soul, but it seems that I ought to console myself rather than lament, and this at least for the good things, for even though we are tor-

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<sup>189</sup> On the great debate about Dürer's visit(s) to Venice, see the literature review and discussion in chapter two of K. Crawford Luber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). The only visit that can be confirmed securely is that of ca. 1506 when Dürer wrote letters home to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer.

<sup>190</sup> On Marcantonio working after Dürer, see Lisa Pon, "Alla insegna del Giesù: Publishing Books and Pictures in Renaissance Venice," in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 92, no. 4 (December 1998): 444–45; and Erica Tietze-Conrat, "Dürer and Raphael in a Venetian Book of 1512," in *Print Collector's Quarterly* 24 (1937): 282–89.



mented by the misfortunes of the present day, all the same, many beautiful things reveal themselves in the salubrious fruits of the many good works that come to light every day from noble minds, so that tormenting thoughts and bitter vexations fade away when reading such wonderful things, and so the evil on the earth is no longer felt.<sup>191</sup>

Fra Federigo had found comfort in the knowledge of the just and proper end to which the world would one day come. It helped minimise anxious dwelling on “ingruenti guerre” and “presenti turbulentie,” and redirect his meditative energy in a more spiritually rewarding direction. Despite the fact that the friar’s words had been written centuries earlier, they must have held a powerful resonance for Paganino’s contemporaries in 1516.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence that Paganino’s *Apocalypsis* was intended to address the particular devotional needs of contemporary Venetians is the title-page woodcut (fig. 114). The print depicts an episode from the Gospel of Mark (4:35–41), which recounts how Christ and his disciples were crossing Lake Galilee when a storm suddenly blew up. While all of the apostles were frantic with worry, Christ himself was asleep on a cushion in the stern, seemingly oblivious to the danger. Finally the men desperately shook him awake, accusing him of having no concern for their safety. Jesus immediately calmed both wind and wave, and asked his disciples how they could still have no faith in his ability to care for them. The episode’s representation at the beginning of the book demands explanation. First of all, it has nothing at all to do with the Book of Revelation. And secondly, it does not appear in Dürer’s book—the 1498 edition did not

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<sup>191</sup> John the Evangelist, *Apocalypsis iesu christi, hoc est reuelatione fatta a sancto giohanni euangelista cum nuoua expositione in lingua volgare composta per el reuerendo theologo e angelico spirito frate Federigo veneto Ordinis predicatorum: cum chiara dilucidatione a tutti i soi passi, cosa vtilissima*, commentary by Fra Federigo da Venezia (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 7 April 1515): “Non posso contenermi che grandemente non me allegri che anchora chel presente seculo sia calamitoso per le ingruenti guerre, non dimeno per esser cosi copioso de floridi ingegni in qualunque faculta e maxime nelle cose pertinenti a lanima, ma par piu da congratularmi che di dolermi, e cio almen per li boni, che auenga che siano perseguitati dalli infortunii delle presenti turbulentie, non dimeno tanto si releuano dal saluberrimo frutto de tante belloperie che da proclari ingegni ogni giorno vengono in luce che passano li molesti pensieri e amare vexationi cosi tal belle cose leggendo, che il mal che e sopra la terra non senteno.”

even have a title-page woodcut, and the Latin edition of 1511 displayed one of the Virgin and Child appearing to St. John in a heavenly vision, a subject that was thematically appropriate to the text that followed (fig. 116). What is more, the Venetian woodcut marks a complete abandonment of Dürer's Germanic style, and instead exemplifies the simpler, more reductive aesthetic of the woodcuts generally produced for early sixteenth-century Venetian books. It thus resembles the prints in the *Disprezamento* more than those by Dürer.

The style and content of the title-page woodcut are important indicators of the intended meaning and function of the whole book. As already discussed in connection with the news pamphlets of chapters two and three, title pages helped to capture a potential buyer's attention and indicate the publication's nature and type, since books were sold unbound. The characteristically Venetian style of the *Apochalypsis* woodcut would have clearly signalled that the book was aimed at a popular, local audience even more effectively than the original, unillustrated title page of the 1515 printing of Fra Federigo's commentary (fig. 117). The existence of what seem to be two editions of the title page may even indicate that it did its job successfully enough to have merited a second printing (fig. 115).<sup>192</sup>

The selection of the storm on Lake Galilee as the woodcut's subject is even more significant. The Biblical episode emphasised the need in times of tribulation to have faith in Christ's salvific power. The image's purpose is confirmed in the caption, which alludes to the story's happy conclusion: "Fluctuabit nauicula sed non demergetur"—"The

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<sup>192</sup> Both title pages employ the same title and figurative woodblock, but the Fondazione Cini copy (fig. 115) displays the caption in Gothic lettering while that of the copy in the Harvard College Library (fig. 114) displays a slightly altered version of it in a Roman typefont; on this latter copy, see cat. no. 59 in Mortimer, *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts*, vol. 2, bk. 1: 79–80.

ship was driven hither and thither but it did not sink.” Although many New Testament images could have served to encourage faith in Christ’s power to save man from danger, the one chosen featured the storm-tossed ship, a subject commonly employed as a metaphor for the perseverance of the state.

The metaphor had often appeared in propagandistic literature of the medieval and Renaissance periods,<sup>193</sup> but during the war it was also given visual form. In 1510, the pope and the kings of Spain and England signed a treaty that Venetians naively thought heralded an imminent conclusion to the war. The Republic celebrated their hopes with an elaborate politico-religious procession. Among the various floats created for the event, that of the Scuola di San Rocco displayed a ship bearing the inscription “Nolite timere, cessavit ventus”—“Do not fear, [for] the winds have stopped.”<sup>194</sup> The inscription is a clear reference to the episode of the ship in Mark’s gospel that appears on the title page of the *Apocalypse*.

The ship-state metaphor was given more lasting form in Palma Vecchio’s *Sea Storm*. Philip Sohm has convincingly suggested that this painting was probably begun around 1513 to celebrate the auspicious signing of a treaty with France that many perceived as auguring the war’s conclusion.<sup>195</sup> The repeated use of the storm-tossed boat as a

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<sup>193</sup> Petrarch himself referred to the Republic in this fashion in one of his letters: “The august city of Venice rejoices, the one home today of liberty, peace and justice, the one refuge of honorable men, the one port to which can repair the storm-tossed, tyrant-hounded craft of men who seek the good life.” Petrarch, *Letters*, selected and translated by Morris Bishop (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1966), 234. One example of the metaphor’s use in the Renaissance appears in a propagandistic poem celebrating Venice’s greatness employing the metaphor of a “piccola barca” being protected by the State: “Prima conuien ricorra a quel monarcha / Qual sia principio e fin de tutte cose / Mi doni gratia che mia picol barcha / Non sia smarita da londe percose / Acio non manchi de quel che lei carcha / Ma in salutiffer porto fia sue pose / Secura stando la sua mercantia / Quella spensando sublimata sia...” De’ Allegri, *Summa gloria*, f. Aii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 13, col. 135.

<sup>195</sup> Although the *Sea Storm* was worked on by a number of artists besides Palma, the painting was designed and begun by him; see Sohm, “Palma Vecchio’s *Sea Storm*,” 94–95. The painting depicts a fourteenth-century legend recounting how Saints Mark, Nicholas and George had once sailed out to the edge of the

visual metaphor for the state's endurance of hardship would have provided a timely interpretive key for the title page woodcut of the *Apokalypsis Ihesu Christi*. The woodcut, in turn, would have asserted the contemporary relevance of the pages that came after it. Those following the book's visual narrative as presented through the woodcuts would have found this confirmed in the last of the series. Showing the archangel Michael chaining the devil for a thousand years, it reminded its viewers that a new golden age awaited them in the future (fig. 123).

The *Apokalypsis* was a unique undertaking in the context of the early-sixteenth-century book market in Venice. Pairing a vernacular commentary with large, complex woodcuts, the book aimed to make the mysteries of Revelation devotionally accessible to a broader public, a goal that characterised the careers of both the text's Trecento exegete and its Cinquecento publisher. At a time when itinerant preachers interwove apocalyptic visions with current politico-military events, Paganino's *Apokalypsis* addressed portentous material of topical interest. By displaying a popular and timely visual metaphor in a familiar local style on its title page, the volume clearly signalled its contemporary relevance. It is worth noting that Dürer's *Apokalypsis* has often been contextualised as a response to the atmosphere of economic, political and spiritual tension pervading Germany at the turn of the century;<sup>196</sup> if this is true, it seems only appropriate that interest in its imagery and format would have surfaced in Venice during an equally troubled time.

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lagoon during a horrible tempest to protect Venice from a galleon full of menacing demons. For more on this painting and the story it represents, see chap. 6, p. 313.

<sup>196</sup> Scholars have debated a great deal about Dürer's motivation in producing the book, and suggestions have variously characterised the project as that of a crafty businessman, a political revolutionary, or a religious heretic. On this, see David Price, "Albrecht Dürer's Representations of Faith: The Church, Lay Devotion and Veneration in the *Apocalypse*," in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 57, no. 4 (1994): 688–696; and Peter Parshall, "The Vision of the Apocalypse in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Francis Carey, ed., *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*, exh. cat. British Museum, London (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 100.

### 5.3.2 Revelation and Prophecy during the Cambrai War

Contrary to what one might imagine today, reflection on the Book of Revelation in the Renaissance was not necessarily gloomy or abstract. Since the twelfth century, scholars had been making far more constructive use of the text's rich allegorical symbolism, thanks to the pioneering efforts of the Calabrian monk Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1135–1202). Hailed as a prophet in his own day, Joachim's most influential works attempted to decipher the mysterious clues of John's apocalyptic vision, in order to ascertain what the future held for his contemporaries. The monk maintained, as did many, that the scriptures told the entire history of the human race, including what was to come. This history could thus be revealed by the careful study of the concordances between the Old and New Testaments, and their interconnections with the prophetic symbolism of the Book of Revelation.<sup>197</sup>

Given the frequently violent nature of John's vision, one might at first think that Joachim's predictions could do nothing more than presage the imminent end of the world, but this was not the case. Joachim subscribed to a far more positive characterisation of human history. He believed that human history was divided in three *status* (sic),<sup>198</sup> or phases, the last of which would conclude with an idyllic age on earth, not a downward spiral of ever increasing suffering. According to Joachim, man would know that the eagerly anticipated final *status* was dawning when the Sixth and Seventh Seals described in John's apocalyptic vision were opened. The final golden age of man, therefore, would begin after the wicked Antichrist in the Book of Revelation had been destroyed by the

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<sup>197</sup> By far, the most comprehensive source on the Joachimist tradition is still Margaret Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

<sup>198</sup> On the concept of the three *status* (that of the Father, that of the Son and that of the Holy Spirit), see Marjorie Reeves, "The Abbot Joachim's Sense of History," in her *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 782–96.

forces of good—namely, the figures known as the Angelic Pope and the Last World Emperor.<sup>199</sup> Joachim’s contemporaries quickly recognised the propagandistic potential of his exegetical approach. After the monk’s death, the desire to perceive prophecies of contemporary relevance in the Book of Revelation persisted, and gave rise to a long series of exegetes who attempted to reapply the Bible’s prophetic symbolism to the elucidation of their respective historical circumstances.<sup>200</sup> In contrast to Joachim’s works, later Joachimist texts were highly political in nature, and sought to cast contemporary spiritual and earthly leaders in the triumphant roles of the Angelic Pope and the Last World Emperor.<sup>201</sup> In the Middle Ages, the former role was usually ascribed to members of the mendicant orders, while the latter was most often appropriated by German emperors or French kings.<sup>202</sup>

Given the political slant that Joachimist study of the Apocalypse had acquired by the sixteenth century, it is understandable that an acute interest in this kind of study developed in Venice during the Cambrai War.<sup>203</sup> Joachimist texts discussed contemporary political forces—particularly the French and the Germans—in spiritual terms, offered the possibility of predicting the political future, and promised the eventual resolution of contemporary difficulties through the arrival of the peaceful Age of the Holy Spirit. As the preface to another 1511 Venetian edition of prophetic Joachimist texts states, God had given man three ways to foresee the future—long life, astronomy and divine revela-

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<sup>199</sup> For an excellent overview of Joachim’s beliefs and their reception in his day, see Reeve, *Influence of Prophecy*, pt. 1: “The Reputation of the Abbot Joachim.” On the relationship between the Sixth and Seventh Seals and Joachim’s third *status*, see *ibid.*, 190.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–7, 96–125.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 307.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, pt. 2, “Antichrist and the Last World Emperor,” 293–392.

<sup>203</sup> This was first noted and investigated by Reeves; see *ibid.* She does not, however, contextualise the marked increase in interest in such works to the political circumstances of the Cambrai War. See also, G. Tognetti, “Note sul profetismo nel Rinascimento e la letteratura relativa,” in *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo e archivio Muratoriano* 82 (1970): 129–57, esp. 147.

tion.<sup>204</sup> While long life could only come with time and patience, Venetians focused on the latter two methods, and eagerly read both the stars and Scripture for hints about what was to come during the war.<sup>205</sup> Since Joachimist texts tried to mine the prophetic secrets of the Bible as a key to the interpretation and understanding of contemporary events, they were valuable resources in the attempt to divine the future.

Venetian interest in Joachimist prophecy is clearly evident in Sanudo's account of a preacher whom he went to hear in May 1509, shortly after the Rout of Agnadello. The usually prosaic diarist had gone to the monastery on the island of San Clemente with the express purpose of hearing an elderly patrician monk speak about the future through divine revelation. To a large crowd of noblemen, the friar recounted many "prophecies." He intermingled predictions about the future of military politics in Italy, such as the actions of the pope, the German emperor and the king of France, with clear references to the Book of Revelation, such as the imminent conversion of the Turk to Christianity and the looming arrival of famine and pestilence. He had news for Venetians as well. The friar said that the Republic would "lose all of its realm as a consequence of its sins," but he also foresaw that one day "the Signoria would regain their state" and that in spite of all the threats the state might face, "Venice will remain unbroken."<sup>206</sup> This was exactly what

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<sup>204</sup> Johannes Lichtenberger, *Pronosticatione* (Venice: Niccolò and Domenico dal Gesù, 20 October 1511), f. Ai<sup>r</sup>. For more on this publication, see below, pp. 264–65.

<sup>205</sup> Da Porto makes this particularly evident in his letters; Da Porto, *Lettere storiche*, 39–40, 50–53, 276–286. See the excellent discussion of this in Olivieri, "'Dio' e la 'fortuna,'" 263–64.

<sup>206</sup> Sanudo recounts: "A San Chimento era un certo frate di l'hordine di la Charità, qual è gran tempo sta li con un converso, et nome don Piero Nani, zenthilomo nostro, di anni 90; et dice molte cosse, qual le traze di prophetie. Et Jo fui da lui ozi, mi disse molte cosse. A gran corso di patricij. Dice, questa terra perderà tutto el dominio pe li pechati; et che l'imperador dia andar a Roma e tajerà la testa al papa e poi sarà cazato e si farà un altro imperador, qual tien sia il duca Carlo di Bergogna, che si tien sia vivo e sta in heremi, el qual farà un papa bon; e il Turcho si farà christiam [sic], et la Signoria rehaverà tutto il suo stato; el re di Franza viverà pochi mexi; et questa flagelation durerà do anni e mezo, e poi questo anno sarà phame e peste grandissima, *tamen* Veniexia resterà intacta. E questo dice è scripto per le prophetie, di le qual el ne ha gran copia *etc.* Et nota, la briga' al presente atende molto a prophetie et vano in chiesa di San Marco, vedando prophetie di musaicho, qual fece far l'abate Joachim *etc.*" *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 326.

the friar's audience was desperate to hear.<sup>207</sup> The listeners evidently recognised the Joachimist spirit of the sermon, because Sanudo recounts that many of them hurried off to consult another supposed source of Joachimist revelation, the figurative mosaics in the state church of San Marco (see fig. 59). Since the fourteenth century, tradition held that some of the early mosaics had been designed by Joachim himself,<sup>208</sup> and Sanudo's compatriots eagerly scrutinised them for clues about what the future might hold for the Republic.

### 5.3.3 The *Expositio magni prophete Joachim* of 1516

Venetian interest in Joachimist prophecy as a means of divining the future of contemporary European politics during the Cambrai War went beyond the consultation of the mosaics of San Marco to the publication of Joachimist texts. Fra Silvestro Meuccio, a Venetian Augustinian renowned for his skills as a preacher, was one of the most active contributors to this body of literature. There had already been a tradition of interest in Joachimist thought in some Venetian monastic communities since the fourteenth century.<sup>209</sup> Only in 1516, however, did Meuccio share this knowledge with the lay public by

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<sup>207</sup> Sometimes, however, the preachers conveyed less appealing messages. When Sanudo went to hear Fra Hieronimo preach in the church of Santo Stefano, the friar was silenced when his apocalyptic preaching led him to predict that the French king would soon betray the Republic: "Io fui a la predica a San Stephano da uno heremito nominato frate Hironimo di Verona, el qual *alias* predichoe a San Salvador; et perchè el predise ch'el re di Franza ne romperia la fede, fu privato di la predica." Sanudo went on to describe the Joachimist content of the preacher's sermon; *ibid.*, vol. 16, col. 53.

<sup>208</sup> See Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, 2 vols. in 4 bks. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), vol. 1, bk. 1: 256–59. For near contemporary declarations of Joachim's involvement in the mosaics, see Marino Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi di Venezia*, ed. G. Monticolo, vol. 22.4 of *Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento* (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900), 521. See also Sansovino's mention of Joachim's involvement in the mosaics; Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* [1581], 34<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>209</sup> Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 343–46.



editing and publishing all of the works ascribed to Joachim that he could find.<sup>210</sup> His first publication, the *Expositio magni prophete Joachim* (henceforth *Expositio*), was an edited compilation of prophetic Joachimist texts.<sup>211</sup> A large woodcut showing the monk in contemplation at his desk with a stylus in his hand appears on the title page, and imbues the book with the authority of a great intellect (fig. 118).

The volume begins with the thirteenth-century exegesis of the *Oraculum Cirilli* by Telesphorus of Cosenza, described by Meuccio as addressing the “magnis tribulationibus & statu Sancte matris Ecclesie.”<sup>212</sup> It is a pro-French, pseudo-Joachimist work purporting to record Joachim’s own analysis of a prophecy communicated to Cyril the Carmelite. In it, Telesphorus had assigned the honourable role of the Last World Emperor to the French king of his day, while identifying the German emperor Frederick III as the antipope’s iron arm.<sup>213</sup> The *Oraculum Cirilli* is not only the first, but also the lengthiest, and therefore the most significant, of the various texts in the *Expositio*.<sup>214</sup>

Meuccio’s 1516 edited version of Telesphorus’s work largely preserves the prophecy of the fourteenth-century original. Most importantly, it possesses the same political slant, favouring the French and condemning the Germans. However, Meuccio also carefully adapted the prophecy to his own time.<sup>215</sup> To free the text from the historical specificity Telesphorus had given it, and thus to allow it to have a more contemporary

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<sup>210</sup> Meuccio began with the publication of the *Expositio magni prophete Joachim in librum beati Cirilli* and the *Super Hieremiam Prophetam* in 1516. He then published the *Super Esaiam Prophetam* the following year, the *Liber concordiae* in 1519, and the *Expositio in apocalypsim* and the *Psalterium decem chordarum* in 1527.

<sup>211</sup> Various authors, *Expositio magni prophete Joachim in librum beati Cirilli de magnis tribulationibus et statu sancto matris ecclesie...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de’ Soardi, 5 April 1516).

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., f. I<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>213</sup> Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 57–58.

<sup>214</sup> *Expositio*, ff. V<sup>r</sup>–XLIII<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>215</sup> Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 264, 375–78.

relevance, Meuccio eliminated all direct references to earlier political figures and dates.<sup>216</sup> He then made some of his own additions. Displaying his interpretive bias as an Augustinian, he included the prediction that the Angelic Pope would be a member of his own monastic order.<sup>217</sup> Meuccio also showed his bias as a Venetian. He further adapted the narrative through the introduction of a great Venetian patriarch, who would lead his people into virtue after the Augustinian pope's ascension.<sup>218</sup> It surely would not have escaped Meuccio's contemporaries that at the time the *Expositio* was printed, the patriarch of Venice was a former Augustinian monk, the virtuous Antonio Contarini.<sup>219</sup> In the final battle between the forces of good and evil, that between the Christians and the infidel, the Venetians were to play an important role in God's grand plan. Led by a great commander, they would fight side by side with the king of England and the angelic army of heaven to vanquish the Turk.<sup>220</sup>

Meuccio's reworking of the text appropriates its prophecies for the Republic's cause, and posits an interpretation of the political future in spiritual terms that would have been comforting to Venetians in 1516. His decision to continue the identification of the Last World Emperor with a French king rather than a German one was appropriate, because, when the book was being prepared and published, the French were Venice's main ally. Similarly, the text's assertion that the Antichrist and his earthly forces would be

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 375. For example, he substituted mention of the German emperor Frederick III with vaguer ones like *imperator alemanie* or *futurus rex aquilonis*, and by omitting reference to the French king as *Karolus* as the present French king was François I.

<sup>217</sup> On Meuccio's interest in using his edition of the Joachimist prophecies to promote the Augustinian Order as one of the main elements that would bring about the Age of the Holy Spirit, see *ibid.*, 262–68.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 255–56.

<sup>219</sup> On Contarini, see above, pp. 201–02; and chap. 7, pp. 351–52.

<sup>220</sup> Reeves offers an excellent description of the changes Meuccio makes to Telesphorus's text, but is primarily interested in how the text relates to the appropriation of Joachimist prophecy by the religious orders, in this case the Augustinians, she makes little effort to situate the text in relation to the politics of Meuccio's day. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 263 (n. 5), 375–78.

German would have gratified Venetian readers, as Maximilian I was their greatest enemy.<sup>221</sup> Finally, by casting the Venetians in the role of temporal and spiritual heroes in the final struggle, he indicated not only that the Republic would survive its current tribulations, but also that it would rise to even greater heights in the future. The decision to cast the English as Venice's close collaborator is more difficult to explain. Perhaps, since Venice's major ally, the French, already had a role in the prophecy, Meuccio gave the honour of fighting alongside the Venetians to the next best candidate, for the English had signed a treaty of friendship with Venice's French allies on 5 April 1515.<sup>222</sup> (At the time that Meuccio was preparing the text for publication, he could not have known that the English king would secretly switch sides by signing a pact with the Germans in early 1516.) The explicitly patriotic nature of the *Expositio* finds confirmation in the later dedication of its vernacular translation to Doge Andrea Gritti, one of the greatest Venetian military heroes of the Cambrai War.<sup>223</sup>

Aside from being the lengthiest text in the volume, Telesphorus's work is also distinguished by its rich illustration, for it is the only one in the book to incorporate figurative woodcuts. There are a remarkable number of them, seventy-six in all (as examples of the book's general appearance, see figs. 119, 120). The woodcuts are typical of early sixteenth-century Venetian production. Their compositional simplicity and their unassuming style make them very similar to the prints in the *Disprezamento*. The designer of

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<sup>221</sup> The Venetians had signed the Treaty of Blois with the French in March 1513, and in September 1515 their combined forces won the important battle of Marignano. For more on this battle, see below, chap. 6, pp. 286–90. The Germans, meanwhile, were allied with no other significant power but continued to dominate the struggle for control of northern Italy. For a detailed history of this period, see Romanin, *Storia di Venezia*, 5:201–23.

<sup>222</sup> On this, see Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 21, col. 128.

<sup>223</sup> The text was translated by another Augustinian monk named Paolo Angelo and entitled *Profetie certissime, stupende et admirabili dell'Antichristo et innumerabili mali al mondo*. The book was dedicated to Doge Andrea Gritti. For more on Gritti and his role during the war, see above, chap. 4, pp. 74, 87, 122–24.

the woodcuts or the workshop that produced them are not known, although two of the larger cuts bear the initial “M.”<sup>224</sup> The prints vary in size. A few are larger, quarter-page cuts, some of which appear more than once in the text. The majority are smaller in size and generally appear only once in association with the portion of the text to which their more specific imagery relates.

Many of the woodcuts present imagery inspired by the Book of Revelation that would have been already familiar to Renaissance viewers. For instance, we could compare the print of St. Michael fighting the devil’s army or chaining him for a thousand years (fig. 121) to the twelfth and fifteenth woodcuts in Paganino’s *Apocalypsis* (figs. 122, 123). Many of these seem to have resulted from Meuccio’s consultation of an illustrated Venetian manuscript of Telesphorus’s text. A number of these seem to have been available in Venice by the early Cinquecento. All of them were probably copies of a codex compiled and illustrated by a Venetian Dominican, Fra Rusticianus, in the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>225</sup> The connection between Fra Rusticianus’s illuminations and the text is quite close, because the monk included verbal captions to describe the events shown. This codex does not seem to have survived, but a manuscript copy of 1469 gives a good idea of the appearance of the volume Meuccio consulted (see fig. 124).<sup>226</sup>

In many ways, the printed book shares a great deal with the 1469 manuscript. Most significantly, the visual imagery is interspersed with the text in a similar fashion, and Meuccio’s book maintains the use of captions. Furthermore, many of the woodcuts in the printed book are obviously derived from the manuscript tradition. For instance, a

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<sup>224</sup> See cat. no. 1895 in D’Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 2, bk. 1: 311.

<sup>225</sup> On the manuscript tradition and Fra Rusticianus, see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 173, 343–46.

<sup>226</sup> MS, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Cl. III, 177. For a discussion of this manuscript and its relationship to Meuccio’s book, see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 343–45, 375–77.

woodcut showing people beseeching the virtuous Augustinian hermit to leave his isolated life of meditation in order to become the great Angelic Pope has a precedent in the manuscript (figs. 125, 127), as does another showing the Angelic Pope crowning the French king as Last World Emperor (figs. 126, 127). However, just as Meuccio reworked the text of the prophecy, so he also made changes to its illustration, for he added many new images. There are only twenty-eight illuminated scenes in the manuscript, whereas the printed text has seventy-six woodcuts. The vast majority of the added scenes present the Joachimist future, rather than the strictly biblical one. For instance, two of the new images show the false pope crowning the German emperor with the assistance of devils and then leading his armies on their destructive rampage (fig. 128). Similarly, the printed book includes an increased number of battle scenes, which are consistently populated by armies and fleets bearing the standards of the political protagonists of Meuccio's day, most often the French (fleur-de-lys), the Germans (double-headed eagle), the English (cross) and the papacy (keys) (figs. 129, 130).

By incorporating more frequent visual references to the world of early-Cinquecento Europe in the added woodcuts, Meuccio's book asserted the prophecy's contemporary relevance more than the illuminated manuscript from which it was derived. Most notably, some of the new imagery allowed the visual promotion of the Republic's honourable involvement in the prophecy. In one woodcut, the doge is called to his fate by an angel, with his senators following behind him (fig. 131). The artist clearly expressed the spiritual integrity of the doge and his people through the addition of the ducal umbrella. Modelled after the pope's own, the umbrella was believed to be a gift bestowed upon the doge by Pope Alexander III in 1177, and it had since become a symbol of the

Church's approval of the Republic.<sup>227</sup> In another woodcut, the commander of the Venetian fleet prepares to lead his virtuous forces (fig. 132). Yet another, appearing later in the prophecy, shows the Venetian fleet combating the infidel in a battle at sea. Thus, mingled among the more traditional pictorial imagery inspired by the Book of Revelation, other, custom-made images were calculatingly introduced to portray the Republic as a virtuous agent of God. The Venetians are nowhere to be found in the fifteenth-century manuscript, so their appearance in Meuccio's printed volume was obviously a conscious choice on the part of the friar or his publisher or printer—their appearance here must have been considered important.

The extensive and explicit illustration of a work like Telesphorus's was rare. Latin texts destined for an elite, learned readership usually did not incorporate visual imagery. Thus, the decision to include an elaborate series of custom made woodcuts is intriguingly unusual.<sup>228</sup> A number of factors may have come into play. In part, it may have been due to the fact that visual imagery and Joachimist study had long gone hand in hand. Joachim himself had used visual aids known as *figurae* to help shape and articulate his prophecies.<sup>229</sup> These were generally more diagrammatic than figurative in nature with one major exception, the "Seven-Headed Serpent," which is based upon the description of the seven-headed beast in Revelation (12:3–17) (fig. 133). In fact, this *figura* happens to appear in the first and largest figurative woodcut in Meuccio's volume (fig. 134). The

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<sup>227</sup> Alexander III purportedly gave a set of seven gifts to the Venetian doge in thanks for the Republic's help in brokering a peace with the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa, including the umbrella. On the papal gifts, see Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 103–34. The ducal umbrella had also conveyed a negative omen one year in the procession held on Ascension Day, the *Festa della Sensa*, because it broke during the event; on this, see *ibid.*, 130–31; and Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 19, col.333.

<sup>228</sup> On the rarity of such instances, see Grendler, "Form and Function," 483–84.

<sup>229</sup> On Joachim's *figurae*, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972). It was surely an awareness of Joachim's use of *figurae* that had allowed Venetians to develop the legend that the figurative decoration of San Marco contained encoded Joachimist prophecies.

depiction of Joachim's Serpent at the beginning of the *Expositio* is appropriate, because it symbolically represents the seven ages of man alluded to by Revelation's Seven Seals and implies the eventual arrival of the final, idyllic age of man predicted by Joachim. In a sense, as an opening image, it promised its educated readers/viewers that the book has a "happy ending," for it asserted that history was moving towards another golden age on earth. In truth, its encouraging message was not unlike that of the title-page woodcut of Paganino's *Apocalypse*.

In the effort to understand the meaning and function of copies of Telesphorus's works in Venice, it is worth noting the two elaborate new illuminations added to Fra Rusticianus's visual imagery in the 1469 manuscript copy. One presents an iconographically complex illustration of the Antichrist, while the other displays an equally complicated prophetic illumination that is best described as a contemporary political cartoon: it shows Emperor Frederick III losing a wrestling match with Pope Paul II (fig. 135).<sup>230</sup> The other symbols in the image allude to the various European powers who supported either the papacy or the German emperor during their political struggle around 1470.<sup>231</sup> The illumination was probably inspired by the fact that at the time of its creation, Venice had just signed a treaty with Pope Paul II, who was himself a Venetian by birth.<sup>232</sup> The image's popular appeal is evident in its contemporary appearance in the form of an engraving (fig. 21), which subsequently appeared in multiple variants both in Italy and north of the Alps. Print scholars have long argued that the image is Venetian in origin,

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<sup>230</sup> MS, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Cl. III, 177, f. 10<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>231</sup> For example, the pope holds the symbols of the French monarchy and the scales of Rome, while he and the emperor are balanced on a lion representing the Duke of Burgundy, a wheel representing the patriarch, and a boat representing various other city-states and European nations. For more on this, see cat. nos. E.III.6–7 in Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 1:251–54; and cat. nos. 2409.008–010 in Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, 24.3:221–27.

<sup>232</sup> See *Ibid.*, 223.

because its inscription, which is consonant with the Venetian dialect, states that the original record of the pictorial prophecy had been brought to Venice from Altino.<sup>233</sup> The image's appearance in a Venetian manuscript would seem to confirm this, the existence of which seems unknown to art historians.<sup>234</sup> Historians seem equally unaware of the connection; although Reeves notes that a printed version of the image was pasted into a sixteenth-century manuscript compilation of Joachimist texts, she suggests that it was cut from a book, therefore implying that she was not aware of the existence as an independent print.<sup>235</sup> In the context of this discussion, the image's popularity serves to demonstrate how easily contemporary figures could be identified with the protagonists of Joachimist prophecy; how closely the spiritual predictions of such prophecy were intertwined with political issues; and that visual imagery could serve to express these interrelationships. The image's reproduction in multiple prints also suggests that the symbolic language of Joachimist prophecy, as complex as it could be, was evidently accessible enough when expressed in a visual form. The expansion of the woodcut imagery in Meuccio's edition of Telesphorus's text was thus merely a new and more easily disseminated elaboration upon a pre-existing tradition.

There may be another reason why Meuccio had his publisher include so many woodcuts. Perhaps the visual imagery was believed to imbue the text's unverified prophecies with the quality of a factual narrative. As Patricia Fortini Brown has convincingly demonstrated, Venetians had a long tradition of believing that an event's por-

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<sup>233</sup> The print depicted here indicates the Venetian origins of its source in the inscription at the bottom although claiming that the prophecy was first found carved in stone by the Tiburtine Sibyl in the city of Altino. On the print, see Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 1:252; and Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, 25.3:223.

<sup>234</sup> Neither Hind nor Zucker indicate knowledge of the manuscript; see respectively *Early Italian Engraving*, 1:251–53; and *Early Italian Masters*, 25:221–27.

<sup>235</sup> For her comments, see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 462 (n. 1).



trayal increased its historical veracity.<sup>236</sup> The interspersal of freshly invented scenes showing Meuccio's imagined Venetian episodes among the more familiar ones of events described in the Book of Revelation may have been intended to help infuse the former with the indisputable authority of the latter. Such prophetic ammunition would also have helped Venetians to combat the less encouraging interpretations of Joachimist prophecy that were then in circulation. After all, some of the same mosaic decoration in San Marco that Venetians hoped could reveal helpful predictions about their future had been interpreted in an anti-Venetian fashion by others. So, if the Frenchman Jean Lemaire could interpret the two lions that Joachim supposedly designed for the floor pavement of San Marco as a prophecy indicating that Venice was doomed, then Meuccio could use some of Joachim's written works to assert the very opposite.<sup>237</sup>

The potential comfort and encouragement that a Venetian could derive from Meuccio's book is clear in another collection of Joachimist prophecies published in Venice during the war, the 1511 edition of Johannes Lichtenberger's *Pronosticatione*. Lichtenberger's work consisted of a group of politically prophetic Joachimist texts, including one supposedly by Joachim himself.<sup>238</sup> First published in Germany around 1488, the work quickly achieved great popularity in Italy.<sup>239</sup> The Venetian edition of 1511, however, is set apart from the other Italian ones by its unique preface, which reveals that

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<sup>236</sup> See the discussion in Fortini Brown, "Painting and History," 263–66.

<sup>237</sup> For more on Lemaire's comments and how Venetians responded to them, see the discussion in chap. 3, pp. 137–38.

<sup>238</sup> One of the other major texts in the compilation was by St. Bridget. She had written a series of revelations that were compiled in seven books during her lifetime, most of which conform to Joachimist ideas. Bridget seems to have believed in a coming idyllic age similar to Joachim's third *status*. One of her prophecies predicted the German race attacking the Church, another prophesied the destruction of Rome, another concerned the lily and the eagle (to be read as the French and the Germans) and the submission of the former to the latter. Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, 338–39.

<sup>239</sup> On the *Pronosticatione*'s fortunes in Italy, see Domenico Fava, "La fortuna del Pronostico di Giovanni Lichtenberger in Italia nel Quattrocento e nel Cinquecento," in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 5 (1930): 126–48.

the book was published at the behest of a Venetian infantry commander named Sebastiano, rather than a professional publisher or printer. The preface recounts that eighteen years earlier Sebastiano had bought the book on the Rialto bridge, and had decided to have it republished during the war so that it could be of comfort to his fellow Venetians. He promises that the book's readers "will find that the barbaric persecution of this my most just and happy country will pass in a short time, and be restored to a happier state ... and if I have favoured this work to be printed, this is one of the reasons: so that the goodness of this most noble city of Venice, unique in the world, be known."<sup>240</sup> For Sebastiano, the prophecies of Joachim and of other prophets not only had direct bearing on contemporary events, but also could comfort Venetians with their promise of a coming age of peace and prosperity. There can be little doubt that Meuccio's *Expositio* and its exultant imagery were to perform, at least in part, a similar function.

For Venetians in the 1510s reflection on the Final Judgement and the Book of Revelation had two primary purposes. By emphasising the need to wash away one's sins in preparation for the Last Judgement, such reflection could either lead sinners to repentance or help them explore the meaning of the many revelations the text contained about the political and spiritual future. The desire to plumb Revelation for the hope it could provide seems to have encouraged the publication of books that could help decipher the text's mysteries. Among these, the *Expositio* and the *Apochalypsis* also exploited the communicative potential of figurative woodcuts, which varied in size, style and function in accordance with the purpose of the publication in which they appeared.

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<sup>240</sup> The translation is taken from Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 50–51. Pon cites the Houghton Library copy of the book. For a transcription of the original, see Fava, "Fortuna del Pronostico," 133–34.

## 5.4 Conclusion

During the Cambrai War, some writers, printers and publishers aimed to satisfy the current spiritual needs of the Venetian public by printing new books. The market must have been good, for many of these volumes contained rich figurative woodcuts designed exclusively for them, something which was not an inexpensive enterprise. The three religious books discussed in this chapter demonstrate the remarkably varied forms such publications and their imagery could take, as well as the range of purposes they could serve. They could address different readerships/audiences: the *Disprezamento* and the *Apocalypsis* provided devotional tools for a broad readership/viewership, while the *Expositio* presented a complex Joachimist study in Latin for a more elite consumer. They also range in size: the *Disprezamento* is an *ottavo*, the *Expositio* a *quarto*, and the *Apocalypsis* a full folio. As a result of these differences in size and audience, the figurative imagery varies in appearance and function from book to book as well. With regard to appearance, the *Apocalypsis* presents elaborate, large-scale visions of the Book of Revelation inspired by Northern models, while the *Expositio* and the *Disprezamento* display prints of simple, local design. As regards their respective functions, the *Expositio*'s woodcuts depict prophecy with the character of *istoria*, those of the *Disprezamento* offer negative moral examples through the portrayal of contemporary sin, and those of the *Apocalypsis* aim to place a mysterious supernatural vision before human eyes to facilitate devotional meditation.

Despite their differences, however, these books and their figurative imagery have something significant in common. All three, in one fashion or another, proffer verbal and visual descriptions of the world. The *Disprezamento* shows the world as it is but ought

*not* to be, a world tainted by sin and in need of reform. Here, contemporary figures engage in immoral acts, sometimes represented rather shockingly for the day, and teach their viewers how not to behave in preparation for the Final Judgement. The *Apocalypse*, in contrast, presents the world as it will one day be, reminding the viewer that sinful behaviour has its consequences. After trial and tribulation, it shows the saving of the elect and the promise of the New Jerusalem. The *Expositio* is different again. Its simple imagery did not show how the world was or would be, but how Venetians would have liked to imagine it. Patriotic Joachimist interpretation of the Book of Revelation casts the down-trodden Venetians in the desirable role of God's agent, thereby promising a brighter future that would eclipse the threateningly war-torn present. This favourable future takes shape before the reader's eyes in pseudo-historical vignettes that help turn a merely speculative prophecy into an authoritative reality. In their various ways, these books were designed to help a people in need of spiritual guidance and support through both word and image.

It is worth noting that wartime interest in the portrayal of the End of Days and the Final Judgement was not limited to woodcuts produced for books. In 1516, Bernardino Benalio—the printer who issued the *Expositio* that same year—requested permission to print a large, multi-block woodcut of “the Last Judgement with choirs of angels and *beati* and an infinite number of demons and the damned” that is believed to be by Ugo da Carpi. He also published at least one other, even larger version of the subject in the same medium.<sup>241</sup> Sizable prints like these would have certainly been intended for prominent

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<sup>241</sup> See no. 208 in Fulin, “Documenti per servire alla storia,” 188: “el *Final Judicio* cum li chori angelici et ordeni de beati et infinito numero dei damnati et demoni.” On the prints, one of which was identified by a colophon as the work of Ugo da Carpi, see cat. nos. 2590, 2824, 2824a in McDonald, *Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 468–69, 521.

display. Although none of Benalio's prints seem to have survived, his request to protect them from copyists implies his belief that buyers would have enthusiastically purchased them. Given the kind of devotional books being printed at the time, one can reasonably presume that such prints were to serve as a stimulus to the same sort of reflection. As the next chapter demonstrates, the monumental woodcut was another printed visual medium that was pressed into service in response to the Venetian spiritual crisis inflamed by the Cambrai War.

## Chapter Six

### Monumental Woodcuts as Expressions of Wartime Piety

While the previous chapter investigated the use of the figurative woodcut as a useful devotional tool in religious books published during the Cambrai War, autonomous imagery in the same medium was also produced at the time. Two of the most renowned examples are Titian's *Triumph of Christ* (see figs. 136, 136a) and *Submersion of Pharaoh in the Red Sea* (fig. 12). Due to Titian's predilection for producing propagandistic imagery in his early career, scholars have found convincing evidence that the prints display a connection to contemporary political events and their spiritual significance.<sup>1</sup> However, such studies have not extended the conclusions about Titian's prints beyond the artist's own oeuvre to the broader artistic context. The multi-block or monumental woodcut enjoyed a notable surge in popularity during the Cambrai War, and the *Triumph* and the *Submersion* were only two among these.

This chapter demonstrates that the historical contextualisation of and conclusions drawn about Titian's prints can be extended to a larger group of wartime monumental woodcuts, particularly Giovanni Andrea Vavassore's *Battle of Marignano* (fig. 140), Girolamo da Treviso's *Susannah and the Elders* (fig. 147) and Lucantonio degli Uberti's *St. George and the Dragon* (fig. 156). This exercise also then, in turn, helps further refine our understanding of the nature and function of Titian's large woodcuts. By exploring the close relationship between this group of monumental prints and the politico-spiritual circumstances of their production, it becomes clear that they were designed to offer mean-

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<sup>1</sup> See Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 81–83; and Olivato, “*La Submersione di Pharaone*.” This is discussed further below.

ingful responses to contemporary Venetians' devotional concerns. As a medium, the monumental woodcut was well adapted to such purposes, because, like the pamphlet literature discussed in chapters two and four, it could be quickly produced, widely disseminated, and affordably priced. However, at the same time, it also proffered imagery of impressive and commanding dimensions.

### 6.1 The History of the Monumental Woodcut in Venice

Titian's *Triumph* and *Submersion* were only two of the remarkable number of multi-block woodcuts designed during the Cambrai War. In fact, the medium's heyday in Venice coincides with the latter years of the conflict. It had exploded onto the Venetian art scene with the printing of Jacopo de' Barbari's complex bird's-eye-view of Venice in 1500 by the German merchant Anton Kolb. In spite of the positive reception of De' Barbari's view, however, little effort was made to exploit the medium in the following decade. Only a four-block print of the lion of St. Mark<sup>2</sup> (fig. 73) and a couple of prints of the *Triumph of Caesar* modelled after Andrea Mantegna's paintings of the same subject seem to have been produced.<sup>3</sup> It was not until around 1514 that the production of mural-scale woodcuts increased. In that year, Giovanni da Brescia requested a copyright privilege to protect his "historia de Traiano Imperator."<sup>4</sup> Around the same time, Titian was probably

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<sup>2</sup> On this print, see McDonald, *Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 2:481 (inv. no. 2655); and Wilhelm Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV Jahrhunderts*, 8 vols. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1969), 3:153–54 (cat. no. 1605). The print's triumphant depiction of the city and the Venetian fleet in the background has a similar appearance to the fifteenth-century paintings by Jacobello del Fiore and Francesco Bragadin respectively found in the Magistrato della Bestemmia and the Avogaria. On the print and these paintings, see above, chap. 4.

<sup>3</sup> One of the rare examples is the *Triumph of Caesar* of Jacopo di Strasburgo modeled after Mantegna's design published by Benedetto Bordon in 1504. See Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 72 and n. 5; and Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 2 vols. (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1935), 2:433.

<sup>4</sup> See Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, reg. 17, ff. 89<sup>v</sup>–90<sup>f</sup>. The document is transcribed in Rosand and Muraro, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 72, n. 5.

at work on the *Submersion* and on the *Sacrifice of Abraham* (fig. 146), soon to be followed by the *Triumph*. Some time before 1515 an anonymous Venetian produced a monumental *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* (fig. 144), and in that year Girolamo da Treviso's *Susannah and the Elders* (fig. 147) was published. Lucantonio degli Uberti's *St. George and the Dragon* seems to have appeared a year later in 1516 (fig. 156).

Scholars have shown little curiosity about this delayed response to De' Barbari's pioneering work, but the medium's sudden—and brief—popularity during the last years of the Cambrai War calls for an explanation, especially considering that the monumental woodcut's potential had attracted interest elsewhere during the conflict. In the same years that Titian and his peers produced their multi-block prints, Maximilian I was using the medium to produce propaganda. He had enlisted the service of the greatest artists of the day to produce imagery promoting the military and political strength of his reign as emperor. The *Triumphal Arch*, a work of circa 1515 measuring 3.41 by 2.92 metres and consisting of 192 blocks, was largely designed by Albrecht Dürer and is rich with celebratory iconography (fig. 138).<sup>5</sup> Dürer had also collaborated on the fifty-metre-long *Triumphal Procession* woodcut, which was subsequently expanded upon by Hans Burgkmair.<sup>6</sup> In one of Burgkmair's blocks, the Venetian Republic appears among the powers supposedly conquered by Maximilian (fig. 139).

In many ways, the monumental woodcut was an unusual work of art. Unlike smaller woodcuts that were safely stored away or protectively pasted into books, the large

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<sup>5</sup> Some of his collaborators included Jörg Kölderer, court painter to Maximilian, Hans Springinklee and Wolf Traut, and Albrecht Altdorfer. On the project, see *Sixteenth Century German Artists: Albrecht Dürer*, 417–21; and Panofsky, *Vita e le opere*, 228–33.

<sup>6</sup> Work on this project took place largely between 1516 and 1518, but was interrupted in 1519 by the death of Maximilian. The multi-block print was only published for the first time—still incomplete, according to the programme—in 1526. For more on this project, see *ibid.*, 233–36; and Ludwig Baldass, *Der Künstlerkreis Kaiser Maximilians* (Vienna: A. Schroll & Co., 1923), 39–49.



size of monumental ones required that they be on display in order to be properly admired.<sup>7</sup> Thanks to their grand dimensions, such prints presented imagery on the same scale and in the same fashion as history paintings. During the war, they even seem to have competed with their painted counterparts for buyers' attention. In 1512, the Venetian painters' guild made a formal complaint to the government that hand-coloured woodcuts glued to boards were being sold as paintings.<sup>8</sup> However, while monumental prints were large in size, their comparatively flimsy paper support, and consequently lower cost, resulted in more modest modes of display and a shorter lifespan. Some owners are known to have framed and hung them like a painting, but most of them probably opted to paste them either to a board that was then hung on the wall or to the wall itself.<sup>9</sup> Since paper glued to board or to wall plaster would have deteriorated quickly in the damp Venetian climate, one can assume that the majority of monumental woodcuts were ephemeral works.

Little is known about how much the prints might have cost. De' Barbari's view of Venice sold for three ducats,<sup>10</sup> but its high price was in large part due to the complexity of its realisation, which required the painstaking consolidation of numerous views of the

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<sup>7</sup> Prints were often pasted into the pages of a book where they could not be easily viewed and protected, but the large woodcuts were not. As the Tietzes noted with regard to Titian's *Submersion*, the work "lacks the rhythm of turning pages, but possesses rather the uniqueness of fresco." Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's Woodcuts," 359.

<sup>8</sup> See Elena Favaro, *L'arte dei pittori in Venezia e i suoi statuti* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1975), 67; and Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 47.

<sup>9</sup> For the more usual practice of gluing monumental prints to walls or boards for display, see Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 57–58; and David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 290. However, an inventory of Gabriele Vendramin's collection carried out in 1567 lists a print of the *Submersion of Pharaoh in the Red Sea* that was very likely Titian's framed in "un adornamento negro dorado col suo timpano soazado e dorado." Quoted in *ibid.*, 231–32.

<sup>10</sup> See Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View," 425–74.

city sketched by a large team of draughtsmen.<sup>11</sup> Later prints, particularly those of lesser artistic quality, would certainly have been less expensive. Similar works produced north of the Alps were within the financial reach of a skilled workman,<sup>12</sup> and, given the strength of the printing industry in Venice, it is difficult to imagine that Venetian prices were not comparable. It is for this reason that monumental woodcuts have been nicknamed the “frescoes of the poor.”<sup>13</sup> One can assume, however, that such prints appealed to a broad public in Venice. Not only were they comparatively inexpensive, but also their publishers could only justify their production if they believed that it would be possible to sell many of the hundreds of pulls that a woodblock could generate.<sup>14</sup> Since these prints required a substantial amount of paper, and the preparation of the larger, more complex blocks consumed both time and labour, their production was more costly.<sup>15</sup> A publisher had to sell a large number of copies in order to turn a profit, and such sales presuppose an enthusiastic and extensive buying public.<sup>16</sup> The only works of art that were certain to

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<sup>11</sup> Anton Kolb's request to obtain publishing rights for De' Barbari's map of Venice indicates that, aside from its challenging design, the work had required a large investment in time and printing costs due to its high consumption of paper: “si per la materia difficilissima et incredibile poterne far vero disegno, si per la grandezza sua et de la carta, che mai simile non fu facta, si anchora per la nova arte de stampar forme di tal grandezza, et per la difficultà de le composition tute in seme.” Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, Notatorio, Reg. 15, f. 28<sup>r</sup>. The document appears as entry 105 in Fulin, “Documenti per servire alla storia,” 142.

<sup>12</sup> See the discussion of costs in Landau and Parshall, *Renaissance Print*, 236–37. Although their conclusions are based on the cost of reprints of Titian's *Triumph of Christ* in Antwerp in the 1540s, the rules of the market were probably not that different in Venice when such prints were first published.

<sup>13</sup> Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 58.

<sup>14</sup> On printing woodblocks in editions of hundreds, sometimes even of a thousand, see Antonio Sartori, “Documenti padovani sull'arte della stampa nel secolo XV,” in *Libri e stampatori in Padova, Miscellanea di studi storici in onore di Mons. G. Bellini*, ed. A. Barzon (Padua: Tipographia Antoniana, 1959), 115.

<sup>15</sup> Benedetto Bordon's request of 30 March 1504 for a privilege to protect his multi-block print of the *Triumph of Caesar* reiterates Kolb's comments stating that he had prepared the work “cum gravissima fatica sua et non mediocre spese...” Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, Notatorio, Reg. 15, f. 116<sup>r</sup>; and entry 141 in Fulin, “Documenti per servire alla storia,” 154. The same issues are again expressed in Giovanni da Brescia's request of 20 April 1514 for a privilege to print a “historia de Traiano Imperator” that Muraro and Rosand believe was probably to take the form of a multi-block woodcut of a procession: he claims “ho consumato molto tempo cum sua fadica et spesa per esser opera eccellente...” Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, Notatorio, Reg. 17, f. 89<sup>v</sup>–90<sup>r</sup>; and entry 192 in Fulin, “Documenti per servire alla storia,” 179. See also the discussion in Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 72, n. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 57 and n. 35.

have enjoyed this combination of physical diffusion and high visibility in Venice were the half-length, iconic paintings of the Virgin and Child.<sup>17</sup> While none of the monumental woodcuts produced in Venice may ever have achieved that level of popularity, what matters most is that their publishers must have believed there was such a potential.

Surely one of the most important factors in deciding whether a multi-block woodcut merited a publisher's investment was the content. The fact that they had a limited lifespan suggests that mural-size woodcuts would have sold best when their subject had a particular relevance at the moment of their production. Outdoor fresco, too, was highly visible yet of comparatively short duration, a combination of characteristics that recommended its use in the production of political imagery inspired by current events on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi just before the Cambrai War began.<sup>18</sup> It is intriguing that shortly after his involvement with this project, Titian set about representing similarly topical imagery in the ephemeral medium of the monumental woodcut.

## 6.2 Titian and the Monumental Woodcut

Titian's activity as a designer of monumental woodcuts was concentrated in the second decade of the sixteenth century, just before the installation of the Frari *Assumption* in 1518. After the success of this altarpiece, he seems to have lost interest in multi-block prints, for he did not produce any others. Woodcuts probably attracted the young Titian's interest for two reasons. First, their ability to be reproduced and widely disseminated

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<sup>17</sup> See, for example, the discussion of Giovanni Bellini's prolific production of half-length Madonnas in Rona Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), part 1, esp. 23–25. For a discussion of inventories and the rich evidence they provide of the presence of Madonna and Child paintings in Venetian homes, see Isabella Palumbo-Fossati, "L'interno della casa dell'artigiano e dell'artista," in *Studi veneziani* n. s. 8 (1984): 109–53.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the frescoes and relevant bibliography, see above, chap. 1, p. 12; and Muraro, "Political Interpretation of Giorgione's Frescoes."

would have helped publicise his work.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, they seem to have been an effective medium for communicating the kind of politically charged messages that characterise his public works of art in this period.<sup>20</sup>

With regard to the geographical extent of its diffusion and the temporal endurance of its artistic influence, the *Triumph of Christ* (henceforth *Triumph*) (see figs. 136, 136a) was unquestionably Titian's most successful multi-block print.<sup>21</sup> It portrays an elaborate procession in which Christ appears enthroned on a triumphal carriage, which divides the pageant into *sub lege* and *sub gratia* figure groups. It is iconographically complex, and seems to have drawn not only on literary, theological and cultural traditions, but also on political and more popular spiritual ones. Scholars have long debated both the date and the meaning of the work. As regards the date, the three most common proposals are that the print was designed around 1508 and printed shortly thereafter; that it was designed around 1510–11 and printed soon afterward; or, that it was designed in 1516 and printed for the first time in 1517. Since the only substantial evidence supporting a date of 1508 is Giorgio Vasari's biography of Titian,<sup>22</sup> most modern scholars have preferred the later

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<sup>19</sup> On Titian's calculated use of the woodcut to spread knowledge of his art, see Michelangelo Muraro, "Titien: Iconographie et politique," 33–37.

<sup>20</sup> In 1508 he had had his first state commission for the political frescoes on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi while in 1513 he had received the commission for the *Battle of Spoleto* for the Great Council Hall in the Ducal Palace. On the Fondaco frescoes, see Muraro, "Political Interpretation," 177–184; and Romano, "Giuditta e il Fondaco," 113–125. On the *Battle of Spoleto*, see Erica Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's *Battle of Cadore*," in *Art Bulletin* 27, no. 3 (September 1945): 205–08. On Titian's emphasis of the political in his art during the early years of his career, see Muraro, "Titien: Iconographie et politique"; and Giandomenico Romanelli, "Tiziano 'politico.' Tra repubblica e impero," in *Tiziano*, ex. cat. Palazzo Ducale, Venice (Venice: Marsilio, 1990), 35–36.

<sup>21</sup> The print's presence can be documented not only throughout the Veneto, but also in Urbino, Basel, Malines and Brussels by the mid-1520s. Michael Bury, "The *Triumph of Christ*, after Titian," in *Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1032 (March 1989): 188 (n. 6), 192 (n. 30), 197. Numerous editions of the print survive, their dates ranging from the 1510s to the early seventeenth century, some of which were published as far afield as Ghent. For bibliographic references and a list of the various editions, see Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 74–78.

<sup>22</sup> Vasari, *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori* [Milanesi], 7:431.

dates of 1511 or 1516.<sup>23</sup> The latter is surely the print's *terminus ante quem*, because some of Titian's figures from the print were copied in a bronze frieze that forms part of the Martinengo mausoleum, which was almost finished by 1516.<sup>24</sup> Whether the woodcut's design occurred in the one year or the other, it is certain that Titian's work was an artistic product inspired by the years in and around the Cambrai War. This has led some scholars to argue that the *Triumph*'s rich imagery was designed, at least in part, as a response to the political and spiritual tensions created by the conflict. Those who place the work in the early years of the war discern in it criticism of Julius II's questionable activities as pontiff (he had, after all, recently excommunicated the Venetians for political rather than spiritual reasons).<sup>25</sup> If the print was produced later in the war, it would have represented a response to different historical circumstances. In 1513 Venice had established an alliance

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<sup>23</sup> One of the few exceptions is Muraro, "Titien: Iconographie et politique," 33. Many scholars place the work around 1510–11 given its affinity to the artist's production in those years and because of Ridolfi's claim that Titian had frescoed a mural frieze of the same subject in the house where he was staying while working on the frescoes for the Scoletta. For Ridolfi's comments, see Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte* (1648), ed. F. von Hadeln, 2 vols. (Berlin: G. Grote, 1914–24), 1:156. For discussions favoring a dating of around 1511 for Titian's design, see Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's Woodcuts," 351; and Caroline Karpinski, "Il Trionfo della Fede: 'L'affresco' di Tiziano e la silografia di Lucantonio degli Uberti," in *Arte veneta* 46 (1994): 6–13. However, in order to maintain a dating of 1510–11, scholars have often had to stretch the evidence significantly. Usually the argument put forward is that the original blocks of that date were sent to France before 1517, where they were then printed with the addition of French inscriptions added in moveable type. Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 74–78. Others, however, see this explanation as rather absurd. It would necessitate the highly improbable idea that the original blocks left the city and that Venetian cutters then set about immediately copying them. See Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 272–73. More substantial proof exists for placing the first edition of the work to around 1516, since two requests for copyright protection for a print of the *triumpho* of Christ date to that year: Gregorio de' Gregoriis made his request on April 22 and Bernardino Benalio made his on May 6. For the documents, see respectively cat. nos. 207 and 208 in Fulin, "Documenti per Servire alla Storia," 18. Both of these requests have been associated with Titian's work and it may well be that both publishers issued a print, but the only surviving edition is that of De Gregoriis bearing the date of 1517. Another version, cut by Lucantonio degli Uberti but lacking any indication of date or publisher, may be the work published by Benalio, but there is no way to be sure. For a convincing argument that the De' Gregoriis edition was, in fact, the first, and that Titian's design must date to 1516, because the artist seems to have borrowed figures from Florentine prints produced in that very year, see Bury, "*Triumph of Christ*," 188–97.

<sup>24</sup> See Giovanni Agosti, *Su Mantegna, I* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2005), 1:99 (n. 44). Agosti claims that this refutes Bury's suggestion that the woodcut was designed in 1516 and first printed in 1517 ("*Triumph of Christ*," 188–97), but the artist who produced the frieze could have had access to preparatory drawings of Titian's work.

<sup>25</sup> See Feliciano Benvenuti, "Tiziano incisore e i suoi tempi," in Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 10–13. For Muraro and Rosand's own confirmation of this perspective, see *ibid.*, 76.

with the French, and which by 1515 had begun to bear fruit. In particular, the Franco-Venetian victory at the Battle of Marignano seemed to indicate that the Republic's fortunes were improving. In the later context, Titian's printed procession and its exaltation of the saving power of faith in Christ would have offered uplifting spiritual encouragement to Venetians who had been praying for military and political survival. Either way, the *Triumph* seems to have been designed to evoke connections with contemporary issues of politics and faith brought to the fore by the Cambrai War. By presenting it in a familiar format, Titian ensured that local viewers would easily understand the print's message. The procession had long been one of the Venetians' most beloved devotional activities. While it had always played an important role in the definition of Venetian identity—both political and religious—it was also a conspicuous means of enacting piety during the war. Since many perceived the conflict as a scourge sent by God to punish Venetian sinfulness, devotional processions were organised to celebrate victories or newly established alliances, and to beg for military aid or forgiveness.<sup>26</sup> There is no question that Titian's triumphal print would have been an encouraging sight for Venetian eyes.

On the other hand, the political and spiritual significance of Titian's *Submersion of Pharaoh in the Red Sea* (henceforth *Submersion*) seems clearer (fig. 12). Composed of twelve blocks and measuring over a metre by over two metres, the work is physically imposing. Its grand dimensions encouraged Titian to create a highly dramatic *istoria* in which Moses and the Israelites have already arrived safely on dry land while Pharaoh's army drowns dramatically in a roiling sea. To maximise the work's impact, the artist developed an aggressive visual language that had not yet been seen in the Italian woodcut. The print's energy is generated, in large part, by the employment of the same sort of ex-

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<sup>26</sup> On the importance of processions during the war, see chap. 5, p. 200.

pressive draughtsmanship that characterised Titian's pen drawings from around this time.<sup>27</sup> The image also generates significant visual tension through its compositional density and complexity, a pictorial technique that Titian probably gleaned from studying Dürer's prints. The most notable result of this pictorial approach is that the vast sea, with its countless, undulating lines, seems to take on a life of its own. As Michelangelo Muraro and David Rosand have noted, the water is the image's true protagonist; it dominates the picture space and safely separates the Israelites from their erstwhile enslavers. With its realistic depiction of such protective waters, the print seems tailor-made for a seafaring Venetian audience.<sup>28</sup>

As with the *Triumph*, art historians have debated when Titian first designed the *Submersion* and when it first appeared in print. Most have come to agree that Titian worked on the woodcut's design around 1514. First of all, Bernardino Benalio requested a copyright privilege for a print of the submersion of Pharaoh's army, which is generally believed to have employed Titian's design, in February 1515.<sup>29</sup> Secondly, the print's style is consistent with other works produced by the artist at that time, particularly the *Battle of*

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<sup>27</sup> See Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 55–56; and D'Elia, "Decorum of a Defecating Dog," 126.

<sup>28</sup> Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 82.

<sup>29</sup> Benalio requested a privilege for a print depicting the submersion of Pharaoh's army in February 1515. See entry no. 196 in Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia," 181. On this, see Tietze-Conrat, "Xilografia di Tiziano," 110–12; Olivato "*Submersione di Pharaone*," 529–530; and Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 278. For a differing opinion, see Karpinski, "Il Trionfo della Fede," 272–73 (nn. 62–64). Although the earliest surviving edition of the woodcut was printed in 1549 in Venice by Domenico dalle Greche, the discovery of what seems to be an early proof pulled from one of the twelve blocks in the Museo Correr in Venice offers convincing proof that an edition of the print was, in fact, issued in the 1510s. See cat. no. 8A in Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 80. Even if the Correr print is not from Benalio's edition, the way in which such works were displayed would account for the lack of a surviving print from 1515. As mentioned earlier, because of how they were used, monumental woodcuts usually survive in only one, or at most a few, exemplars.

*Spoletto*.<sup>30</sup> This canvas depicted a twelfth-century Venetian military victory in the Great Council Hall of the Ducal Palace. It is now known only through Titian's preparatory drawings and prints after the final work, for it perished in the fire of 1577. Although the *Battle of Spoleto* ultimately took decades to complete, Titian had already begun developing ideas for it when he received the commission in 1513, the same period in which it appears he was working on the *Submersion*. Both works involve monumental, dramatic portrayals of armed forces. The teeming mass of Egyptian soldiers who struggle against the waves in the *Submersion* seem to rely on the same compositional exercises that Titian was using to prepare the *Battle of Spoleto*.<sup>31</sup> The visual links between print and painting have led Erica Tietze-Conrat to suggest that the former may have even been a by-product of the latter's preparation.<sup>32</sup>

The usefulness of comparing these two works extends beyond establishing a reasonably secure dating of the *Submersion*'s design to the middle years of the Cambrai War. The comparison may also provide a context in which to consider the *Submersion*'s meaning, for their visual similarity could indicate that Titian viewed the projects in an analogous light. The *Battle of Spoleto* was an overtly political painting. As one of Titian's early government projects, it was important to his career. To secure the commission, the artist had even written a letter to the government recommending himself for the job by emphasising his patriotic sentiments. In the work's execution, he also seems to have allowed a more immediately significant interpretation of its subject by omitting any historically specific details. In this way, the painting could make reference to a more recent

<sup>30</sup> For scholarship that supports dating Titian's design to ca. 1514, see Erica Tietze-Conrat, "La xilografia di Tiziano *Il Passaggio del Mar Rosso*," in *Arte veneta* 4 (1950): 112; Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 81; Olivato, "La Submersione di Pharaone," 529–30; and Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 278.

<sup>31</sup> One of Titian's drawing studies for the *Battle of Spoleto* survives in the Louvre, Paris (inv. no. 21788), but the painting is usually not dated before ca. 1537.

<sup>32</sup> See Erica Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's *Battle of Cadore*," in *Art Bulletin* 27, no. 3 (September 1945): 205–08.



victory in the artist's native Cadore as much as to the medieval victory of Spoleto.<sup>33</sup> Given the *Submersion*'s close connection to this canvas, it seems likely that Titian produced the print in a similarly propagandistic spirit.

Muraro and Rosand pursued this avenue of investigation and suggest that the work was designed to offer a metaphorical celebration of Venice's survival of the League's attack.<sup>34</sup> They point out that Venetians would have been eager to equate themselves with the Israelites in Titian's print for two important reasons. First, they had traditionally perceived themselves as a sort of chosen people, blessed with divine approval and aid, just like the Jews of the Old Testament.<sup>35</sup> Secondly, as discussed in chapter five, many Venetians believed that their persecution by the major powers of Europe was the result of God's displeasure with their excessive pride.<sup>36</sup> Since this same sin had earned the Israelites their period of slavery in Egypt, Venetians might have interpreted Titian's image as a promise that the Republic could be forgiven and restored to God's good graces as had the people of Moses.<sup>37</sup> If this was Titian's intention, then the moment of the narrative he elected to represent is significant. Instead of portraying the saving act, the miraculous parting of the waters, the print shows its vindictive aftermath, the violent drowning of the Egyptians. This interpretation's plausibility finds reinforcement in the later inclusion of a *cartiglio* in a 1549 edition of the print, which describes the scene as an

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<sup>33</sup> Titian seems to have omitted any details from the painting that would have clearly identified the subject as the twelfth-century Battle of Spoleto so that the work could also allude to a more recent Venetian victory against the Germans in the artist's native town of Cadore in 1508. The connection between the painting and the 1508 Venetian victory has been so entrenched in some of the scholarship that it is actually named the *Battle of Cadore*. See Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's *Battle of Cadore*," 205–08.

<sup>34</sup> Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 82.

<sup>35</sup> See the discussion of this in Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall*, 141–42.

<sup>36</sup> See the previous discussion of this in chap. 5, pp. 203, 214–15.

<sup>37</sup> Olivato, "*Submersione di Pharaone*," 533.

“obstinate king’s cruel persecution of the people beloved of God, with the drowning of Pharaoh, who was thirsty for innocent blood.”<sup>38</sup>

In an effort to discern the *Submersion*’s more precise connection to the Cambrai War, scholars have sought to identify the particular event that might have inspired Titian’s work. Muraro and Rosand suggest that it was the pope’s abandonment of the League of Cambrai in 1510.<sup>39</sup> However, as Loredana Olivato has pointed out, the print was probably designed in 1513 or 1514, so it should probably be considered in relation to the events of those years.<sup>40</sup> By 1513, Venice had narrowly survived a more recent military crisis. In that year, the German forces had succeeded in pushing all the way to the edge of the lagoon. The cannon they fired from Mestre could be heard throughout the city, and Venetians took desperate defensive measures to prepare for the possibility that the Germans might reach Venice itself.<sup>41</sup> When weather and sickness finally obliged the German forces to withdraw, Venetians must have seen it as a miracle not unlike the rescue of the Israelites from Pharaoh. Olivato supports her argument by demonstrating how specific details in the print would have brought the image into close connection with contemporary circumstances. The Egyptian army, for example, is outfitted in early sixteenth-century armour. This would have prompted Cinquecento viewers to equate the enemy in the Old Testament event with the modern troops threatening the Republic’s sovereignty.<sup>42</sup> Even the buildings in the background might have encouraged the conflation of

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<sup>38</sup> The original Italian inscription reads: “La crudel persecutione del ostinato Re, contro il popolo tanto da Dio / amato, Con la sommersione di esso Pharaone goloso dil inocente / sangue. Disegnata per mano dil grande, et immortal Titiano. / In venetia p[er] domeneco dalle greche depentore Venitiano. / M.DXLIX”.

<sup>39</sup> Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 82.

<sup>40</sup> Olivato, “*Submersione di Pharaone*,” 535–36.

<sup>41</sup> For a primary account of these events, see the fearful description of the Germans’ arrival on the shores of the lagoon in October 1513 in Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 17, cols. 117–18. Sanudo had climbed up the campanile in Piazza San Marco to observe the mainland.

<sup>42</sup> Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 82; and Olivato, “*Submersione di Pharaone*,” 535.

the German and Egyptian armies, for the dominant structure has the appearance of a northern Gothic spire. Olivato even proposes that the modest, peasant-like portrayal of the Israelites was an homage to the mainland *villani* who had remained faithful to the Venetian cause.<sup>43</sup>

One of the most remarkable details is the defecating dog that appears prominently under Moses's extended arm. The motif represents a significant stylistic departure from the elevated character of the work as a whole. Titian may have decided to include the animal for several reasons, both stylistic and symbolic.<sup>44</sup> Muraro and Rosand suggest that the crude dog was included because it facilitated an aggressive expression of contempt for the Egyptians.<sup>45</sup> If this were the case, a Venetian viewer inclined to interpret the Egyptian army as a metaphor for Maximilian I's would surely have appreciated the defecation as a patriotically impertinent act. The motif may even have been inspired by a historical Venetian victory, the same one to have inspired Titian's design of the Battle of Spoleto: in 1508, the residents of the Republic's possessions in the mountains of the *Val-sugana* had supposedly scorned their German enemies by showing their rears to the retreating troops.<sup>46</sup> Viewed in this fashion, the dog creates an atmosphere similar to that of

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 535–36.

<sup>44</sup> Una Roman D'Elia has recently suggested that the dog is a calculated stylistic device designed to enhance the heroic, grandiloquent style of the work by juxtaposing it with contrasting elements characteristic of less sophisticated, popular visual culture. Her interpretation of the detail seems appropriate to the young, ambitious Titian who produced the print. See D'Elia, "Decorum of a Defecating Dog," 119–32. However, we might also ascribe to the artist the ability to create an image that could communicate on more than one level to audiences of different natures. In other words, different viewers could interpret the dog differently—either as a crude, vulgar motif, or as evidence of stylistic virtuosity—depending upon their relative degree of cultural refinement and the nature of their interest in the work. In both cases, however, this image of God's chosen people rescued from persecution by the power of the sea must have held a contemporary relevance for all of its Venetian viewers, regardless of their class or education.

<sup>45</sup> Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 82.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. Giorgio Vasari would later make similar use of such a dog in his own work as a means of communicating a derisive political statement; on this, see Irving Lavin, "David's Sling and Michelangelo's Bow: A Sign of Freedom," in his *Past-Present: Essays on Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 56–57.

the 1509 woodcut of the *gatta* of Padua discussed in chapter two (fig. 22). This earlier, simpler print is admittedly far removed from the grandiose *Submersion*, but the two works may have been intended to generate a similar kind of patriotism.

The woodcut's intimate connection to events around 1515 also seems evident in the sudden surge of artistic interest in the drowning of Pharaoh's army, a subject that had previously been rare in Venice.<sup>47</sup> In 1516, the woodcutter Fra' Ippolito di Pregnachi di Brescia asked for a copyright privilege to protect a woodcut of "the story ... of Pharaoh pursuing the people of Israel," for which he had already cut the blocks.<sup>48</sup> A large painting of the subject was also produced shortly thereafter by Jan van Scorel, and Andrea Previtali produced another.<sup>49</sup> Whereas the former was commissioned for a private home, the latter gave the subject an official significance, for it was commissioned by the government for the chapel of S. Nicolò in the Ducal Palace (fig. 137). The function of Previtali's painting as a depiction of salvation was reinforced by its meaningful pairing with a canvas of the Harrowing of Hell.<sup>50</sup> The sudden popularity of representing the drowning of

<sup>47</sup> As far as the present author is aware, only one Venetian depiction predated Titian's, a *telero* produced by Giovanni Bellini for the Scuola Grande di San Marco and destroyed in the fire of the 1480s. On this, see Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia*, 2:180.

<sup>48</sup> Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, Reg. 18, f. 32<sup>v</sup>, and Reg. 26, f. 22<sup>v</sup>: "la storia...di pharaone perseguitante il popolo da Israel." The request was made on 15 May 1516. No surviving impression has been identified.

<sup>49</sup> Van Scorel's work was witnessed by Michiel in the collection of Francesco Zio in 1521. Introductory essay by Cristina de Benedictis in Marcantonio Michiel, *Notizia d'opere del disegno. Edizione critica a cura di Theodor Frimmel, Vienna 1896* (Florence: Edifir, 2000), 54. Although Michiel's visit is dated "1512" in the manuscript, it has been shown that the visit must have taken place in 1521 and that the numbers of the date were somehow inverted. On this, see the discussion in Philip Rylands, *Palma il Vecchio: L'opera completa* (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1988), 31–32. Bert Meijers believes he has found Van Scorel's painting in a private collection. Meijers, "Over Jan van Scorel in Venetië en het vroege werk van Lambert Sustris," in *Oud Holland* 106, no. 1 (1992): 1–19; see also cat. no. 125 in *Il Rinascimento a Venezia e la pittura del Nord ai tempi di Bellini, Dürer, Tiziano*, eds. Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown, exh. cat. Palazzo Grassi, Venice (Milan: Bompiani, 1999), 462–63.

<sup>50</sup> Stringa notes the presence of the canvas in the Ducal chapel in his reissuing of Sansovino's guidebook; *Venetia città nobilissima* [1604], 232<sup>f</sup>. By the eighteenth century, however, the painting had been moved to the room next door; see Antonio Maria Zanetti, *Della pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche de' veneziani maestri* [1771], 2nd ed. (Venice: Giacomo Storzi, 1792), 120. On the seicento sources and for a discus-

Pharaoh's army during the latter part of the Cambrai War and shortly after its conclusion strongly implies that the subject had acquired a particular relevance for Venetians during the conflict.

The same kind of timeliness may have informed Titian's probable involvement in the production of another woodcut around the same time, the four-block *Sacrifice of Isaac* (fig. 146). An inscription on the first edition indicates that Ugo da Carpi cut the blocks and that Bernardino Benalio acted as publisher.<sup>51</sup> Since Benalio requested a copyright privilege for the *Sacrifice* in February 1515, and Ugo was in Rome by the fall of 1517, the print's first edition is believed to date to 1515 or 1516.<sup>52</sup> Although Titian may not have been responsible for the work's final appearance, his involvement in the project is implied by an extant drawing by his hand relating to the trees in the print's upper right block.<sup>53</sup>

That the *Sacrifice* and the *Submersion* share the same date and publisher, if not also the same artist, is already enough evidence to recommend that they be considered in

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sion of the painting's attribution to Previtali, see Pietro Zampetti and Ileana Chiappini, "Andrea Previtali," in *I pittori bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo* (Bergamo: Poligrafe Bolis, 1975), 1:140.

<sup>51</sup> The inscription reads: "In Uenetia per Ugo da carpi / Stampata per Bernardino / benalio: Cum priuilegio concesso / per lo Illustrissimo Senato / Sul campo de san Stephano." On the various states of the print, see Karpinski, "Some Woodcuts," 258–59 (n. 4).

<sup>52</sup> For Benalio's request, see below, n. 67. As regards Ugo da Carpi's move to Rome, the Tietzes date the work to between 1516 and 1518 because they believed that Ugo went to Rome in 1518 (Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's Woodcuts," 353). However, since evidence has come to light suggesting that Ugo was already in Rome by the fall of 1517, the work's date probably falls some time before then; on this, see Karpinski, "Some Woodcuts," 261 (n. 10); and Peter Dreyer, "Ugo da Carpi's venezianische Zeit im Lichte neuer Zumschreibungen," in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 35, no. 4 (1972): 282–83.

<sup>53</sup> The drawing, executed in pen and brown ink, is in the Metropolitan Museum, Inv. 08.227.38. On the nature of the drawing and on Titian's involvement with the print, see Peter Dreyer, "Tizianfälschungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts; Korrekturen zur Definition der Delineatio bei Tizian und Anmerkungen zur Datierung seiner Holzschnitte," in *Pantheon* 37, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1979): 365–375; Karpinski, "Some Woodcuts," 260; and Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 281–83. The Tietzes had difficulty with the notion that Titian designed the composition as it appears in the print. Although Vasari indicates that Titian drew his design directly on the blocks in the case of the *Six Saints*, the Tietzes have argued that the overall design of the *Sacrifice* was not prepared for cutting in this way; they suggest, rather, that the composition is the invention of the woodcutter who had a group of Titian's drawings at his disposal. They make the same argument in relation to the *St. Jerome* and the *Milkmaid*. See Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, "Titian's Woodcuts," 347–48.

relation to one another. Both subjects were uncommon in Venetian art when the prints were designed,<sup>54</sup> and both are Old Testament stories involving divine intervention on the behalf of the weak. Just as God had rescued the Israelites from their Egyptian slave-drivers, so he had stopped Isaac's sacrifice at Abraham's hand. As a result, one can imagine that those who perceived an uplifting message in the *Submersion* would have been just as receptive to a representation of the story of Isaac, thus making the *Sacrifice* an equally timely work of art. When God asked Abraham to sacrifice his only son, it was a supreme test of the patriarch's faith. As a result, Abraham's unwavering belief and obedience earned him the Lord's profound blessing. An angel told Abraham that his descendants would flourish, and that they would come to control the cities of their enemies. Abraham thus became the father of a great nation favoured by God and destined to grow and thrive. Venetians were fond of seeing themselves in the same role, but, as a result of the war, they worried that their immoral behaviour had put their preferential status at risk. In this context, it was precisely for rewards like those granted Abraham—divine grace and a promising future under God's protection—that Venetians were desperately praying. When Titian's print went on the market, they, like Abraham, were being fiercely put to the test. Thus, the image, showing God's intervention on the behalf of his faithful servants, would have served as a stimulus to devotional prayer and provided a message of hope for the future. This analysis of the print's possible meaning gains further support from the following discussion, which demonstrates that many wartime monumental prints display a particular relevance to current events and their spiritual impact.

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<sup>54</sup> Although Titian himself would revisit the subject for the ceiling paintings of the church of Santo Spirito in the 1540s, no other autonomous works of art produced in Venice represented the theme previously.

### 6.3 Giovanni Andrea Vavassore's *Battle of Marignano*

The connection between the visual imagery of wartime monumental woodcuts and contemporary events was not always associative in nature, nor was Titian the only artist to produce such prints. The printmaker Giovanni Andrea Vavassore designed and published an eight-block woodcut that portrays the Battle of Marignano (figs. 140, 141). One of the Cambrai War's greatest clashes, the Battle of Marignano took place in Lombardy, where the Franco-Venetian alliance defeated the combined forces of the Swiss, Spanish and papal armies on 15 September 1515. The print is believed to date to shortly after the clash.<sup>55</sup>

Venetians had good reason to celebrate and commemorate the Battle of Marignano. First of all, its success offered the promise that the Venetians were going to survive the war and regain the better part of the former *terraferma* empire. Given Venice's abysmal military record over the course of the war, the Battle of Marignano was a rare success to be celebrated. The victory was also important because the Republic's forces had played a crucial role in bringing it about. Although the French had been losing ground on the first day of the conflict, the arrival of Venetian troops on the second turned the tide.<sup>56</sup> Vavassore reflects this in the upper, right-hand block by portraying the ceremonious arrival of the Venetian captain, Bartolomeo d'Alviano, and his troops. The mercenary's importance in the image is evident in the fact that he is the only figure explicitly identified by a *banderole* (fig. 142), something that even the king of France is not afforded. The *Battle of Marignano* was surely aimed at those who were eager to savour the Republic's recent success.

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<sup>55</sup> On the print as dating to shortly after the battle, see Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 72. The print also appeared in the vast print collection of Ferdinando Colombo which the collector began to accumulate in 1512. See McDonald, *Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 2:519–20 (inv. no. 2815).

<sup>56</sup> On the Battle of Marignano, see Pieri, *Rinascimento e la crisi militare*, 514–24; and Finlay, "Foundation of the Ghetto," 147.

It is important to note that Vavassore's print was a unique graphic project for its time. The representation of contemporary battles in Italian Renaissance art was exceedingly rare, especially when compared with its frequency in northern art of the period. The historian John Hale could find only three produced during the Italian Wars: the *Battle of Marignano* itself, a far less ambitious engraving related to the earlier Battle of Ravenna (fig. 143), and a painted image on the wooden cover of an account book.<sup>57</sup> Vavassore's decision to depict such unusual subject matter was surely sparked by the fact that Venetians perceived the Battle of Marignano as much more than a simple military success. Venetians also interpreted it as a strong indication of God's approval of the Republic, something they had been seeking desperately since the Rout of Agnadello in 1509. Sanudo remarked that the battle had been won with "the aid of our lord God," and that Venetians saw it as the answer to their prayers.<sup>58</sup> The Signoria organised masses, processions, and the distribution of grain to the poor as an expression of their thanks.<sup>59</sup> Doge Leonardo Loredan even called his ally Francis I an angel of God.<sup>60</sup> Sanudo's comments bring to mind the salvific subject matter of the *Submersion*. Titian's print employed a stirring Old Testament subject in order to express hope for the future, and Vavassore's commemorated a contemporary event that demonstrated God's favour of the Republic.

However, as much as Vavassore's print and Titian's *Submersion* share a similarly celebratory spirit, they are very different works of art. Most obviously, the *Battle of*

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<sup>57</sup> Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 140. The *Battle of Ravenna* was produced by the printmaker known as Master Na. Dat. with a Mousetrap due to the monogram on the print. The Battle of Ravenna pitted the French, led by Gaston de Foix, against the united forces of the Spanish king and the pope. As a result, the fleur-de-lys and the bull (alluding to the De Foix coat-of-arms, which bears two cows) on the military standards of the one army and the arms of Spain and the Della Rovere oak on those of the other refer to the battle's protagonists. For more on this, see cat. no. 2516.002 in Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, vol. 25 (Commentary) of *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 453–56.

<sup>58</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 21, col. 82.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 114, 121.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 405.



*Marignano* is decidedly Gothic in style, whereas Titian consciously developed a revolutionary artistic idiom in the *Submersion*. In part, the old-fashioned character of Vavassore's work can be accounted for by its creative reuse of two older blocks: the upper and lower blocks at the extreme left were produced in the Quattrocento by an earlier hand.<sup>61</sup> Certainly, the recycling of these blocks would have saved time in the production of the final print. In addition, the older blocks display a view of Milan, the best-known city in the area of the obscure Marignano, which would have helped locate the battle geographically. These factors on their own, however, cannot have justified the decision to execute the entire work in a markedly fifteenth-century style, especially since Vavassore was an ambitious woodcutter at the beginning of what would prove to be an immensely successful career. He was, after all, very likely the artist who helped produce the stylistically avant-garde woodcuts for the *Apocalypse Ihesu Christi* discussed in chapter five.<sup>62</sup> The best explanation for the deliberate production of such an ambitious work in such a consciously out-moded style is that Vavassore thought the buying public would respond well to it. Hale, one of the few scholars to discuss the print, argues that its style implies the existence of "a category of Italian purchaser that has not yet been defined."<sup>63</sup> He cannot believe that someone who bought Titian's high-quality, stylish woodcut would possibly have been interested in what he calls the "unfashionable" *Battle of Marignano*.<sup>64</sup>

Hale's notion that style would not have been the primary concern of many war-time print buyers is important, but this need not lead to the categorisation of works as "fashionable" or "unfashionable." Perhaps the dissimilarity of Titian's and Vavassore's

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<sup>61</sup> See the discussion in Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 144.

<sup>62</sup> On this, see chap. 5, pp. 241–42.

<sup>63</sup> Hale, *Artists and Warfare*, 144.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

works is better explained less by redefining categories of consumers, and more by thinking about how the monumental woodcut as an artistic medium was perceived in early-Cinquecento Venice. Monumental woodcuts produced during the war evidently did not need to be innovative as Titian's turned out to be. After all, any monumental woodcut, including Titian's ambitious *Submersion*, would have had to appeal to a much broader public than the small, well-educated elite usually capable of appreciating avant-garde stylistic ideas. As a result, it is not surprising that the artistic quality of Titian's woodcut is not at all representative of wartime monumental woodcuts. On the contrary, another contemporary print shares the *Battle's* retardataire style, Lucantonio degli Uberti produced a nine-block *St. George and the Dragon* (fig. 156), which is discussed below. In fact, it would appear that "old-fashioned" images of battle were remarkably "fashionable" at the time.

Events of the Cambrai War were often placed in association with the chivalric world of the Middle Ages, both in text and in images. The wartime news pamphlets discussed in chapters two and four demonstrate how the style of the courtly romance was adopted as a means of imbuing narratives of modern events with greater importance. They also made use of figurative woodblocks carved for printed romances or freshly-carved ones in a similarly chivalric style to accompany the textual narrative (see figs. 63–65). The *Battle of Marignano* is probably best understood in relation to this kind of material. Vavassore's rendering of clusters of pikes directed toward the enemy or pointing into the air, and his representation of armies as bodies piled one on top of the other recall the pamphlets' woodcuts and the imagery from which they were derived. In fact, the link between the pamphlets and Vavassore's multi-block woodcut is evident in the

latter's incorporation of an inscription in the lower right block. The rather lengthy text recounts the battle's sequence of events "in praise and glory" of the king of France and of the "illustrious and most serene government of Venice."<sup>65</sup> In essence, the print employs the same components appearing in a news pamphlet, but inverts their emphasis—here, the text becomes subordinate to the image, whose dominant size and visual richness monopolise the viewer's attention. Contextualised in this way, the *Battle of Marignano* was following a popular trend. Therefore, whereas Titian's *Submersion* used an epic portrayal of a biblical tale to provide an uplifting commentary on recent military events, the *Battle of Marignano* used the more popular idiom of the courtly, Gothic style to transport the battle and its modern protagonists to the revered world of martial legend. Each would have been effective in its own way, and there is no reason to imagine that they would necessarily have had different admirers.

#### **6.4 The Preference for Religious Subjects in Monumental Woodcuts**

Rather than its style, what makes the *Battle of Marignano* exceptional in the context of monumental woodcut production in the early Cinquecento is its subject matter. The *Submersion* is far more characteristic of the prints designed during the war, because it exemplifies the penchant to produce large-scale prints of religious subjects. This trend is evident in the most important surviving documents regarding the production of Venetian multi-block woodcuts, two requests made by Bernardino Benalio on different occasions for copyright protection of the prints he intended to publish. As mentioned earlier, his request of 9 February 1515 includes one of Moses and the parting of the Red Sea that is

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<sup>65</sup> The narrative inscription begins: "A laude e gloria del victorioso Signore. S. Francesco Anglem Christianissimo Re di francia 7 della Illustrissima 7 Serenissima Signoria de Uenetia."

presumed to be after Titian's design, as well as one of the sacrifice of Isaac, also believed to be by Titian, and another by Girolamo da Treviso of Susannah with the elders.<sup>66</sup> On 6 May 1516, a little over a year later, Benalio asked to be granted copyright protection for a large, two-block print of the Last Judgement, another of the triumph of the Virgin that was probably of the same size, and an eight-block *Triumph of Christ* (presumably linked somehow to Titian's design but apparently never printed).<sup>67</sup> If we consider the prints cited in the two requests as a representative cross-section of the publisher's figurative oeuvre, it seems likely that Benalio was printing large woodcuts of specifically religious subject matter. He even emphasised this point in the request of 1516, stating that his prints were "worthy of commendation and favour for their new spiritual and devout invention."<sup>68</sup>

The tendency to use the multi-block print for the representation of religious imagery is, in some respects, a logical extension of some of woodcuts' traditional uses. Although at the time printmakers such as Giulio Campagnola were experimenting with en-

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<sup>66</sup> Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, Reg. 17, f. 105<sup>r</sup>: "Serenissime Principes et Excellentissima ac Illustrissims Signoria: Reverentis ac humilis supplicature per el vostro fidelissimo servitore: Bernardino Benalio stampador gia longamente habitante a Venexia, exercitante larte Impresoria: Cum sit ch'el ditto supplicante voglia stampare... Item del ditto fa disegnare & intagiare molte belle hystorie deuote cioe la submersione di pharaone, la hystoria de Susannah: la hystoria del sacrificio de Abraham, et altre hystorie noue che non sono mai piu sta stampate nel Dominio de Sua Sublimita..." This document is catalogued as no. 196 in Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia," 181. On the identification of the prints as being by Titian and Girolamo da Treviso, see Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 57–58, 83.

<sup>67</sup> Archivio di stato di Venezia, Collegio, Reg. 18, f. 33<sup>r</sup>: "Serenissimo Principe, & Illustrissima Signoria, volendo Io fidelissimo servo vostro Bernardin Benali in executione de la gratia me concesse gia vostra sublimita far stampar in dui fogli reali el final iudicio cum li chori angelici, & ordeni de Beati, & infinito numero dei damnati, & demoni; Item el glorioso triumpho de la vergine Maria advocata de questa Inclita Cita; Item la processional visione imaginaria del salvator nostro, in foglio octo reali, cum bellissimi ornamenti, opere certo degne de commendatione & favor per la spiritual & devotissima inventione nova, et mai piu cogitate, non che stampate..." The document is catalogued as no. 208 in Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia," 188. Although no surviving prints of these have been identified, two woodcuts of the Last Judgement published by Benalio appeared in Ferdinando Colombo's print collection; see cat. nos. 2590, 2824, 2824a in McDonald, *Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 468–69, 521.

<sup>68</sup> See the previous note.

graving for the portrayal of innovative, secular subjects,<sup>69</sup> the woodcut still had close ties to its older, more popular origins. Since the early decades of the fifteenth century woodcuts had been exploited as a means for the cheap and easy diffusion of devotional imagery. Most commonly, they took the form of small, cheap, apotropaic images of saints known as *santini*, which could be kept on one's person or even eaten. Others were put on display by being glued to the wall, and some even functioned as altarpieces.<sup>70</sup>

An anonymous, eight-block *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* (fig. 144) exemplifies the often close link between Venetian monumental woodcuts and the spiritual needs of the buying public. The rarity of the subject strongly suggests that the print was produced in connection with the same events that inspired Vittore Carpaccio's 1515 altarpiece of the same subject (fig. 145), produced for the Franciscan church of Sant'Antonio in Castello. During the terrible plague of 1511, the monastery's prior, Francesco Ottobon, had prayed that the *frati* under his care would survive the deadly disease. He subsequently experienced a vision of the Ten Thousand Martyrs processing through the church, and afterward none of the brothers fell ill. To express his gratitude for this saintly intervention, Ottobon dedicated an altar to the martyrs, and its decoration was overseen

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<sup>69</sup> For a good discussion of the possibilities of engraving and the uses to which it was being put by artists like Giulio Campagnola, see Patricia Emison, "Asleep in the Grass of Arcadia: Giulio Campagnola's *Dreamer*," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992): 271–92.

<sup>70</sup> On the early development of the printing of figurative woodcuts, see Hind, *Introduction to a History*, 1:160–67; Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, i–iii. On its history in Venice, see d'Essling, *Livres à figures vénitiens*, pt. 3: 29–48; and the numerous Venetian prints discussed in *Xilografie italiane del Quattrocento da Ravenna e da altri luoghi*, ex. cat. Gabinetto Nazionale dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Rome (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1987). As regards the particular example of playing cards, their production in Venice had a long history. A document dating to 1441 records a request made by the Venetian woodcutters and makers of playing-cards brought before the government that the foreign import of their product be stopped in order to protect their business. The request was granted and a ban was placed on the import of every type of print, including cards and textiles. See a transcription of the document, see Hind, *Introduction to a History*, 1:83. On documentary evidence for the sale of "anchonas in carta" depicting religious subjects like the Crucifixion or the Trinity, see Document 1, indicating the sale of "Crucifixi" and "Trinitas per meçe" in Sartori, "Documenti padovani," 117.

by the prior's nephew. The altar was consecrated in 1512, and Carpaccio completed its painted altarpiece of the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* in 1515.<sup>71</sup>

The creation of the print representing this same subject must likewise have been linked with Ottobon's experience. The production of multiple impressions from the woodblocks allowed many lay people to acquire an image for their home that helped them to pray more privately to the Ten Thousand for protection from the plague. By purchasing and displaying the huge print, Venetians were "buying into" the protective powers of the Ten Thousand, both literally and figuratively. As Dreyer points out, the Martyrs' "veneration at this particular moment in the lagoon and the Veneto was a promising feature for the sale of a large edition of ... a monumental woodcut."<sup>72</sup> Surely such a large printed work would have seemed far more efficacious than the tiny *santini* employed towards similar ends. Although it had always been assumed that the painting preceded the woodcut, Peter Dreyer has recently shown that the print was actually finished a few years before the altarpiece.<sup>73</sup> This demonstrates how effectively prints, produced quickly and in multiple copies, could respond to the immediate devotional needs of Venetians. Whereas Carpaccio's painting took several years to complete, the anonymous print was gracing the walls of Venetians homes and businesses much sooner.

Within the group of monumental woodcuts of devotional subjects produced during the war, there seems to be a preference for certain kinds of themes, and these help further reconstruct the prints' contemporary significance and use. Benalio's copyright

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<sup>71</sup> On the altar and the altarpiece commission, see Sgarbi, *Carpaccio*, 182–84.

<sup>72</sup> Dreyer, "Bodies in the Trees," 47.

<sup>73</sup> Although most scholars have argued that the print was produced after the painting, Dreyer's careful analysis is convincing; "Bodies in the Trees: Carpaccio and the Genesis of a Woodcut of the *10,000 Martyrs*," in *Apollo* 145 (March 1997): 45–47. The article convincingly refutes the dating of the print to a few years after Carpaccio's painting in an earlier article, Paul Joannides, "Bodies in the Trees: A Mass-Martyrdom by Michelangelo," in *Apollo* 140 (November 1994): 4.

request of 1516, for example, lists a print of the “triumph of the Virgin.” Although we have no evidence that the work was ever published, Benalio promoted the project by emphasising that Mary was an “advocate of this illustrious city.”<sup>74</sup> His comment encourages us to perceive the print as a devotional work portraying the triumph of one of Venice’s dearest heavenly patrons. The Virgin’s importance in the Venetian context has long been recognised; the Republic even went so far as to associate its inviolate state with Mary’s unsullied womb.<sup>75</sup> The “triumpho” of the Virgin may have been a large scene of the Coronation. This subject was of paramount political significance to Venetians because of where it appeared, on the tribune wall of the meeting hall of the Great Council in the Ducal Palace, and what it represented, the crowning of the Virgin/Venice. If the Coronation was, in fact, what Benalio intended to publish, this offers valuable information about the kind of imagery that artists and publishers believed they could sell in the form of a large-scale woodcut. Such a print would have communicated a message as patriotic as that of Jacopo de’ Barbari’s map of Venice or the *Battle of Marignano*, but via spiritual rather than secular means.

The request of 1515 is a richer source for analysis than that of 1516, because we can identify all three of the prints mentioned—Titian’s *Submersion* and *Sacrifice of Isaac*, and Girolamo da Treviso’s *Susannah and the Elders*. Benalio must have considered the prints highly saleable. Not only did he protect the woodcuts from copyists, but he also gave them publishing precedence over the books listed in the same copyright request—all of the woodcuts seem to have been printed, but not one of the books was pub-

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<sup>74</sup> See n. 68.

<sup>75</sup> On devotion to the Virgin in Venice and the association of Venice’s political purity with the physical purity of the Virgin, see Rosand, *Myths of Venice*, 36–37. On the manifestation of this devotion in Venetian visual culture, see *ibid.*, 16; and Ruth Chavasse, “Latin Lay Piety and Vernacular Lay Piety in Word and Image: Venice, 1471–Early 1500s,” in *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 3 (September 1996): 319–42.

lished.<sup>76</sup> In examining the prints as a group, the first point of interest is that all three of those associated with Benalio's request of 1515 presented subjects that rarely appeared in Venetian art.<sup>77</sup> So why did Benalio opt to publish prints of uncommon subjects when it would have presumably been easier to sell imagery of already popular ones? Most probably he was trying to capture the interest of potential buyers with topical rather than timeless themes. It seems an unlikely coincidence that all three of Benalio's prints are of Old Testament events in which divine intervention effected a salvific miracle. God rescued the Israelites from enslavement in Egypt by helping Moses to part the Red Sea; he saved Isaac by sending an angel to stay Abraham's hand; and he brought about the improbable acquittal of the innocent Susannah by sending the Holy Spirit to work through Daniel. The same interest in salvific miracles is evident in Lucantonio degli Uberti's monumental print of St. George fighting the dragon also published around 1515. Venetians had been praying for such a miraculous salvation ever since the Rout of Agnadello. Publishers seem to have believed that the stories they presented in monumental woodcuts offered the devotional stimulus or the spiritual comfort that Venetians were seeking. This seems to be particularly true in the case of Girolamo da Treviso's *Susannah and the Elders*.

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<sup>76</sup> It should be noted that Caroline Karpinski is of the opinion that neither the *Submersion of Pharaoh's Army* nor the *Susannah and the Elders* was printed at the time. As a result, she notes no difference between the regularity with which Benalio printed the books and prints for which he requested privileges; "Some Woodcuts," 258 (n. 2). She also remarks that it was as a consequence of the overly avid requests of publishers like Benalio that the Venetian government overhauled its system of granting privileges and annulled all pre-existing copyright grants in 1517. For more on this, see Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, 52ff. Karpinski's assessment, however, is countered by scholarship suggesting that all three prints—the *Submersion*, the *Susannah*, and the *Sacrifice*—were, in fact, produced after Benalio made his privilege request of 1515.

<sup>77</sup> As mentioned above, the only Venetian depiction of the *Submersion* predating Titian's design of which the present author is aware is a work by Gentile Bellini for the Scuola Grande di San Marco destroyed by a fire; on this, see Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Gentile Bellini* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985), doc. 6, cat. no. B12. The *Sacrifice of Isaac* was equally rare; see above, n. 55. Finally, the same can be said about representations of Susannah and the elders. Aside from representations of the story by Lotto—one in intarsia for the choir of S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, and two paintings—the subject only became common in the latter part of the sixteenth century with works by Paolo Veronese and Jacopo Tintoretto; these are discussed below.



### 6.5 Girolamo da Treviso's *Susannah and the Elders*

Bernardino Benalio published Girolamo da Treviso's *Susannah and the Elders* (Book of Daniel (13:1–65)) as a four-block woodcut measuring 85 by 107.5 cm in 1515 (fig. 147).<sup>78</sup> As mentioned, the story of Susannah's encounter with the elders rarely appeared in Venetian art before Girolamo's print went on the market, and the most famous depictions of the subject date to much later in the century.<sup>79</sup> Little is known about the early phase of Girolamo's career, aside from the fact that he was working in Venice by the time he produced the *Susannah*, which is one of the few works firmly attributed to his youth.<sup>80</sup> According to Vasari, he would have been only seventeen at the time.<sup>81</sup> The print betrays Girolamo's inexperience through its compositional naïveté. Particularly notable is his awkward treatment of each block as a compositionally distinct unit. However, while the woodcut may not approach the sophistication of Titian's *Submersion*, it is nonetheless remarkably ambitious, particularly in its portrayal of a frontally viewed, fully nude female figure.

The print emphasises the moment in which Susannah has been presented with the elders' ultimatum. Her determination to maintain her virtue is clearly conveyed by her desperate flight toward the locked door. The visual narrative is extended both backward

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<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, the inscription that may have once confirmed this fact was later eliminated and does not appear in any of the impressions of the lower right block that have survived. The only complete edition of the print is in the Royal Collection in Copenhagen. Impressions of the lower two blocks are in the collection of the British Museum and since the existence of the upper two blocks was not known, they were erroneously treated as a complete work in the early literature. On this, see Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 83–84 (cat. no. 10). A coloured impression of the print also appeared in the extensive collection of Ferdinando Colombo; on this, see McDonald, *Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 498 (inv. no. 2730).

<sup>79</sup> Both Paolo Veronese and Jacopo Tintoretto painted multiple versions of the subject in the latter half of the Cinquecento. A few of these are addressed in the discussion below.

<sup>80</sup> For an overview of Girolamo's career, see Franca Zava Bocazzi, "Tracce per Girolamo da Treviso il Giovane," in *Arte veneta* 12 (1958): 70–78; and Alessandro Serafini, "Girolamo da Treviso il Giovane," in *DBI*, 56:591–95.

<sup>81</sup> Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri* [1550], eds. L. Bellosi and A. Rossi (Turin: Einaudi, 1968), 2:762.

and forward in time by the inclusion of other events in the background. The upper right block shows the earlier departure of Susannah's servants toward the house to retrieve the oils for their mistress's bath. It also shows a young woman, who could well be Susannah herself, drawing water from the well while being furtively observed by an old man. The upper left block shows two episodes that occur later in the narrative (figs. 148, 149). On the right, it would appear that the elders are accusing Susannah of adultery; on the left, a young Daniel seems to intervene as judge.

Generally speaking, depictions of Susannah and the elders in Italian Renaissance art employed the heroine as a behavioural exemplar for young women, because she was willing to do whatever was necessary to maintain her virtue and the honour of her husband. The most common examples take the form of painted panels decorating quattrocento Florentine marriage chests.<sup>82</sup> Susannah's story was also occasionally employed toward the same end in Venetian art of the sixteenth century, as in the case of a lost *Susannah and the Elders* by Lorenzo Lotto. A Bergamask nobleman had commissioned the large painting as a cautionary pendant to an epithalamic *Venus and Cupid*.<sup>83</sup> However, in contrast with works produced in connection with a wedding, Girolamo's *Susannah* was not a unique commission executed for a specific patron. Instead, it was a large-scale print intended for sale in numerous copies to multiple buyers. Its predominant

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<sup>82</sup> See Ellen Callmann, "The Growing Threat to Marital Bliss as Seen in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Paintings," in *Studies in Iconography* 5 (1979): 73–92; and Cristelle Baskins, "'La Festa di Susannah': Virtue on Trial in Renaissance Sacred Drama and Painted Wedding Chests," in *Art history* 14, no. 3 (September 1991): 329–44. Baskins's more recent study interprets representations of Susannah's story on Quattrocento marriage chests in light of Italian Renaissance sacred drama and gender constructs by focusing on the relationship between a sacred drama based on the Book of Daniel and the iconography of five *cassone* panels by Domenico di Michelino.

<sup>83</sup> The *Venus and Cupid* is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Both works were commissioned by Mario d'Armano. While the canvas depicting Venus celebrated physical union and the hope of fertility, the *Susannah and the Elders* exhorted the new wife to preserve herself for her husband. Peter Humfrey, *Lorenzo Lotto* (Bergamo: Edizioni Bolis, 1998), 140.

function, therefore, is not likely to have been the instruction of young Venetian brides regarding their wifely responsibilities. So what could have induced Girolamo and Benalio to think that a monumental woodcut of the rarely depicted story of *Susannah* would sell?

Feliciano Benvenuti suggests that viewers were to perceive the sordidness of the elders as a metaphor for contemporary corruption among high-ranking church officials.<sup>84</sup> However, Venetians had a great deal more to worry about at the time than ecclesiastical corruption. Surely the print's design, publication and purchase would have been influenced by more topical concerns. These seem to be revealed by an examination of the two aspects that characterise *Susannah's* tale: the divine rescue of a defenceless but virtuous victim from unfair persecution by a degenerate party; and second, the emphasis on the importance of justice in both its earthly and its heavenly forms.

The first of these links the *Susannah* with Titian's *Submersion*, which was also among the prints for which Benalio requested a copyright privilege in 1515. Any story that presented a weaker victim at the mercy of a stronger aggressor could have been easily interpreted in relation to contemporary events, especially when it was a religious narrative. Paul Joannides, for example, has similarly suggested that there was a marked appreciation of images of Judith in Venice during the years in and around the war for precisely this reason (see, for example, figs. 7, 8, 150, 151).<sup>85</sup> However, Girolamo's *Susannah* does not emphasise the story's "happy ending," as do traditional depictions of Judith with Holofernes's head or the *Submersion*. In the latter case, Pharaoh's army is in the process of being destroyed, and the rescued victims feel safe enough to sit on the ground and rest, or even calmly nurse a baby. Titian's print offers an unambiguous image

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<sup>84</sup> Benvenuti, "Tiziano incisore," 18.

<sup>85</sup> Paul Joannides, "Titian's *Judith* and its Context: The Iconography of Decapitation," in *Apollo* 135, no. 361 (1992): 163–70, esp. 167–68.

of the victory of the meek over the strong that was designed to reassure and comfort. The *Susannah*, in contrast, focuses on the dramatic portrayal of the persecution of the victim, the depraved elders preying upon Susannah, rather than on the final meting out of justice through the lapidation of the corrupt judges.

Considered within the larger context of artistic production at the time, Girolamo's depiction of the central scene must have been distressingly foreign to Venetian viewers of the time. Female nudity was rare in early-Cinquecento Venetian art. When it occurred, it most often appeared in paintings such as Giorgione's Dresden *Venus* or Bellini's *Young Woman with a Mirror* (fig. 93), private works seen by an elite viewership. Leaving aside the question of the degree to which paintings such as these were erotically stimulating or morally edifying, they consistently present an undeniably sensual depiction of a woman's unclothed body. The *Susannah*'s presentation of the female nude in the role of vulnerable victim was thus highly innovative, daring and probably, for viewers, even exciting. However, while a viewer could still enjoy the sensuality of the print's nude female, her awkward flight from the elders' lurid advance suggests that the primary purpose of Girolamo's work was to have moral impact.

This becomes more evident when the *Susannah* is compared with other Venetian representations of the subject that appeared around the same time as book illustrations. One is on the title page of a book printed circa 1505 that recounts the biblical story and discusses the celebration of the heroine's feast day (fig. 152). It shows an early stage of the narrative when Susannah is still clothed and the elders, talking to each other in the foreground, have yet to approach her. The simple woodcut is not at all designed to force its viewers to confront the moral repugnance of the story and, in showing an early mo-

ment in the story, seems to have functioned more as a prelude to the text that follows after. Another woodcut appeared in an illustrated Bible of 1517 (fig. 153).<sup>86</sup> It shows Susannah kneeling gratefully in prayer before the enthroned Daniel, while the semi-nude elders are stoned to death. By presenting the story's dramatic conclusion, this image takes a more overtly moralising stance that is closer in spirit to that of Girolamo's monumental woodcut. However, its representation of the affair's just resolution is aimed at reassuring viewers, whereas the larger print's focus on Susannah's persecution seems designed to discomfit them.

The adamantly moralising character of the *Susannah* becomes even more apparent when contrasted with one of the later, better known Venetian depictions of the subject on a similar scale. Jacopo Tintoretto produced a number of versions of the subject, including a canvas now in Vienna (fig. 155). Here, too, Tintoretto depicts Susannah at her bath. However, instead of unsettling the viewer with the moment when the elders confront the young woman, the artist elected to portray an earlier, less shocking one. Although the old men hidden behind the garden shrubbery signal the events that are about to unfold, the voluptuously beautiful Susannah is still calmly absorbed in her own reflection and blissfully ignorant of their presence. Exploiting the sensual qualities of oil paint in the skilful imitation of flesh and flora, the work does little to encourage its viewers to be much more than voyeurs themselves.<sup>87</sup> In contrast, Girolamo's print leaves much less room for vo-

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<sup>86</sup> Respectively *Historia et Festa de Susannah* ([Venice]: [1505]), and *Byblia in vulgar vltimamente impressa ornata intorno de moral postille & figure: & in tutti capituli i lor summarij: & declarationi vtilesime a coloro che desiderano hauer cognitione delle sacre littere: cosa noua mai piu per altri facta*. (Venice: Lazzaro Soardi and Bernardino Benalio, 10 July 1517).

<sup>87</sup> Paolo Veronese took a different approach again to the depiction of the tale, though the results were equally different from Girolamo's print. In the various versions of the subject by Paolo Veronese, the artist usually vaunted Susannah's virtue by pairing her with a little lap dog to symbolise her wifely devotion, but he often mitigated our sense of horror at the corruption of the elders by presenting Susannah almost fully dressed as in the painting in the collection of the Cassa di Risparmio di Genova. Another example from a

yeuristic pleasure—Susannah’s awkward, desperate flight visually underscores the elders’ corruption.

While there does not seem to be a visual precedent in Venetian art for the aggressive visual rhetoric of Girolamo’s *Susannah*, there were similarly forceful literary sources in circulation. One of these is a book recounting her tribulations and the celebration of her feast day that was published shortly before the print, the same book whose title page bears the woodcut of the elders’ lapidation.<sup>88</sup> The author begins his tale with a celebration of Susannah’s virtue and piety.<sup>89</sup> He then recounts how she became the unjust victim of the old men, and how God rewarded her virtue and faith by inspiring Daniel to intercede. The text celebrates the fact that the young man’s intervention righted a judicial wrong by uncovering the truth and revealing the corruption of the elders. The author ruthlessly describes the men as “dishonest, wicked, old, rabid dogs inflamed with lust,” a description that harmonises with Girolamo’s visual representation of their sordid approach: they move towards Susannah in a crouched position that evokes a predator and one of them even reaches out to touch her robe.<sup>90</sup> As the desperate young woman gropes for the gate, in the print, her shock and dismay seem to be echoed by her exclamation in the text: “Is this the judgment of wise men? Is this the virtuous exemplar of justice?”<sup>91</sup> This aspect of the story, the focus on the divine and earthly dispensation of justice, would have been important to the creation and interpretation of the *Susannah* in Venice in 1515.

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later period in the artist’s career now in the Doria collection in Genoa shows many of the same characteristics. For a reproduction and discussion of the work, see Terisio Pignatti and Filippo Pedrocco, *Veronese*, 2 vols. (Milan: Electa, 1995), 2:366 (cat. no. 254).

<sup>88</sup> The book was by an anonymous author and entitled *La hystoria et festa di Susannah* (Venice: [Giovanni Battista Sessa?], [1505?]).

<sup>89</sup> The author describes the story as being about a woman “che a co[n]senti prima morire / che fare al suo marito fallimento / co[m]e de fare chi ha disposto il core / temere idio & uiuere a honore...” *La hystoria et festa di Susannah*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., f. 3<sup>r</sup>: “ribaldi uechi maluasi & arrabiati cani dala luxuria rinfocati & caldi...”

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., f. 2<sup>v</sup>: “e questo il seno deli homeni sauii? e questo il bono exe[m]pio di iustitia?”

Justice had always been one of the virtues that Venetians held dearest, and the visual arts provided an ideal forum for the expression, as well as the promotion, of this idea. The Ducal Palace is particularly rich with iconography asserting that the Venetian government prized justice above all else; sculptures and paintings of the virtue personified pepper the building, and relevant narratives from the Old Testament, such as the Judgement of Solomon, appear frequently. In the well-known relief roundel on the building's *piazzetta* façade, a sculptor even conflated the figure of Justice with a personification of the state, making them one and the same (fig. 71).<sup>92</sup> However, as the discussion in chapter five of Fra Agostino's *Disprezamento* made clear, the Cambrai War challenged the supposed justness of the Republic, and thus made the subject of justice topical. Indeed, the conflict itself was regularly perceived and interpreted in terms of the concept of justice. While Venice's enemies argued that the war was the earthly manifestation of God's wish to mete out an appropriate punishment for the Republic's moral laxity (an opinion with which some Venetians agreed),<sup>93</sup> many Venetians desperately maintained that they were being unjustly persecuted. This point of view was even given visual form in Titian's frescoes on the Fondaco, produced in response to Maximilian I's decision to side against the Republic in 1508. The iconographically complex female figure at once evokes Justice, Judith and Venice, and is shown warning the traitorous German soldier below of the consequences of betraying the righteous Republic (figs. 7, 8).<sup>94</sup>

Justice's importance to the war's interpretation remained evident in Venetian visual culture after the war had begun. For example, in 1511 the government organised a

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<sup>92</sup> On the west façade alone, personifications of the virtue appear at the pinnacle of the Porta della Carta, at the top of the ducal balcony on the *piano nobile*, and in a decorative roundel among the quatrefoils of the *piano nobile* tracery. On this last relief, see chap. 4, p. 174.

<sup>93</sup> See the discussion of this in chap. 5, pp. 195–204. See also Cipollini, "Lega di Cambrai," 68–9.

<sup>94</sup> For discussion of this work and for relevant bibliography, see above, chap. 1, p. 12.

sumptuous procession to celebrate the Republic's signing of a new anti-French alliance. The procession lasted five hours. Among the many parade floats were some which incorporated or alluded to the virtue of justice. One carried a group of women dressed as Justice, and another presented pantomimes of St. Mark speaking with Christ, the Virgin and Justice.<sup>95</sup> Two years later, a similar procession asserted that justice was still on the Republic's side. At this point, the only difference was that the Venetians were celebrating a new alliance with their former enemies, the French. Some of the floats were decorated with the words "Justice and Peace," while another displayed a figure of Justice with a sword and scales in hand.<sup>96</sup>

The respect of justice had also become a serious concern within the Venetian community itself. As discussed earlier in relation to the *Disprezamento del mondo*'s condemnation of those who neglected justice in chapter five, the financial stress of supporting the war often forced the government to compromise justice in unprecedented and disappointing ways. Robert Finlay's research into the government's policies over the course of the Cambrai War reveals that the situation had been dire indeed. Financial desperation forced the government to raise funds by selling seats on powerful committees such as the Senate and the Procuracy of St. Mark, to expel patricians with unpaid debts to the state from the important positions to which they had been fairly elected, and to pardon even the most heinous of criminal acts when the guilty party could pay a high sum.<sup>97</sup> In the wake of the Rout of Agnadello, Priuli reports that Venetians had begun to lament that

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<sup>95</sup> The event is described in Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 13, cols. 131–41. See also the discussion in Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 19–20.

<sup>96</sup> See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 16, col. 288.

<sup>97</sup> Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 168–91.



“Laws were defeated along with Venetian forces.”<sup>98</sup> Another, equally critical proverb coined at the time stated that “A Venetian law lasts but a week.”<sup>99</sup> Even more unsettling, many of the patricians entrusted with political power were disregarding it with disturbing regularity. Priuli recorded that aside from illegal electioneering and unabashed perjury in the courts, noblemen were also abusing the justice system in the subject towns of the *terraferma*:

The poor citizens and *popolani* of the cities on the mainland cried to the skies that they could neither be heard nor satisfied by the Venetian patriciate and that justice was not being done, and so they were in such great desperation that they wished to change their government.<sup>100</sup>

Priuli’s description of the corruption of justice on the mainland strongly echoes the injustices at the heart of Susannah’s tale: the weak are abused by the strong, and justice is set aside in order to satisfy the desires of those in power. It is significant that soon after the diarist’s critical observations of the nobility’s disregard for justice, he makes reference to the story of Susannah. In a passage condemning the patriciate’s failure to uphold the law and punish its offenders, the diarist remarks that such men “merited the very same punishment meted out to Susannah’s false accusers.”<sup>101</sup> Priuli’s remarks confirm that Susannah’s story resonated with Venetians as a result of the circumstances created by the war. We can therefore assume that its depiction in Girolamo’s print would also have had relevance in this context. It is appropriate that the narrative unfolds in a townscape that could easily be the Venetian *terraferma*, from which Girolamo himself came. Given that many Venetians, Priuli among them, had come to view the mainland as a place of sinful

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<sup>98</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:16.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 4:115. Also see mention of this in Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, 37.

<sup>100</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:32: “Li poveri cittadini et populli dele citade de terraferma exclamavano al cielo, che non potevano esser auditti nè exauditi dali Padri Veneti et non li veniva amministrata justitia, et erano in tanta disperatione, che desideravano mutatione di governo.” See also Gilbert, “Venice in the Crisis,” 275.

<sup>101</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:34: “meritavano veramente la punitione facta ali falsi testimonij dela Susannah.”

activity, it would be an apt place to stage a drama centred around immoral behaviour and injustice. Furthermore, the familiarity of the setting would have brought Susannah's ordeal closer to the experience of its viewers and made its message more relevant and accessible. However, this is not to imply that the *Susannah* was a criticism of the "padri venetti" Priuli condemns. If this were the case, the government surely would never have been gracious enough to approve Benalio's request for a copyright privilege to protect it. Rather, the sharply critical tone of Girolamo's *Susannah* was probably designed to present a clear and affecting declaration of Venetian values. The print would have offered the buying public an opportunity to affirm their passion for justice through an uncompromising image that criticised those who dared to disdain it. In short, the image might be understood best as a manifesto of Venetian devotion to justice, one of the cornerstones of the Republic's political identity.

Confirmation of this interpretation comes in the form of a painting of the same subject produced by Lorenzo Lotto only two years after the *Susannah* for a patron in Bergamo (fig. 154). Lotto's canvas seems to have taken a great deal from Girolamo's print with regard to its composition and message. Like the earlier woodcut, the painting focuses on a similarly uncomfortable moment, while enriching the story with a continuous narrative. In the foreground, Susannah has already refused the elders' proposition, and the male servants called to witness her supposed indiscretion are shown just arriving at the gate. In the background, her female servants leave to retrieve the oils for their mistress's bath, while the elders hiding behind the bushes watch Susannah walk through the garden toward the bathing pool. Also like the print, the painting presents an overtly moralising interpretation of the story, here made especially clear by the inclusion of remarka-

bly old-fashioned banderoles with inscriptions.<sup>102</sup> That of the elders announces that they “saw [Susannah] coupling with a young man,” and then addresses the young woman: “If you do not consent [to our request], you will die as a result of our testimony.” In Susannah’s, the victim responds: “I believe it is better to die than to commit a sin. Alas!” The painting’s morally didactic nature has led Maurice Brock to argue that it was produced for a magistrate,<sup>103</sup> whom Francesca Cortesi-Bosco has recently identified as Benedetto Ghislandi, a prominent Bergamask judge.<sup>104</sup> As Brock rightly points out, it is significant that the work dates to the year after the Cambrai War had come to an end and Bergamo was beginning to recover.<sup>105</sup> Ghislandi’s decision to commission a painting of Susannah rather than, for instance, the Judgment of Solomon, may well be due to his having seen Girolamo’s print. In a sense, Lotto’s painting may have been designed to be a more enduring presentation of the woodcut’s imagery.

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<sup>102</sup> The inscription associated with the elder reads, “Vidimus eam cum iuvene commisceri / Ni nobis assenties testimonio nostro peribis.” Susannah’s reads, “Satius duco mori quam peccare. Heu me.” On these, see Augusto Gentili, “Virtus e voluptas nell’opera di Lorenzo Lotto,” in *Lorenzo Lotto. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi per il V centenario della nascita (Asolo, 1980)*, eds. Pietro Zampetti and Vittorio Sgarbi (Venice: Comitato per le celebrazioni lottesche, 1981), 417.

<sup>103</sup> Brock suggests the patron would have been someone like the podestà of Bergamo. Brock, “La *Susanne* de Lorenzo Lotto ou comment faire l’histoire,” in *Symboles de la Renaissance*, ed. Daniel Arasse, 3 vols. (Paris: Presses de L’École Normale Supérieure, 1990), 3:54–58. Brock does, however, take his analysis too far when he insists that Lotto manipulated the telling of the story by including a pair of men’s socks and shoes on the stairs leading to the bath in order to leave the normally moot question of Susannah’s guilt open to question. He argues that the tweaking of the narrative was a conscious attempt to emphasise the concept of *arbitrium* in the meting out of justice, something that was typical of Venetian justice on the terraferma where, since the law was regional and flexible in its application, it depended a great deal more on the arbitration of the judge. Brock suggests that Lotto’s supposed tweaking of the narrative is not as shocking as it seems when compared to the later erotic retellings of the story produced by the next generation of Venetian painters. This argument is anything but convincing as the two modes of telling Susannah’s story are not at all similar. The eroticising of Susannah in the work of Tintoretto or Veronese would have been acceptable in part because it intensified an aspect of the story by underscoring the strong temptation that had led the elders astray in falsely accusing Susannah; the changes perceived in Lotto’s work by Brock, in contrast, would constitute an impossibly sacrilegious interpretation of the story.

<sup>104</sup> Ghislandi had a close friendship with Lotto around the time the painting was executed. Cortesi-Bosco, “Sulle tracce della committenza di Lotto a Bergamo: Un epistolario ed un codice di alchemia,” in *Bergomum* 89, no. 1 (1995): 14 (n. 24).

<sup>105</sup> Brock, “*Susanne* de Lorenzo Lotto,” 57.

Contemporary glosses on the story of Susannah suggest that there was perhaps yet another timely way in which Girolamo's print could have held meaning for contemporary Venetians. Just a few years after the *Susannah*'s publication, Bernardino Vitali printed a series of Lenten sermons given by a Ferrarese monk named Ludovico Pittorio, who presented possible interpretations of Susannah's tale. Among these is the following:

Morally, we can understand Susannah as the penitent man who goes into the garden of spiritual life to cleanse himself of his sordid sins in the fountain of confession. [However] the incorrigible elders, grown old in evil days, keep him troubled: they [represent] the demons that are obstinate in their evil almost from the moment of the man's prayer, and bring his soul to judgement ... and vilify it once more with sin that it never committed in order to drive it to desperation.<sup>106</sup>

For Pittorio, Susannah's experience could be interpreted as a metaphor for the soul seeking to cleanse itself through penitence in order to earn God's forgiveness. The sermon continued with a discussion of Christ's encounter with the adulteress, another biblical event in which God frees a captive awaiting death that began to appear frequently in Venetian art at the same time. This is a connection to which the next chapter will return. For the purposes of the present discussion, it is enough to reassert that Girolamo seems to have created an image that would have resonated with Venetians in a number of ways due to their difficult experience of the Cambrai War. Whether the print served as a manifesto of Venetian virtues, or as a warning against human weakness, its message was certainly pertinent when it was produced.

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<sup>106</sup> "Possiamo ... intendere moralmente che Susannah sia l'huomo penitente: el quale ua nel giardino della uita spirituale a lauarse nel fonte della confessione dalle sorde di peccati. Li uecchi inueterati dierum malorum lo tengono a guiati: questi sono gli demonii obstinati nel male quasi dal instante della soa oratione: & citano al giuditio lanima: il che fano transito de la morte: & la calomniano etiam de peccati: che la non commisse mai per indurla in desperatione." From the sermon entitled "Nel Vigesimo quinto di Sabbato post oculi" in Ludovico Pittorio, *Omiliario quadragesimale. Fondato de verbo ad verbum su le Epistole et Euangelij si como corrono ogni di secondo lo ordine de la Romana Ciesia. Nouamente Impresso* (Venice: Bernardino Vitali, 22 December 1518), ff. Liv<sup>r-v</sup>.

## 6.6 Lucantonio degli Uberti's *St. George and the Dragon*

One of the other monumental woodcuts that has been given as little attention as the *Susannah* is Lucantonio degli Uberti's nine-block *St. George and the Dragon* (fig. 156). The print is usually dated to 1516 and measures 85 by 118.5 centimetres.<sup>107</sup> Lucantonio was a Florentine woodcutter and engraver,<sup>108</sup> and is known predominantly for his production of city maps.<sup>109</sup> Although remarkably itinerant, he is documented as being active in Venice during the first two decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>110</sup>

The *St. George* shows the knight valiantly battling the dragon, while the rescued princess looks on from the middle ground.<sup>111</sup> The image celebrates the bravery and determination of a legendary warrior. The woodcut's style creates an atmosphere of chivalric triumph, one which is not unlike that of the *Battle of Marignano*. Despite its far less numerous figures than the battle image, the *St. George* is characterised by the same uniform business in its composition. This is particularly evident in the highly descriptive treatment of the ground—earth, water and vegetation all receive careful and equal atten-

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<sup>107</sup> C. F. Von Ruhmor and J. M. Thiele, *Geschichte der königlichen Kupferstichsammlung zu Copenhagen*, (Leipzig, 1835), 39, n. 5; and Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, 5 vols. (Munich: G. Franz, 1858–79), 4:263. Its inscription reads “OPVS . LUCE . ATONII . V . F”. On the interpretation of this signature, see Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, xlii.

<sup>108</sup> Lucantonio is recorded as having produced prints in Florence, Milan, and Venice; see Michael Bury and David Landau, “Ferdinand Columbus's Italian Prints: Clarifications and Implications,” in McDonald, *Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 1:193.

<sup>109</sup> Lucantonio is most discussed for a sort of aerial view of Florence that he largely copied from a late-fifteenth-century print by Francesco Rosselli. On this, see Schulz, “Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice,” 429–30; and David Friedman, “‘Fiorenza’: Geography and Representation in a Fifteenth-Century City View,” in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64, no. 1 (2001): 56–77.

<sup>110</sup> See the brief biography by Zucker, *Early Italian Masters*, 517–18. On Lucantonio more specifically as a woodcutter, see Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, xl–xlv.

<sup>111</sup> This work has occasionally been referred to as *St. George and St. Catherine* because of the inscription on the city in the background as Alexandria, but there is no reason beyond the city's identification to perceive the female figure as St. Catherine rather than as the princess; see Passavant, *Peintre-graveur*, 5:64 (n. 7). However, the figure must be the princess rescued by St. George not only for her vulnerable pose, but also because it would have been unusual to include an unrelated saint in the background of a scene of an event from the life of another saint. Strangely, Muraro and Rosand reproved Passavant and others for imagining the presence of a woman whom they did not see, but they must not have looked at the print very carefully because a female figure is certainly present. On this, see Muraro and Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia*, 72 (n. 7).

tion. This richness of visual description gives the image a decorative, two-dimensional quality akin to that of medieval tapestry. The sense of space is also reminiscent of northern tapestries, as well as of Gothic painting. The rolling hills are pushed up towards the picture plane, and the horizon almost arrives at the print's upper edge. The image is also infused with a more contemporary sense of drama. The dynamism of St. George's pose and the flapping of his cloak, and the Botticelli-like fluttering of the princess's drapery seem to evoke the Florentine art of the late fifteenth century with which Lucantonio would have been familiar. In his print, George seems to be the holy version of the chivalric heroes to whom contemporary pamphlets likened the Republic's military leaders and *condottieri*.

Compositionally, the woodcut presents a pastiche of elements borrowed from other works of art. Among these is the majestic painting of George battling the dragon that Vittore Carpaccio had finished only a few years earlier for the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (fig. 157). However, Lucantonio's work shows a greater affinity with its Florentine graphic predecessors, works with which the woodcutter would have been familiar. The depiction of George himself, with his cloak whipping out behind him, and the ruined triumphal arch in the middle ground, for instance, echo an anonymous Florentine woodcut of the same subject (fig. 159).<sup>112</sup> The deep and varied landscape, in contrast, seems closer to that seen in other prints (figs. 160, 161).<sup>113</sup> The large number of works showing St. George and the dragon was a result of the esteem in which the saint was held in the medieval and Renaissance periods. Not only did George's fearlessness offer an excellent model of behaviour (in one print, the horse's saddle bears an inscription reading

<sup>112</sup> See Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 1:143 (Miscellaneous Florentine Broad Manner, cat. no. B.III.13).

<sup>113</sup> Respectively, *ibid.*, 1:283 (Miscellaneous and Uncertain Schools, cat. no. F.14); 5:254 (Master I.B. with a Bird, cat. no. 1).

“Per forza”), but his victory over the dragon was also a popular metaphor for the triumph of good over evil. Thus, depictions of the saint’s struggle were an inspiring subject for devotional meditation. The fact that the monumental print displays close connections to the earlier *santini*-like images of St. George suggests that it, too, was intended for devotional purposes.

Since Lucantonio’s woodcut is largely derived from pre-existing models, the few elements that can be identified as being of his own invention acquire particular significance. The most important of these is his characterisation of the landscape. The setting of St. George’s battle was often designed to give the story greater accessibility, in order to bring the saint closer to the realm of his admirers’ experience.<sup>114</sup> Lucantonio identifies the location by labelling the walled town in the distance as “Alexandria.” This may be a result of the frequent confusion of George the warrior with George the fourth-century Aryan bishop martyr who came from Alexandria.<sup>115</sup> More simply, the city’s inclusion may have been designed to place the event in the Levant. Its architectural language seems to evoke that of medieval Venice;<sup>116</sup> Venetians, after all, probably imagined the ancient city looking like their own most “ancient” monuments. The town walls enclose a large building comprised of superimposed arcades of tall, narrow openings, a Byzantine-influenced architecture that calls to mind the rows of stilted arches of duecento and trecento Venetian buildings such as the Palazzo Loredan by the Rialto.<sup>117</sup> This represents a

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<sup>114</sup> The place where George’s battle took place was regularly changed and adapted to suit the interests of the artist or patron. On this, see Georges Didi-Huberman, Riccardo Garbetta, and Manuela Morgaine, *Saint Georges et le Dragon: Versions d’une Légende* (Paris: A. Biro, 1994), 63.

<sup>115</sup> On the confusion of the saints, see *Enciclopedia cattolica* (Vatican City: Ente per l’Enciclopedia cattolica e per il libro cattolico, 1951), s.v. “Giorgio,” 6:442.

<sup>116</sup> See Von Ruhmor and Thiele, *Geschichte*, 39; and Passavant, *Peintre-graveur*, 4:224 (no. 7a), where the authors note that the background architecture looks Veneto-Byzantine in style.

<sup>117</sup> The kinds of buildings that probably inspired Lucantonio’s townscape were those of the Veneto-Byzantine style such as the medieval procuracy buildings that once lined the Piazza San Marco and are

marked departure from the models that had otherwise inspired Lucantonio's print; the Florentine prints display landscapes studded with windmills or pinnacled Gothic castles copied from northern works (figs. 160, 161), and Carpaccio's painting presents an equally foreign vision of the east (fig. 157).<sup>118</sup> One can imagine that for Venetian viewers, the monumental print's extensive landscape might have imaginatively evoked the *terraferma*, thus bringing the image closer to their realm of experience. Here, perhaps, St. George seems to be fighting to protect the Venetian mainland, rather than northern Europe, and the dragon represents the destruction that Venetians themselves had been battling for years. As a devotional image, the impressive dimensions and tailored setting dramatically cast the saint in the role of the Republic's protector.

St. George was frequently claimed as a personal patron in Europe, because in the Byzantine tradition the saint was known as the *tropaïophorus* or the "bringer of trophies," because of his soldierly skill.<sup>119</sup> In fact, Maximilian I, too, had associated himself with the saint's military virtue by having Hans Burgkmair depict him as St. George in a woodcut of 1508.<sup>120</sup> But Venetians felt they had a particular claim to the saint's support. Their devotional interest in St. George had a long history, due to the Republic's Byzantine ties. Venetians believed, moreover, that precious relics of the saint were in the custody of the Benedictine churches of San Giorgio Maggiore and San Giorgio in Alga.<sup>121</sup> As a result,

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recorded in Gentile Bellini's 1496 painting of the Corpus Christi procession in the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice. Palazzi like the Ca' Loredan and Ca' Farsetti on the Grand Canal are surviving examples of the eastern aesthetic.

<sup>118</sup> While the anonymous *St. George* that is a free copy after a print by the northern Master E. S. displays a landscape studded with windmills, the *St. George* by the Master I. B. with a Bird displays a Northern townscape copied from Dürer's *Monstrous Pig* of 1496; for more on these, see Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, respectively 1:283–84 (cat. no. 14); 5:254 (cat. no. 1).

<sup>119</sup> See Didi-Huberman et al., *Saint Georges et le dragon*, 37.

<sup>120</sup> See Ibid., 112, reproduction on 114.

<sup>121</sup> Antonio Niero, Silvio Tramontin, et al., *Culto dei santi a Venezia* (Venice: Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1965), 34. The arm of St. George was acquired in 1204 thanks to the Fourth Crusade. Otto Demus,



the saint appeared frequently in Venetian art.<sup>122</sup> He is particularly prominent in the decoration of the state church of San Marco. Aside from appearing three times in the building's mosaics, he also takes on the role of protector in a medieval relief on the entrance façade.<sup>123</sup>

It would appear that the saint's popularity was especially great during the war. Evidently, Lucantonio himself produced another four-block print of George killing the dragon around the same time, as did one of his competitors.<sup>124</sup> In addition, the same monastic community that had custody of the saint's arm at S. Giorgio Maggiore commissioned a new altarpiece from Carpaccio in St. George's honour that was completed in 1515 (fig. 158).<sup>125</sup> St. George had always been of devotional importance in Venice during times of war, and all evidence indicates that this was no different in the early sixteenth century. The most eloquent proof is the fact that in 1513 the reliquary containing the saint's arm was one of the most prized relics paraded through the piazza in an elaborate

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*The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1960), 17, n. 61.

<sup>122</sup> On the general popularity of depictions of George, see George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy*, vol. 3 of *Saints in Italian Art* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), cols. 348–74; on the saint's frequent appearance in altarpieces between 1450 and 1530, see Peter Hunfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 64–65. As regards George's appearance in Venetian prints, an example of circa 1450 shows that the subject had been represented for some time before Lucantonio's effort; see the example in Hind, *Introduction to a History*, 1:85, 164, and fig. 75. Interest in the subject evidently did not dwindle by the end of the Quattrocento given that another woodcut bearing the inscription "S.ZORZO.CHAVALIERO" dated to this period is cited as being in the collection of W. M. Ivins, Jr., of New York. *Ibid.*, 2:432.

<sup>123</sup> Niero et al., *Culto dei Santi*, 143; and Edward Muir, "Images of Power; Art and Pageantry in Renaissance Venice," in *American Historical Review* 84, no. 1 (February 1979): 20. On the relief, see Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 128–31.

<sup>124</sup> The four-block print does not survive, but its existence is recorded in the detailed inventory of the prints in the collection of Ferdinando Colombo (inv. no. 2656). Bury and Landau, "Ferdinand Columbus's Italian Prints," 1:188.

<sup>125</sup> This work was originally thought to be from the abbey of Santa Maria del Pero near Treviso, but recent scholarship strongly suggests that it was always at San Giorgio. Firstly, Zanetti records it as being there in 1733. And secondly, the lapidation of St. Stephen appears in the right background, and the Benedictine monks of S. Giorgio possessed relics of both George and Stephen. See Peter Humfrey, *Carpaccio: Catalogo completo*, trad. Tania Gargiulo (Cantini: Florence, 1991).

state procession, organised to celebrate a new political alliance with the king of France.<sup>126</sup> Venetians also cherished a legend recounting that St. George had already come to the Republic's defence, a legend that, appropriately, was first represented in art during the Cambrai War. According to the thirteenth-century myth, a Venetian fisherman had once rowed St. Mark, St. Nicholas and St. George out to the lagoon's edge in his modest boat, so that they could battle a ship full of demons bent on Venice's destruction. After the saints had vanquished their evil foes, they gave the fisherman a ring, which he then consigned to the doge the following day as proof of the miracle.<sup>127</sup> The first—and only—depiction of the story is a painting probably begun by Palma Vecchio around 1513 for the Scuola Grande di San Marco. As Philip Sohm has shown, this unique work was an allegory auguring victory through divine aid, the inspiration for which was taken from the events of the Cambrai War (fig. 9).<sup>128</sup>

St. George appeared once more in his capacity as defender of the Republic during the war when he was included in the large stained-glass window designed for the south transept of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (fig. 41; he is the figure on the far right). Here St. George appears in the company of another patron saint of Venice, Theodore, and the martyred Roman soldiers for whom the church is named. But the window was part of a larger programme. Its saintly warriors were paired with a group of earthly ones through the erection of a “pantheon” of tombs to military heroes of the Cambrai War on the walls below, which were discussed in chapter three. St. George had therefore been enrolled in an army of warrior protectors created by the combined programme of window and tombs.

<sup>126</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 16, col. 288.

<sup>127</sup> Niero et al., *Culto dei santi*, 220.

<sup>128</sup> For Palma's painting, see Sohm, “Palma Vecchio's *Sea Storm*,” 85–96. See also Rylands, *Palma il Vecchio*, 256–57 (cat. no. 99, as *Burrasca infernale*). The second painting depicting the consignment of the ring to the doge was produced a few years later by Paris Bordon. On this, see Puppi, “Iconografia di Andrea Gritti,” 225–26.

The particularly favoured pairing of St. George and St. Theodore resurfaced once more in 1517.<sup>129</sup> Sanudo's diary reports that shortly after the Pact of Brussels brought the war to a conclusion, the Signoria decided to send diplomatic gifts worth eight thousand ducats to the French marshal Odet de Foix. Among the presents was a painting by Titian of the warrior Archangel Michael flanked by St. Theodore and St. George, produced between February and June of 1517.<sup>130</sup> Only the right-hand portion of the painting survives, and displays the figure of St. George holding a red banner (fig. 162). Venetians evidently appreciated Titian's work a great deal, because Sanudo notes that they were unhappy to see it leave the city.<sup>131</sup>

Herbert Siebenhüner has discussed the painting in detail. He notes that the central position of St. Michael is unusual in this kind of *sacra conversazione* composition, but suggests that it is probably best explained by Odet de Foix's recent nomination to the Order of St. Michael in January 1517 as a result of his impressive military service. Siebenhüner then points out that St. Theodore was a logical inclusion, as he was one of the Republic's oldest patron saints, and thus alluded to the work's Venetian patrons. However, he cannot account for the presence of St. George, and suggests only that the saint may have been one of those dear to De Foix. He also proposes that the reluctance on the part of Venetians to send the work to its intended recipient stemmed from a need for painterly

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<sup>129</sup> The dating of this work is generally placed around 1515–16, though some scholars have placed it as early as 1511; for a brief overview of the bibliography on this issue, see Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tiziano*, 2 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1969), 1:250. In 1976, Herbert Siebenhüner made a convincing argument for the painting's production in 1517; see his "Il San 'Giorgio'-Cini," in *Tiziano e Venezia*, 317–19.

<sup>130</sup> On the gifts given to De Foix and his secretary, and on the importance of Titian's painting among these, see Siebenhüner, "Il San 'Giorgio'-Cini," 318–19. See also Sanudo's comments on the affair; *Diarii*, vol. 24, col. 67.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 303 (27 May 1517): "Fu preso certe cosse per il presente si manda a Milan a monsignor Lutrech, qual è per valuta di 8000 ducati.... *Item*, il quadro è fato per man di Tiziano, di San Michiel con San Zorzi e San Thodaro da le bande, qual è in palazzo dil Principe, et non vien laudato di mandarlo."

touch-ups.<sup>132</sup> However, it would seem that St. George's presence, especially given his pairing with St. Theodore, is a better explanation for this reluctance. The fact that Venetians understood a red standard as representing a time of battle,<sup>133</sup> that both St. George and St. Theodore were considered defenders of Venice, and, finally, that St. Michael is the embodiment of the battle of good versus evil, all support the argument that the painting, at least in part, presented an uplifting statement about the Republic's ability to endure. That Venetians did not want to let such an image leave their possession seems to suggest that Lucantonio's print may have held a similar importance for its local viewers.

The frequent pairing of St. George and St. Theodore emphasises another important aspect of the former's appeal that would have recommended him more particularly to Venetians. St. George was of eastern origin, something that Lucantonio's woodcut highlights through the identification of the city as being in the east.<sup>134</sup> As the previous chapter established, the Cambrai War had led Venetians to reflect on the notion that the sea—and, by extension, the Byzantine east—had always been the source of the Republic's virtue and riches. While Venice was engaged in the struggle for the *terraferma*, the maritime empire came to the fore once more as the root of Venetian identity and political

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<sup>132</sup> Siebenhüner, "San 'Giorgio'-Cini," 318.

<sup>133</sup> In Venetian processions, *trionfi* banners could be of one of four colours, depending on the political circumstances of the state at the moment: white indicated peace, dark blue stood for a league, violet for a truce, and red for war. On this, see Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, 117.

<sup>134</sup> But if Lucantonio's image of St. George indeed reflects particular devotional interest in a military saint during the Cambrai War, one might be inclined to ask, why not Theodore, one of the oldest patron saints of the city? The answer probably lies in a number of factors. First, George and Theodore may have been considered as more or less interchangeable, since both were Greek soldiers. In fact, the two saints frequently appear as a pair in Venetian art; they are shown together three times in the mosaic decoration of San Marco alone. Niero et al., *Culto dei santi*, 143. Secondly, and probably more importantly, Theodore's killing of the crocodile had never been fashioned into the kind of potent moral allegory of virtue battling vice that George's slaying of the dragon had. Finally, from a more practical point of view, there were far more pictorial precedents to help with designing a work of George and the dragon. George had appeared in Venetian prints at least as early as 1450 and, as mentioned earlier, had also been given particular pictorial emphasis shortly before the war began in Carpaccio's impressive cycle of paintings for the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni.

power. This kind of nostalgia probably would have made a military saint of the “old guard” such as St. George an appealing intercessor in the battle for the mainland, because his association with the Republic extended back to a period of Venetian history that had retrospectively assumed the character of a golden age. By the same token, however, the strength of Lucantonio’s print lies in the relocation of the Byzantine saint to the Veneto through the architectural character of the town in the background.

The Venetians who purchased the *St. George and the Dragon* to display in their homes or shops were buying a print that probably facilitated timely devotion to a beloved warrior saint while the Republic was at war. In choosing his subject matter, Lucantonio seems to have frequently given thought to the perceived needs of the market, for in the same period he produced a map of Lombardy (fig. 54), the backdrop for the most important military activity in the latter years of the war, as well as images of other cities then in the news.<sup>135</sup>

Given the probable contemporary resonance of Lucantonio’s *St. George*, it is not surprising that the same saint would appear once again protecting a distinctly Venetian landscape after the war’s conclusion. Paris Bordon depicted the warrior saint in an elegant canvas (fig. 163). In the foreground, St. George valiantly battles the dragon, while in the background a crowd watches the event from a building whose ground-floor arcade and second-story balcony evoke Venice’s Ducal Palace.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> On Lucantonio’s strategy for the production and sale of prints, see McDonald, *Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 257. On maps of Lombardy produced during the war, and on the importance of military campaigns in that region, see chap. 4.

<sup>136</sup> On the painting, see Cecil Gould, “Paris Bordon: La Pala di San Giorgio in Vaticano,” in *Paris Bordon e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Treviso, 28–30 ottobre, 1985* (Treviso: Edizioni Canova, 1987), 91–94.

## 6.7 Conclusion

Monumental woodcuts were strange phenomena in the visual world of Renaissance Venice. In their presentation of grand religious or historical themes on a large scale, yet using a traditionally popular medium, they did not fit into any pre-existing category of art. Perhaps it was precisely the lack of a circumscribed definition of the monumental woodcut's function that made the medium easily adaptable to the needs of early-Cinquecento Venetians. The strong interest in producing the large prints to portray religious narratives, especially biblical miracles of salvation, is surely best understood as a reassuring response to the spiritual concerns of the moment. The *Susannah*, the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, the *St. George* and the *Submersion* all celebrate divine intervention and the end of unjust persecution. Venetians could not help but have appreciated the messages of stories like these during the war. Finding themselves in the role of persecuted victim, rather than of God's favoured people, they believed that their best hope for reprieve was obtaining the divine mercy that God had shown Susannah, Isaac, the Syrian princess, and the Israelites. One might imagine that these wartime monumental woodcuts functioned much like devotional *santini*, but on a grander scale that suited the spiritual gravity of the moment.

Unlike works produced for private commissions, monumental woodcuts had to cater to the perceived interests of a buying market. It is indicative that few painters can be associated with wartime prints, and that these—Titian and Girolamo da Treviso—were both at the beginning of their careers and looking for a means of promoting themselves. However, while their designs for prints may or may not have sparked interest in their other work, the printers who assumed the cost of the work's production had to be sure

that the print would appeal to a large public in order to make the project financially feasible. Apart from the woodcuts designed by painter, the others were the work of printmakers who dabbled in publishing. Lucantonio degli Uberti, who produced the *St. George and the Dragon*, is referred to as a “stampatore” in contemporary Venetian documents,<sup>137</sup> and Giovanni Andrea Vavassore described himself as such in the colophon appearing in his *Battle of Marignano*.<sup>138</sup> Such evidence suggests that it was only a small community of people who explored the market potential of multi-block woodcuts. The entrepreneurial nature of printing monumental woodcuts suggests that they should be considered as closer in nature to the production of illustrated devotional books, a medium whose wartime exploitation was discussed in chapter five, rather than to that of large-scale painting.

While it is clear that the medium of the monumental woodcut enjoyed a phase of creative experimentation during the Cambrai War, it is less apparent why the medium was largely abandoned soon thereafter. Perhaps this indirectly confirms that interest in large-scale woodcuts in the mid-1510s was generated by the unique religio-political circumstances of the war years. The political and financial stability of the post-war years soon led to spiritual stability, and the buying public was able to return to the purchase of painted devotional works of more traditional subjects, instead of timely and ephemeral printed works. What can be asserted with confidence is that the perceived needs of the buying public, caught in the devotional struggle brought on by the war and its spiritual implications, seem to have encouraged a period of ambitious experimentation in the unusual medium of the monumental woodcut.

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<sup>137</sup> Lucantonio’s monogram, in its various forms, appears in woodcuts in about sixty Venetian printed books; see Maria Cecilia Mazzi, “Degli Uberti, Luca Antonio,” in *DBI*, 36:173–74.

<sup>138</sup> The colophon reads: “Stampata In Uenetia Per Zuan Andrea dita Uadagnino di Uauasori al Ponte di fuseri.”

## Chapter Seven

### Painting Christ and the Adulteress in Post-Agnadello Venice

Although artists had rarely depicted Christ's encounter with the adulteress in Western art before 1500, the story acquired a sudden popularity during the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon, as Jacob Burckhardt first noticed, seems to have been largely a consequence of the subject's prominence in Venetian art of the early Cinquecento.<sup>2</sup> The predilection in the lagoon for depicting Christ and the adulteress began in the 1510s and reached its apogee during the second and third decades of the century, when almost every major painter of the period depicted the episode, often more than once.<sup>3</sup> One of the earliest wartime paintings of the adulteress is also one of the most unique, the drama-filled painting in Glasgow of around 1510 that today is generally given to Titian (fig. 169).<sup>4</sup> The others, in contrast, usually present a more restrained interpretation of the narrative that follows one of a few half-length composition formulae (see, for example, figs. 176, 180).

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<sup>1</sup> The only significant exception seems to be the subject's occasional representation in French stained glass windows in the fifteenth century. See Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age*, 5th ed. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1949), 56. See also "Adultery," in *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art*, ed. H. E. Roberts, 2 vols. (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), 1:23–32.

<sup>2</sup> Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens. Malerei*, eds. Bernd Roock, Christine Tauber, and Martin Warnke, vol. 3 of *Jacob Burckhardt Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 29 vols. (Basel: Schwabe AG, 2001), 197.

<sup>3</sup> Over sixty Cinquecento depictions of Christ and the adulteress survive. Taking survival rates into account, a large number of others must also have been lost. Erasmus Weddigen, "L'Adultera del Tintoretto della Galleria nazionale di Roma," in *Arte veneta* 24 (1970): 91 (n. 7).

<sup>4</sup> The work has been variously attributed to Giorgione, Sebastiano del Piombo, and Titian. For arguments in favour of Giorgione's authorship, see Erica Tietze-Conrat, "The So-Called *Adulteress* by Giorgione," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 27, 6th series (1945): 189–190; and Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, 3 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1969), 1:169. Among those who have asserted that the painting is Titian's are Bernard Berenson (*Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. A List of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of Places* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 570); Pallucchini (*Tiziano*, 1:236); and Paul Joannides (*Titian to 1518*, 83–93). George Richter thought the painting was blocked out by Giorgione but largely executed by Titian; see his *Giorgio da Castelfranco* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1937), 100–101. For discussions of these opinions, see Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tiziano* (Milano: Fabbri, 1965), 1:236; and Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 89.



Despite the curiousness of the sudden emergence of this taste, scholars have yet to explain it.<sup>5</sup> The following discussion proposes that an answer may lie in the interconnection of the adulteress paintings and the historical context in which they became popular, the years of the Cambrai War and the decade after. In this period, the adulteress's experience with Christ and the Pharisees would have touched upon a number of contemporary devotional concerns. Firstly, the episode focuses on the importance of justice, both earthly and divine, a theme that occupied Venetian thoughts at the time.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, Christ's forgiveness of the adulteress's mortal sin exemplifies the boundlessness of his mercy and forgiveness, which Venetians believed was essential to their survival of the war. Finally, the story's dramatic contrast of the Pharisees' malice with Christ's wisdom would have presented a timely echo of the tension created between the Jewish and Christian communities as a result of the Republic's political predicament. Each depiction of the narrative emphasises one or more of these aspects. The discussion that follows thus builds upon the previous chapter's proposal that certain religious subjects began to appear in art due to the politico-spiritual anxiety generated by contemporary events. By considering depictions of Christ and the adulteress produced during and shortly after the war in relation to their historical context, further light is shed on the development of Venetian religious iconography in the early Cinquecento.

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<sup>5</sup> A young German scholar named Sabine Engel is currently preparing a dissertation on the depiction of Christ and the adulteress in Venice in the sixteenth century, which will hopefully help to illuminate the subject. She has already published an article dealing with one work: "Eine Ehebrecherin unter Mönchen. Rocco Marconis *Adultera* (c. 1516) aus dem Kapitelsaal von S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venedig," in *Daphnis* 32 (2003): 399–433.

<sup>6</sup> This same interest may have prompted Girolamo da Treviso's woodcut of Susannah and the elders; on this work, see chap. 6, *passim*, but esp. pp. 296–307.

## 7.1 Depicting the Adulteress before the Cambrai War

The story of the adulteress is recounted in the Gospel of John (8:3–11). At the time, Christ was in the temple teaching God's word when the Pharisees brought a woman caught in the act of adultery before him and asked what should be done with her. This was a cunning attempt to discredit Christ on the part of the Pharisees, because the punishment prescribed by Mosaic law—death by stoning—conflicted with Christ's message of love and forgiveness. Thus, the Pharisees planned to force Christ to choose between Hebrew tradition and his own teachings. If he broke with the former, he himself would be subject to the same penalty required for adulterers. If, instead, Christ contradicted his own teachings, he would lose the trust and commitment of his followers. At first, Christ ignored the Pharisees, and bent over to write something on the ground with his finger. Although the Bible does not recount what he wrote, Christ eventually stood up and declared: "Let he who is without sin cast the first stone." He then returned his attention to the ground. Christ's remark implied that since none of the Pharisees was free of sin, they should not presume to punish the sins of another. As a result, they gradually dispersed. When Jesus arose once more, no one remained to insist upon the adulteress's punishment. Instead of condemning her, he mercifully forgave her, blessed her, and told her to "go and sin no more."

The earliest surviving Venetian depictions of the story were produced around the turn of the sixteenth century, and share similar dimensions and compositions. One of these, datable to the late 1490s, is in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome and is attributed to the mysterious figure Niccolò de' Barbari (fig. 164).<sup>7</sup> Another is by Marco Marziale, a pupil

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<sup>7</sup> On the painting, see André de Hevesy, "A Picture by Nicolò [*sic*] de Barbari in Venice," in *Burlington Magazine* 48 (1926): 206. For the approximate dating of the work and for what little is known of the

of Giovanni Bellini, and was likely produced shortly after 1500 (fig. 165).<sup>8</sup> In both paintings, Christ appears among a throng of variously aged Pharisees with the adulteress to his left. The narrative assumes a horizontal format with half-length figures crowded close to the picture plane in an indeterminate space. The figures' truncation creates an intimacy between the painting and its viewers. The De' Barbari reinforces this connection further through the addition of a parapet, which clearly connects the space of the painting to that of the viewer.<sup>9</sup>

Images such as these followed in the footsteps of the half-length narratives that Andrea Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini had pioneered in the 1460s, such as the latter's *Presentation in the Temple* (fig. 166).<sup>10</sup> In fact, many scholars believe that the Marziale and De' Barbari paintings were probably derived from a mutual prototype designed by Bellini himself.<sup>11</sup> This idea becomes even more plausible when one considers that another turn-of-the-century depiction clearly bears the imprint of Bellini's style, if not his hand (fig. 167). Similar in dimensions to the other two paintings, the panel presents full-

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painting's provenance, see Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, "Nella selva di Niccolò de Barbari," in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 18 (1992): 73–74. As Dal Pozzolo's interests lay in the attribution of the work and its placement within a larger oeuvre, he does not discuss the painting's function or purpose.

<sup>8</sup> The convincing evidence for this argument is presented in H. W. van Os and C. de Jong-Janssen, "Christ and the Woman Caught in Adultery," in J. R. J. Asperen de Boer, C. de Jong-Janssen, H. W. van Os, and C. Wiethoff, *The Early Venetian Paintings in Holland*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1978), 113 (cat. no. 26).

<sup>9</sup> On the function and effect of the parapet in Giovanni Bellini's half-length images of the Virgin and Child, see Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini*, 25.

<sup>10</sup> Sixten Ringbom's study of the development of the half-length narrative in northern Italy during the fifteenth century is still the best available; *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, 2nd ed. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983).

<sup>11</sup> On this, see Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 191; and Van Os and de Jong-Janssen, "Christ and the Woman Caught in Adultery," 113. For a discussion of the paintings and their relationship to one another, see Joseph Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy. Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Ferrara, Milan, Friuli, Brescia*, ed. T. Borenius, 8 vols. (London: John Murray, 1912), 1:233; and B. Geiger, "Marco Marziale und der sogenannte nordische Einfluss in seinen Bildern," in *Jahrbuch der Königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 33 (1912): 122–48.

length figures set before a deep landscape, rather than truncated ones brought close to the picture plane.

## 7.2 The Adulteress as an Emblem of Justice

Only a few years later, a Venetian artist conceived a fundamentally different presentation of Christ's encounter with the adulteress that is now in Glasgow (fig. 168). Although the work was cut down at some point (the standing male figure at the far right (fig. 169) was removed and then trimmed further<sup>12</sup>), it still makes a impression on the viewer. An involved debate about the work's attribution raged for a long time, but recent scholarship generally asserts that it is by the young Titian.<sup>13</sup> The most convincing proof of this is that the painting displays notable stylistic and compositional similarities with that artist's frescoes in the Scoletta del Santo in Padua of 1510–11, thus suggesting that the *Adulteress*, too, dates to the same years.<sup>14</sup>

The Glasgow painting overflows with tension and energy. Titian resolutely abandoned the intimate stasis of the earlier representations of the subject described above in order to pursue the dramatic monumentality that was increasingly emerging in early-Cinquecento Venetian art. The adulteress's urgent movement toward Christ conveys her distress and the danger in which she finds herself. Christ, though seated on a rock, is also in motion. Ignoring the bald Pharisee in richly embroidered robes pressuring him from his left, he reaches out to grab the arm of the well-dressed young gentleman as a sign of

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<sup>12</sup> Bernard Berenson identified the missing piece by comparing the original work with one of its contemporary copies. Berenson, "Missing Head," 147–54. For the copy in Bergamo, see fig. 170.

<sup>13</sup> See above, n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> As Berenson first pointed out, when the work is compared to Titian's Paduan frescoes, particularly the *Miracle of the Speaking Babe*, it is apparent that "the compositions are in every respect alike, the costumes are much the same, the action also, and the types are identical." Berenson, "The Missing Head of the Glasgow Christ and Adulteress," in *Art in America* 16 (1928): 153. A more recent and thorough formal analysis by Joannides has further reinforced Berenson's conclusion; *Titian to 1518*, 92–94.

his opposition to the young woman's punishment. Although the dramatic gesture is not described in the Bible, it effectively heightens the scene's tension, and hence its emotional impact. Paul Joannides has plausibly suggested that the painting depicts the moment when Christ is about to stoop over and write on the ground.<sup>15</sup>

Titian's attempt to create such a dramatic narrative so early in his career was highly ambitious, and the results are a little awkward, so much so that some scholars have even tried to re-identify the subject.<sup>16</sup> When considered within Titian's own oeuvre, the *Adulteress* represents an early, still unperfected investigation into the affecting power of movement, one that was to shortly come to fruition in the Frari *Assumption of the Virgin*. The painter's ambition is particularly important in the case of the Glasgow painting, because it represented a significant break with earlier depictions of the same subject. Titian's *Adulteress* entirely lacks the devotional intensity of Marziale's and De' Barbari's earlier paintings—it is dynamic rather than static, and heroic rather than intimate. The Glasgow painting is designed to move the viewer to an emotional response, not to facilitate a state of quiet reflection. The question then becomes why would Titian have been commissioned to produce such an innovative representation of such a rare subject on such a grand scale around 1510? Unfortunately, no answers can be found in the paint-

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<sup>15</sup> Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 92.

<sup>16</sup> Erica Tietze-Conrat proposed that the scene represented Susannah brought before Daniel. See the detailed argument laid out in Tietze-Conrat, "So-Called *Adulteress*," 189–90. The author tries to associate the work with a contract for a series of paintings of Daniel and Susannah supposedly commissioned by Alvise de Sesti. However, the contract had already disappeared by the time Tietze-Conrat wrote her article in 1945, and it has also been linked with one of the greatest documentary frauds in the history of Italian studies, Urbani de Gheltof, something which Tietze-Conrat admits is a weak point in her argument. However, she argues that there are other grounds upon which to claim that the subject must be Susannah brought before Daniel, namely that the halo which most critics believe necessitated that the figure be Christ was also occasionally given to Daniel in art of the period, and that the figure is wearing an impossibly "coquettish sandal" for him to be Christ. Philip Hendy is the only scholar to reassert Tietze-Conrat's argument; Hendy, "More about Giorgione's *Daniel and Susannah*," *Arte veneta* 8 (1954): 167–71. Most recent discussion of the painting identifies the subject as the adulteress. Paul Joannides presents an excellent refutation of Tietze-Conrat's thesis; *Titian to 1518*, 89.

ing's provenance, because we know nothing about its patron or original location. What can be said is that the painting appealed to more people than just its owner: although it was rare to make contemporary copies of works of art, at least two were made of the Glasgow picture (see fig. 170).<sup>17</sup>

Joannides has tried to recreate the painting's context and meaning. Given the existence of copies, and the work's dimensions and energetic visual language, he convincingly suggests that the *Adulteress* was produced for public display. His proposals regarding the work's original location are less persuasive. First, while acknowledging that the painting's function is debatable, he suggests, without any evidence, that it was produced either for a hall of justice or a house of reformation for "fallen women." Secondly, he argues that it was probably not painted for a Venetian patron, because no mention of it appears in primary sources of the period.<sup>18</sup> However, the silence of contemporary sources is not proof that the *Adulteress* was not in the lagoon.

As regards where the painting was originally viewed, there is evidence suggesting that the *Adulteress* was produced to hang in a Venetian residence.<sup>19</sup> At the turn of the century, it was becoming common for Venetians to commission unprecedentedly large religious works for their homes,<sup>20</sup> something that even members of the artisan class could

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<sup>17</sup> The two contemporary copies are in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, and the Friedeberg collection in Berlin. The former has been attributed to Giovanni Cariani (see cat. no. A7 in Pallucchini and Rossi, *Giovanni Cariani*, 262–64) and shows the original composition before the soldier at the right was removed; the latter displays only the figures of the right half of the composition in half-length (for an illustration of this, see Berenson, "Missing Head," 148).

<sup>18</sup> Instead, he proposes either a Paduan patron, due to the painting's influence on Domenico Campagnola's *Saint Anthony Reviving a Drowned Young Woman* for the Scoletta fresco cycle, or a Bergamask one, since one of the painting's contemporary copies was found there; Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 92–94.

<sup>19</sup> The recent catalogue to the major exhibition on early sixteenth-century Venetian painting that recently took place in 2006–07 in Washington, D.C., and Vienna shares this belief. Mauro Lucco, "Sacred Stories," in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian*, 102.

<sup>20</sup> See *Ibid.*, 106; and Michael Hirst, "The Kingston Lacy *Judgement of Solomon*," in *Giorgione: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio per il 5° centenario della nascita*, ed. Rodolfo Pallucchini (Castelfranco: Comune di Castelfranco Veneto, 1979), 260. Two impressive examples of large paintings produced for

afford.<sup>21</sup> These large paintings were most often displayed in the spacious, upper-floor *porteghi* and were often referred to as *quadri da portego*.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, their presence there during the early Cinquecento is poorly documented. Since they could be considered permanent additions to the physical fabric of the home, or *beni immobili*, it would seem that they could be omitted from inventories and wills listing moveable property.<sup>23</sup> This could explain the failure to mention Titian's *Adulteress*. However, the documents do yield evidence that other Venetian paintings of the subject were found in the private homes of Venetians.<sup>24</sup> In 1521 Marcantonio Michiel recorded seeing a representation of the adulteress by Palma Vecchio in Francesco Zio's home.<sup>25</sup> Although there is not enough evidence to determine which of Palma's paintings this was, it may be the smaller, vertical panel in the Hermitage (fig. 172), or a lost painting of horizontal format close in dimensions to the Glasgow *Adulteress*.<sup>26</sup> A 1532 inventory of Domenico Capello's property also records a painting of the same subject as hanging in the *portego* of his palazzo.<sup>27</sup>

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private homes are the lost Contarini *Supper at Emmaus* by Giovanni Bellini and Titian's own Hermitage *Flight into Egypt*.

<sup>21</sup> An inventory of the home of Gasparo Segizzi, a miniaturist, listed twenty-five paintings adorning the walls of the *portego da basso* and the principal room branching off of it. See Palumbo-Fossati, "Interno della casa dell'artigiano," 113–14, 130–40.

<sup>22</sup> In the inventory of Palma Vecchio's studio done upon the artist's death in 1528, the notary describes a "quadro da portego" that seems to be a depiction of *Christ with the Caananite woman* which shares approximately the same dimensions (95 x 155 cm) of the Venetian *Adulteress* paintings. Rylands, *Palma il Vecchio*, 40–41, 293.

<sup>23</sup> As regards the categorising of large paintings as *beni immobili*, Hirst believes that this is why Sebastiano del Piombo's *Judgement of Solomon* does not appear in the inventory made of the possessions of its patron Andrea Loredan upon his death.

<sup>24</sup> Martinioni's addition to Sansovino's city guide notes a *Christ and the Adulteress* by Giorgione in the Pesaro family's collection. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima* [Martinioni ed.], 376. A number of Venetian inventories from the seventeenth century also list such works. See, for example, the *Adulteress*, also listed as by Giorgione, as being in the house of Michele Spiera in an inventory of 5 April 1656 cited in Cesare Augusto Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane d'arte e antichità dal secolo XIV. ai nostri giorni* (Venice: Ferd. Ongania, 1900), 19–20.

<sup>25</sup> Michiel, *Notizia d'opere*, 54.

<sup>26</sup> Rylands, *Palma il Vecchio*, 19–21, 327.

<sup>27</sup> Archivio di stato di Venezia, Cancelleria Inferiore, Miscellanea Notai Diversi, B. 35, no. 27. The notary gives an unusually detailed account of the paintings' subjects, noting that in the *portego*, aside from the

In light of Venetian home-decorating tastes and later records of *Adulteress* paintings in the *porteghi* of patrician homes, it is reasonable to imagine that Titian's work too found its place in a domestic setting.

Mauro Lucco argues that the reasons for the emerging taste for large narrative paintings in the home were “probably more social than artistic,” and points out that “the new palace architecture [of the early Cinquecento] furnished a different kind of space for a display of paintings that was no longer just a private passion but a method for semipublic self-aggrandizement.”<sup>28</sup> Patricia Fortini Brown's archival research on the decoration of the Venetian palazzo supports his conclusion, and states, “the function of the *portego* was, first and foremost, display. This was a privileged space that defined the family. It expressed their values, with paintings of suitably moralizing content.”<sup>29</sup> Personifications of virtues were particularly common subjects for the painted works adorning the central rooms of Venetian homes. During the war Titian himself painted personified virtues for the private sphere. Soon after Andrea Loredan had completed his palace on the Grand Canal in 1509, now known as the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi, Titian frescoed the personified virtues of Prudence and Fortitude in the entrance portico.<sup>30</sup>

More than any other virtue, these domestic works emphasised that of Justice. The preference for subjects of this nature was logical, for, as Fortini Brown explains, this virtue was nothing less than “the fundamental value that justified the hereditary nobility of Venice and ensured Republican liberty.”<sup>31</sup> Doge Loredan expounded this idea during

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painting of the adulteress, there were others of the Holy Family with the Shepherds, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Prodigal Son, and portraits of Niccolò Capello and his son Domenico; ff. 12<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Lucco, “Sacred Stories,” 106.

<sup>29</sup> Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 75.

<sup>30</sup> Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 47, 127.

<sup>31</sup> Fortini Brown, *Private Lives*, 84–85.



the war years. In a speech to the patriciate, Loredan remarked that, in the past, the halls of Venetian palazzi had been spaces that showcased the virtues of their residents. He then lamented how things had changed; the armour and arms that had once been on display in Venetian homes had been replaced with banquet tables for parties, something he shamefully admitted to having done in his own home at San Cassiano.<sup>32</sup> Evidently, some felt that the interiors of Venice's palazzi needed to be reformed just as the moral behaviour of their residents did; the home needed to be reclaimed as a space for the showcasing of Venetian virtue.

In light of Loredan's comments and the general tension surrounding the question of Venetian morality, it is understandable that many wartime works of art—including those produced for the private sphere—focused on the theme of justice. Some of these works have been discussed in earlier chapters of this dissertation, most notably Girolamo da Treviso's *Susannah and the Elders* (fig. 147) and Titian's own *Submersion of Pharaoh in the Red Sea* (fig. 12). Other examples include numerous bust-length paintings of Judith, one of which is also by Titian's hand (figs. 150). Judith was one of the most powerful Old Testament representatives of justice and depictions of her were particularly popular in Venice during the first two decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup> One of the important works that may have launched the subject's popularity is the fresco Titian produced for the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (figs. 7, 8), which probably offered a

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<sup>32</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 17, cols. 245–46: “E ch’el nostro Signor Dio è stà corozato con nui per le injustitie si feva a forestieri e stenti a expedirli; per la pompe si usava in terra ferma con carete e cavali di gran precio, e poi in questa terra, cussì come prima ogni casa avea la soa lanziera di arme, cussì è stà disfate e poste tavole di compagni, e confessa lui Principe fo di primi che disfè la lanziera a San Canzian in la soa casa per metter la tavola di la soa festa. Poi disse ch’el Colegio e Pregadi avia dà principio a dar danari, chi andar, chi mandar fanti, come si lezerà; cussì exortava tutti di questo Consejo a voler far. Con altre parole saviamente dite, che comosse molti, tra i quali Io fui uno.”

<sup>33</sup> Joannides suggests that while Milanese patrons seem to have appreciated depictions of Salome and her courtly sexuality, Venetians showed a preference for representations of Judith, a figure more often associated with republican virtue at the time. See the discussion in chap. 6, p. 298.

response to the political events leading up to the Cambrai War.<sup>34</sup> The image presents an elegant fusion of Judith and the personified virtue of Justice, which, in turn, implies the personification of the Venetian Republic itself according to traditional government iconography.<sup>35</sup> The German soldier kneeling with the knife hidden behind his back represents an allegory of “betrayal,” specifically that of Maximilian I when he joined the anti-Venetian League of Cambrai. The fresco thus presents the just Republic preparing for German attack. Given that the work was commissioned by the government and enjoyed a high visibility, one can assume that, in the minds of the Venetian public, Judith had been appropriated as a signifier of justice. This could explain why the Old Testament heroine seems to make more frequent appearances in Venetian art during the war.<sup>36</sup> A particularly intriguing example is Giovanni Cariani’s *Judith* of 1516–17 (fig. 151). When the painting was produced, Cariani may have already left the lagoon and returned to his native Bergamo, a mainland city whose experience of the Cambrai War was particularly tumultuous.<sup>37</sup> As a result, it is tempting to perceive a reference to the war-torn terraferma in the brooding sky crowded with storm clouds and the light of a city burning in the distance.<sup>38</sup>

As regards the story of the adulteress and its depiction, contemporary interpretations of the Biblical episode demonstrate that its emphasis on justice was considered to be one of its most important aspects. For example, Savonarola’s Lenten sermons, which were published in Venice in 1514, include the following account of Christ’s remarks to

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<sup>34</sup> On this, see Muraro, “Political Interpretation.”

<sup>35</sup> For an in-depth analysis of the sources and meaning of Titian’s iconography, see Romano, “Giuditta e il Fondaco,” 115–22.

<sup>36</sup> On the apparent wartime taste for paintings of Judith, see Joannides, “Titian’s *Judith* and its context: the iconography of decapitation,” in *Apollo* 135, no. 361 (1992): 163–70.

<sup>37</sup> On the vicissitudes of Lombard cities formerly under Venetian control during the Cambrai War, see chap. 4.

<sup>38</sup> On the interpretation of the painting’s background, see Sgarbi, “1518: Cariani a Ferrara,” 8; and Pallucchini and Rossi, *Giovanni Cariani*, 120 (cat. no. 36).

the adulteress: “Do not fear true justice, because you have been delivered from false justice; true justice is accompanied by mercy while false justice is characterised by disdain and hate.”<sup>39</sup> Here, Christ’s treatment of the sinner is presented as an important example of “true justice,” or, more particularly, of the triumph of justice over injustice. Those Venetians who read this interpretation or heard it in live sermons would have found its message engaging, for it addressed a theme that recent political events had made both topical and sensitive. If the patron of the Glasgow *Adulteress* was one of these people, his selection of the painting’s subject matter may have been guided by his desire to lay emphasis on this same theme as an expression of its importance to his moral beliefs. In effect, the painting seems to underline its contemporary relevance by juxtaposing the historical robes of Christ with the modern, Venetian dress of the adulteress and the other figures, an aspect of the painting that will be discussed later in greater detail.<sup>40</sup> Considering the sensitivity of the subject of justice during the war, it seems appropriate that Titian chose to imbue the narrative with far more energy and emotion than any earlier surviving depiction produced in Venice. Perhaps his extremely passionate rendering of the adulteress’s plight reflected, at least in part, the fresh relevance with which recent events had infused the Biblical story.

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<sup>39</sup> Savonarola, *Prediche Vtilissime per quadragesima del Venerando Padre Frate Hieronymo Sauonarola da Ferrara de lordine di frati Predicatori Sopra Amos propheta:& sopra Zacharia propheta:& parte etiam sopra lo sacro Euangelio* (Venice: Lazzaro Soardi, 9 September 1514), f. 117<sup>v</sup>–18<sup>r</sup>: “Donna non hauer paura dela uera iustitia perche tu se uscita dele mani dala falsa iustitia, la uera iustitia e compagna della misericordia e la falsa iustitia e piena di sdegno e odio. Questi scribi & pharisei uoleuano mostrar dhauere zelo dela legge: che eglino allegauono al saluatore: ma quando tu uedi uno che dice esi douerria obseruare la tal legge: guarda pure se egli uiue bene:& tu uedi che lopere sue non sieno di iustitia: & di che non uuole che obserui quella legge per zelo di iustitia.”

<sup>40</sup> For similar contemporary dress, see the various figures in Titian’s own frescoes for the Scoletta di Sant’Antonio in Padua, particularly the *Miracle of the Speaking Babe*, and Sebastiano del Piombo’s *Judgement of Solomon* of ca. 1509 (fig. 171).

This interpretation finds support in the fact that earlier paintings had already presented the adulteress's experience as an emblem of justice. In De' Barbari's painting, the hands of the young Pharisee to Christ's right are engaged in the *computus digitalis*, a gesture that signifies the expounding of points of a legal argument. In Marziale's work, the importance of the law is evident in the book shown by an elderly Pharisee to Christ, which is presumably open to Leviticus's prescription of stoning as the punishment for adultery. A similar book also figures prominently in the Bellinesque painting (fig. 167). Here, it appears in the hands of Christ, rather than the Pharisees, and closed, rather than open, thus representing the replacement of Mosaic law with forgiveness.

Even more significantly, Sebastiano del Piombo's *Judgement of Solomon* (fig. 171), a monumental celebration of the importance of justice in early-Cinquecento Venetian art, seems to have been produced around the same time as Titian's *Adulteress*. Michael Hirst has suggested that the painting may have been commissioned to hang in Andrea Loredan's new palazzo, whose portico Titian decorated with the frescoed virtues mentioned earlier.<sup>41</sup> The palazzo's completion in 1509 would date Sebastiano's work on the canvas to shortly thereafter, precisely the period in which Titian was probably painting the Glasgow work. The two paintings also share much more than just their timing. Both display the same heightened sense of drama, and both employ the gesturing, monumental figures that painters were beginning to develop at the time. Finally, and arguably most importantly, they also both present Old Testament narratives vaunting the social and religious importance of justice. The closeness of their themes is even evident in the occasional similarity of their representation in art. For example, in a woodcut from a 1494 Bi-

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<sup>41</sup> Hirst, "Kingston Lacy *Judgement*," 261. Hirst puts forth a great deal of evidence that suggests the painting was commissioned by Loredan either for his newly completed palace, the one known today as the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi, or for one of the government offices where he fulfilled his government duties.

ble printed in Venice (fig. 173), Christ's role as judge is emphasised by his placement on a throne. The scene is very similar to that of Solomon in Sebastiano's painting, but the adulteress's second appearance on the far right as she leaves the temple and Christ gives her his blessing makes the subject clear.

Beyond their coincident production, a second reason for perceiving Sebastiano's and Titian's paintings as similar responses to contemporary political concerns is that the two subjects later appeared as a pair in Venice. Around 1544, Bonifacio de' Pitati produced a series of nine canvases for the Magistrato del Sal in the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi.<sup>42</sup> Seven of these depicted non-narrative compositions of saints whose names corresponded to those of the patricians on the magistracy at the time of the paintings' commission. The other two showed narrative scenes of the *Judgement of Solomon* and *Christ and the Adulteress* (fig. 174). Viewed together, the *Judgement* would have exemplified justice guided by wisdom using an Old Testament episode, and the *Adulteress* would have exemplified the justice tempered by mercy through a New Testament one.<sup>43</sup> While it is not surprising that a painting of Solomon was chosen to decorate a government office, the *Adulteress*'s presence, though less intuitive, also seems to have become frequent. A little under a decade earlier, Jacopo Bassano had painted three canvases of Daniel for the town

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<sup>42</sup> On the decoration of the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi and the canvases by Bonifacio de' Pitati, see Phillip Cottrell, "Corporate Colours: Bonifacio and Tintoretto at the Palazzo del Camerlenghi in Venice," in *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 4 (December 2000): 663–68. For a list of the canvases in the Seconda Sala del Magistrato al Sale, see *ibid.*, 673. For a discussion of the *Christ and the Adulteress*, see *ibid.*, 666.

<sup>43</sup> Both paintings are of the same large dimensions (approx. 180 x 305 cm). Although the *Judgement of Solomon* was probably selected for depiction because one of its patrons was named Nicolo Salamon, the same kind of connection could not explain the case of the *Christ and the Adulteress*. Instead, the latter must have been chosen for thematic link of justice that it shared with the *Judgement*. For a discussion of the *Judgement* and the decorative scheme of the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi, see Cottrell, "Corporate Colors," 664.

hall of Bassano that included the episode of the adulteress as an illustration of justice.<sup>44</sup> In light of the subject's contemporary interpretation, and the Venetian penchant for addressing the theme of justice in wartime art, Titian's painting may be best understood as a timely, vivid reassertion of the moral beliefs that the Cambrai War had brought under attack.

### 7.3 Penitence and Mercy in the Story of the Adulteress

There is another aspect of Titian's interpretation of the adulteress's story that merits attention, its focus on the sinner's repentance. As Joannides has noted, Titian's adulteress is characterised by an urgent sense of contrition; her pose makes it appear that she already knows Christ can absolve her of her sin and that she is eagerly approaching him of her own volition.<sup>45</sup> Significantly, this same atmosphere of penitence pervades the other contemporaneous depictions of the adulteress, though in the latter it assumes a more solemn character. As mentioned earlier, these works employ the relatively static, half-length figures of the earlier paintings by Marziale and De' Barbari. In contrast with Titian's painting, they foster a powerful sense of intimacy with the viewer, and focus particular attention on the adulteress's interaction with Christ. This sought-after effect suggests that the paintings were designed to serve a more intimate devotional function.

More than any other painter, it is the comparatively obscure Rocco Marconi who is known for depicting the adulteress in early-Cinquecento Venice.<sup>46</sup> Ridolfi claims that

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<sup>44</sup> The painting was grouped with two other paintings depicting the Daniel-related subjects of *Hadrak, Mishak and Abednigo in the Fiery Furnace* and *Susannah and the Elders*. All three paintings are in the Museo Civico at Bassano del Grappa.

<sup>45</sup> Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, 89–92. For another negative appraisal of Tietze-Conrat's argument, see Wetthey, *Paintings of Titian*, 1:169.

<sup>46</sup> Only Lucas Cranach the Elder devoted as much time to the representation of Christ and the Adulteress as Marconi did; there are sixteen versions associated with his workshop. See Max J. Friedländer and Jakob

Marconi was from Treviso, but most evidence suggests that he was born in the lagoon, where he can be placed from 1504 until his death in 1529.<sup>47</sup> The painter was trained in Giovanni Bellini's workshop and became one of the master's most important pupils.<sup>48</sup> When Bellini died in 1516, Marconi did not open a workshop of his own, and instead joined that of Palma Vecchio. The connection between the two artists' oeuvres is particularly evident in the fact that both artists produced multiple depictions of the adulteress: a significant portion of Marconi's oeuvre consists of half-length narrative paintings of the subject, most of which seem to have been executed before 1525,<sup>49</sup> and Palma rendered the subject at least three times.<sup>50</sup>

The Marconi version most often discussed is the sophisticated canvas now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia (fig. 175). Documentary and stylistic evidence indicate a date of circa 1516.<sup>51</sup> The painting exemplifies the general compositional formula of most Venetian representations of the subject from the 1510s and 1520s. It displays a dense group of half-length figures in front of a temple. The principal protagonists appear prominently in the immediate foreground with Christ in the centre. Rather than depicting a single moment in the narrative, the painting conflates the story's beginning and end—although the Pharisees seem to have only just brought the adulteress before Christ, he is already in the act of blessing and absolving her.

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Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*, revised ed. (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1978), 95, 111–12, 141–42.

<sup>47</sup> Enrico Maria dal Pozzolo, "Tra Cariani e Rocco Marconi," in *Venezia cinquecento* 7, no. 13 (1997): 10; and Pier Luigi de Vecchi, "Rocco Marconi," in *I pittori bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo. Il Cinquecento*, ed. Pietro Zampetti, 5 vols. (Bergamo: Poligrafiche Bolis, 1975–1980), 1:345.

<sup>48</sup> De Vecchi, "Rocco Marconi," 1:346; and Felton Gibbons, "Giovanni Bellini and Rocco Marconi," in *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962): 127–131. Before Bellini's death, his largest artistic output seems to have been images of the Virgin and Child.

<sup>49</sup> Dal Pozzolo, "Tra Cariani e Rocco Marconi," 14.

<sup>50</sup> See Rylands, *Palma il Vecchio*, 34 and cat. nos. 54, 89, X1, X51.

<sup>51</sup> Gibbons has suggested that the work was begun by Bellini and completed by Marconi; see his "Giovanni Bellini and Rocco Marconi," 130. For her part, Engel believes the painting is exclusively the work of Marconi. Engel, "Ehebrecherin unter Mönchen," 403–04.

Whereas Titian took a creative approach to his depiction of the story, Marconi's works staunchly adhere to a handful of compositional formulae. A comparison of the Accademia painting with the version at the University of Miami (fig. 176) demonstrates the pictorial consistency. The only significant differences in the latter are the further tightening of the figural group and the relocation of the event to the temple exterior. Everything else remains consistent—the three-quarter-length view, Christ blessing the adulteress while gazing at an animated Jewish elder, and the crowd of Pharisees pressing inward. Since the painting styles of the Miami and Accademia paintings are close as well, the former is believed to date around 1516 like the latter.<sup>52</sup> Yet another version, now in a private collection in Saltsjöbaden, Sweden, displays the same formula once again, though in a looser, and presumably later, style (fig. 177).

Many of the early-Cinquecento paintings depicting the adulteress are of lesser artistic quality than those which can be confidently given to Marconi. As a result, scholarly study of this group of paintings has been cursory at best. In fact, in the first half of the twentieth century, paintings were hastily attributed to Marconi simply because they represented the story of the adulteress, without any regard to stylistic analysis.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, such work is challenging. The paintings were produced by second-tier artists whose individual styles have been comparatively little studied, and questions of dating and authorship are further complicated by the paintings' repetition of fixed compositional formulae. Even more problematic, this adherence to compositional templates has gener-

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<sup>52</sup> Fritz Heinemann suggest the same date. Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani*, 3 vols. (vols. 1 and 2, Venice: Neri Pozza, 1962; for vol. 3, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991), 3:44 (cat. no. S. 199,8). Many scholars, however, place the work in the mid-1520s. See De Vecchi, "Rocco Marconi," 350 (cat. no. 6). The logic used for such a dating is nothing more substantial than the painting's supposed reflection of the influence of Palma Vecchio. However, it seems just as likely that Marconi, already collaborating with Palma by 1516, was investigating the same artistic ideas that interested his colleague.

<sup>53</sup> See the critical discussion of this in Giulio Ansaldo, "Un dipinto inedito del Cinquecento veneziano," in *L'arte* 52 (July 1951–June 1952): 31; and Dal Pozzolo, "Tra Cariani e Rocco Marconi," 15.



ated scholarly criticism.<sup>54</sup> Instead of maligning their lack of creativity, scholars should be asking why the formula of the *Adulteresses* enjoyed such a broad appeal.<sup>55</sup> Evidently, the effectiveness of the visual formula superseded other, more conceptual artistic concerns that could have preoccupied their painters or purchasers in the early decades of the Cinquecento. When considered in relation to their historical context, the adulteress paintings seem to represent a devotional trend which emerged in Venice in response to circumstances created by the Cambrai War.

The Accademia *Adulteress* is the best starting point for a discussion of this idea, because its attribution is undisputed and much is known about its history. The painting is signed by Marconi, and primary sources record that it was commissioned for the Benedictine monks of S. Giorgio Maggiore. Sabine Engel's research has revealed that the *Adulteress* was the only pictorial decoration of the Sala del Capitolo of the Benedictine monastery on the island of S. Giorgio. The monks of S. Giorgio used the Sala del Capitolo for their daily meetings, when they read from the Bible, performed a ritual of spiritual purification and assigned daily duties. A chronicle recording the monastery's history and its routines, written by the Prior Fortunato Olmo in 1619, indicates that the painting played a role in the phase devoted to spiritual purification. This part of the monks' daily activity was known as the *capitolo delle colpe*. Essentially a public confession and absolution, the ritual required each monk to kneel before his peers on a stone located in the

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<sup>54</sup> See Garas, "Deux tableaux de Rocco Marconi," 47–49; and De Vecchi, "Rocco Marconi," 1:346–47. For what it is worth, Fenton Gibbons has disagreed with this censure and has appraised the painter's work on stylistic grounds in far more positive terms. He notes that after Bellini's death, "Marconi's style grew rapidly able to express the more volatile emotions of an outward piety appropriate to the century in which he painted." Gibbons, "Giovanni Bellini and Rocco Marconi," 130.

<sup>55</sup> See the list of twenty-nine works compiled in Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i Belliniani*, 1:41–42 (cat. no. 144). See also Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 80–81. The same was true of one of its formal precedents, the now lost *Presentation in the Temple* by Giovanni Bellini, which is known in over thirty surviving copies and variants.

centre of the room and admit his sins, for which the prior would then assign penance and give absolution. Marconi's painting of the adulteress hung above the prior's seat as a visible, daily reminder of Christ's capacity for mercy.<sup>56</sup> Engel has noted that the work had a subsequent influence on the decoration of Benedictine meeting rooms in other parts of Italy, where some other depictions of the adulteress later appeared.<sup>57</sup>

Engel's contextualisation of the *Accademia Adulteress* is extremely valuable. However, in her determination to understand the painting within the cloistered world of the Benedictine order, her discussion—and, hence, her conclusions—are restricted to that context alone. The painting must also be considered in relation to its place within a broader artistic production, particularly with regard to the existence of local precedents. Along with the works by Marziale, De' Barbari and Titian, Marconi himself had painted the subject in the first years of the war, as demonstrated by a painting in Szekszárd, Hungary (fig. 178).<sup>58</sup> Significantly, none of these earlier works, nor any of the other versions by Marconi or Palma Vecchio, for that matter, can be connected with a monastic environment. Rather, as mentioned earlier, a number are recorded in the domestic sphere. It

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<sup>56</sup> Engel, "Ehebrecherin unter Mönchen," 404–14.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 399.

<sup>58</sup> Heinemann notes a version of the subject by Marconi that was in the Bragantini collection in Verona which he dates to shortly after Titian's large canvas in Glasgow on the grounds that Marconi seems to have borrowed the type and pose of his adulteress from the earlier work. Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani*, 3:44. This would place the work shortly after 1510. Unfortunately, Heinemann does not reproduce the work and the present author has been unable to find an image of it elsewhere or trace its current location. He claims that it is similar in style to a work by Marconi depicting Christ disputing with the Doctors that dates to around this time coming from the same Bragantini collection. In the case of the Szekszárd painting, the combination of dynamism and awkwardness encourages us to place it earlier than the other versions attributed to Marconi's hand, including the *Accademia Adulteress*. De Vecchi suggests that the Szekszárd painting is probably the earliest of Marconi's versions, noting that its style places it around the same time as the *Christ with Martha and Mary* in the Hermitage of the mid-1510s. De Vecchi, "Rocco Marconi," 351 (cat. no. 13). Claire Garas also considers it as one of the earliest versions by Marconi. Garas, "Deux tableaux de Rocco Marconi en Hongrie," in *Bulletin de Musée Hongrois des Beaux Arts* 7 (1955): 42. Heinemann is the only scholar to suggest that the *Accademia Adulteress* was probably the first painting produced displaying this particular compositional formula, but he did not have the opportunity to see the Szekszárd painting. Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani*, 1:119 (cat. no. S. 199,23).

would therefore seem probable that images following the same compositional template as the S. Giorgio *Adulteress*, such as the Florida and Saltsjöbaden pictures, were produced for members of the laity. In light of this, it is noteworthy that the *Accademia Adulteress* itself was paid for by a lay patrician who has figured prominently in this dissertation, the diarist Girolamo Priuli, something that will be discussed later.<sup>59</sup> The *Accademia Adulteress* thus provides a valuable connection between monastic and lay interest in depicting the subject. The close visual similarities of the Benedictines' work and those painted before and after it suggest that the function of the former may, in fact, have been following that of the latter. Just as Titian's Glasgow *Adulteress* and the monumental woodcuts discussed in the last chapter, Marconi's paintings had the dimensions of the *quadri da portego* commissioned to decorate the semi-public spaces of Venetian homes, where some other paintings of the adulteress were on display.<sup>60</sup> Carlo Ridolfi's remarks on Marconi reinforce the idea that the artist's works were generally for residences rather than communal spaces: "one does not see much of this painter's work in public, as he is given to producing highly detailed works that take a great deal of time to make."<sup>61</sup>

The paintings' own format seems to encourage the kind of close viewing that the intimate realm of the home facilitated especially well. In a remarkable study, Sixten Ringbom demonstrated that half-length narratives in northern Italian art exemplified "a compositional formula which originated in the domain of devotional art, where icons and half-length figures formed a starting-point and a source of inspiration for the creation of extensive, dramatic compositions designed according to the same compositional princi-

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<sup>59</sup> Engel, "Ehebrecherin unter Mönchen," 405.

<sup>60</sup> See the discussion of this above, pp. 326–27.

<sup>61</sup> Ridolfi, *Maraviglie dell'arte*, 1:237: "Di questo Autore non si veggono molte cose in publico, essendosi dato à fare opere à particolari, ne' quali spese lungo tempo."

ple.”<sup>62</sup> By maintaining the devotional intimacy of the truncated icon yet enriching the image with a narrative context, these paintings provided affecting aids to spiritual reflection.<sup>63</sup> The two subjects most often depicted as half-length narratives in the early sixteenth century were Christ’s encounters with the doctors in the temple and with the adulteress. Important examples of the former are Cima da Conegliano’s work of around 1504–05 (fig. 181), and Albrecht Dürer’s famous painting produced in 1506 during his sojourn in Italy (fig. 182).<sup>64</sup> However, paintings of Christ and the adulteress quickly exceeded works such as these in number. Ringbom has plausibly explained this shift. He suggests that imagery of the young Jesus debating with the elders would have been less devotionally stimulating than representations of the mature Christ performing saving acts that foreshadow his later redemption of humankind. However, as H. W. van Os and C. de Jong-Janssen have pointed out, Ringbom neglected to notice that there was an important difference between half-length depictions of the adulteress and those of the Circumcision, the Presentation in the Temple, Christ among the Doctors, or other such subjects: the story of the Woman Taken in Adultery is the only one that conveys a clearly didactic, moralising message.<sup>65</sup> Marziale’s painting makes this particularly evident through its in-

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<sup>62</sup> Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 5.

<sup>63</sup> On this, also see the general discussion in Antoni Ziemia, “Between the *Storia* and the Devotional Image. Religious Paintings in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” in *Transalpinum: From Giorgione to Dürer to Titian and Rubens*, eds. Dorota Folga-Januszewska and Ziemia, ex. cat. National Museum, Warsaw, and National Museum, Gdansk (Lesko: Bosz, 2004), 78–82.

<sup>64</sup> Art historians have long been divided on the issue of whether Dürer’s work influenced Cima or the other way around. For an excellent justification of why Cima’s painting preceded that of Dürer on the basis of style, see Jan Bialostocki “‘Opus quinque dierum’: Dürer’s *Christ among the Doctors* and its Sources,” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22 (1959): 17–34. However, the very same year that Bialostocki’s article was published, G. Arnolds effectively put the issue to rest with the publication of an article revealing that Dürer painted the *Christ among the Doctors* during his sojourn in Rome. It is therefore impossible that Cima drew inspiration from Dürer, so the influence must be the other way around. Arnolds, “Dürer’s *Opus Quinque Dierum*,” in *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler*, ed. Hans Möhle (Berlin: Mann, 1959), 187–90. For a good summary of the discussion on the relationship between the two paintings, see cat. entry 16 in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian*, 112–13.

<sup>65</sup> See Van Os and De Jong-Janssen, “Christ and the Woman Caught in Adultery,” 110.

corporation of an inscription bearing the words Christ spoke to the Pharisees when the adulteress was brought before him: *Qui sine peccato est vestrum primus in illam lapidam mittat* (John 8:7, “He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone”). As some scholars have noted, the combination of the painting’s intimate format with a didactic inscription makes a strong argument for the notion that the canvas was designed as a visual stimulus to or aid in preparing for confession.<sup>66</sup> As it happens, the same inscription appears in an equally intimate, though further cropped, version of the subject painted by Palma Vecchio in the early 1520s (fig. 172). It seems reasonable to conclude that the *Adulteresses* of Marconi’s generation served the same devotional function as the Marziale and De’ Barbari panels, given their adherence to the visual pattern of the earlier works and their conscious disregard of Titian’s revolutionary depiction.

The Christian community of early-Cinquecento Venice would have perceived a strong connection between the story of the adulteress and the sacrament of confession in two main ways. The first is that influential religious leaders wrote and preached about it, particularly St. Bernardino. The saint often makes reference to the episode of the adulteress in his writings and sermons about the sacrament of confession,<sup>67</sup> a fact which has been used to explicate the Marziale *Adulteress*.<sup>68</sup> The second reason is that the liturgical calendar prescribed the New Testament story of the adulteress as the gospel to be read on

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>67</sup> As one example, St. Bernardino refers to the story of the adulteress in a sermon entitled “De vera confessione.” For this, see St. Bernardino, *S. Bernardini Senensis Opera Omnia*, 9 vols. (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, 1950), 1:174. Some of the saint’s writings were published in Venice around this time; see for example, *Sancto Bernardino de la confessione* (Venice: Bernardino Benalio, [ca. 1494]); and his biography in the *Legenda de Sancto Bernardino* (Venice: Simone da Lovere, 16 July 1513).

<sup>68</sup> Van Os and De Jong-Janssen, “Christ and the Woman Caught in Adultery,” 111.

the fourth Saturday of Lent.<sup>69</sup> Although Lent originated as a forty-day period of purification through abstention that was designed to imitate Christ's forty-day fast in the wilderness, it had quickly become devoted to self-analysis and penance in preparation for the commemoration of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection at Easter. It was during Lent that Catholics were expected to go to confession in order to cleanse themselves for the proper celebration of Easter. Consequently, each year when Renaissance Christians were encouraged to reflect on Christ's sacrifice and to purify themselves through confession, they were also reminded of the adulteress's encounter with Christ.

Books of Lenten sermons published in Venice help to reveal how these associations were understood by the laity through the mediation of preachers and the clergy. The adulteress's absolution offered the promise that even mortal sins could be forgiven and washed away. In a book of Lenten sermons by the Franciscan preacher Cherubino da Spoleto printed in 1502, two sermons make reference to the adulteress. The first was for Passion Sunday and addresses the theme of contrition, while the second discusses how a sinner was to prepare for confession and was meant to be given the following Thursday.<sup>70</sup> The same correlation appears in the Lenten sermons of the Dominican preacher Giovanni da L'Aquila, which were published in Venice in 1509.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> See, for example, the *Epistole evangelii volgar hystoriade* (Venice: Bernardino Vitale, 20 October 1510), f. Fi<sup>r</sup>. The book indicates when each gospel reading is given during the liturgical year as prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church.

<sup>70</sup> For the Passion Sunday sermon, see *Sermones quadragesimales praeclarissimi: candido & ornatissimo stillo editi ab eximio diuini uerbi praecone fratre Cherubino de Spoleto Ordi. Mi. regularis obseruantiae: euangelicis praedicatoribus ribus caeterisque fidelibus admodum utiles hib faeliciter continentur* (Venice: Giorgio Arrivabene, 20 October 1502), f. 303<sup>v</sup>; for the Thursday sermon, see *ibid.*, f. 329<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> See *Sermones quadragesimales venerabilis viri fratris Ioannis Aquilani predicatorum de obseruantia* (Venice: Giacomo Penzio, 21 April 1509). The book presents the sermons arranged by weeks beginning with the Sunday. Each week has a theme to the sermon identified in the index and at the beginning of each sermon's text. The Dominican begins sermon XXXII on "De contritione" with John (8:11) ("Vade et amplius noli peccare") and discusses the case of the adulteress. Later, in sermon XXXIII on "De confessione" he makes reference to the adulteress once more.

For preachers and their audiences, the adulteress was an effective conduit for discussing concepts of primary importance to the purification of the soul, something which took on a special importance during the years of the Cambrai War. In those difficult times when the precariousness of the Republic's future was interpreted as a product of Venetian sin, both the doge and the patriarch urged Venetians to return to the confessional in order to save Venice from political and military ruin.<sup>72</sup> In March 1511, the tension was particularly high. Due to the plague, the Signoria had prohibited public preaching during the Lenten season, but the resulting lack of opportunities to express spiritual fervour at that critical point of the Christian calendar made the Venetians anxious. The government was disturbed by reports that, although half the city had usually gone to confession midway through Lent, few had done so that year. Thus, as Sanudo described it, the city was left "pien di pechati." In order to "placate God's ire," the state then decreed three days of penitential processions in Piazza San Marco during the day and in the city's neighbourhoods in the evening, as well as three days of fasting on bread and water for the entire community.<sup>73</sup> It is important to keep in mind, also, that the patron who paid for the *Accademia Adulteress* was none other than Girolamo Priuli, the diarist who incessantly complained of Venice's moral corruption and who believed that political survival could only be gained through spiritual cleansing.<sup>74</sup> As an active patron of the arts in the public sphere, one can assume that Priuli played a role in the selection of the painting's subject,

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<sup>72</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 12, cols. 84–85: "Adesso, che semo a meza quaresima, soleua li confessori, li altri anni, aver confessà 1/2 Veniexia, e horra non hanno confessà si non pizochere e pochissime persone. Poi disse [the patriarch], vol ordinar processione a San Marco per 3 zorni, e per le contrade la sera, e dezuni tre zorni pan e aqua, per plachar la ira de Dio, e disse altre cosse. El principe e altri di colegio lo laudò."

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> On Priuli's concerns about the dire state of Venetian morality during the war, see Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis," 269–71; and above, chap. 5, pp. 202–204.

despite its Benedictine destination.<sup>75</sup> The Accademia *Adulteress* provides a direct connection not only between the subject matter and the laity, but also between contemporary events and a Venetian consumed by the kinds of spiritual anxieties that depictions of the story seem to address.

The Venetian community's hunger for absolution, and for the political recovery they believed would accompany it, sparked another reason to develop a particular interest in the episode of the adulteress. The story also provided an ideal means of discussing penance and purification, because it exemplified Christ's limitless capacity for mercy. In a sermon for the Saturday before the fourth Sunday of the Lenten season, the preacher Ludovico Pittorio offered a distillation of the spiritual significance of the adulteress's exchange with Christ after the Pharisees had dispersed: "They remained there together, the mercy of Jesus Christ with the desolate adulteress, the doctor and the diseased, the saviour and the captive."<sup>76</sup> Savonarola's comments were very similar.<sup>77</sup> For these preachers, the woman's absolution offered proof of Christ's forgiveness and salvific power. Such an interpretation would have been further reinforced by what Christ said after giving the adulteress his blessing: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (John 8:12). This verse is one of the most eloquent, and frequently quoted, expressions of Christ's promise of salvation.

The connection between the forgiveness of sins and the adulteress's story received further emphasis in a book published by Niccolò Zoppino, one of the publishers of

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 415–16.

<sup>76</sup> "Rimasero iui insieme la misericordia xpo iesu:& la misera adultera: el medico & la inferma: el redemptore & la captiua." From the sermon for the Saturday before the fourth Sunday of Lent ("Vigesimo quinto di Sabbato post oculi") in Ludovico Pittorio, *Omiliario quadragesimale*, f. Liv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> Savonarola, *Prediche Vtilissime per quadragesima*, f. 117<sup>r</sup>: "Hora la miseria & la misericordia erano insieme ... ladultera & il saluatore."



the *Disprezamento del mondo* discussed earlier.<sup>78</sup> Entitled *Colletanio De cose Noue Spirituale*, the work was first printed in January 1509, only months before the outbreak of the Cambrai War.<sup>79</sup> The volume enjoyed great success, for Zoppino reissued it twice more during the conflict.<sup>80</sup> It presents a collection of devotional poems gathered by Zoppino and was intended to aid the spiritual devotion and reflection of the reader/listener. Accordingly, the woodcut on the book's title page displays a group of male and female devotees kneeling in prayer around the Virgin and Child (fig. 185). The *Colletanio* is characterised by a markedly penitent tone,<sup>81</sup> and addresses the same devotional anxieties that prompted the publication of the *Disprezamento* around the same time. One of the volume's poems is identified as an oration by Saint Augustine and takes the form of a sinner's appeal for mercy. Calling himself an "ungrateful, vice-ridden sinner," the author tells God that he is hopeful about his soul's future:

Because you are full of mercy  
Those who sin but repent you make content  
You forgave the adulteress in the temple  
And the Magdalen who was a sinner  
In whom I see myself and whom I take as my example...<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> On Zoppino and the *Disprezamento*, see above, chap. 5, pp. 204ff.

<sup>79</sup> The work's full title is *Colletanio De cose Noue Spirituale zoe Sonetti Laude Capituli & Stantie con la Sententia de Pilato Composte Da Diuersi & Preclarissimi Poeti Hystoriato. Recollecto per mi Nicolo dicto Zopino* (Venice: Niccolò Zoppino, 1509).

<sup>80</sup> The other wartime editions came out in 1510 and 1513, but the book continued to be popular as it reappeared twice more in 1521 and 1524. The edition referred to here is the one published by Giorgio Rusconi for Zoppino on 15 May 1513.

<sup>81</sup> To offer one particularly poignant expression of this, one *Lauda* culminates in the lines: "Con sospir bagnando il uolto / Ognun pianga el suo peccato / Quando el tempo ce poi tolto / Non ual dire io ho errato / Questo tempo che ce dato / Ai uol tutto a dio donare // Occhi mei di lachrymare / Non restar infino ad morte / Perche dio serra le porte / A chi uol nel uitio stare." *Colletanio De cose Noue Spirituale* (Venice: Giorgio Rusconi for Niccolò Zoppino, 1513), f. Liii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> "O dulcissimo signor clemente e pio / Che col tuo sancto sangue prezioso / Ce liberasti da lo inferno rio / El cielo apristi tanto luminoso / Habi misericordia o dolce signor mio / Di me ingrato peccator uitioso / Dhe non guardare ale ingiurie & offese / Lequal tho facto signor mio cortese // Perche tu sei di misericordia empio / Chi pecca poi se menda tul fai poi felice / Tu perdonasti ladulterio nel tempio / Et ala Magdalena chera peccatrice / Onde me spechio e piglio per exempio..." *Colletanio De cose Noue Spirituale*, f. Mi<sup>v</sup>.

Here the absolution of the adulteress and the Magdalen are presented as the quintessential proof of God's mercy. The poet goes on to list other sinners who were granted an improbable pardon, such as Peter, and extols how the Lord "forgave every offence."<sup>83</sup> He also refers to other instances in which the Lord mercifully granted salvation, including the Israelites' miraculous escape from Egypt through the parted Red Sea and Susannah's unlikely liberation from the elders.<sup>84</sup> It is surely not a coincidence that these two stories—as demonstrated by monumental woodcuts by Titian and Girolamo da Treviso<sup>85</sup>—along with that of the adulteress acquired an unprecedented interest in Venice during the war.

The poem, however, establishes an especially close link with the adulteress's experience through the woodcut image accompanying it. The print shows Christ in the centre blessing a young woman kneeling before him, while his disciples look on from the left (fig. 186). We might instinctively imagine that the image shows the penitent Magdalen, but the fact that the young woman's hair is gathered rather than loose makes this unlikely. The image is much closer to the contemporary depictions of Christ absolving the adulteress. The majority of early-Cinquecento Venetian paintings of the adulteress visually emphasise the story's importance as an example of forgiveness granted by showing the actual moment of absolution. The *Accademia Adulteress* and its variants in Florida (fig. 176) and Saltsjöbaden (fig. 177) all show the centrally placed figure of Christ extending his hand in blessing toward the young woman. The same compositional focus is evident in the second group of paintings following a slightly different compositional formula, in-

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.: "Signor tu perdonasti ciaschun fallo..."

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., f. Mii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> On these and the reason behind their popularity, see chap. 6.

cluding the stylistically early Szekszárd painting (fig. 178), a canvas in Budapest<sup>86</sup> (fig. 179), and another work whose current location is unknown<sup>87</sup> (fig. 180). Although here the woman appears to his left rather than his right, all of these show Christ in the act of blessing the adulteress. It is significant that contemporaries noticed this emphasis. When Michiel saw Palma's painting in the collection of Francesco Zio, he described it as a picture of "Christ absolving the adulteress."<sup>88</sup>

As Ringbom first realised, these paintings, like most half-length narrative works of the period, constituted narrative expansions of traditional, iconic, portrait-like images depicting predominantly the Virgin, the Virgin and Child, the Man of Sorrows or the Holy Face.<sup>89</sup> In the case of the adulteress paintings by Marconi and his peers, it was the last of these images that served as a point of departure—specifically iconic images of Christ in the act of blessing known as the *Salvator Mundi*.<sup>90</sup> This kind of image is exemplified by Marco Basaiti's work of 1517 in Bergamo (fig. 183). Marconi himself produced a number of these bust-length, portrait-like paintings of Christ (fig. 184).<sup>91</sup> These iconic works were designed to be intimate images of Christ as the saviour who grants redemption, a blessing that was visually extended to the viewer as well.<sup>92</sup> The narrative expansions of such imagery were created to place this generic theme in a more concrete set of circumstances, while at the same time retaining a sense of the universality of Christ's

<sup>86</sup> De Vecchi gives this work to Marconi and dates it to end of the 1510s. "Rocco Marconi," 348–50 (cat. no. 4).

<sup>87</sup> The photograph is found in the collection of the Fondazione Cini in Venice and is reproduced as fig. 9 in Dal Pozzolo, "Tra Cariani e Marconi."

<sup>88</sup> Michiel, *Notizia d'opere*, 54: "Christo che assolve l'adultera."

<sup>89</sup> Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 58–71.

<sup>90</sup> Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, 171–92, esp. 190–92.

<sup>91</sup> For other examples of the portrait-like images of Christ blessing, see the paintings listed under cat. no. S. 205 in Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani*, 1:120, 3:45. He and his assistants also used the motif as the focal point in altarpieces produced in the 1520s for the churches of S. Maria Nuova and SS. Giovanni e Paolo. On these, see respectively De Vecchi, "Rocco Marconi," 351 (cat. no. 15), 352 (cat. no. 21); and Dal Pozzolo, "Tra Cariani e Rocco Marconi," 14–18 (reproduced as figs. 11, 16).

<sup>92</sup> See Mauro Lucco's comments in *Bellini, Giorgione, Titian*, 108 (cat. entry 14).

action. The importance of the blessing hand becomes more evident considering that these paintings present an odd conflation of the story's events. In reality, the adulteress only receives absolution after all of the Pharisees have dispersed, so it is noteworthy that they are all still present when this occurs, and the discussion will return to this later.

Even when the compositional formula was modified, the same focus on the act of absolution could be maintained, as demonstrated by a painting in Chantilly (fig. 187) that has been attributed to various artists.<sup>93</sup> The painting enhances the intimacy already generated by the half-length figures by reducing their number and bringing them even closer to the picture plane. The physical proximity of the protagonists, and the encircling, or insulating, effect of the three others disposed in a tight ring around them, reinforce the importance of the interaction between Christ and the adulteress. Here, even more than in the other versions, the relationship of the central figures becomes the quiet exchange between sinner and confessor that serves to wash away sin and purify the soul.

Paintings such as the *Accademia Adulteress* seem designed to encourage their contemporary Venetian viewers to relate to the adulteress. She is given a distinctly early-Cinquecento appearance, with a stylish coiffure and fashion-plate clothing. She often has the trendy, dyed blond hair that was so popular at the time as well.<sup>94</sup> What is more, she is the only figure shown gazing out at the viewer, though from under modestly lowered eyelids. It is also worth noting that, with her repentant pose, braided locks and puffed

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<sup>93</sup> The painting was attributed to Giorgione when it was in the Northwick Collection, but modern scholars do not agree with this. It was later given to Rocco Marconi on the sole grounds that it was an image of Christ and the adulteress, but this attribution is entirely unconvincing. See De Vecchi, "Rocco Marconi," 352 (cat. no. 27). For an account of the various reattributions of the painting, and a reassertion of its authorship by Cariani, see Dal Pozzolo, "Tra Cariani e Rocco Marconi," 8, 34 (n. 13). Pallucchini and Rossi, on the other hand, are more comfortable with designating it simply as being of the Venetian school and date it much later, around 1520. Pallucchini and Rossi, *Giovanni Cariani*, 285–86.

<sup>94</sup> On the fashion for bleaching women's hair in the sixteenth century, see Rylands, *Palma il Vecchio*, 103, 124 (n. 2).

sleeves, she seems a sister to the sinner receiving Christ's absolution in the *Colletanio* print (fig. 186). Her connection with Christian Venetians would have been indirectly reinforced by the obviously Jewish—and therefore alienating—depiction of the Pharisees. Not only are they shown wearing the prayer shawls and headgear of the Hebrew people, but they are also often shown with distinctly unattractive physiognomies, a fact which will itself be discussed shortly. As a result, the adulteress's loveliness made her a positive figure. Her visual distinction from the Pharisees menacing her and Christ reflects her close encounter with the saviour and the state of grace her absolution creates. Thus, as much as the adulteress was, in reality, a repugnant sinner, Marconi's painting transforms her into a moral exemplar of repentance. In the adulteress, Venetians would have seen themselves, a familiar sinner whose absolution augured theirs.

It is worth noting that women resembling the adulteress appeared in other contemporary works of art of a markedly different character. Portrait-like paintings of beautiful young Venetian ladies by artists like Palma Vecchio and Titian were popular (figs. 188, 189). Unlike the *Adulteresses*, however, these works are characterised by an atmosphere of moral ambiguity.<sup>95</sup> Frequently, the figures' bleached blond hair is loose and their expression inviting, and they are in a state of undress. In comparison to such works, Marconi's adulteresses almost seem to present a reformed version of Palma's women. This pictorial decision is particularly interesting, given that the Bible says the adulteress was caught *in flagrante delicto*, which gave artists the perfect opportunity to depict a sensual,

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<sup>95</sup> On this, see *ibid.*, 103–10. See also Cranston, *The Poetics of Portraiture*, 156–57, where the author discusses one of Palma's half-length pictures of a woman as being interpretable in multiple ways. For a discussion of the issues of anonymity, sensuality and beauty in portrait-like images of women by Titian, see chap. 2 ("Ladies and Other Beautiful Women") in Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 45–106. Joannides has discussed fig. 189, Titian's *Woman in Black*, as a painter's exercise in studying the model from life, which he suggests were probably quite frequently done; *Titian to 1518*, 235.

partially undressed woman. Instead, the figure in the *Accademia Adulteress* is fully clothed and in a modest pose of penitence. The apparent contrast between the female figures in the portrait-like images of beautiful women and depictions of the adulteress calls to mind the connection between paintings of couples or young ladies with mirrors and the woodcuts of the *Disprezamento del mondo* discussed in an earlier chapter.<sup>96</sup> Once more, art produced during the war seems designed to communicate a moral message whose clarity counteracts the comparatively ambiguous nature of other popular imagery.

Images of the adulteress's tale, with their penitent sinner and forgiving Christ, would have been appealing expressions of heavenly mercy and of the promise that even mortal sins could be redeemed. As such, a distinction in meaning could be made between wartime paintings and those produced after the conflict's conclusion. They first would have been serviceable devotional tools that encouraged their viewers to go to confession and purify their souls, and to meditate on God's willingness to absolve sinners like those who viewed the painting. In the case of paintings produced in the decade that followed the war, the same imagery would have helped to express gratitude for divine mercy and to celebrate the Republic's return to grace.

The historical timeliness of the adulteress template and its function seems further evident in the later pictorial vicissitudes of the Biblical story. The subject's depiction fell off significantly after the 1520s, once the storm of war has passed. By then, the spiritual wounds created by the conflict had largely healed, and more recent events, such as the sack of Rome, had shifted thoughts away from the past. Perhaps paintings of the adulteress like Marconi's were no longer topical. What is more, interpretations of the subject painted later in the century abandoned the ritualistic emphasis of the moment of the

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<sup>96</sup> See chap. 5, pp. 221–26.

adulteress's absolution in the early-Cinquecento pictures, and most often concentrated on Christ's interaction with the Pharisees (see, for example, fig. 190).<sup>97</sup>

#### **7.4 A Digression: Paintings of Christ with Martha and Mary**

During the boom in the production of half-length paintings of the adulteress, the other subject to achieve a measure of popularity in the same pictorial format was Christ conversing with Martha and Mary.<sup>98</sup> These paintings, too, were previously rare and followed a fixed compositional formula. Moreover, they were often painted by Marconi. Marconi's canvas of the subject in Los Angeles is a typical example (fig. 191). Christ appears in the centre with Mary Magdalen to his left, her tresses hanging loosely on her shoulders, and Martha to his right, her hair modestly covered with a headscarf. Observers crowd around the protagonists, who seem to be standing in the street. Related works from Marconi's shop can be found in Prague and Leningrad (figs. 192, 193). The numerous similarities between paintings of Christ with Martha and Mary and those of the adulteress suggest that they should be considered in conjunction with one another and that they were designed to perform a related function.

The Martha and Mary paintings do not depict a precise event recounted in the Bible, but they do provide a number of clues how they might have been interpreted. The earnestness of Martha's posture and Christ's gesture toward the younger Mary seem to make reference to the difference between the two sisters' natures. The Gospel of Luke

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<sup>97</sup> See, for example, the painting by a follower of Titian in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, where Christ looks at a Pharisee while indicating the adulteress; the anonymous North Italian canvas in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, in which Christ's open-palmed gesture is indicative merely of the moment's tension; and the anonymous, late sixteenth-century version in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, in which Christ is seated with his arms thrown open.

<sup>98</sup> On this, see Dal Pozzolo, "Tra Cariani e Rocco Marconi," esp. 14–15; and Ansaldo, "Un dipinto inedito del Cinquecento," 21–24.

(10:38–42) recounts that when Christ went to visit the women in their home, Martha busied with activity to prepare the guest's meal while Mary sat inert at his feet to listen to him speak. The elder sister soon complained that the younger should have been lending a hand with the culinary preparations. Instead of agreeing with Martha, however, Christ reprimanded her. He explained that Mary's eagerness to listen and reflect was more spiritually rewarding than Martha's superficial endeavours. As depictions of this moment, the paintings thus emphasise the conflict between the active and contemplative lives.<sup>99</sup>

As discussed in chapter five, this spiritual issue was of topical concern in the early Cinquecento, particularly among the patriciate. Men such as Vincenzo Querini and Tommaso Giustiniani had responded to the contemporary moral climate of Venice by retreating to a monastery on the mainland.<sup>100</sup> Giustiniani was particularly convinced of the saving power of hermetic meditation.<sup>101</sup> Their decision, however, was the subject of much discussion in noble circles. Many perceived their act as inexcusably selfish and tantamount to abandoning their socio-political community in its hour of need. The young Gasparo Contarini felt the impact of their departure particularly acutely, and experienced a personal devotional crisis as a result. He, and presumably his patrician peers, were led to ask whether the active life—one which a Venetian nobleman was obliged to follow in his duty to the state—was a worthy means of seeking God's approval and the salvation of one's soul. Ultimately, in April 1511 Contarini's anxiety at being unable to abandon his social world for an isolated monastery led him to seek guidance from a friar at S. Sebas-

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<sup>99</sup> On the discussion of the active and contemplative lives from ancient times to the Renaissance, see Fritz Schalk, "Il tema della 'vita activa' e della 'vita contemplativa' nell'umanesimo italiano," in *Umanesimo e scienza politica: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi umanistici, Roma-Firenze, 1949* (Milan: C. Marzorati, 1951), 559–66. On the particular significance of Martha and Mary in this context, see *ibid.*, 562–63.

<sup>100</sup> On this, see the earlier discussion in chap. 5, pp. 201–02.

<sup>101</sup> On Giustiniani's ideas and interests, see De Luca, "Storia della pietà dell'umanesimo," esp. 50.



tiano. In a letter to Giustiniani, Contarini later described how the two men had spoken at length about “la via de la salute,” and how the discussion had helped him arrive at the very satisfying conclusion that Christ’s immense sacrifice was all that was necessary to man’s salvation. He asked his friend:

Should I not sleep securely, despite the fact that I am in the middle of the city, and even though I have not yet made up for the debt I owe, given that I have such a person to pay this debt on my behalf? Whether asleep or awake, I shall truly be as well as if I were to have spent my entire life meditating in the monastery, but without ever leaving the city. And so I will live self-assuredly, without fear of any of my sinful deeds, because Christ’s mercy surpasses all of his other acts.<sup>102</sup>

Contarini realised that the active life could function as well as the contemplative one because salvation was ultimately a result of the boundlessness of Christ’s mercy and its promise of salvation, the same themes that emerge in the adulteress paintings.

Some art historians have perceived the same meditation on the relative merits of the active versus the contemplative life that concerned men like Giustiniani, Querini and Contarini in other contemporary works of the art. For example, Marco Lattanzi has argued that Giovanni Bellini’s altarpiece in San Giovanni Crisostomo of 1513 (fig. 195) weighed in on the debate. By analysing the relative natures of the three saints depicted, Lattanzi suggests that the two saints in the foreground represent varying degrees of the active life—Christopher more so, and Louis less. In contrast, raised above the others, Jerome presents an ideal combination of the active and the contemplative, because he had translated the Word and thus acted as a guide to other men, but chose a life of meditative

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<sup>102</sup> “Non dormirò adonque io sicuro, benchè sia in mezo la cità, benchè non satisfaci al debito che ho contracto, havendo io tal pagatore [Christ] del mio debito? Veramente dormirò et vegierò cusì sicuro come se tuto el tempo di la vita mia fosse stado ne l’Heremo, con proposito di non mi lassar mai da tal apozo.... Et cusì viverò sicuro, senza timor algun de le mie scelerateze, perchè la sua misericordia supera ogni altra sua opera.” The letter is of 14 April 1511 and is reproduced in Jedin, “Contarini und Camaldoli,” 63–64.

solitude.<sup>103</sup> Another altarpiece may address similar issues. Alessandro Ottieri has noted that *The Calling of the Sons of Zebedee*, which Marco Basaiti produced in 1510 for the monastic church of Sant'Andrea della Certosa, is designed to celebrate the hermetic nature of the monks (fig. 196). As Ottieri points out, the painting visually juxtaposes the active and contemplative lives. While Zebedee and the fisherboys continue their manual labours, James and John leave behind their nets to follow Christ.<sup>104</sup> The message seems clear: an apostolic life of meditation is superior to that of worldly activity. Seen in relation to religious paintings like these, contemporary pictures of Martha and Mary seem to weigh in on the debate as well by suggesting that one should strive to follow the Magdalen's example more than Martha's in the search for salvation. This notion is reinforced by Mary's placement under a prominent fig tree, which was often used in Venetian painting of this period as a sign of election or privilege.<sup>105</sup>

If paintings of Martha and Mary constituted a visual response to questions about the best path to salvation, they would appear to be as topical as their pictorial cousins representing the woman taken in adultery. In fact, in many ways, the penitent Magdalen was much like the adulteress. It is important to recall that in Zoppino's devotional books of poems, the adulteress and the Magdalen were especially singled out as exemplars of the penitent sinner. It hardly seems by chance that the protagonists highlighted in the poem also figure in the half-length religious paintings that Venetians commissioned during the Cambrai War and in the years of recovery that followed. Both subjects later became popular among evangelical Christians, particularly the nascent Protestant communities

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<sup>103</sup> Marco Lattanzi, "La Pala di San Giovanni Crisostomo di Giovanni Bellini: il soggetto, la committenza, il significato," in *Artibus et historiae* 4 (1981): 35–38.

<sup>104</sup> Ottieri, "Laguna di Venezia, mare di Galilea: la *Vocazione dei figli di Zebedeo* di Marco Basaiti," in *Artibus et historiae* 9 (1984): 77–89.

<sup>105</sup> On this, see Gentili, "Pala Gozzi di Tiziano," 93.

that began to arise after Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the doors of the Wittenberg cathedral (see, for example, fig. 197).<sup>106</sup> Protestant literature had already reached Venice by the 1520s due to active trade with northern merchants and the city's liberal printing industry, and it was even reproduced on Venetian presses.<sup>107</sup> Historians have long been curious about whether evangelical ideas were present in Venetian devotional thought at the time.<sup>108</sup> It is tempting to imagine that the popularity of pictures of Martha and Mary and the adulteress in early-Cinquecento Venice reflect that, at least on some level, this was true. Given the spiritual trauma caused by the Cambrai War—a trauma that gave Venetians reason to strive for a closer, and perhaps more personal, relationship with God—it would be understandable if they did.

### 7.5 The Pharisees of the Old Testament and the Jews of Venice

As much as the theme of Martha and Mary enjoyed a distinct popularity in early Cinquecento Venetian art, depictions of the adulteress were far more numerous. Part of the reason for this preference may be that Christ's encounter with the adulteress served Venetian needs on an additional level, beyond representing an emblem of justice, or providing an aid to confession and meditation on divine mercy. The story was also important in the context of Christian doctrine as evidence of the moral superiority of Christian over Jew.

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<sup>106</sup> On the importance of the episode of the adulteress to Lutheran doctrine as an illustration of the Protestant idea of the Gospel as the Law, see the chapter entitled "Early Luthern Art" in Carl Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1979). Lucas Cranach was particularly active in the production of images of Christ and the Adulteress; see above, n. 45. The earliest of these dates to around 1520, but most of the versions date to after 1537; see Friedländer and Rosenberg, *Paintings of Lucas Cranach*, 111. On Cranach as a painter of Protestant imagery more generally, and on the allegorical works in his oeuvre that address the idea of the Law and the Gospels, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004); see also C. Ozaraowka Kibish, "Lucas Cranach's *Christ Blessing the Children*: A Problem of Lutheran Iconography," in *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955): 196–202.

<sup>107</sup> See the discussion in John Martin, "Salvation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Popular Evangelism in a Renaissance City," in *The Journal of Modern History* 60, no. 2 (June 1988): 206.

<sup>108</sup> See the discussion in *ibid.* and also Anna Pallucchini, "Venezia religiosa nella pittura del Cinquecento," in *Studi veneziani* 14 (1972): 159–84.

Like Christ's first experience with the Hebrew doctors in the temple, the test of the adulteress is one of the chief events in which the Pharisees perniciously, and unsuccessfully, challenge Christ's authority. During the Cambrai War, there is every reason to believe that Venetians would have found the story's negative characterisation of the Jews particularly appealing, because the period was characterised by strong anti-Semitism.

Robert Finlay has amply demonstrated that the Cambrai War, and the spiritual crisis it incited, were the catalysts that led to the establishment of the first Jewish ghetto in Venice in 1516.<sup>109</sup> After the League's troops had taken over the *terraferma* in the months following the Rout of Agnadello, many of the Jews living in the *Stato da terra* were forced to flee to the relative safety of the lagoon. Until then, the Hebrew presence in had been narrowly circumscribed.<sup>110</sup> Excepting a brief period in the fourteenth century, Jews were not permitted to live in the capital, and if they visited the lagoon they could not stay more than fifteen days at a time.<sup>111</sup> In the crisis of 1509, the situation changed, and the Venetian government was obliged to accommodate the Jewish refugees, because their pawnshop and money lending activities made them the guarantors of many members of the Republic's Christian population. If the Jews were to lose their assets, so, too, would many Venetians. What is more, the Jews also became necessary sources of capital for the war effort as the conflict wore on.<sup>112</sup> However, over the years of the war, the gov-

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<sup>109</sup> The literature on this is vast. For a focused discussion of the foundation of the ghetto, see Finlay, "Foundation of the Ghetto." To place the foundation of the ghetto in a broader geographical and historical context, see Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 476–509.

<sup>110</sup> See Benjamin Ravid, "The Venetian Government and the Jews," in *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, eds. Robert Davis and Benjamin Ravid (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 4–5.

<sup>112</sup> See *ibid.*, 7. On the general financial role of the Jews in Venetian society over time, see Brian Pullan, "Jewish Banks and Monti di Pietà," in *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, eds. Robert Davis and Benjamin Ravid (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 53–72.

ernment repeatedly considered expelling them. Already in June 1509 Priuli described the situation as follows:

All of them [the Jews] had fled to Venice, because they would not be safe in any other place, and because so many Jews came to the city, the *Padri Venetti*, whose faith is dwindling, are distrustful given these suspicious and dangerous times, and the whole of Venice has been complaining of the presence of the Jews, so it was decided to send them out of the city, especially those newly arrived.<sup>113</sup>

This decision, however, was reversed, and the Jews were not sent away. Sanudo echoed the same concerns six years later, remarking that Jewish refugees were “everywhere, and it is a terrible thing, and no one says anything, because due to the war they are needed, so they do what they like.”<sup>114</sup> The tension was exacerbated by stories of the kinds of atrocities supposedly perpetrated by Jewish soldiers on the mainland, including desecrating churches and the host, and drinking the blood of slain Christians.<sup>115</sup> Sanudo’s diary helps to reconstruct the problems that the presence of the Jews created through its record of discussions in the larger councils of the Republic over the entire course of the war and beyond. It also indicates that public preachers regularly lamented the mingling of Jews and Christians in Venice. They advocated that the interlopers either be chased out or forced to convert,<sup>116</sup> and, in fact, public baptisms of Jews took place in the city’s *campi* in 1509 and 1513.<sup>117</sup> A certain Franciscan by the name of Fra Ruffino Lovato seems to have

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<sup>113</sup> Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:96: “Tutti heranno scampati a Venetia, perchè in niuno altro locho se tenivano siguri; et essendo venuta tanta quantitate de Judei a Venetia, li Padri Venetti non se infidavano molto in la fede loro in questi disturbi et tempi suspecti et pericolossi, et *ettiam* il populo veneto cridava grandemente di questi Judei; donde che ’l fu deliberato de mandarli fuori dela citade una grande parte di questi Judei, *maxime* quelli novamente venuti, quali deliberonno andare a Padoa.”

<sup>114</sup> “Hora fino eri sono andati attorno, et è malissimo facto, e niun li dice nulla, perchè mediante le guere, hanno bisogno di loro; e cussi fanno quello voleno.” *Diarii*, vol. 20, col. 98.

<sup>115</sup> See Priuli, *Diarii*, 4:253–54.

<sup>116</sup> Crouzet-Pavan, “Venice between Jerusalem,” 171–72.

<sup>117</sup> The first time this happened in Venice was in 1505, shortly before the war began. However, during the war Sanudo recorded this happening at least twice more—once in April 1509 and again in 1513. See Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 8, col. 88; vol. 16, col. 53. A similar kind of event took place in Campo San Polo in 1516. This area of the city was one with a particularly large Jewish community. On 25 March that year, after a

targeted the Hebrew community in his public sermons with particular vehemence. In April 1511 he riled his listeners with hateful invective and encouraged them to sack the homes of the Jews in the city and reclaim their riches for the Venetians.<sup>118</sup> Even Sanudo, who usually remained untouched by the more emotional forces influencing the ideas and behaviour of his peers, betrays the tension between Christian and Jew in the latter years of the war by starting to use the moralising tone of his contemporaries.<sup>119</sup> The oral criticism of preachers was also paralleled by printed material. The printing industry fed the fires of anti-Semitism by publishing books that maligned members of the Hebrew faith.<sup>120</sup>

The situation finally came to a boiling point in 1516.<sup>121</sup> By then, it had become apparent that the seemingly important victory at Marignano the year before had not resolved any of Venice's problems as expected. Fearing the imminence of another military disaster, the government decided on 29 March 1516 to designate the island formerly used as a foundry in Cannaregio as a closed residential area for the Jewish community, thus creating the first ghetto in European history.<sup>122</sup> At the Senate meeting, the patrician Zaccharia Dolfin asserted that the source of the troublesome "perversità dil Stado" and past military misfortunes was the Jewish community.<sup>123</sup> The ghetto's foundation was one of the most tangible results of the spiritual anxiety that had afflicted Venetians since 1509,

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preacher had spoken to a large crowd of Venetian listeners, a tableau vivant of a bishop baptising Jews was set up for the audience. Ibid., vol. 22, col. 65.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, cols. 98–99, 110–11.

<sup>119</sup> Crouzet-Pavan, "Venice between Jerusalem," 176. For an example of this in Sanudo's diary, see vol. 20, col. 98.

<sup>120</sup> In 1514, the business-savvy Alessandro Paganino published both Latin and Italian editions of a treatise by an eleventh-century Jew about the error of his brethren who refused to recognize Christianity as the true faith: Samuel Marochitanus, *Tractatus Rabby Samuelis, errorem Iudeorum indicans* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 22 February 1514). On this publication, see Nuovo, *Alessandro Paganino*, 13.

<sup>121</sup> On this, see the excellent discussion in Finlay, "Foundation of the Ghetto."

<sup>122</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 22, cols. 97–98.

<sup>123</sup> Sanudo, vol. 22, col. 72–73.

and, as Finlay explains, it represented a “form of penance and had the character of prayer.”<sup>124</sup>

Art was an effective means for Christians to define the role and nature of Jews in their communities. Dana Katz’s study of two fifteenth-century altarpieces in Mantua clearly demonstrates that religious works of art could be crafted to function as “a quiet and insidious form of violence” directed toward contemporary Jews.<sup>125</sup> The first altarpiece is Andrea Mantegna’s *Madonna of Victory*, a painting whose primary purpose was to celebrate Duke Francesco II Gonzaga’s victory over the French at the Battle of Fornovo in 1495. The painting, however, was not paid for by the duke; the necessary funds were exacted instead from Daniele Norsa, a Jew living in Mantua. Norsa’s payment had been imposed as punishment for having committed the blasphemous act of whitewashing over a fresco of the Madonna and Child on the exterior of his house. As Katz has revealed, the commission had the secondary purpose of diverting the populace’s ever-growing displeasure with Francesco’s weak leadership to concern about an unruly Jew.<sup>126</sup>

The second of the two altarpieces (fig. 198) Katz discusses gives explicit visual expression to the victimisation of the Jews that was more implicit in the commission of the well-known *Madonna of Victory*. The work was commissioned by the Augustinian priest entrusted with the care of the church a few years after Mantegna’s painting had been hung there. Here, Norsa himself is depicted along with his son and their respective wives. The two men are each visibly branded with the circular yellow badge that Mantuan law required Jews to wear. Their presence as a sort of sacrifice to God on the part of

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<sup>124</sup> Finlay, “Foundation of the Ghetto,” 154.

<sup>125</sup> Katz, “Painting and the Politics of Persecution: Representing the Jew in Fifteenth-Century Mantua,” in *Art History* 23, no. 4 (November 2000): 478.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 478–83.

the Christian patron and his community is made clear by the Latin inscription reading *Debellata Hebraeorum Temeritate* (Defeat of the Jews' Temerity) appearing at the painting's apex.<sup>127</sup>

In Venice, where anxiety about the Jews was dangerously inflamed by the war, anti-Semitic sentiment also seems to have found expression in artistic commissions. Augusto Gentili has shown that anxiety about the Jews living in the lagoon was one of the most important factors that motivated the commission of Vittore Carpaccio's cycle of the life of St. Stephen for the Scuola degli Albanesi.<sup>128</sup> The deacon saint was one of the Jews' most pathetic Christian victims. Having dedicated his life to spreading God's word and helping the Hebrew community find the true faith, Stephen's life ended when he was martyred by lapidation at the hands of Jews. For Renaissance Christians, the story's culmination in a violent murder exemplified the malicious character of the Hebrew people. It is therefore unsurprising that the commission of each painting in the cycle seems to have been initiated during peaks in anti-Semitic sentiment at particularly difficult moments of the war.<sup>129</sup>

Like the story of St. Stephen's martyrdom, that of the adulteress fuelled hatred of the Jews. The Gospel account of the event was read in church every year during Lent, on the fourth Saturday. Lent was not only the most penitential time of the year, in which Catholics prepared to commemorate Christ's sacrifice at Easter, but it was also the period in which anti-Semitic sentiment was most pronounced, because Christians held the Jews responsible for Christ's murder. As a result, the episode of the adulteress inspired preachers to preach particularly vehement, anti-Jewish rhetoric every Lenten season. Girolamo

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 487.

<sup>128</sup> Augusto Gentili, *Le storie di Carpaccio: Venezia, i turchi, gli ebrei* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), 136–38.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 138.



Savonarola's sermons, printed in Venice, clearly demonstrate how hatred for the Jews could be encouraged in the hearts of Christian listeners:

The Pharisees were murderers who had had John the Baptist killed and who were trying to kill Christ; they were arrogant, greedy, and lascivious, they kidnapped children and poor widows, and they never judged themselves, and [so] they wanted to put to death a lovely young lady who had fallen into sin due to her fragility.<sup>130</sup>

Given such vitriol, it is hardly surprising that paintings of the subject convey a similarly hateful attitude toward the Jews. However, whereas the St. Stephen cycle could provide evidence of Jewish malice in the violent conclusion of its pictorial narrative, the adulteress's tale did not. Another means had to be employed. In works such as Marconi's, it is the visual characterisation of the Pharisees, rather than their actions, that conveys their evil nature. The Jews are labeled not only by their dress—such as prayer shawls, turbans, and expensive clothing—but also by their decidedly unattractive physiognomies.

Marconi's *Accademia Adulteress* offers a particularly rich example of this (fig. 175). A number of the figures, such as the one on the far right, display large, bulbous noses whose disproportionality is made all the more evident by the contrasting beauty of Christ's more delicate features. In northern art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, distortions of the nose and the beard were two of the most common ways of creating derogatory images of Jews.<sup>131</sup> Another of Marconi's Pharisees appearing on the left incorporates further elements of a similar nature. He is balding and hunchbacked, and his

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<sup>130</sup> The passage is excerpted from Savonarola's sermon for the fourth Saturday of Lent regarding the adulteress in a Venetian publication of 1514: "Loro eran homicidiarii: che haueuono facto amazare sancto Giouanni baptista: & cercauano di amazare Christo:lor erano superbi:loro auari:loro luxuriosi: robauano e pupilli:& le pouere uedoue:& non iudicauano se:& uoleuono far morire una donnicciuola:che per fragilita era caduta in peccato." Savonarola, *Prediche Vtilissime per quadregesima*, f. 116<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> See Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 77–78. See also Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 113.

sharp nose curves downward like a bird's beak and a prominent, and decidedly unattractive, wart mars his temple. Such blemishes appear in other disparaging depictions of Jews at the time, including Dürer's *Christ among the Doctors* (fig. 182). Ever since the Middle Ages, deformities like these were perceived as outward manifestations of internal moral corruption, and so their appearance in Marconi's and Dürer's works would have presented clear signals of the Jews' wickedness.<sup>132</sup> Other visual markers helped to do the same. Most notably, the prominent earring of the turbaned Pharisee immediately to the left of Christ was understood as an indicator of spiritual impurity, and the object was often associated specifically with the Jews.<sup>133</sup> The unattractive appearance of the Pharisees is all the more jarring due to the elegant classicism of the architectural setting, the accomplished atmospheric qualities of Marconi's painting technique, and, as noted earlier, the beauty of Christ and the adulteress herself. Despite the fact that she, too, was a Jew, she is never disparaged with the same physical deformities or markers in paintings of the story. Instead, she is always exquisitely beautiful. Her attractiveness unmistakably associates her with the equally handsome figure of Christ, thus distinguishing their persecutors as the forces of evil.

The same observations that have been made about the *Accademia Adulteress* apply to Marconi's other paintings of the subject, including those that follow the same compositional formula as the *Accademia* canvas and those employing the compositional variant exemplified by the painting in Saltsjöbaden (fig. 177). They are also applicable to

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 113–14.

<sup>133</sup> On the earring and its negative connotations of impurity by the fifteenth century in northern Italy, see Diane Owen Hughes, "Distinguishing Signs: Ear-Rings, Jews, and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City," in *Past and Present* 112 (August 1986): *passim*, but esp. 10–12, 39–40. Hughes notes that Sanudo had seen a woman with earrings at a patrician dinner in Venice in 1525 and remarked in his diary that it displeased him greatly; see *Diarii*, vol. 40, col. 425.

another painting of the adulteress now in Dijon (fig. 194). The work dates to sometime in the 1520s and was possibly produced by a Bergamask artist. Here once again, the figures of Christ and the young woman seem to be pitted against the pressing crowd of Pharisees. She, in particular, seems to be an elegant young lady whose contemporary appearance betrays nothing of her Hebrew origins. By way of contrast, the large figure farthest to the left has been depicted as unpleasantly corpulent, with a prominent double chin and thick, stocky neck. His heaviness signals his inner iniquity just as does the same characteristic in Dürer's depiction of the High Priest in his Large Passion series (fig. 203).<sup>134</sup> Perhaps even more repellent is the soldier with the bulbous nose, big ears and prominent underbite who seems to have helped bring the adulteress before Christ.

These early-Cinquecento paintings seem to have followed the example of earlier Venetian depictions of the subject by Marziale and De' Barbari in their depiction of the Pharisees. In De' Barbari's work, two of the four Pharisees display decidedly unattractive physiognomies. The exaggeratedly hawkish nose and unsightly wrinkles of the middle-aged figure whose head appears between Christ and the adulteress cannot help but inspire the viewer's disgust. Marziale's *Adulteress* displays similar elements. The Pharisee at the extreme left appearing in profile showcases an unsightly broken nose and deeply lined skin. His turbaned neighbour is equally abhorrent, because his swarthy complexion and exaggerated features seem the product of disease. Benno Geiger has argued that Marziale's incorporation of such physically repellent figures was a response to Leonardo's theory that beauty was enhanced when juxtaposed with ugliness.<sup>135</sup> Others have

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<sup>134</sup> On the interpretation of Dürer's work, see Melinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness*, 129.

<sup>135</sup> Geiger, "Marco Marziale," 122–48. For Da Vinci's comments, see his, *Treatise on Painting*, trans. Philip McMahon, with an introduction by Ludwig H. Heydenreich, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 1:112.

noted a marked connection between Marziale's figural style and Northern painting, and given the intermingling of artistic influences in Venice, this would have been likely. Although Dürer's *Christ among the Doctors*, with its grotesque Hebrew elders crowding the young, angelic Christ (fig. 182), may never have been in Venice, Quentin Massys's *Ecce homo* had been since the 1520s (fig. 202). The latter employs a grimacing soldier farthest to the right that is similar to the figure in the same location in the Dijon painting. Northern painters used such figure types in particular situations, especially in the depiction of Christ's tormentors in scenes of the Passion, which seems to have given rise to the phenomenon in the first place. Given these origins, it is not surprising that such imagery quickly became inextricably associated with the Jews in a more general way.<sup>136</sup> Its purpose, however, was probably not so much to express anti-Semitic sentiment as it was to emphasise Christ's arduous, and ultimately victorious, battle against evil in his final days. In short, unattractive antagonists helped to intensify the devotional efficacy of paintings of Christ's Passion.

However, as much as Marziale and De' Barbari may have learned from northern examples in their derisive depiction of the Pharisees, unattractive figures of this kind were not common in Venetian art by the second decade of the sixteenth century. The mature Bellini, Giorgione, the young Titian, and Sebastiano del Piombo had reconfigured the local aesthetic, preferring a monumental and idealised sense of beauty. Thus, when the next generation of artists such as Marconi (Bellini's pupil), Giovanni Cariani and others decided to emphasise the maliciousness of the Pharisees through their physiognomy, they were consciously setting aside their training. It would seem that only certain circum-

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<sup>136</sup> On this, see James Marrow, "Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," in *Art Bulletin* 59, no. 2 (June 1977): 167–81; and Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews*, esp. 105.

stances could justify this decision, because one of the important Venetian precedents for the derisive depiction of Jews in the Cinquecento shared important characteristics with paintings of the adulteress. The *Christ Carrying the Cross*, variously attributed to Giorgione or Titian and produced for the church of S. Rocco in 1509 (fig. 199), contrasts an intimate close-up of Christ's beautiful visage with the unattractive features of his tormentors. The small painting was well known and held in special regard by Venetians, because it had immediately gained a reputation for working miracles.<sup>137</sup> Perhaps the painting's devotional importance infused its imagery with a spiritual significance that influenced later artists in the representation of the thematically related story of the adulteress's persecution. The same kind of contrast between the handsomeness of Christ and the unattractiveness of a Pharisee in Titian's *Render unto Caesar* of 1516 may also represent a response to the emotionally affecting imagery of the S. Rocco painting.

There is further reason to assume that the derisive depiction of Jews in paintings of the adulteress was due more to the desire to distinguish the good Christian from the malicious Jew than to an appreciation of Northern painting or an interest in Leonardo's theories. The desire to identify members of the Hebrew community visually had already emerged in the latter half of the fourteenth century, when many Jews had begun to adopt the dress of northern Italians and could no longer be distinguished from their Christian neighbours. As seen earlier in the Norsa altarpiece, in Mantua male Jews had to wear a circle of yellow cloth.<sup>138</sup> The same sort of measure had been in place in Venice since 1394, when it was decreed that Jews were to wear a circle of yellow cord on their cloth-

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<sup>137</sup> See Jaynie Anderson, "Christ Carrying the Cross in San Rocco: Its Commission and Miraculous History," in *Arte veneta* 31 (1977): 186–88.

<sup>138</sup> Katz, "Painting and the Politics of Persecution," 487.

ing.<sup>139</sup> This legislation was revisited time and again over the centuries, but anxiety about its observation, or lack thereof, became particularly acute in Venice during the war, when Jewish refugees flooded into the city after the Rout of Agnadello. In 1511, and again in 1517, the Venetian government reiterated the requirement that Jews wear a yellow *barretta*, or hat, to identify them, presumably because the law was not being followed and Jews were eluding identification.<sup>140</sup> Sanudo's diary gives an account of the general disapproval that arose in January 1510 when a Jewish doctor was granted permission to wear a black hat instead of a yellow one.<sup>141</sup>

In this context of concern about the ability to identify Jews as they circulated among Christians, the clothing of the Pharisees in paintings of the adulteress may have encouraged viewers to associate the Biblical Jews with contemporary ones. The adulteress's appearance has already been discussed, but the Pharisees, too, may have displayed a kinship with the Renaissance Jews of Venice. Their varying kinds of headgear—turbans, caps and head scarves—seem to reflect the variety of Jews who came through Venice from different geographic and cultural areas; turbans tended to be worn by Jews from the Levant, whereas those born in Europe frequently adopted more western headgear.<sup>142</sup> Since the medieval period, hats had been one of the most important signifiers of Jewish

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<sup>139</sup> On the history of imposed markers of Jewish identity in Venice, see Benjamin Ravid, "From Yellow to Red: On the Distinguishing Head-Covering of the Jews of Venice," in his *Studies on the Jews of Venice, 1382–1797* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 3:179–210.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 9, col. 499: "Et di dolse di uno medico zudeo qual (ha) auto licentia di portar la bareta negra, et è stà mal fato."

<sup>142</sup> Thomas Coryat, an English visitor who came to Venice in 1611, wrote about his experience in the Ghetto. He noted that those Jews who had been born in Europe used red cloth head-coverings while those from Jerusalem, Alexandria or Constantinople wore turbans in the manner of the Turks. On this, see Donatella Calabi, "The 'City of the Jews,'" in *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, eds. Robert Davis and Benjamin Ravid (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 46.

identity.<sup>143</sup> Furthermore, the prominence of yellow in some of the Pharisees' clothing would have reflected the law that obliged them to wear the colour; the most notable are the figure with the earring in the *Accademia Adulteress*, the elderly figure in the lower left in Palma's *Hermitage* canvas (fig. 172), the two Pharisees on the far left in the Chantilly painting (fig. 187), the corpulent Jew in the *Dijon* canvas (fig. 194), and the elder disputing with Christ in Lotto's work in the Louvre (fig. 200). The occasional appearance of red caps, as in the *Florida Adulteress* (here worn by the prominent Pharisee arguing with Christ) or that in the Louvre, may also reflect contemporary practice. Benjamin Ravid has noted that although the law prescribed that Jews wear a yellow hat, which those from the Levant continued to do, Western Jews often chose to wear a red one instead, probably because yellow was the same colour used to mark prostitutes.<sup>144</sup>

In the context of anti-Semitism triggered by the Cambrai War, the obvious, and derogatory, identification of the Pharisees in paintings of the adulteress seems to have reflected—and helped to reinforce—Venetian anxiety about the Hebrew community. Although the establishment of the Jewish ghetto in 1516 was supposed to solve the problem of hosting the Hebrew community in Venice without incurring God's anger, the uneasy coexistence of Christian and Jew persisted. Years after the war had ended, the appropriateness of the ghetto's efficacy, and of a Jewish presence in general, was repeatedly debated in the Senate.<sup>145</sup> The enduring discomfort about the intermingling of Jews and Christians in the 1520s may help to explain the continued interest in pictures of the adul-

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<sup>143</sup> Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews*, 105; and Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness*, 68–69.

<sup>144</sup> See Ravid, "Venetian Government and the Jews," 21; but especially idem, "From Yellow to Red," 3:179–210. Yellow and red had been frequently used in the depiction of Jews from the Middle Ages; on this, see Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews*, 110.

<sup>145</sup> A particularly animated and well documented debate on the subject of 10 November 1519 is recorded in Sanudo, vol. 28, col. 62–63.

teress in those same years. After the war's conclusion, imagery that simultaneously celebrated Christ's supreme wisdom and vilified the Hebrew people would have given concrete expression to Venetian gratitude for the Republic's emergence from the war while visually distinguishing their owners from the Jews at the same time. Debra Higgs Strickland has said that medieval representations of Jews say a great deal more about the Christians who made them than about the Jews they depict.<sup>146</sup> It would seem that the same is true of many early-Cinquecento Venetian paintings of the adulteress.

## 7.5 Conclusion

In light of Renaissance interpretations of the adulteress's tale and the manner of the story's depiction in Venice during and shortly after the Cambrai War, Venetian *Adulteresses* may be best understood as visual responses to contemporary devotional concerns. As an artistic subject matter, the story proved easily adaptable to the needs and interests of the day. When given an unprecedentedly dramatic treatment by Titian in his Glasgow *Adulteress*, the story became a means of emphasising the importance Venetians afforded the virtue of justice, especially when tempered by clemency. In contrast, in the case of half-length narratives, the format more generally preferred, the adulteress's tale provided a way of offering reassurance of God's mercy toward sinners and encouraging viewers to purify their souls through confession. Paintings produced in the post-war atmosphere of spiritual and political recovery must have functioned differently again, most probably as celebrations of grace restored. Many paintings of the adulteress also seem to have allowed their artists and patrons to express anti-Semitic sentiment, a problem which emerged with new force during the war years—when the first Jewish ghetto was estab-

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<sup>146</sup> Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews*, 95–96.



lished—and which continued to make Venetians uncomfortable through the 1520s. At the time, the frequently derisive depiction of the Pharisees in paintings of Christ and the adulteress must have alluded to contemporary Venetian anxiety about the Jews. These unattractive figures contrasted greatly with that of the adulteress, who was always depicted as a beautiful early-Cinquecento Venetian lady. Her appearance in particular would have done much to assert the paintings' intimate connection to the contemporary world of their viewers. It is tempting to suggest that in such images the adulteress came to represent, at least on one level, the Venetians themselves; in their desperate pursuit of political survival through spiritual absolution, her encounter with Christ offered the hope that their own sins could be forgiven, too.

## Chapter Eight

### Conclusion

Over the course of several centuries, Venice had refined a portrait of itself that responded to and exploited historical circumstance and vicissitude—including its despoliation of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204, its final victory over its maritime rival Genoa in 1380, and, in the early sixteenth century, its survival of the war with the League of Cambrai.

David Rosand<sup>1</sup>

As David Rosand has recognised, the Cambrai War was one of the historical events that had the greatest impact on the development of Venetian identity and its representation in visual art. However, study of the relationship between Venetian history and art has always focused on the retrospective presentation of the former in the latter. What has been less evident in scholarly research is how art served as an interpretive tool during the conflict itself. Works produced long after the fact, such as Palma Giovane's canvas with which this discussion began in chapter one (fig. 1), were not the first to respond to the Cambrai War and its effects, or to shape their meaning, because this effort had begun long before, during the war itself. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, contemporary artistic responses to the conflict took many forms, ranging from woodcuts produced for books and autonomous prints to monumental sculpture and painting. What is more, they were encountered in all manner of places. Passing through the Rialto, Venetians would have heard the sales pitch of *cantimbanchi* peddling pamphlets with title page woodcuts "picturing" recent events. In the Piazza San Marco and the official spaces of the state, they would have encountered recent representations of the Republic's most treasured symbols, particularly the lion of St. Mark. In the spiritual spaces of the city's

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<sup>1</sup> *Myths of Venice*, 1.

churches, Venetians designed imposing sculptural works to spark patriotic sentiment. Even in the more private realm of the home, Venetians made use of spiritual aids tailored to their wartime needs, such as devotional books, monumental woodcuts and paintings.

Art produced in response to the war was created for a variety of reasons and functioned in equally varied ways—it served to celebrate or to censure, to reassure or to incite, to provoke inspiration or to kindle commitment. The research presented here focuses on two main themes: the production of art in response to the struggle for the mainland, and to the contemporaneous spiritual crisis that accompanied this struggle. Military events frequently found their way into visual art, both in ephemeral printed imagery and in more enduring works of art. Printed pamphlets such as *La victoriosa Gata* or *La Obsidione di Padua* appealed to a Venetian's patriotism on an instinctive, emotional level. Later, the St. Marina altarpiece and the S. Zanipolo tombs celebrated recent military events in a more lasting and elevated fashion. It is reasonable to imagine that these works had an impact on contemporary attitudes toward the war, because most Venetians had not witnessed the events to which they make reference. Only the handful of patricians who played military leadership roles, or the slightly larger number of them who assisted in the defence of Padua and Treviso, participated in battle and saw its effects first-hand. For everyone else, the visual "image" of the war and its meaning were necessarily shaped by descriptions from other sources, and contemporary art was surely prominent among them.

Wartime art also reflects the fact that Venice's military and political problems generated spiritual ones of equal concern. In response to the notion that the conflict represented a loss of divine favour, Venetians began to produce imagery that encouraged spiritual recommitment and bolstered their beleaguered faith. Woodcuts employing im-

ages of contemporary sin as a deterrent in the *Disprezamento del mondo*, for example, offered its viewers help along the path to spiritual purification. Representations of St. John's apocalyptic vision in the *Expositio magni prophete Joachim* and Alessandro Paganino's illustrated publication of the *Apochalypsis Ihesu Christi*, for their part, provided viewers with meditational aids or clues about the God's greater plan for the future of humankind. Multi-block prints and large-scale painting put focus on subjects of contemporary relevance—such as the locally important St. George, Susannah's trial, or Christ and the adulteress—on display, where they could assert Venetian values.

It is important to point out, however, that the decision to devote chapters two through four to artistic responses to the struggle for the mainland and five through seven to the means by which visual art addressed the concomitant spiritual crisis, while convenient and practical, is also arbitrary. Religion and politics in early-Cinquecento Venice were inextricably intertwined. Consequently, issues concerning Venetian piety emerge in the early chapters, and questions of military politics surface in the later ones. In fact, some of the most politically-charged works discussed, such as the mercenary tombs of S. Zanipolo, were produced for sacred spaces, while symbolic imagery of a highly religious nature, such as the winged lion, frequently decorated secular ones. When all of these works are seen together, it is evident that art produced during the war reflected the Venetian perception of the Cambrai War as simultaneously a spiritual and political problem.

Aside from the commingling of political and spiritual concerns in wartime art, a number of other themes connect the separate discussions of the chapters. One of the more expected is that visual art was often pressed into service as propaganda. The most notable example is the contemporaneous commission of the pantheon of mercenary tombs in SS.

Giovanni e Paolo and the monumental altar to St. Marina, the newest of the Republic's patron saints. By transforming Padua's repatriation into Venice's newest religio-political myth, both seem to have been produced to lend support to their patrons' contentious desire to reconquer the *terraferma*. Similarly, by forging a direct connection to works produced in better times, iconic wartime images of St. Mark's lion must have been designed to reassure their Venetian viewers of the Republic's enduring power and divine approval. In a similarly opportunistic, but arguably less noble manner, publishers exploited the printing and visual representation of good news from the mainland or timely devotional imagery in order to generate revenue by taking advantage of the public's perceived needs. Prints such as Girolamo da Treviso's *Susannah and the Elders* allowed their purchasers to give visual expression to—and thereby promote—their belief in the Republic's strength and virtue.

This study also draws attention to the fact that printed imagery was a particularly useful means of responding to the war and its effects. Such imagery could appear autonomously or in association with a text, and on grander or more unassuming scales. Most of the printed images discussed were woodcuts, rather than engravings. The reason for this is surely in part that their imagery was designed for the consumption of a broader public. Woodcuts not only could be produced in much greater numbers than engravings, but they were also considered as a more modest, and hence more accessible, medium. This is important to note, since the printers and publishers who issued printed imagery were businessmen interested in capitalising on the perceived needs of their buyers. The production of large amounts of such material suggests that there was a particularly eager interest in devotional aids during the war. The war also seems to have created new op-

portunities for printmakers, including the representation of new subjects. It was in prints that contemporary battles and their protagonists made their first significant appearance in Venetian art, as, for example, in the title-page woodcut of *La Obsidione di Padua* and Vavassore's *Battle of Marignano*. Wartime print production also afforded the possibility of stretching the boundaries of artistic decorum. This is particularly evident in the *Victoriosa Gata* woodcut, in Titian's *Submersion of Pharaoh in the Red Sea*, and in some of the *Disprezamento del mondo* woodcuts.

The research presented here also suggests that the experience of the Cambrai War had an impact on the development of early-Cinquecento Venetian religious iconography. With the obvious exception of the winged lion, many subjects of the wartime works discussed had rarely appeared in Venetian art. The most notable example is the large group of paintings of Christ and the Adulteress. The depiction of Christ with Martha and Mary had also been infrequent, as had the majority of religious subjects represented in monumental prints. The *condottiero* monuments in S. Zanipolo were equally unusual for their day. The singular circumstances of the Cambrai War stimulated the representation of timely new material that met contemporary exigencies.

The preceding chapters have also pointed out that certain conceptual themes surfaced frequently in wartime art. The issue of justice, in its earthly and divine forms, is the most apparent. After centuries of claiming that it was the cornerstone of their government, the Cambrai War forced Venetians to question whether they could still claim to possess this virtue. Works of art inspired by the military reconquest of the mainland often asserted that the Republic enjoyed God's approval and protection, obvious signs that divine justice shone on Venice. The considerable number of prints, paintings, and carved

reliefs of the winged lion produced at the time were designed to assert the same idea. The Venetian obsession with justice also seems to have triggered the production of domestic works vaunting the virtue's importance, as with Titian's Glasgow *Adulteress* and Girolamo da Treviso's *Susannah and the Elders*.

Other themes also emerge from the material gathered for the various chapters of this dissertation. First of all, there is evidence that the war's influence on art may, on occasion, have even extended to an artist's choice of style. For instance, the "old-fashioned" aesthetic of the *Battle of Marignano*, Lucantonio degli Uberti's *St. George and the Dragon*, the large-scale painted lions, and some news leaflet imagery seems to have resulted from each work's function. In the case of the *Battle of Marignano*, the use of an archaizing style helped imbue Venice's modern soldiers with the heroism of chivalric knights. In a different way, Carpaccio's and Cima's traditional, almost iconic, winged lions established a visual connection with Venice's more stable past, and thus offered the promise that this stability would return. In contrast, it is tempting to perceive the aggressive drama of Titian's *Submersion of Pharaoh's Army* or Glasgow *Adulteress* as, in part, a result of the works' intentionally intimate connection with contemporary concerns.

Another apparent theme is the incorporation of aspects of northern art during the war. Alessandro Paganino's production of the woodcut series imitating that of Dürer's *Apocalipsis cum figure* and the derogatory physiognomy of Jewish figures in paintings of Christ and the adulteress suggest that Venetian artists found timely inspiration in ultramontane art. To be fair, Dürer's last visit to Venice had occurred just a few years before the Cambrai War began, and responses to his work had appeared in Venetian art even earlier. However, it is intriguing to imagine that certain northern models exerted a par-

ticular influence during the war. Perhaps their more aggressive, visceral quality appealed to Venetians in the turbulent atmosphere of the period.

Another aspect of the production of wartime art that could be investigated more fully is interest in the concept of Fortune during the war. The introductory chapter briefly touched upon the theme through the discussion of Giovanni Cariani's *Allegory of a Venetian Victory* (fig. 2) and the image of the *Pronostico* (figs. 11, 20). However, given the documented prominence of contemporary meditation on Fortune, the theme can probably be detected in other works of art as well. In fact, this subject brings the discussion back to the attempt to interpret Giorgione's *Tempest* through the lens of the Cambrai War.<sup>2</sup> Howard has perceived the painting as an artistic manifestation of the anxiety generated by the war, Kaplan has explicated it as a martial allegory inspired by the struggle for Padua, and Carroll has interpreted it as an astrological reading of Venice's military future. Although the continuing problem of dating the work prevents a conclusive connection of the *Tempest* to contemporary events, such proposals seem more credible in the light of the research presented here. As many other aspects as the *Tempest* possesses—technically, iconographically and conceptually—it would also seem very probably connected to the tumultuous events in which early-Cinquecento Venice was so thoroughly involved. How else can one explain the winged lion and the cart depicted on the buildings in the background? These details cannot help but connect the painting to the historical reality of Padua and the Venetian Republic, a reality that was dangerously unstable around the time Giorgione produced his painting. It is important to recall that this was not the last time Padua would be depicted in the background of an image linked to the Cambrai War: Palma Giovane's canvas, too, shows that city. Perhaps the later painting might even be

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<sup>2</sup> See chap. 1, pp. 12, 17–20.



seen in contrast with the moody *Tempest* as a more confident and unambiguous interpretation of a critical moment in the war. During the Cambrai War art most definitely proved to be a convenient and malleable tool in the hands of the printmakers, painters and sculptors who made it, and in those of the publishers, purchasers and patrons who paid for it. It permitted the creation of everything from political propaganda to devotional aids, and may even have provided an outlet for wartime anti-Semitism. Venetians did not only use art to record—or retrospectively rewrite—their experience of the Cambrai War; they also used it during the conflict itself as a means of responding to, interpreting, and, at times, perhaps even shaping, their experience of the War of the League of Cambrai.

## Figures



1. Palma Giovane, votive painting of Doge Leonardo Loredan, oil on canvas, ca. 1593. Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Senato.



2. Giovanni Cariani, *Allegory of a Venetian Victory*, oil on canvas (120 x 240 cm), ca. 1516–17. Rome, private collection.







5. Giorgione, *Tempest*, oil on canvas (82 x 73 cm), ca. 1509. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.



6. Titian, *Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on panel (690 x 360 cm), 1516–18. Venice, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari.





7. Titian, *Judith/Justice*, fresco (354 x 212 cm), 1509. Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti.



8. Antonio Zanetti after Titian, *Judith/Justice*, etching with watercolour (23.9 x 28.6 cm), 1760. Rome, Biblioteca Hertziana.



9. Palma Vecchio and others, *Sea Storm*, oil on canvas (362 x 408 cm), begun 1513. Formerly in the Scuola Grande di San Marco. Venice, Gallerie dell' Accademia.



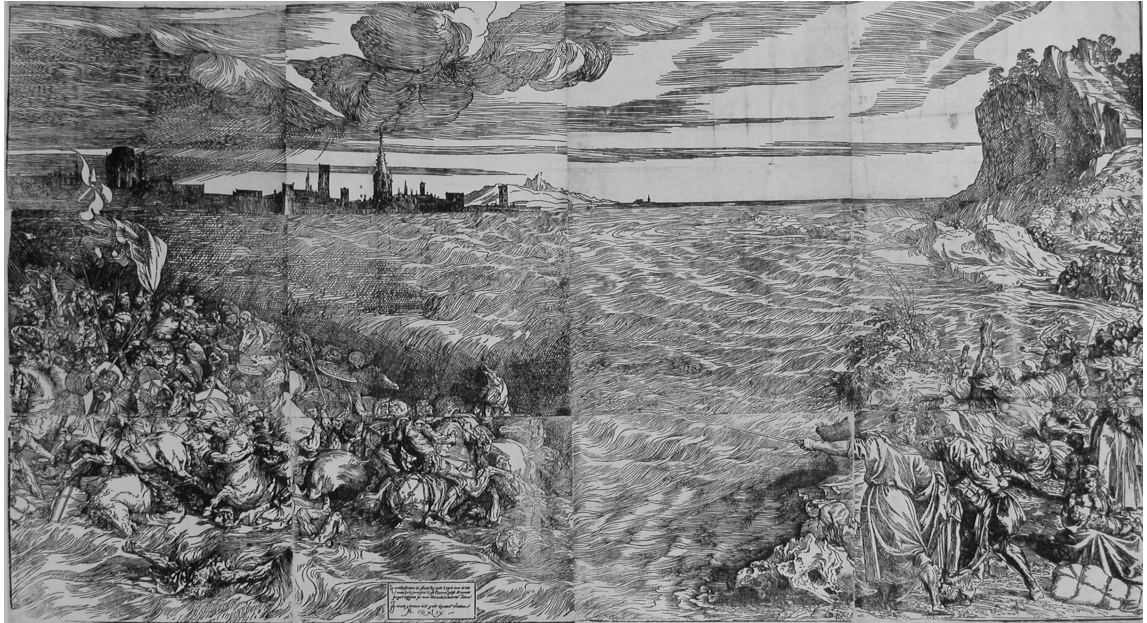
10. Sebastiano Luciani (del Piombo), *Death of Adonis*, oil on canvas (189 x 285 cm), ca. 1512. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.





11. Anonymous North Italian, *Pronostico del anno 1510*, engraving (16.7 x 11.8 cm), 1509. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.





12. Titian, *Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea*, woodcut (122.5 x 221.5 cm), ca. 1515. London, British Museum.



13. Giulio Campagnola, *The Astrologer*, engraving (9.9 x 15.2 cm), 1509. London, British Museum.





14. Antonio Minello, equestrian tomb of Nicolò Orsini, begun 1512. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



15. Antonio Minello, equestrian tomb of Leonardo da Prato, begun 1512. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



16. Antonio Minello, tomb of Dionisio Naldi, begun 1512. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.





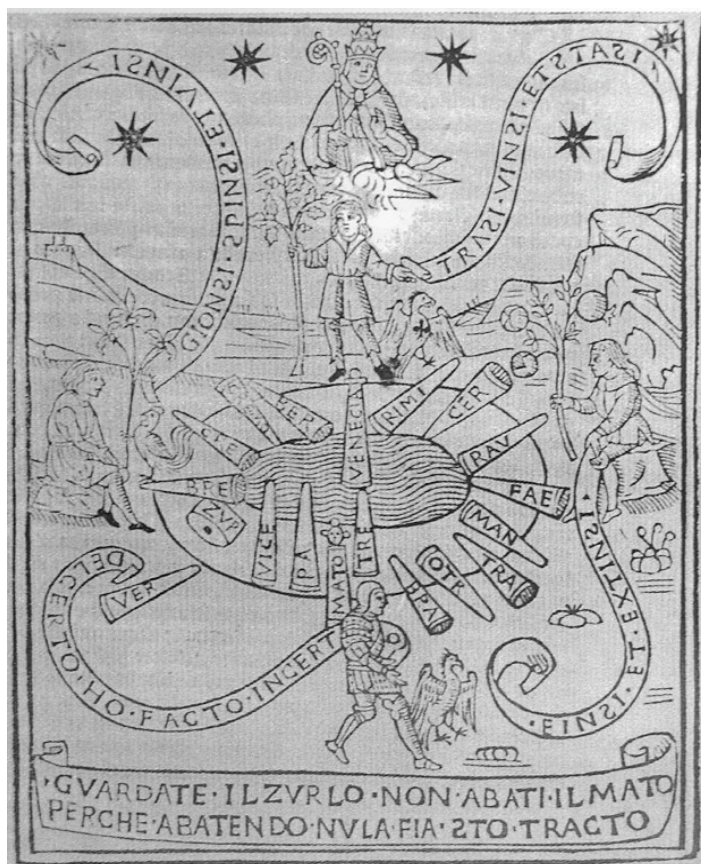
17. Andrea Previtali, *John the Baptist with Sts. Nicholas of Bari, Bartholomew, Joseph, and James (Archdeacon of Bergamo)*, oil on canvas (265 x 290 cm), signed and dated 1515. Bergamo, Santo Spirito.



18. Lorenzo Lotto, *Martinengo Altarpiece*, oil on panel (528 x 342 cm), 1513–16. Bergamo, S. Bartolomeo.

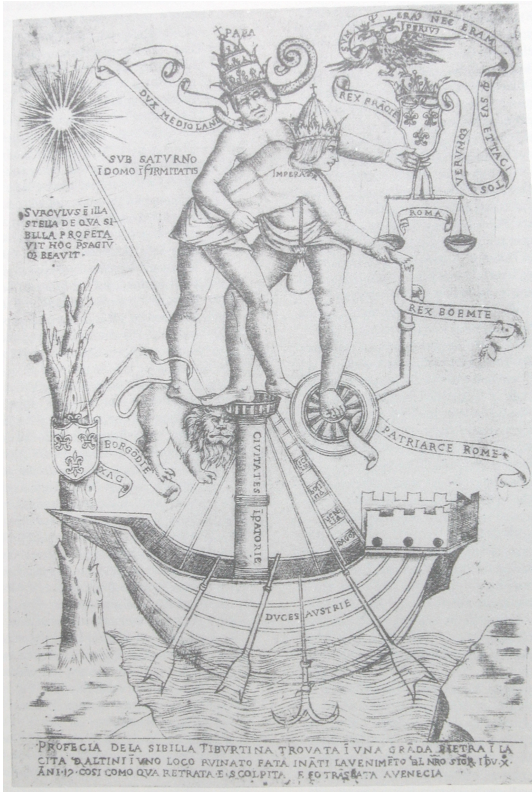


19. Gianantonio Corona, *St. Anthony Restoring Peace to Padua*, fresco (340 x 360 cm), 1509. Padua, Scoletta di Sant'Antonio.

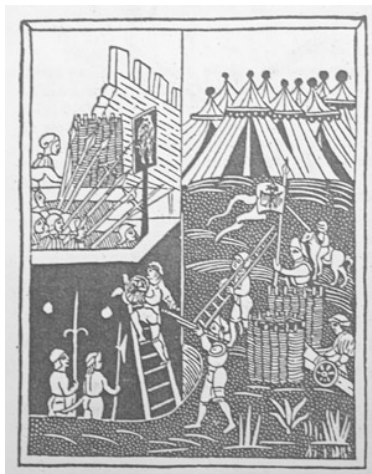


20. Anonymous North Italian woodcut on the title page of *Pronostico e profecia de le cose debeno succedere maxime dele guere comenziate per magni potentati contra venetiani*. ([Ferrara?], [late 1509]). Seville, Biblioteca Colombina.

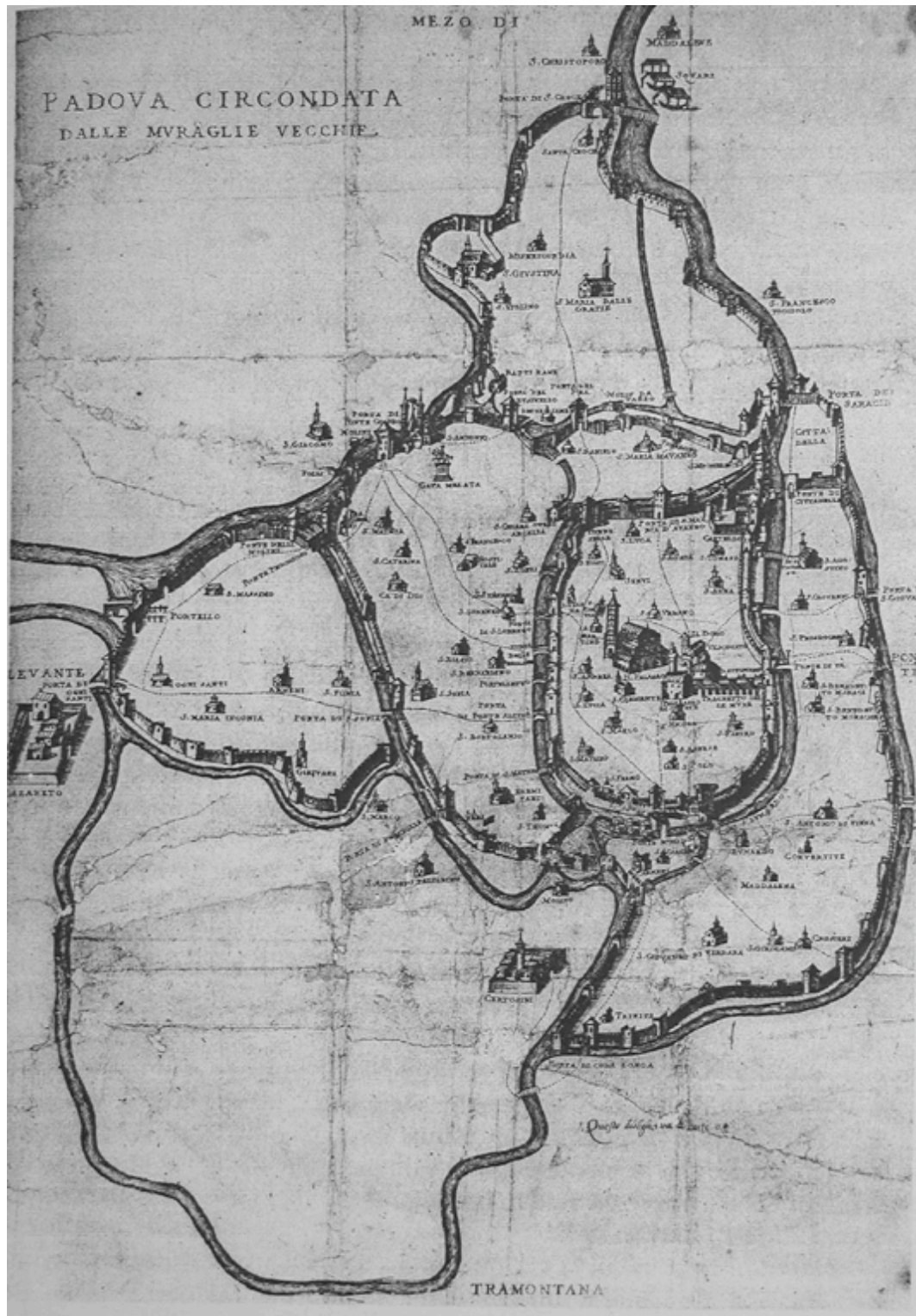




21. Anonymous Venetian, *Allegory of Meeting between Pope Paul II and Emperor Frederick III*, engraving (21.5 x 14.6 cm), ca. 1470. London, British Museum.
22. Anonymous Venetian woodcut on the title page of an anonymous leaflet entitled *La victoriosa Gata da Padua* ([Venice], [1509]). Munich, Royal Library.

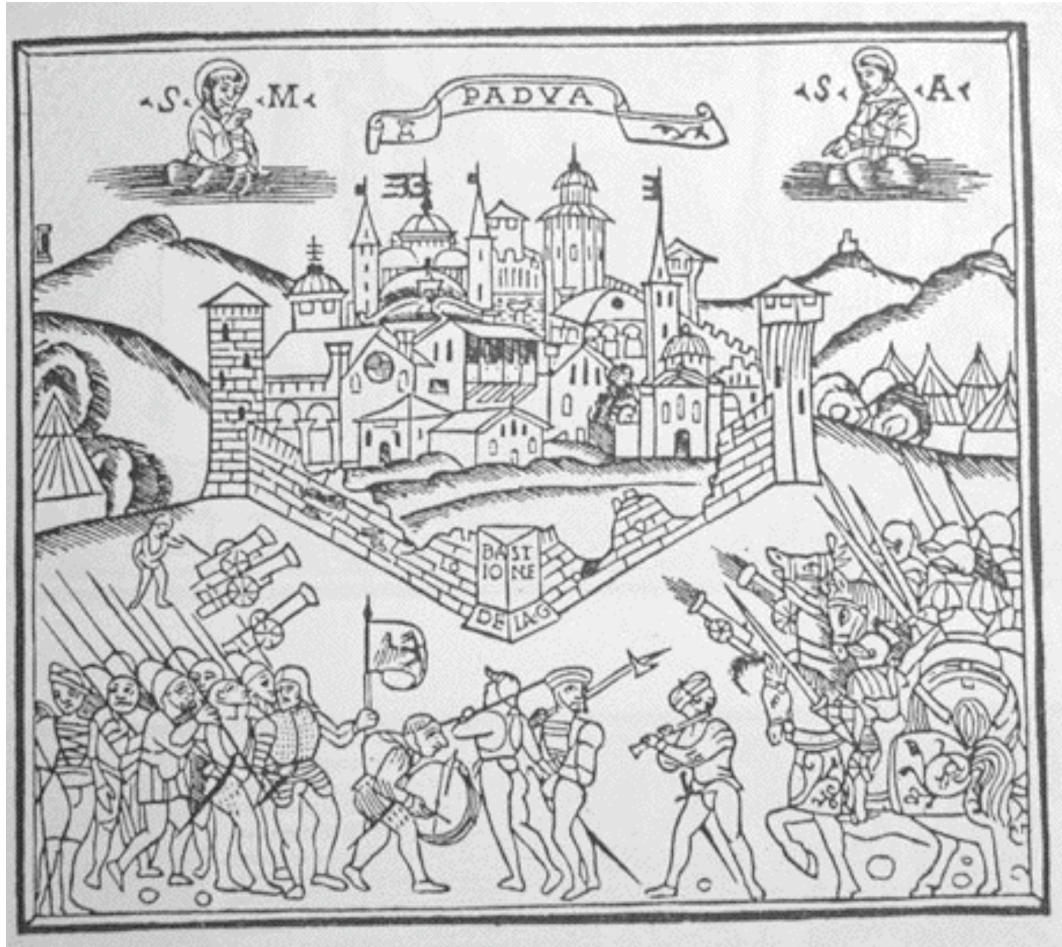


23. Anonymous woodcut on title page of an anonymous leaflet entitled *La victoriosa Gatta da Padoua* (Venice: Agostino Bindoni, 1549). Venice, Fondazione Cini.
24. Anonymous woodcut on title page of an anonymous leaflet entitled *La vittoriosa gatta da Padova* (Venice: Francesco di Salò, s.a.). Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana.



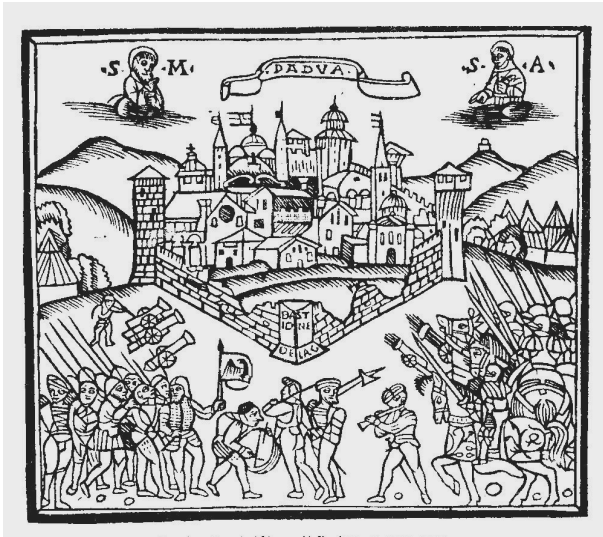
25. Map of Padua showing the defensive walls appearing, from A. Portenari, *Della felicità di Padova* (Padua, 1623).





26. Anonymous woodcut on title page of Bartolomeo de Cori, *La obsidione di Padua ne la quale se tractano tutte le cose che sono occorse...* (Venice, 3 October 1510). London, British Library.



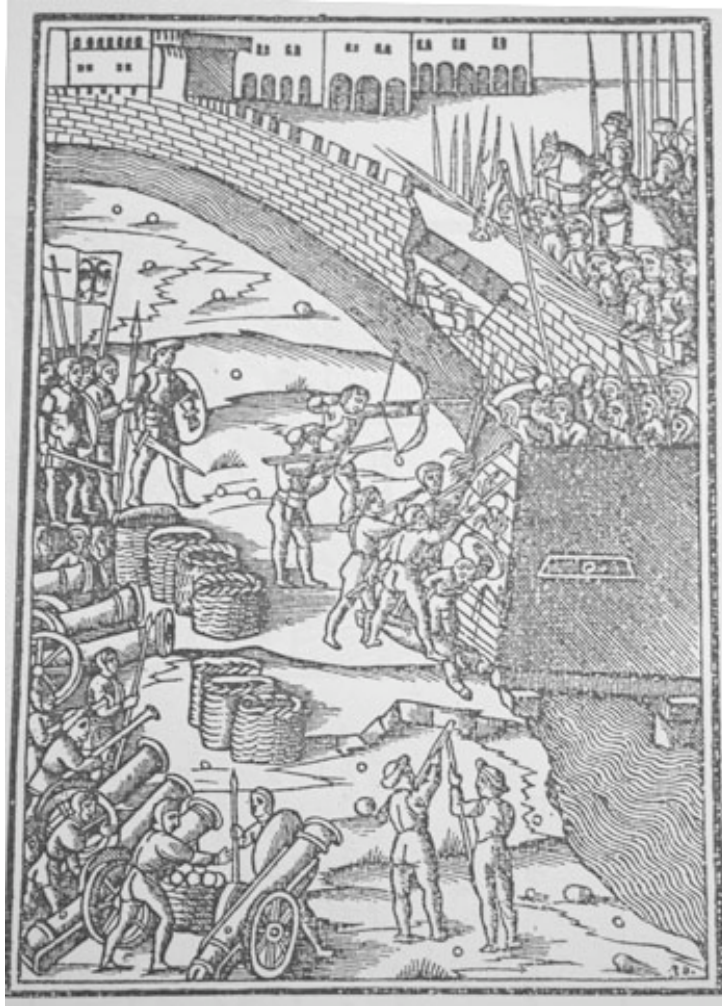


27. Anonymous woodcut on title page of Bartolomeo de Cori, *La obsidione di Padua ne laquale se tractano tutte le cose che sonno occorse...* (Venice: Alessandro Bindoni, 22 November 1515). Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana.

28. Martino da Udine?, *Standard-Bearer, Fifer and Drummer*, engraving (14.6 x 14.8 cm), ca. 1510–20. London, British Museum.



29. Jacopo de' Barbari, *Map of Venice*, six-block woodcut (139 x 282 cm), 1500. Venice, Museo Correr.



30. Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, *Obsidione di Padoua*, woodcut appearing on f. Di<sup>r</sup> in Nicolò degli Agostini, *Li successi bellici seguiti nella Italia dal fatto darme di Gieredada del M.CCCCC.IX fin al presente M.CCCCC.XXI* (Venice: Nicolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Polo, 1 August 1521). Venice, Fondazione Cini.



31. Lorenzo Bregno, *St. Marina*, marble (169 cm high including base), ca. 1512.  
Originally part of the High Altar of the church of St. Marina. Venice, Seminario Patriarcale.

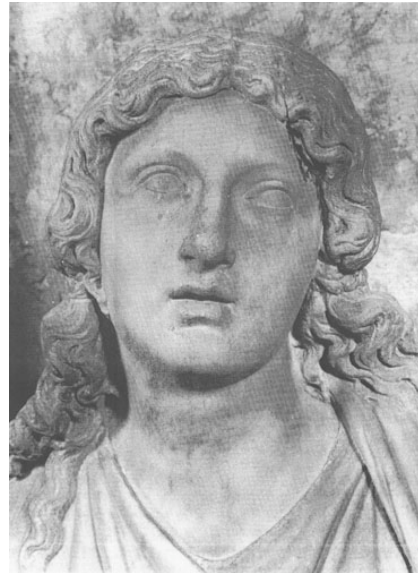
32. Detail of fig. 31.





33. Lorenzo Bregno, *St. Catherine*, marble (164.1 cm high including base), ca. 1512. Originally part of the High Altar of the church of St. Marina; now part of the tomb of Andrea Vendramin. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

34. Detail of fig. 33.



35. Lorenzo Bregno, *Mary Magdalen*, marble (157.8 cm high including base), ca. 1512. Originally part of the High Altar of the church of St. Marina; now part of the tomb of Andrea Vendramin by Tullio Lombardo. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

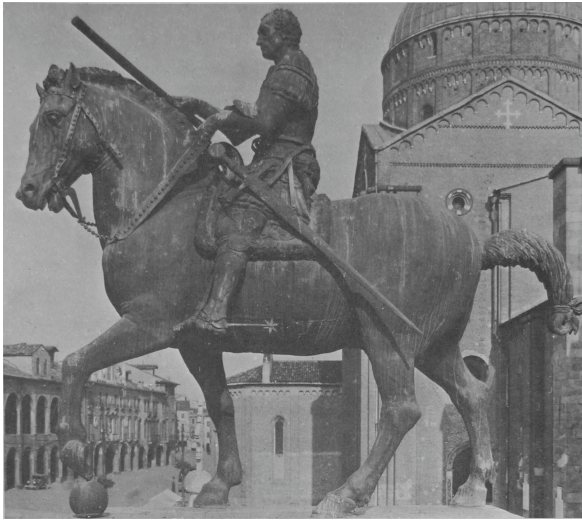
36. Detail of fig. 35.



37. Giambattista Bregno and assistants, *Bettignoli Bressa Altarpiece*, marble (figures are all between 78 and 110 cm high), 1499–1503. Treviso, S. Nicolò.



38. Jacopo della Quercia?, equestrian tomb of Paolo Savelli, wooden equestrian group on stone sarcophagus, 1406. Venice, S. M. Gloriosa dei Frari.



39. Donatello, equestrian monument to Erasmo da Narni, bronze, completed 1454. Padua, Piazza del Santo.

40. Andrea del Verrocchio, equestrian monument to Bartolomeo Colleoni, bronze, after 1488. Venice, Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



41. Bartolomeo Vivarini and Girolamo Mocetto, lowest register of stained glass window above entrance in south transept (17.4 x 6.9 m), ca. 1510–15. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.





42. Master IBP, woodcut frontispiece to Nicolò degli Agostini, *Li successi bellici seguiti nella Italia dal fatto darme di Gieredada del M.CCCCC.IX fin al presente M.CCCCC.XXI* (Venice: Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Polo, 1 August 1521). Venice, Fondazione Cini.
43. Anonymous engraving, tomb of Taddeo della Volpe, from Giuseppe Alberghetti, *Compendio della storia civile, ecclesiastica e letteraria della città d'Imola* (Imola, 1810).



44. Baldassare Longhena and Girolamo Paliari, tomb monument of Bartolomeo d'Alviano, 1628–33. Venice, S. Stefano.



45. Niccolò Boldrini, woodcut after Titian's destroyed votive painting of Doge Andrea Gritti. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



46. Jacopo Tintoretto, votive painting showing Doge Andrea Gritti, oil on canvas, after 1574. Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Collegio.





47. Ludovico Fumicelli, *Doge Andrea Gritti Presents a Model of the City of Padua to the Madonna*, oil on panel. Padua, Chiesa degli Eremitani.



48. Designed by Giovanni Girolamo Grappiglia, with principal statues by Girolamo Campagna and Danese Cattaneo, tomb of Doge Leonardo Loredan, marble, 1572. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.





49. Vittore Carpaccio, *Lion of St. Mark*, oil on canvas (130 x 368 cm), 1516.  
Originally for the office of the Dazio del Vin. Venice, Palazzo Ducale.



50. Workshop of Giambattista Bregno,  
*Leone in moleca* decorating the *Tomb of Benedetto Pesaro*, shortly after 1503.  
Venice, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari



51. Jacobello del Fiore, *Lion of St. Mark*, tempera on canvas (167 x 340 cm), 1415.  
Venice, Palazzo Ducale.

Tutte le cose segulte in Lombardia dapoï chel signor Bar-  
tolomio gionto in câpo: E come le ariuato il campo de Frã  
cesti: col nome de tutti le condutieri. Doi darne Caualli lizieri:  
Santarie Artelarie. El numero e la q̃nta de tuta la gēte sua.



**Q**uesto e quel grã capitano  
De' uian Bartholomeo  
Che ne la t̃ra e un pompo  
suo ualor dimostra al piano  
Questo e quel grã capita.  
Godi marco e tu Venetia  
Che pprio el ciel te hormal  
Gloria e fama acquistara.  
Senza nulla dubitansa.  
Ludouico re di Franza.  
E cō teo a compagno.  
Nō sara terra nē stato  
Nō s'arrenda in le tue mano  
Questo e q̃l grã Capitano  
Poi che gioto fu in campagna  
Questo usino generoso.  
Senza star nulla in riposo.  
Messe in pōto ogni sua schie  
che in uerso di Peschiera ara  
Si fu el primo suo camino  
Sempre inanci il paladino  
Cō il suo baston in mano  
Questo e quel grã capita.  
Tutto il populi coadunato.  
Dun uolere e opinione.  
Dimostrando con ragione  
Voler pace e nō piu guerra.  
Con amor tutta la terra.

Marco marco e gnun cridaua  
E le chiau e a presentaua.  
Con un cor fido & humano.  
Questo e quel grã capitano  
Il Signor Bartholomeo.  
Qui nō fece dimoranza  
Tutti imponto a l'ordenanza  
Seguitaua loro schiere  
Suentolando sue bandiere  
Con leticia e festa e ioco.  
Ecco udimmo duno loco.  
Vn ridor sul lago altano  
Questo e quel grã capitano.  
Era questo uno castello  
Che laghe uien chiamato  
forte e bello e populato  
tutta quanta ben la terra.  
Hor Salo con sua nuiera  
stara in festa in zogia in canto  
Poi che marco iusto e sancte.  
e scendesto nel suo piano  
Questo e quel grã capitano  
Che letitia o che conforto  
si facea tutta la terra  
e per tutta la nuiera  
il ridor forza e in bombe  
arrelarie sonar di trombe  
tutte a un tempo e scancato



52. Anonymous woodcut appearing on the title page of *Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia dapoï chel signor Bartolomio gionto in campo* ([Venice], [1513]). London, British Library.

**La noua de Bressa con vna Barzelleta in  
laude del Re de Franza e de san Marco  
Stampata nouamente.**



**P**urificata virgo che nel tempio  
volesti presentar il tuo figliolo  
sol p nostra salute: e nro exēpio  
che in te non si trouo fallacia o dolo  
aspira al seruo tuo ignorāte e sempio  
da quel tuo venerādo e sacro polo  
chio possa dir vna felice noua  
di tua virtu chel bel Leon rinoua.

Era si Italia gemitosa e stanca  
opressa da nemici in ogni parte  
che mai pensossi ritrouarsi francha  
ne piu ricuperar le antiche parte  
ma ecco il bel Leon alza la branca  
con tēpo: e laffa pax marce e le carte  
dando de piglio a Bressa si potente  
fazendola al suo stato obediēte.

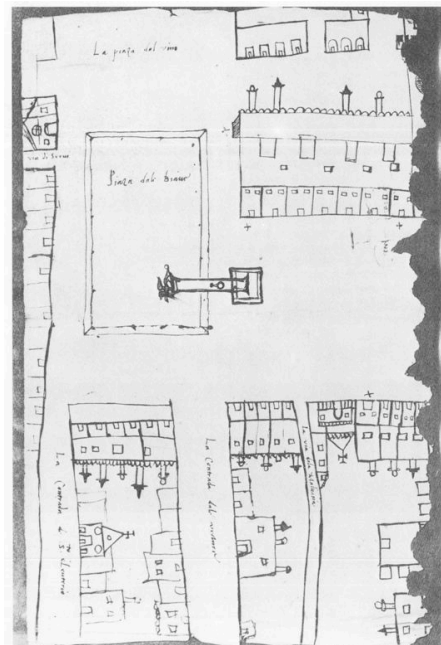


53. Anonymous woodcut appearing on the title page of Paolo Danza, *La Noua de Bressa con vna Barzelleta in laude del Re de franza e de san Marco Stampata nouamente* ([Venice], [1516]). London, British Library.





54. Lucantonio degli Uberti, map of Lombardy, woodcut (53 x 39.5 cm), ca. 1520.  
Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele.



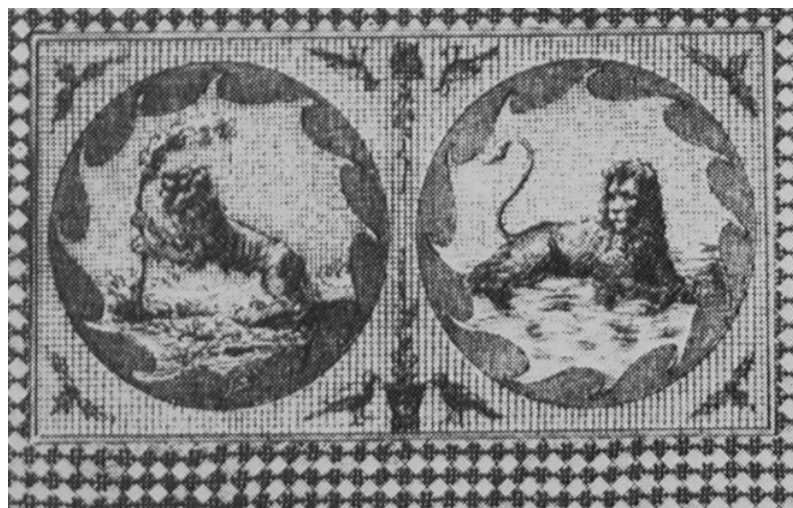
55. Frontispiece to Francesco Corna da Soncino, *Fioretto de le antiche cronache de Verona* (Verona, 1503).  
56. Late fifteenth-century map of Vicenza, reproduced in Alberto Rizzi, *I Leoni di San Marco*, vol. 2, p. 182 (no reference provided).



57. Albrecht Altdorfer, *Der groß Venedigisch Krieg*, illumination in the *Triumphzug* manuscript created for Maximilian I, ca. 1515. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



58. Byzantine *patera*, twelfth century. Venice, San Marco, north façade.



59. Detail of mosaic floor of the church of San Marco, Venice.



## Spauento de Italia.

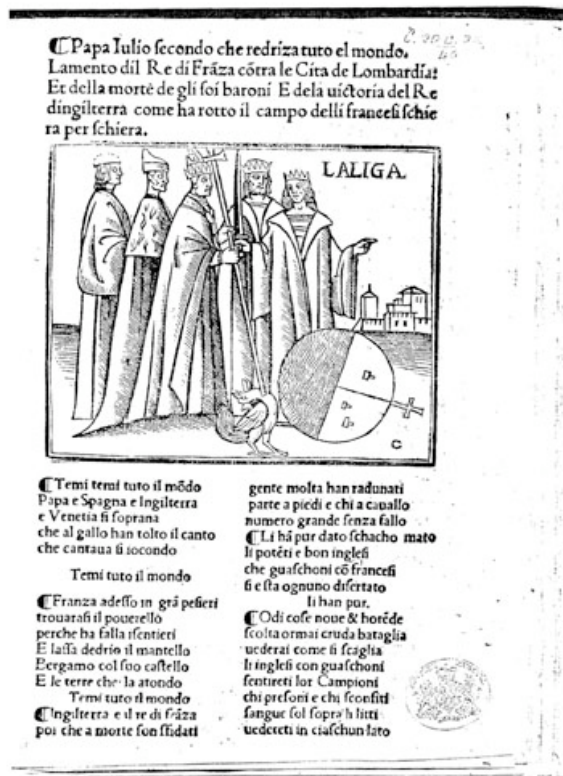


F. AB. S. ad Lectorem.

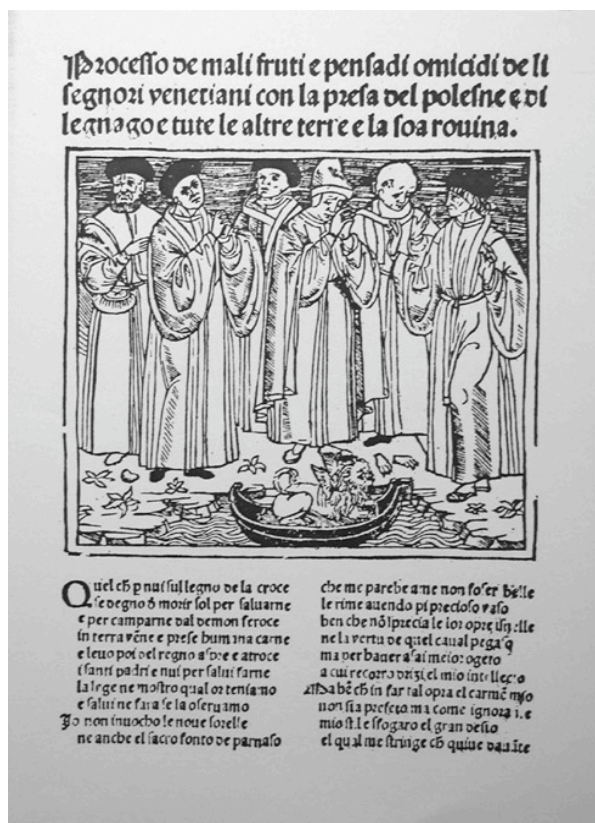
Deposto hanco gin larco e la cetra  
 la penna/il calamar/linchiostro/e carte  
 piu non volendo exercitar questarte  
 batter volca la lyra in vna pietra  
 Quando chio vidi vna dongella tetra  
 venir centra di me daltrana parte  
 vn gallo la seguia con lale sparte  
 lei grida e fugge e quanto po sarietra  
 Stupefatto mirando tal sciagura  
 mi feci audace adomandar chi lera  
 la meschina rispose: Italia obscura  
 Chi tha condutta diissi in tal maniera  
 Marco/che stato messo in sepultura  
 pero mi segue il Gallo/e vol chio pera  
 Allhor turbai la cera  
 Demandando pur come/e lei sospir.  
 tal che fu forza a ripigliar la lyra.

60. Anonymous woodcut appearing on the title page of Francesco Maria Sacchino, *Spauento de Italia* (S.l., [1510]). Rome, Biblioteca Angelica.





61. Anonymous woodcut appearing on the title page of the anonymous pamphlet *Papa Iulio II che redriza tuto el mondo* ([Venice], [1512]). London, British Library.

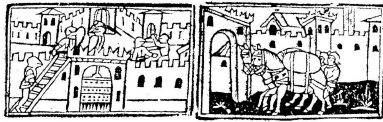


62. Anonymous woodcut appearing on the title page of the anonymous pamphlet entitled *Processo de mali fruti e pensadi omicidi de li signori venetiani con la presa del polesine* ([Ferrara], [1510]). Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana.



63. Anonymous woodcut, title page of Perossino dalla Rotanda, *El fatto darne fatto ad Rauenna nel.M.D.Xii.adi.Xi.de Aprile* ([Venice], [1512]). Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta.
64. Anonymous woodcut, title page of Theodoro Barbieri, *El fatto d'arme di Maregnano* (Venice, 20 September 1515).

La vera Noua de Bressa de punto in punto  
come andata. Nonameteipressa.



Purificata uirgo che nel tempio  
Volesti presentar il tuo figliolo  
Sol p nostra salute e nostro exēpio  
Che in tenō si trono fallacia o dolo  
Aspira al seruo to ignorate e sēpio  
Da q̄l tuo venerando e sacro polo  
E bio possia dir una felice noua  
Ditua nirta chel bel leon rinoua  
Era si Italia gemitosa e stanca  
Oppressa da barbari in ogni parte  
Che mai pensosi ritronarsi franca  
Ne piu ricuperar le antiche parte  
Ma ecco il bel leō che alza la brāca  
Cū tēpo: e la ssa par marce e le carte  
Dādo de pilglio a bressa si potēte  
Fazendo la al suo stato obediēte

HISTORIA NOVA DELLA RVINA DE VENETIANI. CVM LO  
processo delli mali contracti che lor facano: Et una Barzeletta de Bressa che  
se lamenta de la grāde desgratia occorsa in essa Cita. Cose belle e da piacere.



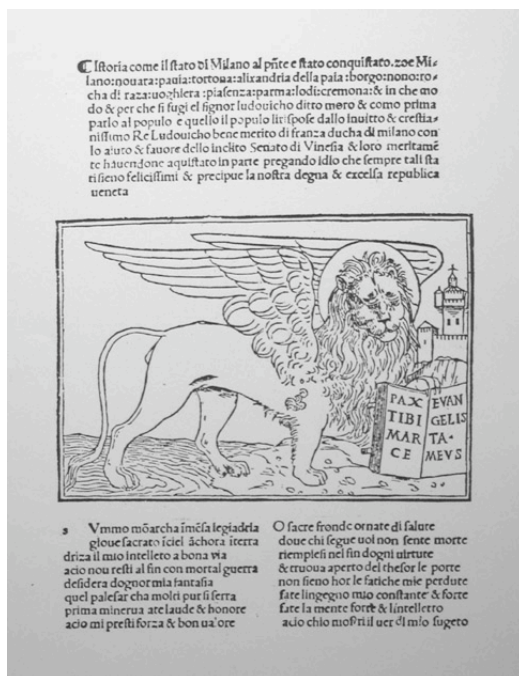
O summo padre eterno Re di gloria  
che tutto el mondo de nulla formasti  
forza fara chal basso idebba andare  
prestanti gratia e donami uisioria  
e tanto de intelletto che a mi basti  
in cosa alcuna non pon prosperare  
a ben che debil sia la mia memoria  
anc' ogni giorno fiam priuati  
alle guitar lorigen delli mastri  
ne bon ue rio dislegno non pon fare  
ma spiero sel to aiuto signor degno  
cosi intraiuen a chi chol tradimento  
me impressi dariuar apresso al segno.  
si facompagna al fin porta tormento.

Eso chel ui dilecta o bona gente  
le cose noue sempre de ascoltare  
hor stati in pace e poniti ben mente  
una huihora laquai uocantare  
gia molti giorni ilo tenu fra idente  
ma u nipo non fia piu di mallichare  
fati silento e fustifrete a tello  
de V enctiala ruina el p rocello.

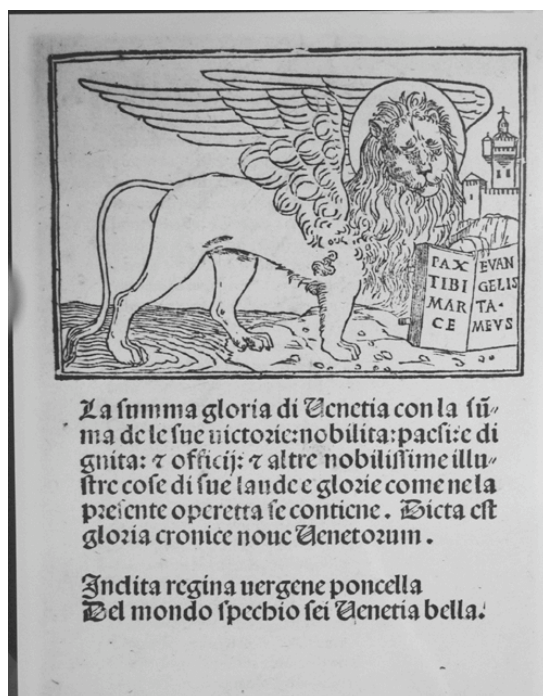
Di bressa pur uedēdo il tristo auguria  
el sangue sparto cū mortal tormento  
la penna tosti in man cū molta inria  
cū carta e ichioslzo cōmēzai dar dētro  
recognoscando la celeste cuna  
eset sdegna di tal salimento  
e tiēti certa che cū uoce netta  
q̄l laague iusto a dio chiama uēdetta.

65. Anonymous woodcuts on title page of *La vera Noua de Bressa de punto in punto come andata* ([Venice], [1512]). London, British Library.
66. Anonymous woodcut on title page of *Historia nova della rvina de venetiani. Cvm lo processo delli mali contracti che lor facano: Et una Barzeletta de bressa che se lamenta de la grande desgratia occorsa in essa Cita* (s. l., [1512]). Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana.





67. Anonymous woodcut on title page of Ercole Cinzio Rinuccini, *Istoria come il stato di Milano al presente e stato conquistato* ([Venice], [ca. 1500]). Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana.
68. Anonymous woodcut on title page of Ercole Cinzio Rinuccini, *Istoria noua dela Rotta e presa del Moro e Ascanio e molti altri baroni* ([Venice], [ca. 1500]). Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana.



69. Anonymous woodcut, title page of Francesco de' Allegri, *La summa gloria di Uenetia* (Venice, 1501). Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.



70. Campanile of San Marco, detail of the addition of the spire, originally 1511–1513, rebuilt in 1902. Venice, Piazza San Marco.

71. Anonymous relief depicting *Venice-Justice*, early fifteenth century. Venice, Palazzo Ducale.



72. Jacobello del Fiore, *Justice and the Archangels*, tempera and gold on panel, ca. 1421. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.





73. Anonymous, *Lion of St. Mark*, coloured four-block woodcut (57 x 78.5 cm), ca. 1500. Venice, Museo Correr.



74. Donato Bragadin, *Lion of St. Mark*, tempera on canvas (155 x 335 cm), 1459. Originally in the Sala dell'Avogaria. Now Venice, Ducal Palace.

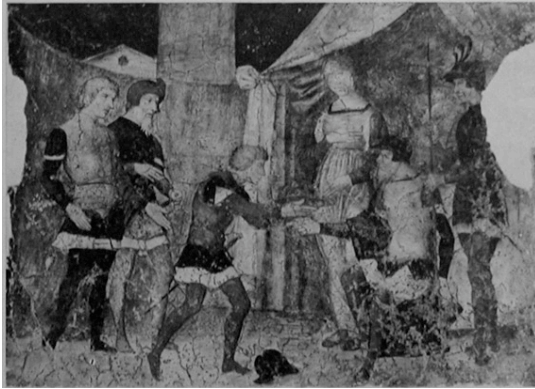




75. Cima da Conegliano, *Lion of St. Mark with Sts. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalen, and Jerome*, oil on canvas (205 x 540 cm), ca. 1516. Originally for the Ufficio della Mezzataria in the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi. Now Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.



76. Girolamo Mocetto, fragment of *Lion of St. Mark*, fresco, 1517. Originally part of a cycle in the Casa dell'Acqua Morta, Verona. Verona, Museo del Castelvecchio.



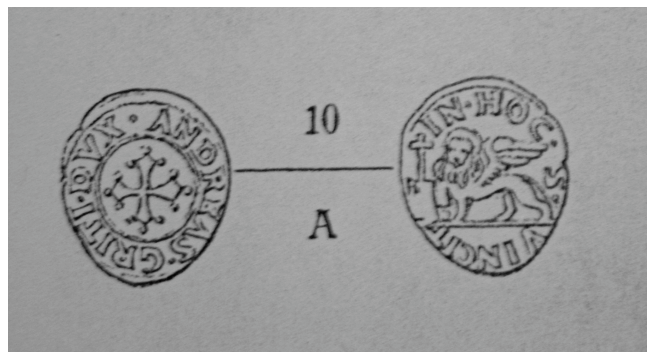
77. Girolamo Mocetto, *Continence of Scipio*, fresco, 1517. Originally part of a cycle in the Casa dell'Acqua Morta, Verona. Verona, Museo del Castelvecchio.

78. Girolamo Mocetto, *Trajan and the Widow*, fresco, 1517. Originally part of a cycle in the Casa dell'Acqua Morta, Verona. Verona, Museo del Castelvecchio.



79. Anonymous, *Leone andante*, stone relief, 1518. Treviso, near the Torrione di S. Sofia.

80. Anonymous, *Leone andante*, stone relief, late 1510s. Treviso, Torrione dell'Altinia.

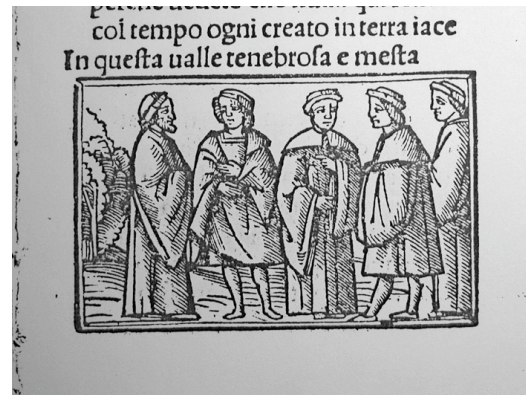


81. Recto and verso of a *bezo* minted in 1523 under Doge Andrea Gritti.



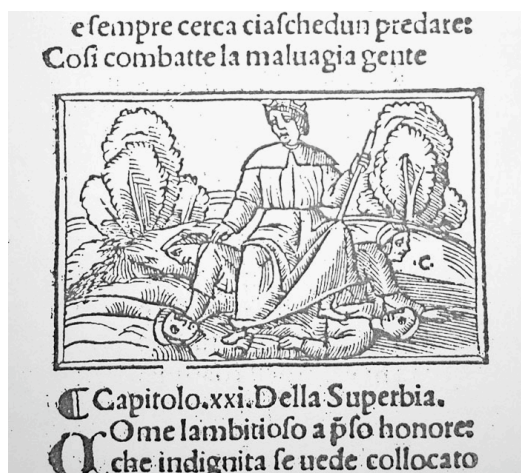


82. Anonymous Venetian, frontispiece to Innocent III, *Opera nouamente composta del disprezamento del mondo in terza rima & hystoriata*, trans. and ed. Agostino da Colonna (Venice: Giorgio Rusconi for Niccolò Zoppino and Vincenzo de Polo, 12 June 1515), f. Ai<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.



83. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter II (“De pontifici”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Aiii<sup>v</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.
84. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter III (“Dello stato de magnati”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Aiv<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.





85. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XXI (“Della superbia”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Eiv<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.

86. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XXII (“Contra la rogantia de superbi”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Fi<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.



87. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XIII (“Del accettare le persone”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Dii<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.

88. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XIV (“De lauaritia”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Diii<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.



89. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XV (“Di certe proprieta de lauaro”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Diii<sup>v</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.
90. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XXIII (“Del superfluo ornato”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Fi<sup>v</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.



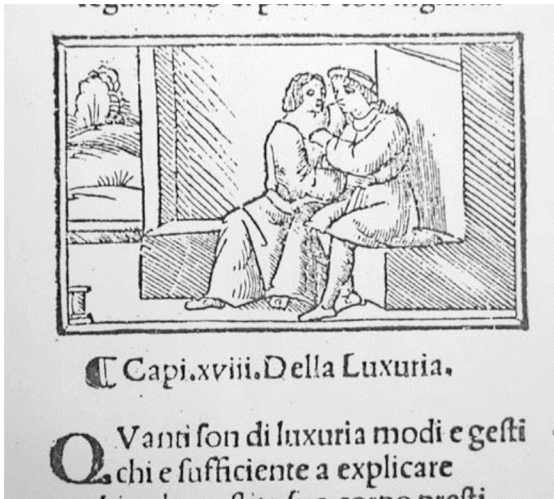
91. Anonymous Venetian woodcut appearing with the chapter devoted to the discussion of envy in Fra Tommaso, *Fior di virtù* (Venice: Matteo di Codecà, 14 July 1492).
92. Anonymous Venetian woodcut appearing with the chapter devoted to the discussion of envy in Fra Tommaso, *Fior di virtù* (Venice: Matteo di Codecà, 14 July 1492).





93. Giovanni Bellini, *Young Woman with a Mirror*, oil on panel (62 x 79 cm), 1515. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie.

94. Titian, *Young Woman with a Mirror*, oil on canvas (96 x 76 cm), 1514–15. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

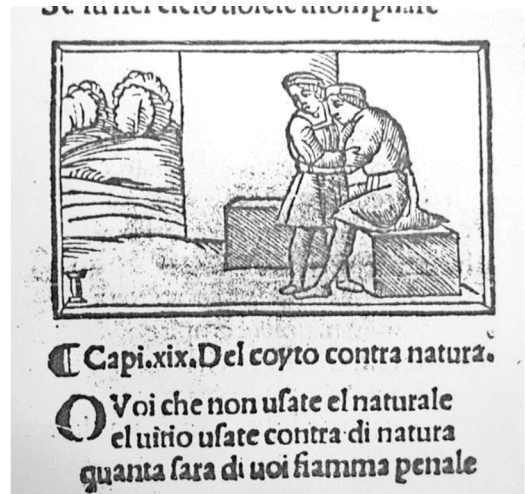


95. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XVII (“Della Luxuria”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Ei<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.

96. Zuan Andrea, *Amorous Couple*, engraving (20.5 x 15.5 cm). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



97. Attributed to Altobello Meloni, *Amorous Couple*, oil on panel (52 x 71 cm), ca. 1520. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.
98. Anonymous Veneto artist, *Amorous Scene*, oil on canvas (74.5 x 66.5 cm), ca. 1520. Florence, Casa Buonarroti.



99. Raffaello Sanzio, *Isaac and Rebecca Spied upon by Abimelech*, fresco, 1518–19. Rome, Vatican Loggia.
100. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XVIII (“Del coyto contra natura”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Ei<sup>v</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.



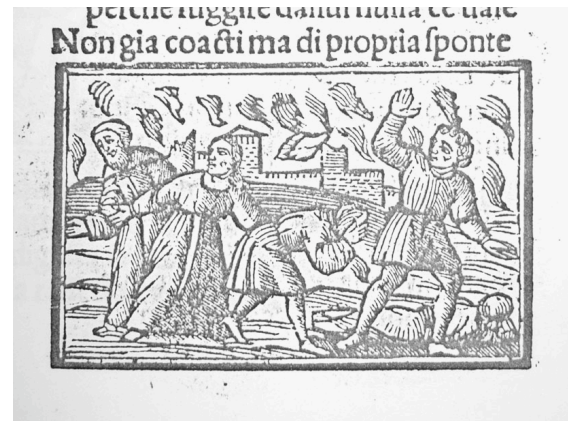
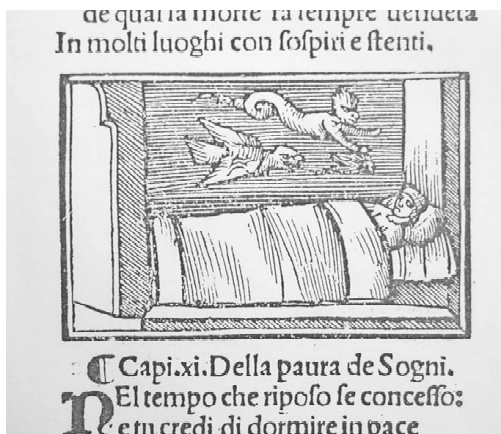


101. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XVIII (“Della ebrieta”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Ei<sup>v</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.

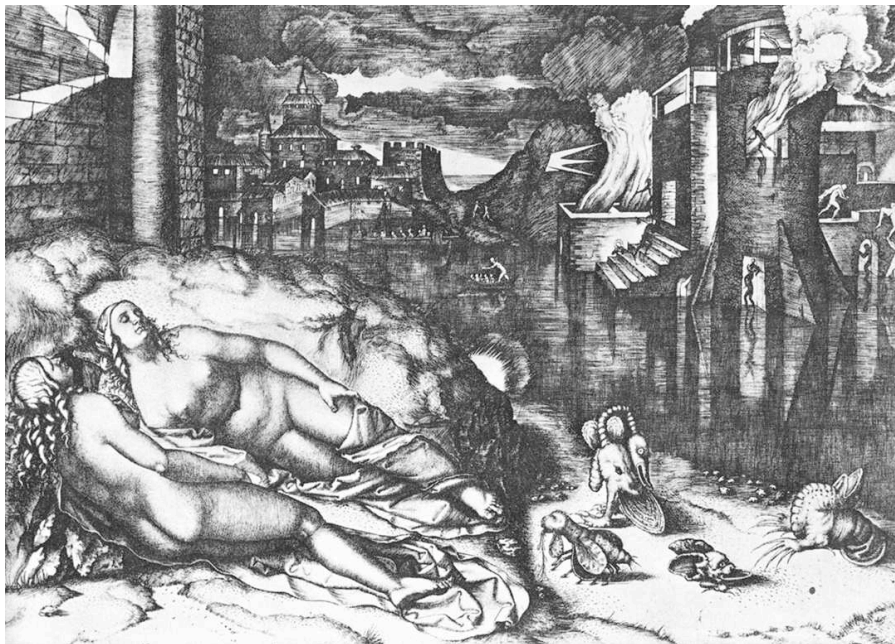
102. Hans Weiditz, *Winebag and Wheelbarrow*, woodcut (29.2 x 19.8 cm), ca. 1521.



103. Giovanni Bellini, *Drunkenness of Noah*, oil on canvas (103 x 157 cm), 1515. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



104. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XI (“Della paura dei sogni”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Civ<sup>v</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.
105. Anonymous Venetian, woodcut preceding chapter XXX (“Della tribulazione nanzi al iuditio”) of Innocent III, *Disprezamento* (for full reference see fig. 82), f. Gii<sup>v</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.

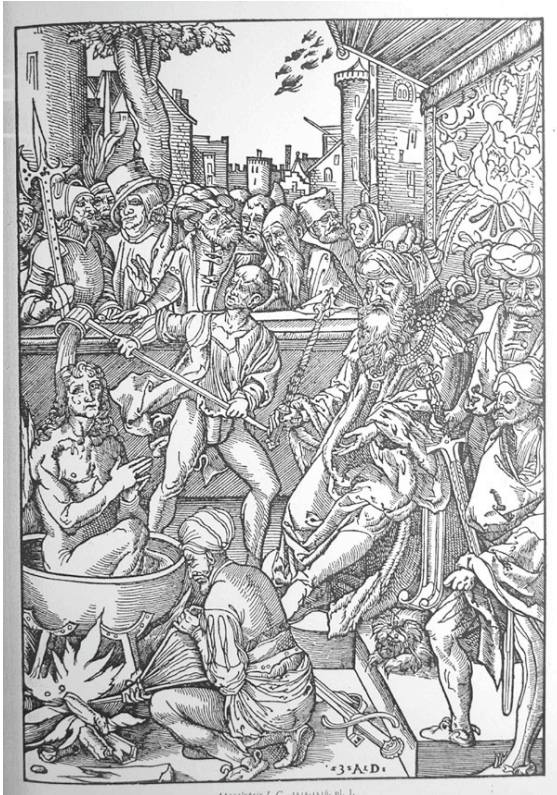


106. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Dream of Raphael*, engraving (23.1 x 33 cm), ca. 1508. London, British Museum.



107. Girolamo da Treviso, *Sleeping Nude in a Landscape*, oil on canvas (130 x 212 cm), ca. 1515. Rome, Galleria Borghese.





108. Giovanni Andrea Vavassore?, *Martyrdom of St. John*, woodcut (18.5 x 26.5 cm), *Prima figura* in the *Apocalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Venice, Fondazione Cini.

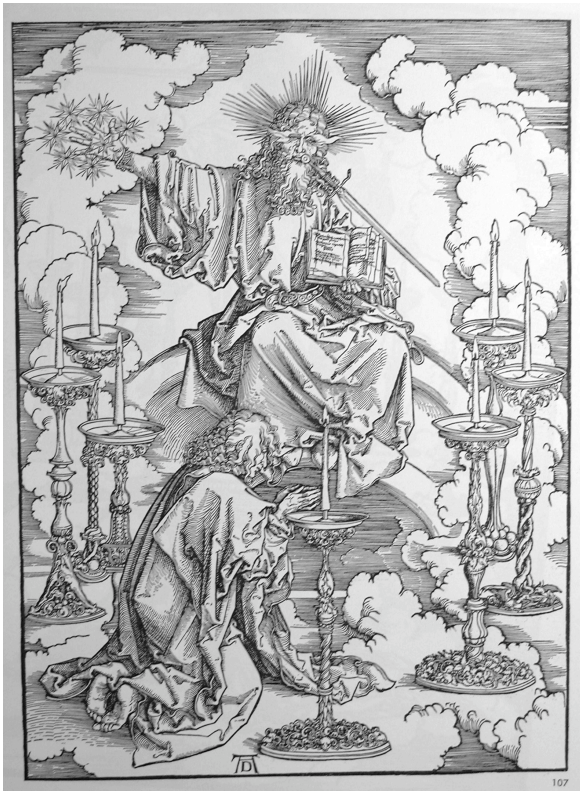


109. Albrecht Dürer, *Martyrdom of St. John*, woodcut (38.8 x 28.1 cm) from the *Apocalypsis cum figuris* (Nürnberg: Albrecht Dürer, 1498), f. 1<sup>r</sup>. London, British Museum.





110. Anonymous, *Vision of the Seven Candlesticks*, woodcut (18.5 x 26.5 cm), *Secunda figura in the Apocalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Venice, Fondazione Cini.



111. Albrecht Dürer, *Vision of the Seven Candlesticks*, woodcut (39.7 x 28.8 cm), from the *Apocalipsis cum figuris* (Nuremberg: Albrecht Dürer, 1498), f. 3<sup>r</sup>. London, British Museum.

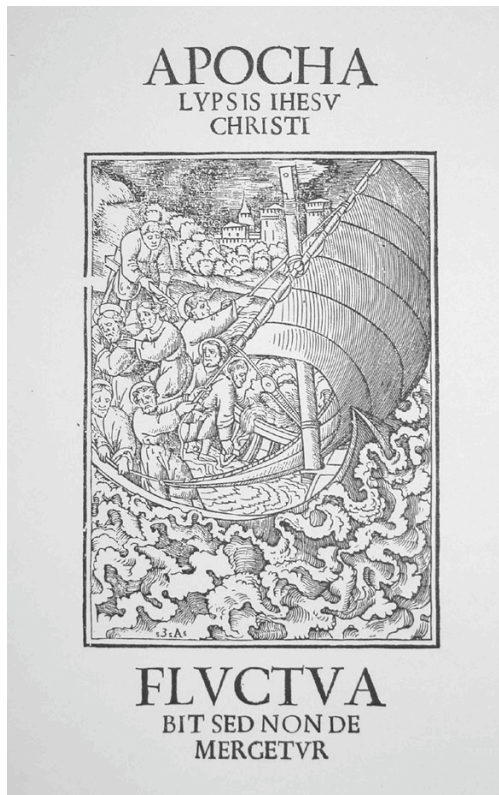


112. Anonymous, *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, woodcut (18.5 x 26.5 cm), *Quarta figura* in the *Apochalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Venice, Fondazione Cini.

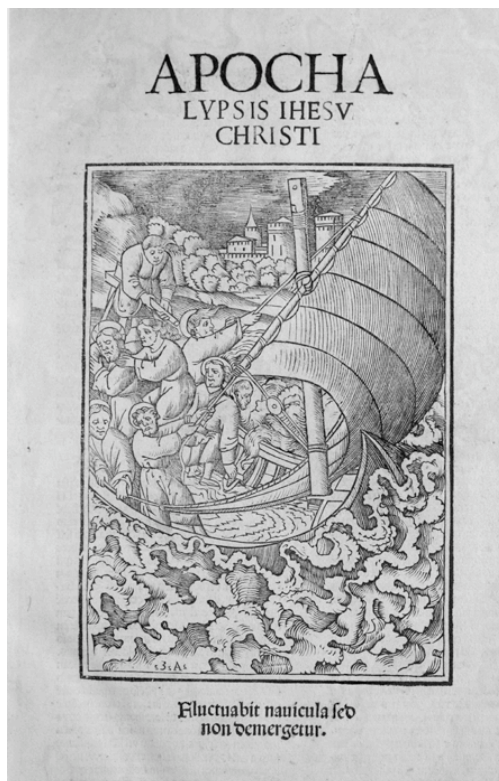


113. Albrecht Dürer, *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, woodcut (39.2 x 28.2 cm), from the *Apocalipsis cum figuris* (Nuremberg: Albrecht Dürer, 1498), f. 5<sup>r</sup>. London, British Museum.

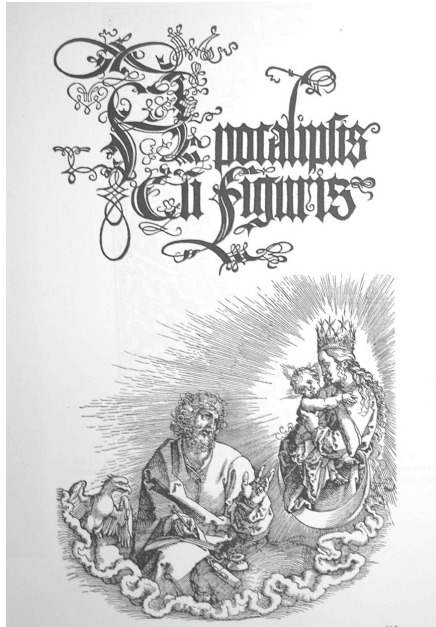




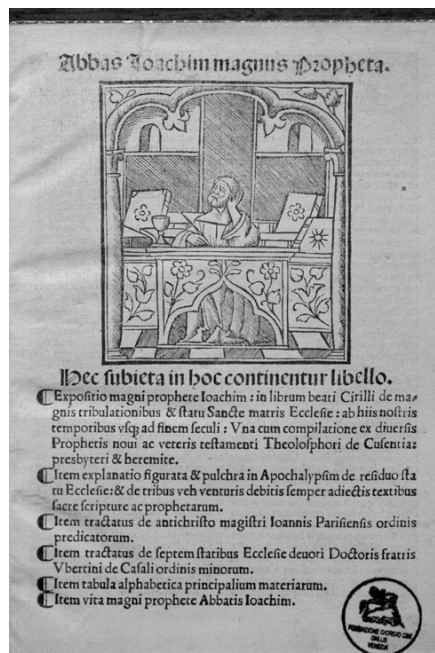
114. Frontispiece, *Apochalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Harvard College Library.



115. Frontispiece, *Apochalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Venice, Fondazione Cini.

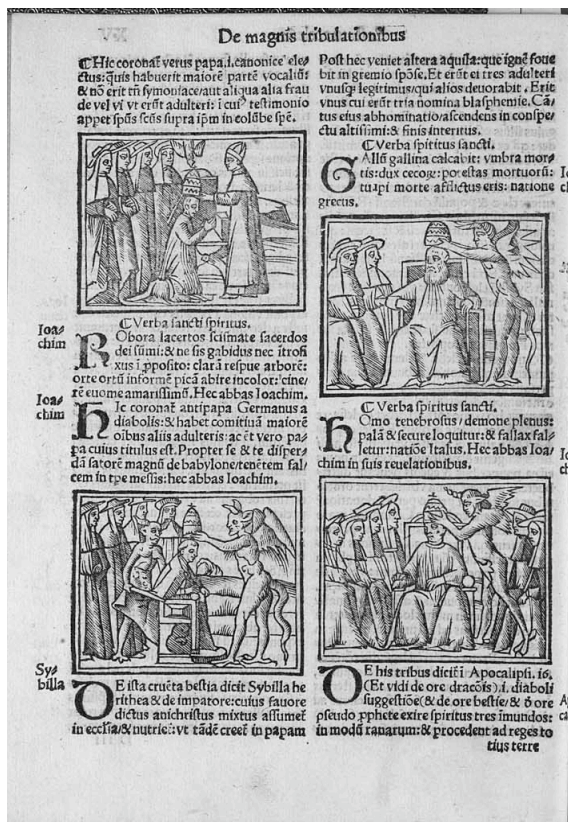


116. Albrecht Dürer, woodcut (18.3 x 18.3 cm), frontispiece of *Apocalipsis cum figuris* (Nuremberg: Albrecht Dürer, 1511).
117. Title page, *Apocalipsis iesu christi hoc est reuelations fatta a sancto giohanni euangelista...*, trans. and commentary Fra Federigo da Venezia (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1515).

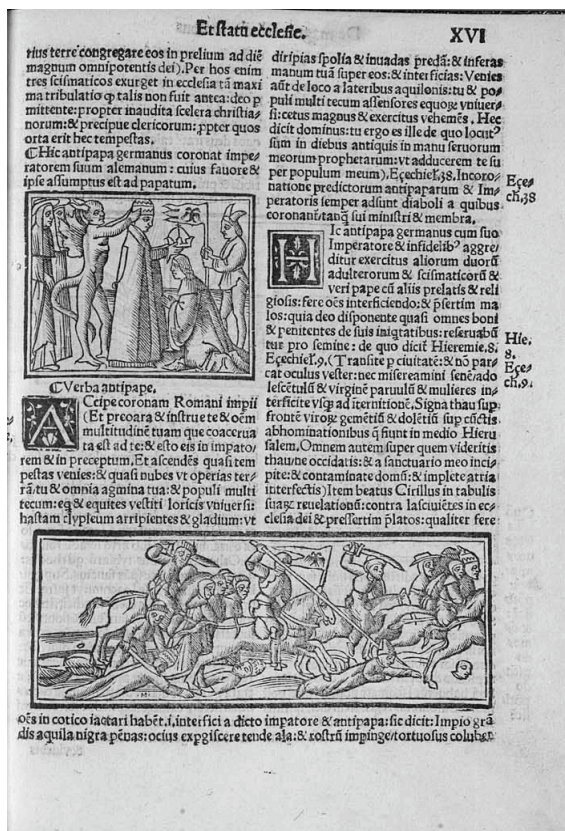


118. Anonymous woodcut frontispiece of the *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516).



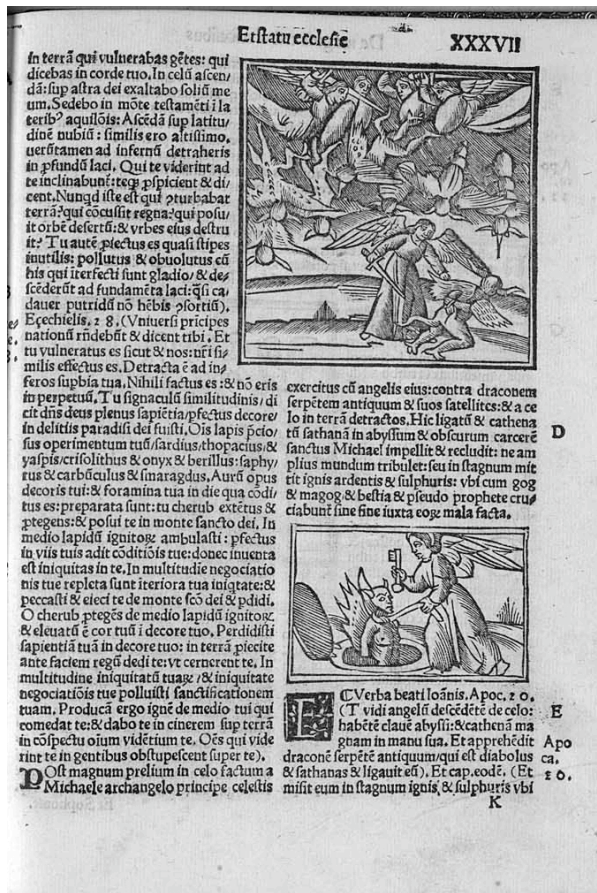


119. *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XV<sup>v</sup>.



120. *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XVI<sup>r</sup>.





121. *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXXVII<sup>r</sup>.



122. Anonymous woodcut (18.5 x 26.5 cm), *Duodecima figura in Apocalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Venice, Fondazione Cini.
123. Anonymous woodcut (18.5 x 26.5 cm), *Decimaquinta figura in Apocalypsis Ihesu Christi* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino, 1516). Venice, Fondazione Cini.

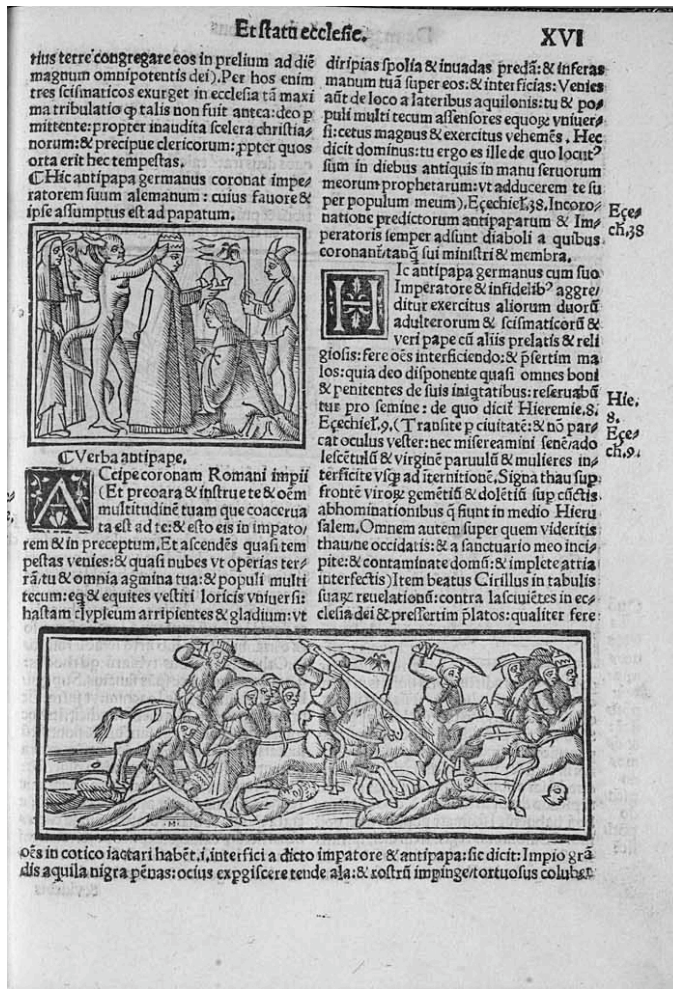




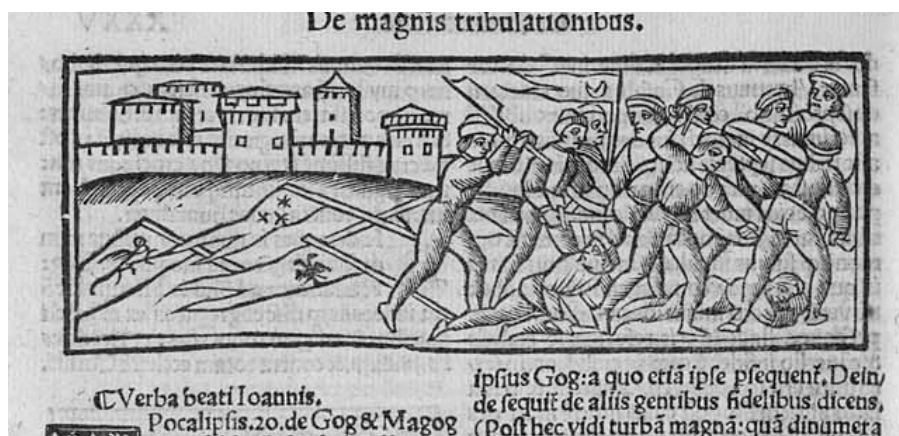


127. MS, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. Cl. III, 177, f. 29<sup>r</sup>.





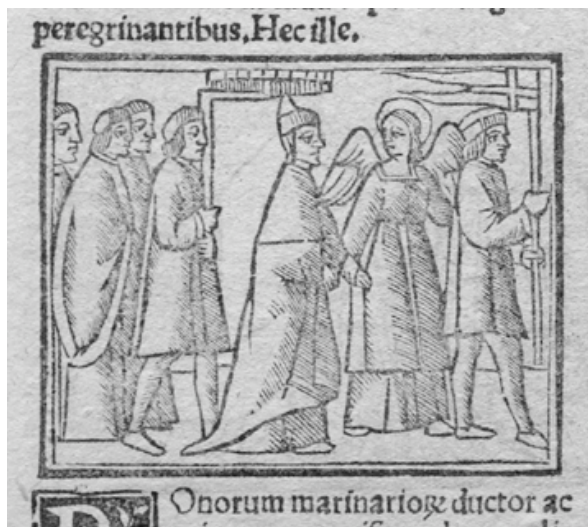
128. *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XVI<sup>r</sup>.



129. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXXV<sup>v</sup>.



130. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XVIII<sup>v</sup>.



131. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXII<sup>v</sup>.

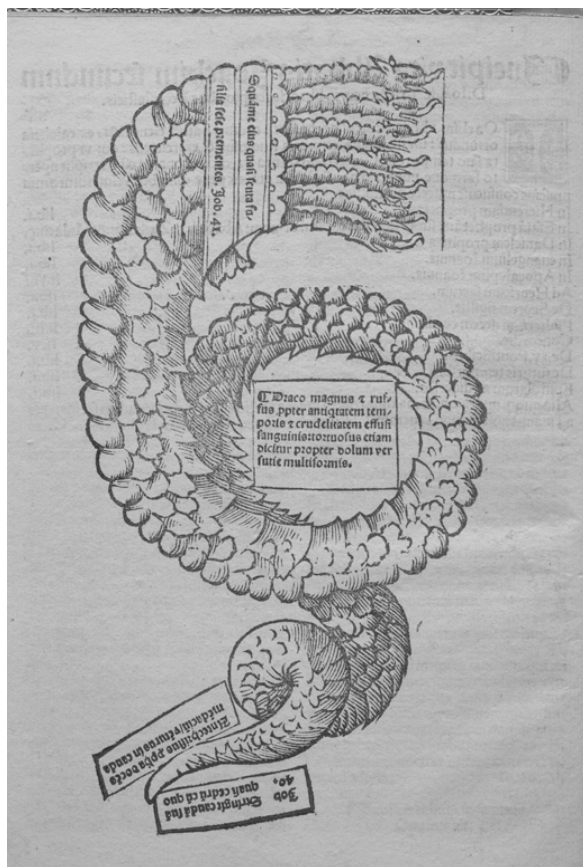


132. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. XXII<sup>v</sup>.





133. Illumination of late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, plate XIV in Joachim da Fiore, *Liber figurarum*. MS, Reggio Emilia, Seminario Vescovile.



134. Anonymous woodcut in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim...*, ed. Fra Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Bernardino Benalio for Lazzaro de' Soardi, 5 April 1516), f. IV<sup>v</sup>.



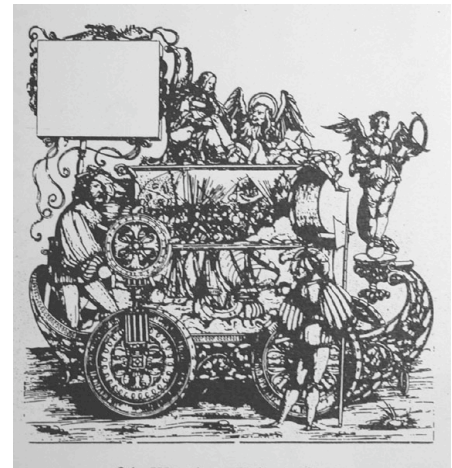
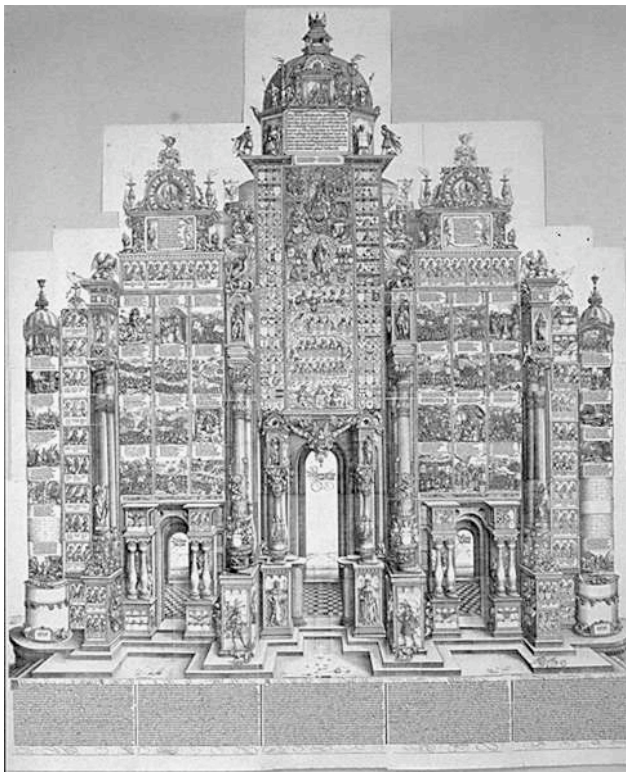




136. Titian, *Triumph of Christ*, multi-block woodcut (block 3 of 5; 39 x 52.9 cm), 1517?. New York, New York Public Library.
- 136a. Titian, *Triumph of Christ*, multi-block woodcut (block 5 of 5; 39 x 52.4 cm), 1517?. New York, New York Public Library.



137. Andrea Previtali, *Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea*, oil on canvas (132 x 213 cm), 1520s. Originally for Chapel of S. Niccolò, Ducal Palace. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.



138. Albrecht Dürer and his workshop, *Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I*, woodcut in 192 blocks (341 x 292 cm), ca. 1515. Washington D.C., National Gallery.

139. Hans Burgkmair, triumphal car representing Maximilian I's subjugation of Venice forming part of the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*, woodcut, ca. 1516–18. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.



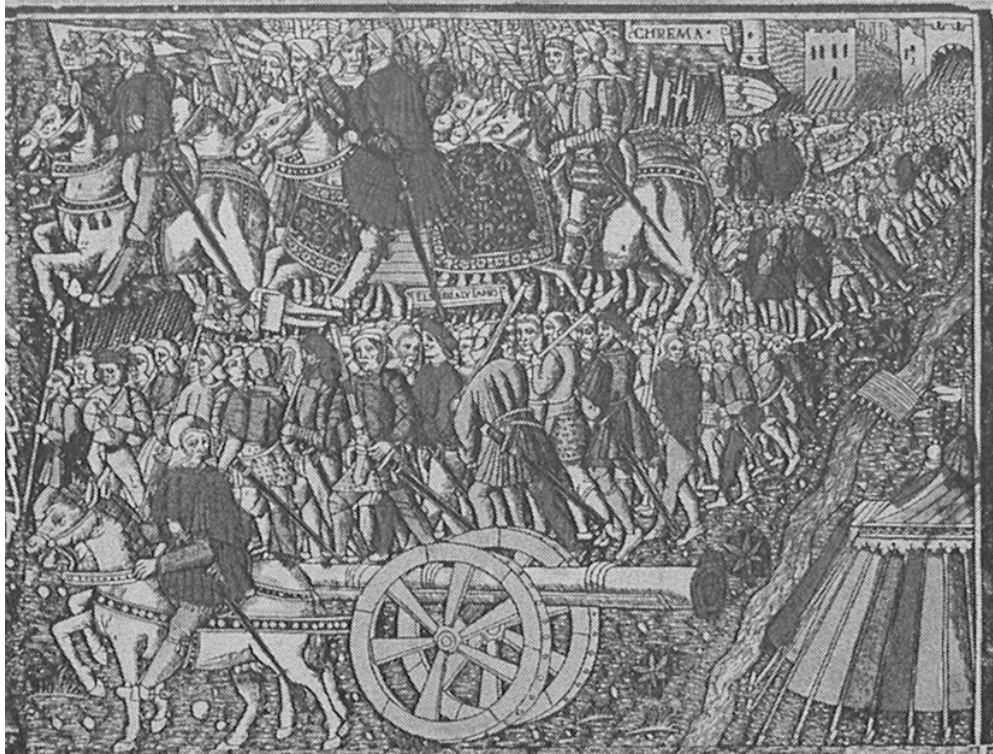


140. Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, *Battle of Marignano*, woodcut (55.5 x 152.5 cm), ca. 1515. Zurich, Zentralbibliothek.



141. Detail of four right-hand blocks of fig. 140.



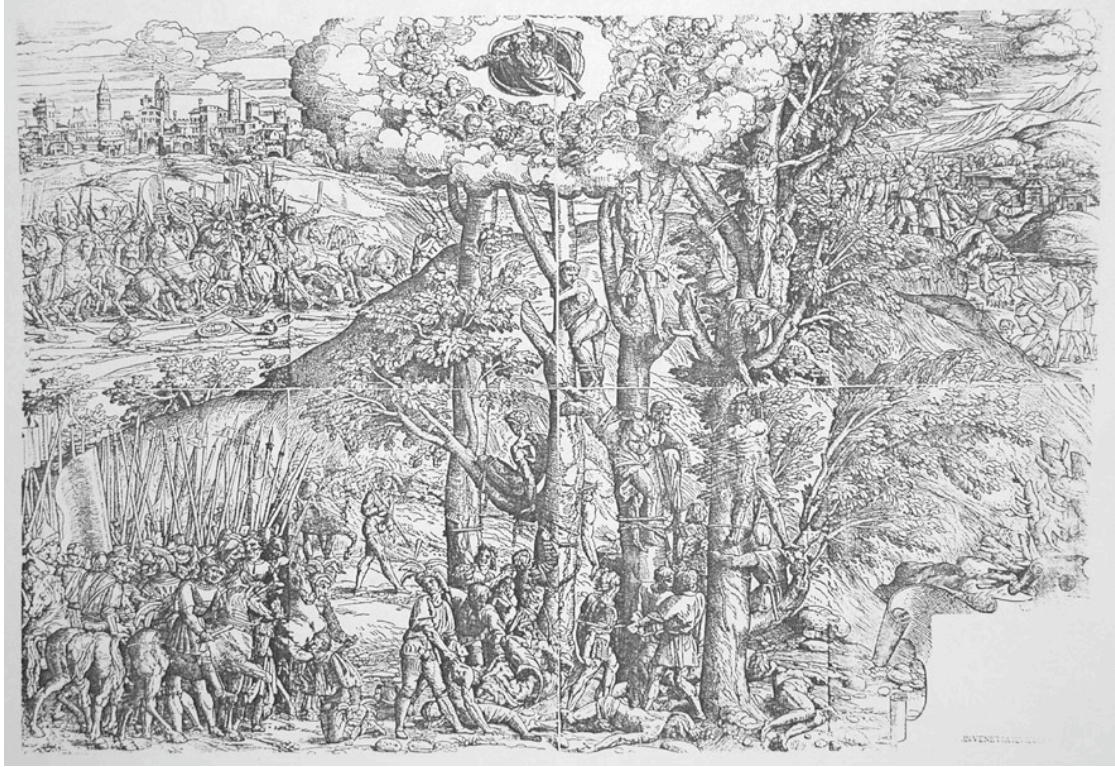


142. Detail of upper right-hand block of fig. 140.



143. Master Na. Dat. with a Mousetrap, *The Two Armies at the Battle of Ravenna*, engraving (14.8 x 21.8 cm), ca. 1512.





144. Anonymous Venetian, *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, woodcut (104.5 x 154 cm), ca. 1515. London, British Museum.



145. Vittore Carpaccio, *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, oil on canvas (307 x 205 cm), 1515. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

146. Ugo da Carpi after Titian, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, woodcut (79 x 107.6 cm), third edition, mid-sixteenth century. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.





147. Girolamo da Treviso, *Susannah and the Elders*, four-block woodcut (85 x 107.5 cm), ca. 1515. Copenhagen, Royal Collection.



148. Detail of fig. 147.



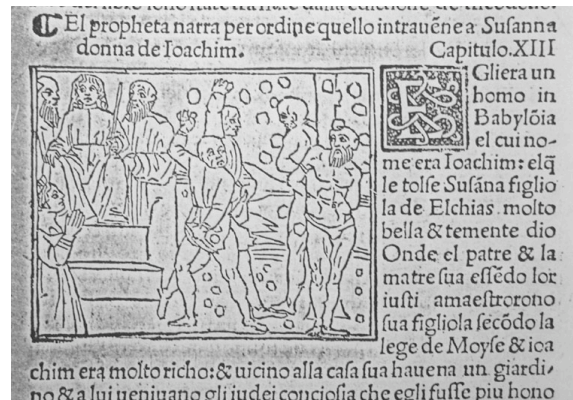
149. Detail of fig. 147.





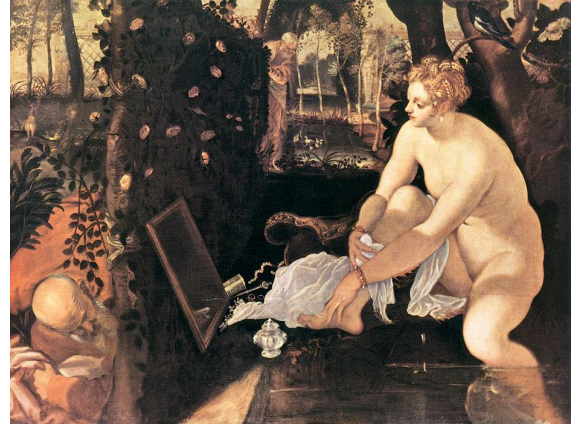
150. Titian, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, oil on canvas (89.5 x 73 cm), 1515. Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili.

151. Giovanni Cariani, *Judith*, oil on panel (69 x 56.6 cm), 1516–17. Formerly Grittleton, collection of Sir Audley Neeld.



152. Anonymous Venetian, *Susannah and the Elders*, woodcut frontispiece to *Historia et Festa de Susanna* ([Venice]: [1505]). Venice, Fondazione Cini.

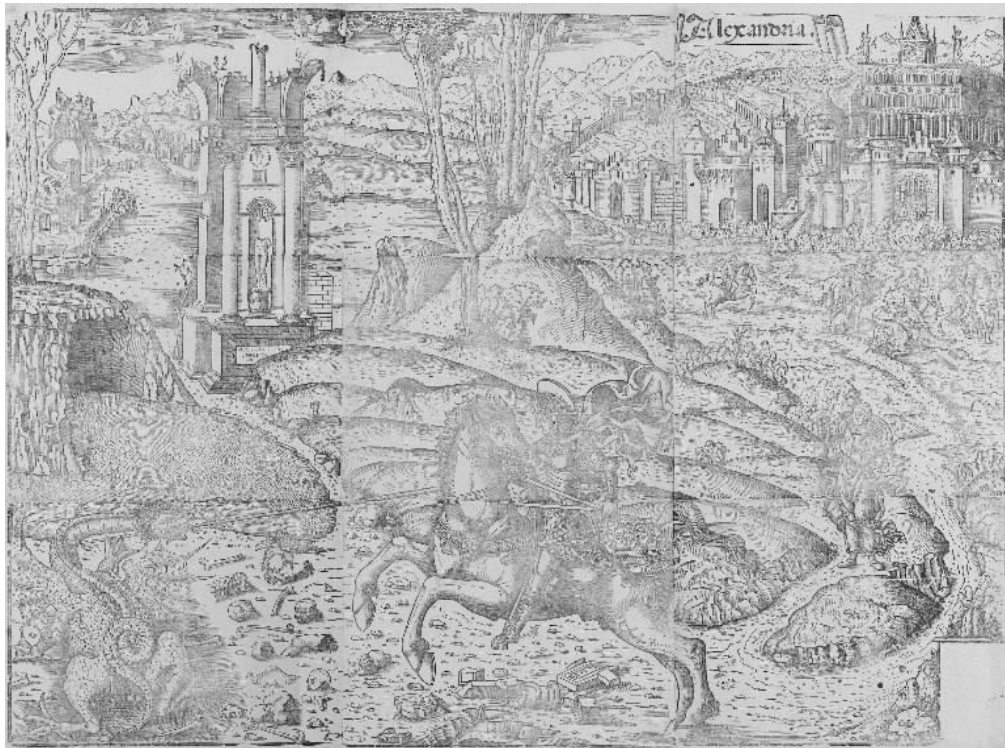
153. Anonymous Venetian, *Susannah and the Elders*, woodcut in *Byblia in vulgar vltimamente impressa...* (Venice: Lazzaro Soardi and Bernardino Benalio, 10 July 1517), f. LXXXII<sup>r</sup>. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.



154. Lorenzo Lotto, *Susannah and the Elders*, oil on panel (66 x 51 cm), 1517.

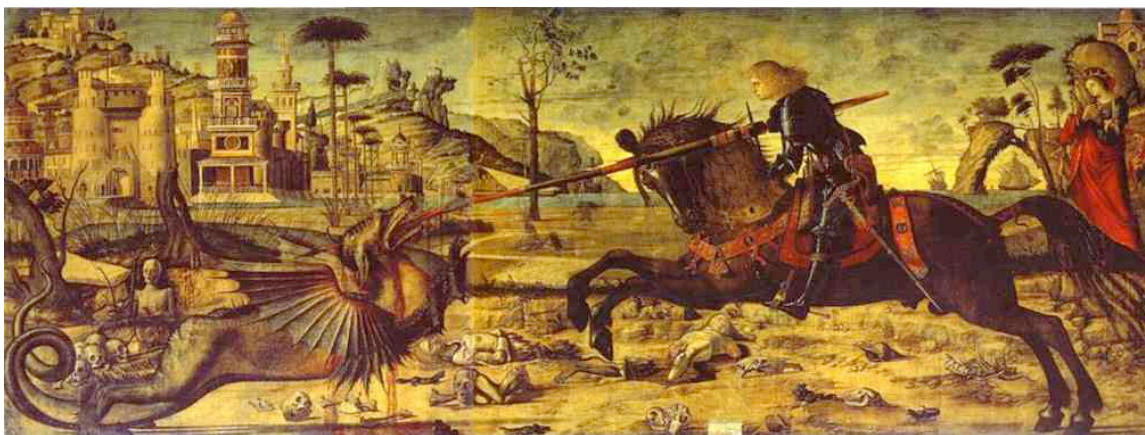
Florence, Contini Bonacossi Collection.

155. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Susannah and the Elders*, oil on canvas (146.5 x 193.6 cm), ca. 1555. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



156. Lucantonio degli Uberti, *St. George and the Dragon*, woodcut (85 x 118.5 cm), 1515. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst.





157. Vittore Carpaccio, *St. George and the Dragon*, oil on canvas (141 x 360 cm), ca. 1507. Venice, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni.



158. Vittore Carpaccio, *St. George and the Dragon*, oil on canvas (180 x 226 cm), s. & d. 1515. Venice, S. Giorgio Maggiore.



159. Anonymous Florentine, *St. George and the Dragon*, woodcut (56 x 42 cm), latter half of fifteenth century. London, British Museum.

160. Anonymous Italian after Master E. S., *St. George and the Dragon*, woodcut (20.1 x 13.6 cm), mid-fifteenth century. London, British Museum.



161. Master I.B. with a Bird?, *St. George and the Dragon*, woodcut (12.3 x 12.8 cm), early sixteenth century. Hamburg, Kunsthalle.

162. Titian, *St. George*, oil on canvas (124 x 65 cm), ca. 1515–16. Right-hand fragment of the larger work *St. Michael Flanked by Sts. Theodore and George*. Venice, Fondazione Cini.





163. Paris Bordon, *St. George and the Dragon*, oil on canvas, 1525. Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana.



164. Niccolò de' Barbari, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on panel (92.8 x 120.5 cm), 1490s. Rome, Palazzo Venezia.



165. Marco Marziale, *Christ and the Adulteress*, canvas (130 x 165.8 cm), ca. 1500–07.  
Groningen, Institute for Art History.



166. Giovanni Bellini, *Presentation in the Temple*, panel (82 x 106 cm), ca. 1460.  
Venice, Querini Stampalia.





167. Workshop of Giovanni Bellini?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, panel (115 x 170 cm), first years of the sixteenth century. Formerly in Novara, private collection.



168. Titian, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (139.2 x 181.7 cm, cut down at right), ca. 1510. Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museums Collection.



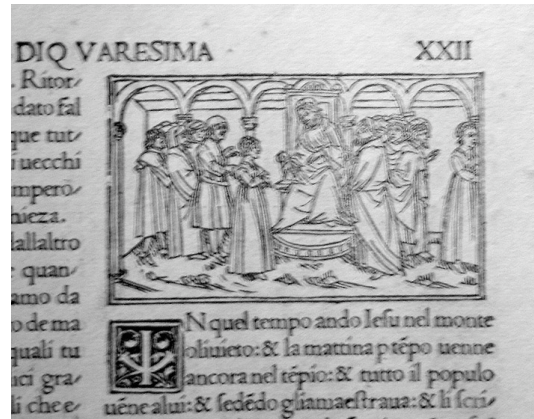
169. Titian, *Head of a Bystander*, from *Christ and the Adulteress* (see fig. 168), oil on canvas (47 x 40.5 cm). Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museums Collection.

170. Anonymous copy after Titian, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (149 x 219 cm, slightly cut down on both right and left), ca. 1520. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara.



171. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Judgement of Solomon*, oil on canvas (208 x 315 cm), ca. 1509 (unfinished). Wimborne Minster (Kingston Lacy), Dorset Bankes Collection, The National Trust.

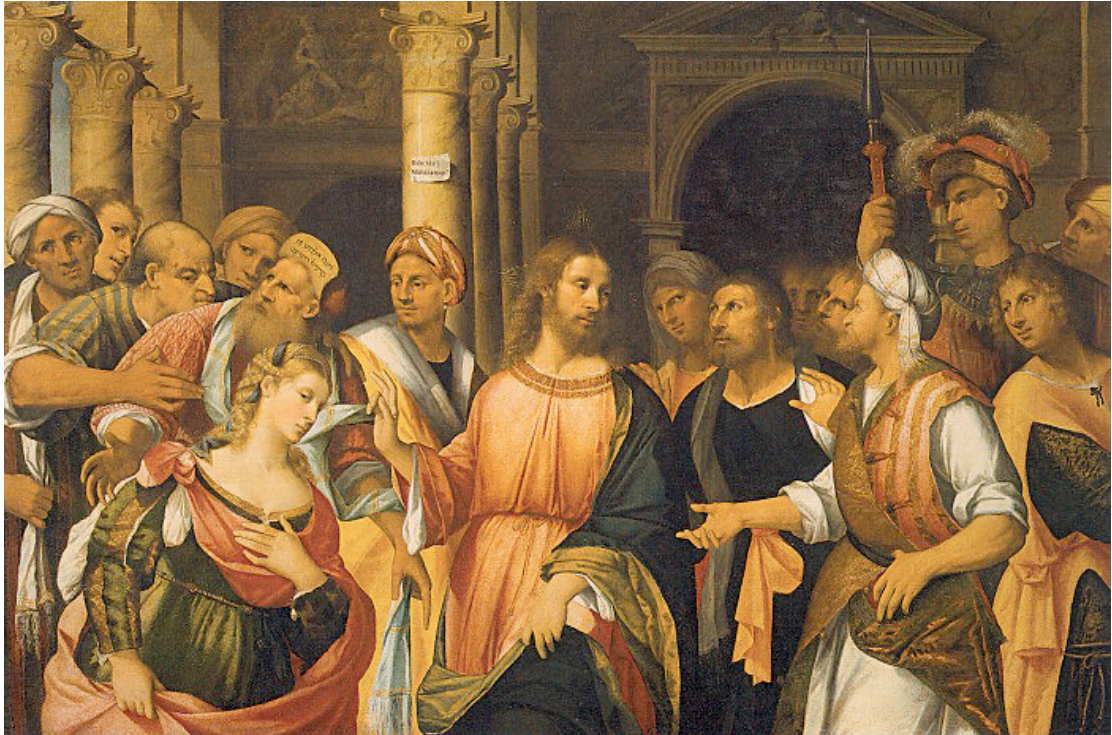




172. Palma Vecchio, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (82 x 69.5 cm), 1520 – 2?. Inscribed: QVIS VESTRUM EST SINE PECCATO LAPIDEM PROICIAT IN EAM. Leningrad, Hermitage.
173. Anonymous woodcut illustration accompanying the gospel of John (8:1–11) in *Epistole euangelii vulgare et Istoriare*, ed. Jacopo di Carlo (Venice: Manfredo de Monferra de Streuo, 20 August 1495), f. XXII(2)<sup>r</sup>.



174. Bonifacio de' Pitati, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (181 x 304 cm), ca. 1544. Originally for the rooms of the Magistrato del Sal, Palazzo Camerlenghi. Venice, Fondazione Cini.



175. Rocco Marconi, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (131 x 197 cm), signed (ROCHUS MARCHONIUS), ca. 1516. Formerly Benedictine Chapter House, S. Giorgio Maggiore. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.



176. Rocco Marconi?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas, (156.5 x 118 cm), s. (ROCHUS MARCHONIUS) & d. 1516. Coral Gables (Florida), Lowe Art Gallery of the University of Miami.





177. Rocco Marconi, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on panel, (135 x 197 cm), s. (ROCHUS MARCHONIUS), ca. 1520?. Saltsjöbaden (Sweden), Ernst Wahren collection.



178. Rocco Marconi, *Christ and the Adulteress*, panel (135 x 180 cm), signed (ROCHUS DE MARCHIONIS F.), ca. 1510?. Szekszárd (Hungary), Városi Múzeum.



179. Rocco Marconi, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (111 x 167 cm), signed (ROCHO DE MARCONI F.), late 1510s. Budapest, Szépművészeti Museum.

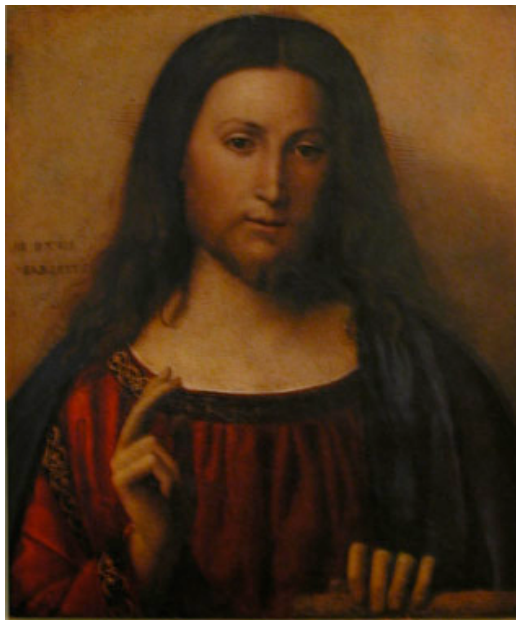
180. Follower of Rocco Marconi?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, as seen in a photograph in the photo collection of the Fondazione Cini, Venice. Location unknown.



181. Cima da Conegliano, *Christ among the Doctors*, panel (54.6 x 84.4 cm), ca. 1504–05. Warsaw, National Museum.



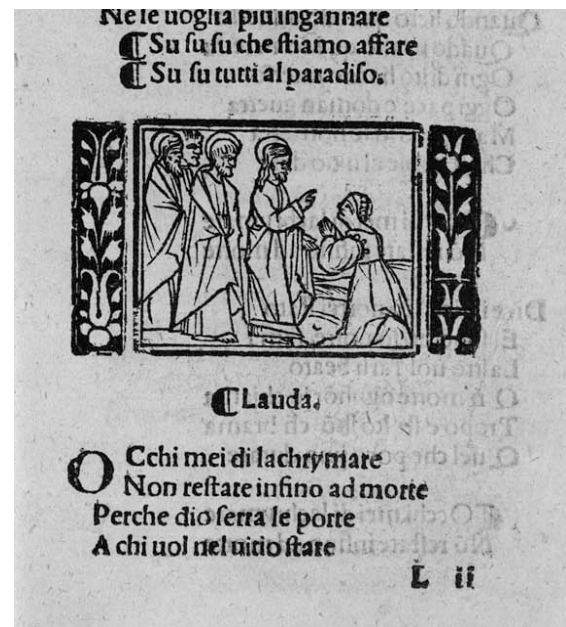
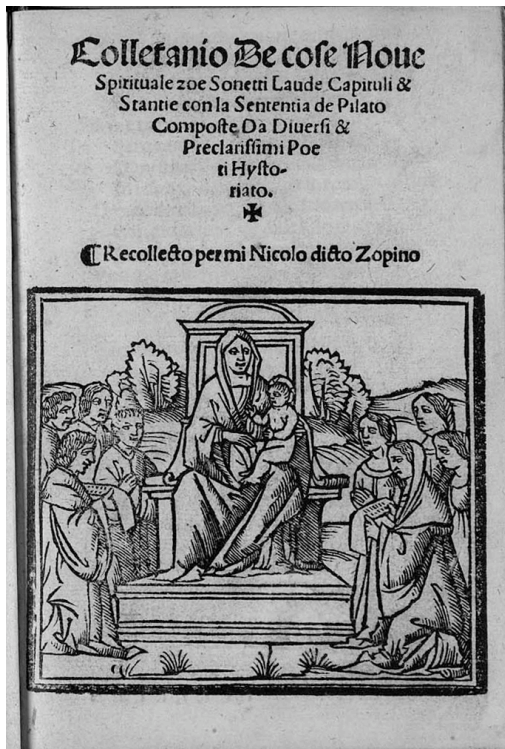
182. Albrecht Dürer, *Christ among the Doctors*, oil on panel (68 x 80 cm), ca. 1506. Lugano, Thyssen Collection.



183. Marco Basaiti, *Christ Blessing*, oil on panel (40 x 34 cm), 1517. Bergamo, Accademia Carrara.

184. Rocco Marconi, *Christ Blessing*, oil on panel (52.7 x 40.6 cm), late 1510s. Philadelphia, J. G. Johnson collection.





185. Anonymous woodcut on the title page of *Colletanio De cose Noue Spirituale* (Venice: Giorgio Rusconi for Niccolò Zoppino, 1513).

186. Anonymous woodcut in *Colletanio De cose Noue Spirituale* (Venice: Giorgio Rusconi for Niccolò Zoppino, 1513), Lii<sup>r</sup>.



187. Palma Vecchio or Giovanni Cariani?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, panel (80 x 94 cm), ca. 1510?. Chantilly, Musée Condé.





188. Palma Vecchio, *Woman in Green*, oil on panel (50 x 40.5 cm), 1512–14. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

189. Titian, *Young Lady in Black*, oil on panel (59.5 x 44.5 cm), ca. 1520. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



190. Flemish disciple of Titian?, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas, latter half of 1500s. Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



191. Rocco Marconi, *Christ before Martha and Mary*, oil on canvas (120 x 154.9 cm), ca. 1520?. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum.



192. Rocco Marconi?, *Christ before Martha and Mary*, panel (118.7 x 170.6 cm, cut down in 1750), ca. 1510. Prague, Castle Museum.



193. Rocco Marconi, *Christ before Martha and Mary*, oil on canvas (119 x 171 cm), ca. 1515. Leningrad, Hermitage.



194. Venetian School (Bergamask?), *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (82 x 126 cm), ca. 1530. Dijon, Musée Magnin.





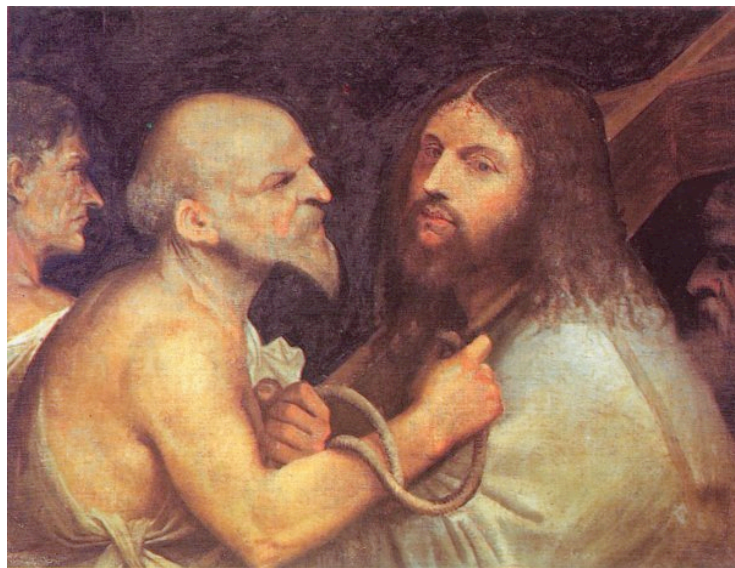
195. Giovanni Bellini, *St. Jerome, St. Christopher and St. Louis of Toulouse*, oil on panel (300 x 185 cm), 1513. Venice, S. Giovanni Crisostomo.
196. Marco Basaiti, *Calling of the Sons of Zebedee*, oil on panel (385 x 265 cm), s. & d. 1510. Venice, Gallerie dell' Accademia.



197. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on wood (15.9 x 21.6 cm), mid 1540s. New York, Metropolitan Museum, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection.



198. Follower of Andrea Mantegna, *Madonna and Child with Saints and Norsa Family*, tempera on panel, ca. 1499. Originally for complex of Santa Maria della Vittoria, Mantua. Mantua, Sant'Andrea.



199. Giorgione?, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, oil on wood (70 x 100 cm), ca. 1509.





200. Lorenzo Lotto, *Christ and the Adulteress*, oil on canvas (124 x 156 cm), ca. 1527–29. Paris, Louvre.



201. Quentin Massys, *Ecce homo*, oil on wood, 1526. Venice, Palazzo Ducale.



202. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: 4. Ecce Homo*, woodcut (39 x 28 cm), ca. 1499. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

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## Appendix A: Comparative Timeline of Historical Events and Works of Art

Date	Historical Event	Work of Art
1508	Feb.–Mar.: Venetians hold Friuli against Maximilian I's attack  Dec. 10: The kings of Spain and France, the German emperor, and various Italian city-states sign the League of Cambrai	Giorgione and Titian, frescoes on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi [see figs. 6, 7]  Marcantonio Raimondi, <i>Dream of Raphael</i> (ca. this year) [fig. 105]
*		
1509	April 27: Pope excommunicates Venice  May 14: Battle of Agnadello; the French army vanquishes that of Venice, and the League's forces begin to claim the Venetian terraferma  July 17: the Venetians recapture Padua  Oct. 1: Maximilian I withdraws his forces from the siege of Padua, leaving the city to the Venetians  Dec. 22: Ferrarese forces decimate Venetian fleet heading up the Po river	Anonymous North Italian woodcut appearing on the title page of <i>Pronostico e profecia de le cose debeno succedere...</i> [fig. 19]  Anonymous Venetian woodcut on the title page of <i>La victoriosa Gata da Padua</i> [fig. 21]  Gianantonio Corona, <i>St. Anthony Restoring Peace to Padua</i> [fig. 18]  Sebastiano del Piombo, <i>Judgement of Solomon</i> (ca. this year) [fig. 169]
*		
1510	Feb. 24: Pope rescinds Venice's excommunication  March: the French and Imperial armies launch a new campaign to claim the terraferma  May: Venice's enemies reclaim	Anonymous Venetian woodcut frontispiece of Bartolomeo de Cori's <i>La obsidione di Padua</i> [fig. 25]  Anonymous woodcut on title page of <i>Processo de mali fruti...</i> [fig. 61]

Date	Historical Event	Work of Art
1510, cont'd	the entire Veneto, including Vicenza Legnago and Rovigo, and excepting only Padua and Treviso	Anonymous woodcut on title page of <i>Spauento de Italia</i> [fig. 59]
	June: Venice's enemies reclaim the northern Veneto, including Cittadella, Bassano, Marostica and Feltre; the Venetian forces retreat to Padua	Martino da Udine?, <i>Standard-Bearer, Fifer and Drummer</i> (1510s?) [fig. 27]
	Aug. 9: Julius II excommunicates the duke of Ferrara; shortly afterward, initiates a campaign to take Genoa and move towards Ferrara	Titian, <i>Christ and the Adulteress</i> [figs. 166–67]
	Mid-August: the Venetian army moves out of Padua to confront the German forces; it almost succeeds in taking Verona, but the siege is ultimately unsuccessful	Rocco Marconi, <i>Christ and the Adulteress</i> (ca. 1510) [fig. 175]
		Palma Vecchio or Giovanni Cariani?, <i>Christ and the Adulteress</i> (ca. 1510) [fig. 184]
	Oct. 20: the papal forces take Bologna	Rocco Marconi?, <i>Christ before Martha and Mary</i> [fig. 187]
		Marco Basaiti, <i>Calling of the Sons of Zebedee</i> [fig. 192]
		Sebastiano del Piombo, <i>Judith with the Head of Holofernes</i> [fig. 148]
*		
1511	May 21: the Bentivoglio rebel against the papal occupation of Bologna and the French return to the city	Campanile of San Marco, addition of the spire begun (finished 1513) [fig. 69]
	Summer: the Venetians have another bad experience with the German forces outside Vicenza and is forced to withdraw from the Veneto to defend Padua once more	

Date	Historical Event	Work of Art
1511, cont'd	<p>Sept.: Louis XII convenes Council of Pisa to depose Julius II</p> <p>Oct. 5: Holy League is established between Venice, the Pope and king of Spain to push the French off of the Italian peninsula</p>	
	*	
1512	<p>Feb. 2: Brescia, along with a few other Lombard cities, revolts against French rule and declares fealty to Venice</p> <p>Feb. 21: Brescia and its surrounding territory is taken back by the French and the city is sacked</p> <p>Winter: Venice establishes a truce with Maximilian I to last ten months</p> <p>Apr. 11: Battle of Ravenna; after their spring offensive, French forces win against the Holy League, but are forced to withdraw due to heavy losses</p> <p>Spring: after the French withdraw in June, Venice takes the opportunity to briefly reclaim a fair amount of its former terraferma empire</p> <p>Fall of Florentine Republic</p>	<p>Anonymous woodcut on the title page of <i>Papa Iulio II che redrizza tuto el mondo</i> [fig. 60]</p> <p>Anonymous woodcuts on title page of <i>La vera Noua de Bressa...</i> [fig. 64]</p> <p>Anonymous woodcut on title page of <i>Historia nova della rvina de venetiani...</i> [fig. 65]</p> <p>Anonymous woodcut on title page of Perossino dalla Rotanda's <i>El fatto darne fatto ad Rauenna</i> [fig. 62]</p> <p>Antonio Minello, equestrian tomb of Nicolò Orsini (begun) [fig. 13]</p> <p>Antonio Minello, equestrian tomb of Leonardo da Prato (begun) [fig. 14]</p> <p>Antonio Minello, tomb of Dionisio Naldo (begun) [fig. 15]</p>

Date	Historical Event	Work of Art
1512, cont'd		Lorenzo Bregno, <i>St. Marina Altarpiece</i> (ca. this year) [figs. 30–35]
		Bartolomeo Vivarini and Girolamo Mocetto, lowest register of stained glass window in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (completed in 1515) [fig. 40]
		Sebastiano del Piombo, <i>Death of Adonis</i> [fig. 9]
		Palma Vecchio and others, <i>Sea Storm</i> (probably begun this year) [fig. 8]
		Master Na. Dat. with a Mousetrap, <i>The Two Armies at the Battle of Ravenna</i> [fig. 141]
*		
1513	Mar. 11: Leo X becomes pope	Anonymous <i>leone andante</i> woodcut on the title page of <i>Tutte le cose seguite in Lombardia</i> [fig. 51]
	Apr. 5: Treaty of Mechlin; the pope abandons Venice to enter an alliance with Maximilian I, Henry VIII and Ferdinand I against France	The golden angel is placed atop the Campanile in Piazza San Marco with great celebration [fig. 69]
	Mar. 23: Treaty of Blois; as a result of the papacy's new allegiance, Venice allies itself with France; the French are to have Venetian aid in taking the area around Milan, and the Venetians are to get back their holdings in Lombardy	Lorenzo Lotto, <i>Martinengo Altarpiece</i> [fig. 17]
	First week of June: Venice regains Brescia and other cities in Lombardy thanks to French aid	Giovanni Bellini, <i>St. Jerome, St. Christopher and St. Louis of Toulouse</i> [fig. 191]

Date	Historical Events	Works of Art
1513, cont'd	June 7: Battle of Novara; the Swiss defeat the French army; as a result, the Republic once again loses all its mainland holdings except Treviso and Padua to Swiss troops	
	July–Aug.: the Venetian troops withdraw to defend Padua once more, this time against the Germans and the Spanish	
	Sept.: battle at Bergamo between Venetian forces and the Milanese	
	Oct. 7: Battle of La Motta; Venetian troops routed once more by German army; the loss is felt as keenly as that of Agnadello and further territorial losses on the terraferma ensue	
*		
1514	Venice passes most of the year without the help of its French allies, thus leaving its mainland territories open to the Spanish, the Germans and the Milanese, and keeping the army close to the capital	
	Spring: Maximilian wages a violent campaign and recaptures most of the Friuli, and pushes down toward the Veneto	
	Aug. 7: France finds an agreement with the Swiss and establishes a truce with Spain and England, thus freeing their forces to come to Venice's aid	
*		
1515	Jan. 1: Francis I becomes King of France; immediately begins planning	Copy of anonymous woodcut frontispiece of Bartolomeo

Date	Historical Events	Works of Art
1515, cont'd	to take the area around Milan as his first military campaign	de Cori's <i>La obsidione di Padua</i> [fig. 26]
	Sept. 14–15: Battle of Marignano; the French and the Venetians win against the Pope, Spain and the Swiss	Anonymous woodcut on title page of Theodoro Barbieri's <i>El fatto d'arme di Maregnano</i> [fig. 63]
		Anonymous Venetian woodcuts for Innocent III's <i>Opera nouamente composta del disprezamento del mondo...</i> [figs. 81–89, 94, 99, 100, 103, 104]
		Titian, <i>Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea</i> [fig. 11]
		Ugo da Carpi (after Titian?), <i>Sacrifice of Isaac</i> [see fig. 144]
		Lucantonio degli Uberti, <i>St. George and the Dragon</i> [fig. 154]
		Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, <i>Battle of Marignano</i> [figs. 138–40]
		Girolamo da Treviso, <i>Susanna and the Elders</i> [fig. 145–47]
		Anonymous Venetian, <i>Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand</i> [fig. 142]
		Giovanni Bellini, <i>Drunkenness of Noah</i> [fig. 102]

Date	Historical Events	Works of Art
1515, cont'd		Giovanni Bellini, <i>Young Woman with a Mirror</i> [fig. 92]
		Titian, <i>Young Woman with a Mirror</i> [fig. 93]
		Rocco Marconi, <i>Christ before Martha and Mary</i> (ca. this year) [fig. 188]
		Andrea Previtali, <i>John the Baptist with Saints</i> [fig. 16]
		Vittore Carpaccio, <i>Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand</i> [fig. 143]
		Vittore Carpaccio, <i>St. George and the Dragon</i> [fig. 156]
		Albrecht Altdorfer, <i>Der groß Venedigischkrieg</i> , illumination in the <i>Triumphzug</i> manuscript [fig. 56]
		Albrecht Dürer and his workshop, <i>Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I</i> [fig. 136]
		*
1516	Jan.: Charles V of the Hapsburgs becomes King of Spain	Giovanni Cariani, <i>Allegory of a Venetian Victory</i> [fig. 2]
	March: Maximilian I sweeps onto the peninsula once more	Giovanni Cariani, <i>Judith</i> [fig. 149]
	Mar. 29: Venetian government decides to confine the Jews to the <i>ghetto</i>	Rocco Marconi, <i>Christ and the Adulteress</i> [fig. 172]

Date	Historical Events	Works of Art
1516, cont'd	May 26: Venice retakes Brescia	Rocco Marconi?, <i>Christ and the Adulteress</i> [fig. 173]
	Aug.–Oct.: Franco-Venetian forces lay siege to Verona, but it ends unsuccessfully	Girolamo da Treviso, <i>Sleeping Nude in a Landscape</i> [fig. 106]
	Aug.: Peace of Noyon; Francis I and Charles of Burgundy (soon to be Charles V) settle their territorial disputes	Vittore Carpaccio, <i>Lion of St. Mark</i> [fig. 48]
	Concord of Bologna; agreement between France and the pope to end papacy's anti-French stance	Cima da Conegliano, <i>Lion of St. Mark with Saints</i> (ca. this year) [fig. 74]
	Dec. 3: Pact of Brussels; Maximilian I returns the Venetian territories taken during the war via French mediation; in exchange, Venetians cede the holdings won in 1508, among others, to the Germans	Reprinting of anonymous <i>leone andante</i> woodcut on the title page of <i>La Noua de Bressa con vna Barzelleta</i> [fig. 52]
		Woodcuts of the <i>Apocalypsis Ihesu Christi</i> [figs. 107, 109, 111, 113–14, 121–22]
		Woodcuts of the <i>Expositio magni prophete Joachim...</i> [figs. 117–20, 124–25, 127–131, 133]
		Albrecht Dürer, Hans Burgkmair and others, <i>Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I</i> [see fig. 137]
		Titian, <i>St. George</i> (ca. this year) [fig. 160]
		*
1517	Jan. 17: Venice re-enters Verona; this marks the final reclamation of the pre-Cambrai terraferma empire	Girolamo Mocetto, frescoes in the Casa dell'Acqua Morta of Verona [figs. 75–77]
		Lorenzo Lotto, <i>Susanna and the Elders</i> [fig. 152]
		*



Date	Historical Events	Works of Art
1518		<p>Titian, <i>Assumption</i> [fig. 5]</p> <p>Anonymous, <i>Leone andante</i>, stone relief near the Torrione di S. Sofia, Treviso [fig. 78]</p> <p>Anonymous, <i>Leone andante</i>, stone relief on the Torrione dell'Altinia, Treviso (ca. this year ) [fig. 79]</p> <p>Rocco Marconi, <i>Christ and the Adulteress</i> (late 1510s) [fig. 176]</p>