

THE NEW
PALACES
OF MEDIEVAL VENICE



JUERGEN SCHULZ

THE NEW PALACES OF MEDIEVAL VENICE



Casa Loredan.

THE NEW
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OF MEDIEVAL VENICE



J U E R G E N S C H U L Z

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Frontispiece: Venice, Ca' Loredan, central bays of the first floor, watercolor by John Ruskin (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; appendix v [B], no 8 [1]).

FOR *Anne*

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215. Venice, Ca' Loredan, façade on the Grand Canal, lithograph by Dionisio Moretti (Quadri and Moretti, *Canal Grande*, 1828, pl. 30; BMCVe). Photo BMCVe.
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PREFACE

This book has been in the making a very long time. My initial ambition was an urban history of Venice, from the beginnings down to ca. 1600. Among the many aspects of the subject that I proposed to treat were the building types peculiar to the city. I started my research during a year of sabbatical leave in 1974–75, addressing the most puzzling of Venice’s building types, its residential palaces. I searched for documentary notices of early palaces and quickly came upon such a flood of quite unknown material that I never got beyond these buildings. Finding early notices of individual palaces was one thing, but accounting for the building type and the styles of its architectural sculpture was quite another and more difficult problem. It was necessary, furthermore, to chart the later transformations of each building, in order to arrive by subtraction at its medieval core. But the search for information in this regard required identifying the successive owners, and that, in turn, required locating them amidst the myriad similarly named individuals populating the various branches of the patrician family groups of Venice. In short, the subject kept expanding, like ripples from a stone thrown into water, and so from an aspect of a larger subject, it became a subject—and a book—all of its own.

I have received much help during the long gestation of that book. Brown University covered out-of-pocket research expenses from the beginning; the Fulbright Commission for Italy and the National Endowment for the Humanities awarded me fellowships; the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., awarded me a yearlong professorship; the American Council of Learned Societies provided two grants-in-aid. Without these infusions of support I could not have carried on; I am most grateful to all these institutions.

Innumerable individuals contributed their assistance and advice. In Venice they included two successive directors and many archivists in the Archivio di Stato, namely, Dr. Ferruccio Zago and Dr. Maria Francesca Tiepolo, on the one hand, and Dr. Giustina Colasanti, Dr. Michela Dal Borgo, and Dr. Alessandra Sambon, on the other. They included, furthermore, the *soprintendente* of the Soprintendenza Archivista per Venezia, Dr. Bianca Strina Lanfranchi; the director of the Archivio della Curia Patriarcale, Dr. Francesca Cavazzana Romanelli, and her assistant, Dr. Manuela Barausse; and the director of the Archivio Municipale, Dr. Sergio Barizza. Equally helpful were the directors of the Biblioteca

Nazionale Marciana and the Musei Civici di Venezia, Dr. Marino Zorzi and Dr. Giandomenico Romanelli, respectively, as well as two of the latter's assistants, Dr. Attilia Dorigato and Dr. Camillo Tonini. The unfailing readiness of each and every one to give counsel and smooth my way through obstacles was an invaluable support, and I give them all my heartfelt thanks.

I give thanks as well to Mary Pixley, who, during my year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, corrected and imposed a uniform format on the entries of the Bibliography, and Brooke Hammerle of the Slide Library, Brown University, who made most of the copy photographs of printed illustrations.

Generous owners who admitted me to their buildings include the late Baroness Elsa Treves dei Bonfili, the marchesa Barbara Berlingieri, and Mr. and Mrs. Guido Errera and Miss Margherita Errera.

Friends and colleagues who never hesitated to help me with advice included Prof. Benjamin Arbel, University of Tel Aviv; Prof. Hans Buchwald, University of Stuttgart; Prof. Slobodan Ćurčić, Princeton University; the architect Roberto Fantoni, Venice; Prof. Franco Fido, Harvard University; Prof. Benjamin Kohl, Vassar College; Prof. Dogan Kuban, Teknik Üniversitesi, Istanbul; Prof. Robert Ousterhout, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; arch. Mario Piana, Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice; Prof. Dennis Romano, Syracuse University; Prof. Charles Rosenberg, Notre Dame University; and Dr. Thomas Tuohy, London. Four valued friends who gave much help and whom I still

1. Eugenio Vassallo, "Materiali per il progetto di restauro conservativo del Fondaco dei Turchi a Venezia," in *Restauro tra metamorfosi e teorie*, ed. Stella Casiello (Dipartimento di storia dell'architettura e restauro della Facoltà di Architettura di Napoli, *Quaderni di restauro*, 11), Naples 1992, 203–28, the borrowed material on 210–26, and

remember with affection and gratitude are the late Prof. Jean Bony and late Prof. Walter H. Horn of the University of California at Berkeley, the late director of the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin, Dr. Jürgen Julier, and the late Prof. Kenneth Setton of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

Prof. Stanley Chojnacki of the University of North Carolina provided an invaluable reading of the final draft. Keith Monley edited the book with unflagging attention and intelligence, stamping out errors, reforming infelicities, and altogether making a neat and disciplined whole out of an uncombed typescript. Dr. Gloria Kury of Penn State Press has expertly overseen the financing and production of the book. I am hugely grateful to them.

I am at a loss, finally, when it comes to acknowledging the role played by arch. Eugenio Vassallo, of the Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice. In 1990, when preparing to bid on a project to restore the Fondaco dei Turchi, arch. Vassallo asked leave to see my work on that building. He promised absolute confidentiality, and so, naïvely, I sent him photocopies of my draft text and illustrations. Two years later, to my astonishment, he published under his name an unauthorized, Italian version of this text, with reproductions of my photocopied illustrations, stating that his article had been "guided" by me.¹ The only comfort in this disconcerting story is that revisions I have made in the last ten years have rendered arch. Vassallo's publication obsolete.

Providence, Rhode Island
July 2002

figs. 1–7, 10–19. Two *laureandi* in architectural restoration made use of Vassallo's article, perhaps even of my typescript, in preparing theses on the Fondaco's restoration, delicately omitting to cite his publication recognizably or to send me offprints of their theses once published.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout.

AMVe	Archivio Municipale, Venice	MaggCons	Maggior Consiglio
AUff	Atti di Ufficio	MensPat	Mensa Patriarcale
Cont	Contratti	MiscCod	Miscellanea Codici
APVe	Archivio Patriarcale, Venice	MiscMap	Miscellanea Mappe
MensPat	Mensa Patriarcale	MiscNotDiv	Miscellanea Notai Diversi
ASMo	Archivio di Stato, Modena	ProcSMco	Procuratori di San Marco
ArchSegEst	Archivio Segreto Estense	SavDec	Dieci Savi alle Decime
CamDucEst	Camera Ducale Estense	SavMerc	Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia
CanDuc	Cancelleria Ducale	SenSec	Senato, Secreti
CanMarch	Cancelleria Marchigionale	SenTer	Senato, Terra
SezEst	Sezione Estense	Sen Mis	Senato, Misti
ASPd	Archivio di Stato, Padua	AV	<i>Archivio Veneto</i> (title varies over the years: <i>Archivio veneto</i> , 1874–90; <i>Nuovo archivio veneto</i> , 1891–1900; <i>Nuovo archivio veneto</i> , nuova serie, 1901–21; <i>Archivio veneto tridentino</i> , 1922–26; <i>Archivio veneto</i> , 1927–present; the five variants are here referred to as <i>Archivio veneto</i> , series 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5)
ArchNot	Archivio Notarile	b ^a , b ^e	<i>busta, buste</i>
ASVat	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City	BMCVe	Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr, Venice
ASVe	Archivio di Stato, Venice	BNMVe	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice
ArchGrad	Archivio Gradenigo	cas.	<i>casella</i>
ArchNot	Archivio Notarile	CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique/Centro Nazionale della Ricerca Scientifica
CanInf	Cancelleria Inferiore	DBI	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> , Rome 1960–
CatAust	Catasto Austriaco		
CatNap	Catasto Napoleonico		
CodDipVen	Codice Diplomatico Veneziano		
CollNot	Collegio, Notatorio		
Commia/–e	Commissaria/Commissarie		
GiudEs	Giudici del Esaminador		
GiudP	Giudici del Proprio		
GiudPet	Giudici di Petizion		
GiudPiov	Giudici del Piovego		
GiudProc	Giudici del Procurator		

<i>FSV</i>	<i>Fonti relative alla storia di Venezia</i>	reg ^o	<i>registro</i>
IVSLA	Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, Venice	RIS	<i>Rerum Italicarum scriptores</i> , 25 vols., ed. Lodovico A. Muratori, Milan 1723–51
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i> , Hannover/Cologne/Stuttgart/Vienna/Weimar, 1826–	RIS, n.s.	<i>Rerum Italicarum scriptores</i> , new series, ed. Giosuè Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, et al., Città di Castello/Bologna 1900–
<i>m.V.</i>	<i>more Veneto</i> (i.e., a dating according to the style of Venice, which begins the new year 1 March), used in older documents and here left unaltered in texts transcribed as written; see also <i>st.C.</i> below.	<i>st.C.</i>	<i>stilo Circumcisionis</i> (i.e., a dating according to the modern style, which begins the new year on the Feast of the Circumcision, 1 January), used by modern authors and here adopted for abstracts and narrative accounts.
not.	<i>notaio</i>		
R.	Regia, Regio (in names of institutions)		

INTRODUCTION

THE STUDY OF secular architecture in the medieval city has been slower off the mark and slower to develop than that of ecclesiastical architecture. To be sure, seigneurial castles and palaces have been studied almost as long as churches and monasteries, but they are a category apart. Most had functions and kinds of patrons different from those of buildings in the city. Many remained or fell into public ownership and are located in the countryside, which has tended to make them better and more widely preserved as a group and more accessible to study than urban structures. The latter, whether originally the residences of urban notables, the houses of ordinary people, homes for the sick or needy, factories or workshops, have survived less well and received far less attention. Quantities of such buildings suffered demolition or rebuilding over the centuries; even greater quantities were razed in connection with nineteenth-century schemes for urban renewal. The little that remains has generally suffered repeated alteration, in some cases radical

modernization. With few exceptions still privately owned, the surviving structures are difficult to enter, let alone survey. It was not before the later twentieth century that scholarly curiosity finally overcame the many disincentives to study of such buildings and began to build a literature of case studies, typological inquiries, and the like.

Clearing of rubble in European cities after World War II and construction of ambitious new infrastructures during the first postwar boom encouraged this development, for they brought to light extensive remains of premodern structures within city centers. A reordering of cultural values, furthermore, spurred postwar historians to take a new interest in lay culture. The study of secular architecture in medieval cities was suddenly attractive, and publications on the subject began to swell in number and grow in detail and precision.

Given the long-standing tradition of palace and castle studies, the residences of urban notables have received more attention than other building types.

Even so, the study of the medieval urban palace remains relatively underdeveloped. Research tends to deal with single buildings rather than groups of them, making it difficult to gain a clear idea of general developments and the place within them of a particular monument. Poverty of supporting documentation—private archives have not survived as well as ecclesiastical ones—has continually required critics to fall back on conjecture when trying to establish dates, patronage, formal sources, and other basic matters. Comparative arguments have been handicapped by the many cases where the possible *comparanda* are as poorly understood as the monument under study. Still much engaged with the collecting of specimens, that is, the identification and full description of unpublished or inadequately published palaces, most historians of the genre make but limited use of findings in political, social, or economic history. At the same time, specialists in these branches of history, when looking at surviving buildings, have not yet learned to recognize the evidence a monument may give of itself, its meaning, and its social implications. None of these parties devotes much attention to a medieval monument's changes of form and fortune in later times.

Historians of ecclesiastical buildings have learned long ago to inquire into all these matters and draw insights from them that shed light on the building itself. My aim in this book is to use something of the same breadth of reference on a whole group of secular buildings in Venice, namely, the city's pre-Gothic palaces, and to seize the group as a whole.

The buildings are precocious: erected in the later twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries, they display a size, complexity of interior layout, and

richness of exterior articulation attained by private residences elsewhere in Italy and Europe only a good deal later. They are also unusually many: around a dozen and a half pre-Gothic palaces still stand in Venice or may be reconstructed from early descriptions and images, many more than in any other European city.

Not only do so many of these palaces still survive, even if changed in various ways over time, but also an unusually rich store of early descriptions of their medieval states and postmedieval transformations can be found in local archives, while images from 1500 and after exist in significant numbers. The material is so copious in Venice, in fact, that even a book-length study like this cannot hope to examine in depth more than a handful of buildings. The present work examines five palaces in detail, three that survive and two that are lost but were extensively described, drawn, painted, or engraved in the past: the no-longer-extant palace of the patriarchs of Grado (the so-called Ca' del Papa), the completely rebuilt residence of a Barozzi family, and the partially preserved residences of medieval families of the Corner, Dandolo, and Pesaro clans, known nowadays as Ca' Loredan, Ca' Farsetti, and the Fondaco dei Turchi, respectively. (They are scattered along the Grand Canal; see the location plan, Fig. 108.)

The available evidence for each building is collected in the Appendixes. Making use of the precise testimony available for these monuments, together with comparative arguments and chance finds bearing on cognate residences in Venice, I treat the pre-Gothic palaces as a group in the next four chapters. I have tried throughout to make use of all relevant literature, whether on architectural, sculptural,

social, or other aspects of the subject, up to and including publications of 2000, the year this book was submitted for publication.

During its writing, the book acquired a thesis, spelled out in the conclusion, namely, that the Venetian pre-Gothic palace is to be accounted a Continental, western European building type. In plan and exterior articulation it seems to be a locally developed version of an early medieval urban building type of northern Europe that, during the central Middle Ages, spread geographically and diffused to lesser social strata throughout the West. This thesis is at variance with the general belief that Venetian pre-Gothic palaces (and Venetian architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries generally) derive from Byzantine or late antique models.

For each of the five specimen buildings its corresponding Appendix sets forth (A) the relevant written texts; (B) relevant representations; (C) the ownership history; and (D) the history of the building itself and reconstruction of its original state.

Ownership histories are included for two reasons. One is that the social character of those who built and maintained palaces in Venice is of interest in itself. The other, equally important, is that most of the palace-building families were divided into several branches, each of which begot individuals bearing the same surname and often the same given names. Each branch had its own residential palace; often the different buildings stood close by one

another. In order to trace the documentation for any particular palace, it was necessary to identify its owners among a plethora of like-sounding individuals owning similar buildings similarly situated. A by-product of this effort was a series of newly reconstructed genealogical trees; they are illustrated in the appendixes (Tables A–D).

The histories of the buildings themselves are carried down to the present day, narrating as much as can be grasped of their postmedieval transformations. Although descriptions of, for example, an eighteenth-century extension may at first glance seem not to have much relevance for medieval architecture, it is only by peeling away the successive layers of construction superimposed upon a medieval core that one can grasp how much of a given building still exists and what the whole of it might have looked like. Writers have routinely acknowledged that modernizations and additions have altered the interior and exterior of all the older palaces in Venice, and yet exact determination of the nature and extent of various campaigns of new construction has usually been wanting. In this case too a reconstruction was necessary, of alterations rather than families.

The general pattern that informs and explains these alterations is considered in Chapter 3, being as much a reflection of changing social values of the class of palace owners as had been the birth of the pre-Gothic palace type in the first place.



THE BUILDING TYPE

LARGE AND MONUMENTALLY articulated residences of masonry such as those studied in this book are nowadays called palaces, a term that had a limited meaning down to the late Middle Ages, signifying the seat of a lay or ecclesiastical lord.¹ In medieval Venice there were only three palaces that went by this name: the seats of the doge, the patriarch of Grado, and the bishop. The seats of patrician families were called instead “great houses.”² Whatever they were termed, buildings of this scale

and pretension constituted but a small fraction of the city’s residential architecture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. More numerous by far were the abodes of lesser folk, which Venetians called “houses” without further qualification. Presumably these were a more common and older building type in Venice, simpler in layout and smaller than the “great house.” Whether they anticipated planning features of the “great house” cannot be determined: none survives from the early or central Middle

1. See Brühl, “Königs-, Bischofs- und Stadtpfalz”; idem, “Die Stätten der Herrschaftsausübung”; or, most fully, the essays in *Die Pfalz*.

2. In Latin, *domus magna* or *domus maior*; in the vernacular, *ca’ grande*, *ca’ mazor*; the two variants were used interchangeably. The Latin form was common in medieval Italy; I have noticed it in use in Rome (924, 952), Vicenza (1208), and Florence (1269). See, respectively, Hubert, *Espace*, 76, 163, 176, 181; Brogliato, *Centro storico*, 29 (*domus grande*); and *Liber extimationum*, nos. 61, 126, 311. A less common term that does occur in Venice, but very infrequently, is *mansio*. A recent attempt to chart the frequency with which all these terms occur in Venetian documents indited between the years 1000 and 1349 seems pointless; cf. Dorigo, “Caratteri tipologici,” 16. The extant documents are but a very small and ever changing fraction of those produced during the period. No meaningful statistics can be derived

from such a sample. Sabellico called the patrician residences *privatae aedes*; see his *De situ urbis*, [39]. Use of the term *palatium* for a private urban residence is first encountered in the thirteenth century—for example, in Rome in 1207, Vicenza in 1262, and Florence in 1269. See, respectively, Hubert, *Espace*, 194; Bocchi, “Analisi quantitativa,” 641–55. In Venice, Marco Ziani (son of doge Pietro Zane) used it for his family’s residence when testating in 1253; cf. Schulz, “Wealth in Medieval Venice,” 33–34. (The term also occurs in a council discussion of 1224—“de emptione palatii quondam domini Henrici Dandolo ducis”—but in this case refers seemingly to the late doge’s abode in the imperial palace of Constantinople; see *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, 1, 66.) It was first applied systematically to the Venetian *ca’ grandi* by Francesco Sansovino, *Tutte le cose notabili* (1556), [B-iiiv]–[B-ivr] (reprt., 21–23), and *Venetia città nobilissima* (1581), 139v–146.

Ages, there have been no excavations in search of their foundations, and descriptions of them in medieval charters tell us nothing of their layout.³

Both types of houses, great and small, were built of wood down to the eleventh century. The common building material of early medieval domestic architecture throughout western Europe, wood began to be supplanted by masonry with the arrival of the new millennium—in part because in an age of swift population growth, when cities were becoming increasingly densely settled and suffering increasingly vast conflagrations, masonry offered protection against fire; in part because it made a building more durable and secure against assault. Gradually, in Venice as on the Continent, mentions of “stone” construction (meaning both stone and brick) grow more frequent in property deeds. One begins to hear of structures that are partially of wood and partially of masonry, and then of buildings that are entirely of masonry.

In the transformation it is likely that building types were handed on. Indeed, a charter of 1069 mentions a wooden house with two upper storeys

(three floors in all when the ground floor is included)⁴ and a portico across its width.⁵ The description, brief though it may be, evokes a building type commonly built of masonry in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Venice.

Venetian pre-Gothic palaces comprise two basic building types. In each a long, narrow rectangular block, two or more storeys high, contains a large first-floor hall that is reached from an exterior stair.

In one type a long side of the block constitutes the building’s principal façade, articulated on the ground floor by a portico or arcade that gives on to service rooms, and on the first floor by monumental windows that illuminate the building’s main room, its hall.⁶ A relatively complete, albeit late, example is the so-called Casa dell’Angelo, which has been extended, however, by a short arm at right angles to the main block (Figs. 20–21).⁷ The hall in such a building follows its long axis and adjoins the façade. Either at the ends of the hall or between it and the lesser, unemphasized long side lie chambers; behind the portico lie service rooms.

3. Rude wooden houses with thatched roofs and one or two interior rooms, called *casoni* in Venetian, dotted remote islands of the lagoon until recently; see Torres, *Casa veneta*, and (for similar houses in the lagoon of Grado) Marocco, “Al cason.” As early as the Renaissance some Venetians thought such buildings were the ancestors of the city’s masonry residences; cf. the often reproduced illustration from the sixteenth-century manuscript of Diplovataccio, “Tractatus de Venetae urbis libertate,” fol. 23 (a good reproduction in Bettini, *Venezia*, 25). Neither early illustrations nor recent examples of such houses resemble Venetian pre-Gothic palaces, whether in plan or elevation.

4. Throughout this book I use European nomenclature in referring to the successive storeys of a building as ground floor, first floor, second floor, and so forth. Half floors between principal floors are termed mezzanines, and the floor beneath the eaves an attic. This system has the virtue of agreeing with the style of the documents, which call the ground floor *pes planus* (*pepian* in Venetian), and the residential floor *solarium* or, if more than one, *solarium primum* and *solarium*

secundum (*solaro* or *soler*; *primo-* or *secondo solaro/soler*). Mezzanine and attic are called *mezzatum* (*mezado* or *mezà*) and *soffitta*. Venetian documents may also distinguish a ground and an upper floor simply by calling them *inferius* and *superius*. Still another method of distinguishing floors was to count ceiling beams—for example, *trabatura prima* (ground floor) and *trabatura secunda* (mezzanine or first floor, depending on the building’s structure), or *trabatura prima superius* (mezzanine or first floor, depending on the building).

5. Located near S. Benetto, it is described as “una mansio lignea in qua sunt duo salarii [*recte, solarii*] et una porticus per latitudinem ipsius mansionis constructa”; SS. *Trinità e S. Michele*, II, no. 27; a typescript copy at ASVe, CodDipVen, [11], 101–2, no. 171, is frequently cited by Dorigo, last in his “Caratteri tipologici,” 24.

6. The wooden residence mentioned above seems to have been of this particular building type.

7. See note 25 below.

A mezzanine, if such there is, may provide rental quarters or service rooms; an attic, if developed into rooms, is given over to service functions. The façade generally overlooks a walled court on the landward side of the site, not a street or canal, and the exterior stair is inside that court.

This building type was well established throughout medieval Italy and northern Europe. A distant progenitor was the *palatium* that served as the official seat of early medieval emperors and kings: a masonry two-storey block with service rooms downstairs, often arrayed behind an arcade, and the *aula regia*, or representational hall, upstairs, reached by an exterior stairway and expressed on the outside by monumental windows.⁸ Generally, such *palatia* were flanked by ancillary buildings, which housed living quarters for the lord and his household and a chapel.⁹ During the central Middle Ages the *palatium* itself was often enlarged by the addition of residential chambers somewhere on the first floor. Now the type began to diffuse among lesser

8. For a more detailed account with further references, see Carlsruh Richard Brühl et al., s.v. “Pfalz, Palast,” in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VI (1993), cols. 1993–2011. It is commonly thought that the building type derives from the *aulae* of late antique palaces and villas, which almost always include a large reception and audience hall, rectangular but with an apse at one end; see the examples collected by Guidobaldi, “L’edilizia abitativa,” 167–209.

9. Normally a palatine chapel had two levels built to an identical plan, of which the upper one was more ornate. The lower chapel would serve the owner’s household, and the upper chapel, accessible from the hall, the owner.

10. See Streich, *Burg und Kirche*, and, for episcopal palaces in particular, Erlange-Brandenburg, *La cathédrale*, 146–54. In Venice the Ca’ del Papa was of the type of episcopal *palatium* with annexed chapel. The chapel differed from the norm, however, in having only a first floor, while its ground floor consisted simply of service rooms. See Appendix I (D).

11. The illustrated twelfth-century palace in the castle of the Counts of Harcourt at Lillebonne (Seine Maritime) was still standing in the early nineteenth century, but has since been taken down; see Caylus, *Recueil*, VI, 393–96, and Impey, “Seigneurial Domestic

lords: bishops, abbots, counts, dukes, and their ilk. Some—above all, prelates—would, like royalty, build a chapel at the *palatium*’s side.¹⁰ When, beginning at the end of the tenth century, seigneurial seats were enclosed in walls, becoming castles, or were built *ex novo* as fortified residences, the *palatium* block became one of the structures within the castle’s inner curtain (Fig. 1).¹¹

Writers on medieval architecture have used any number of terms for these blocks: *palatium*, *domicilium*, and *domus regalis* in Latin; *Palas* (*Pfalz* when a royal seat) in German; “palace” in English; and the latter word’s cognates in other modern languages.¹² If the structure is relatively tall in proportion to its width and depth, it has even been called a “residential tower”¹³ or, whether fortified or not, a “keep,”¹⁴ or equivalent terms in other languages. It goes without saying that this long-standing terminological inconstancy, even confusion, has hindered, rather than furthered, ready comprehension of the development.

Architecture,” 83–84; the print is from Cotman and Turner, *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, pl. lxix. A smaller but strikingly handsome example of a *palatium* within a fortified precinct, built at Senlis in the mid-twelfth century for the brother of Louis VI, has been expertly reconstructed by Crépin-Leblond and Vermand, “Hôtel de Vermandois.” Interestingly, for the student of Venetian palaces, the interior articulation of its first-floor hall consisted of a row of serried arches, like the *balconada* of a Venetian palace turned inside out. Generally for palace blocks within an *enceinte*, see Barz, “Das ‘Feste Haus,’” *passim*; Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, II, 9–111; and Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, 49–88.

12. For up-to-date accounts of the semantic evolution of these terms, see *Die Pfalz*.

13. Thus, the ruins of what were reduced and simplified versions of the palatine palace, at Baracca, S. Polo, and Tornano in Tuscany, are categorized as “residential towers” by Braune, *Türme*, 55–56.

14. Cf. Châtelain, *Donjons romans*, and the same author’s *Châteaux forts*, where numerous tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century buildings of the compact *palatium* type are termed keeps, although they stand in the open or are enclosed within curtain walls that were later additions.

Still a later stage in the dissemination of this type was its adoption during the twelfth century—albeit on a smaller scale and lacking an enclosed front court—by the rising merchant and professional classes in medieval cities. Masonry houses each with a first-floor hall expressed on the exterior by emphasized fenestration and reached by an outside stairway, and with service rooms on the ground floor and chambers above, either next to the hall or above it on a further residential floor, began to appear during the twelfth century in England, France (Figs. 8–9), the Rhineland (Figs. 10–12), and Spain (Fig. 13), especially in cities.¹⁵ A confusing variety of names has been given to these buildings too: “Jew’s house,” “Norman town house,” “upper-hall house,” and “chamber block” in English; *maison forte* in French; and *festes Haus*, *Etagenhaus*, and *Saalgeschoßhaus* in German.¹⁶ Of all these terms, the most descriptive are the English “upper-hall house” and German *Saalgeschoßhaus*.

15. For the illustrated buildings, see Durlat, *Haut-Languedoc*, 268–69 (Burlats); Scellès, “Maison romane” (St. Antonin); Wiedenau, *Katalog*, 79–81 (Gelnhausen); *Reich der Salier*, 55, and Wiedenau, *Katalog*, 290 (Winkel); and Lara Peinado, *Lérida*, 13–20 (Lérida). Houses of similar plan are found in Norman castles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in both England and France, each serving as private quarters for the lord and standing alongside the large hall that served him for public functions; see Impey, “Seigneurial Domestic Architecture,” esp. 82–105, and Blair, “Hall and Chamber,” esp. 1–10. First construed as a residential unit complete by itself, examples were identified by Faulkner, “Domestic Planning,” esp. 150–63. He called the building type the “upper-hall house”; Impey and Blair have rechristened it more opaquely the “chamber block.”

16. Many of these terms are found in the literature cited in the next note. *Maison forte* and *festes Haus* are sometimes used to describe a defensible house, rather than a particular plan. *Saalgeschoßhaus* was introduced by Schepers, “Westfalen,” 143–47; “upper-hall house” by Faulkner, as cited in the previous note.

17. The only general account of the foregoing history is by Lundberg, *Herremanens Bostad*, esp. 133–50, 172–86, 249–96, 315–39 (French résumé, 368–70, 372–73, 379–85, 388–90). In the sixty years since Lundberg wrote, no new overview has been attempted, but

since most writing on this building type is owed to northern European scholars, the examples they cite are almost without exception English, French, and German.¹⁷ However, Italian examples from the early and central Middle Ages of both the palatine archetype and the derivative upper-hall house can easily be assembled. The Ottonian emperors, for instance, who were also the rulers of the former Lombard Italic kingdom, maintained *palatia* in Pavia (the Italic capital) and at least four other cities. *Palatia* built or first heard of under the later dynasty of the Hohenstaufen number sixteen. One can assume that most of these imperial seats were of the established palatine form. Only the twelfth-century *palatium* of Parma survives today; although considerably rebuilt, it is still recognizable as a structure of the palatine type (Fig. 2).¹⁸ The many Italian abbatial and episcopal palaces of the period were presumably similar. With few exceptions they have been repeatedly reconfigured, but at least six retain

many detailed accounts have been published on one or another region, period, or subspecies of the type. Works that update Lundberg in various respects, collect examples of houses, or provide references to recent literature include (in chronological order) Wood, *English Mediaeval House*, ch. 1 (1965); Mrusek, *Gestalt* (1973); Gardelles, “Les palais” (1976); Hinz, *Motte und Donjon* (1981); Meckseper, *Kleine Kunstgeschichte*, 105–37 (1982); Wiedenau, *Katalog* (1983); for “upper-hall houses” predating 1200, see Aachen, Aschaffenburg, Gelnhausen, Koblenz, Konstanz, Münstereifel, Niederlahnstein, Oberehnheim, Ravensburg, Reichenau-Mittelzell, Rödelheim, and Winkel); Thompson, *Rise of the Castle* (1991); Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales* (1992, 21994); Biller, *Deutsche Adelsburg* (1993); Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, esp. vol. II (1993); Albrecht, *Adelssitz* (1995), esp. 22–63; Barz, “Das ‘Feste Haus’” (1995); Thompson, *Medieval Hall* (1995); Esquieu and Pesez, *Cent maisons*, nos., 12, 15, 16, 21, 22 (1998); Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, 47–88 (2000). See also the Conclusion below.

18. Besides Pavia, *palatia* are attested under the Ottonian emperors in Benevento, Mantua, Ravenna, and Rome. Under Barbarossa, further *palatia* are mentioned in Chieri, Cremona, Garda, Lodi Nova, Monza, Parma, Prato, Reggio Emilia, S. Miniato al Tedesco, and Viterbo. Barbarossa also used a *palatium* at S. Maria in Regola, Imola, but whether it was part of the monastery or a separate building is

something of their original form: the abbot's palace of the Benedictine monastery at Pomposa and the episcopal palaces of Como, Parma, Pistoia, Tuscania, and Verona; all of them follow the palatine model (Figs. 3–4).¹⁹ When, in the late twelfth century, the north Italian communes began to build meeting houses and offices for themselves, they followed the same scheme, as an established building type for accommodating and proclaiming a sovereign authority (Figs. 5–7).²⁰ Finally, Italian versions of the scaled-down palace, the upper-hall house, can be found in the valleys east of Bergamo (Fig. 14), in Verona (Figs. 15–16), several towns of medieval Lazio (Orvieto, Tarquinia, and Viterbo), Ascoli Piceno, and Castel Fiorentino (near Foggia; Fig. 17). Their dates run from the early twelfth to the early thirteenth

century.²¹ Relatively few Italian specimens have been published thus far, a dearth that probably reflects the recentness of urban archaeology in Italy. Given that the known examples are scattered down the length of the peninsula, it would seem that the building type was widely diffused in Italy by the central Middle Ages.

In short, the palatine residence followed the same development in Italy as elsewhere in Europe, diffusing among the elite classes and down the social ladder, from a scheme proper to the seats of emperors and kings to one adopted by lords and prelates and eventually, with the twelfth century, to one imitated in the residences of the urban well-to-do. Hence it should not be surprising that the earliest masonry residences of Venice are of this

unclear. Under Henry VI still other locations appear: Ferrara, Ivrea, Palermo, Piacenza, and Turin. Under Frederick II one first hears of a *palatium* in Capua. See Gerhard Streich, "Palatium als Ordnungsbe-griff," in *Die Pfalz*, esp. 105–7 and 110–11. Although first published in the nineteenth century, the *palatium* in Parma continues to be overlooked by students of this building type; see Parmeggiano, "Sulla consistenza."

19. Undocumented, the building in Pomposa is generally dated to the mid-eleventh century; see Salmi, *Abbazia di Pomposa*, 78–88. Only its façade remains (the structures behind it are modern); see Alberti, "Palazzo della Ragione." For Como (early eleventh century), Parma (mid-eleventh century, rebuilt ca. 1172 and 1230s), Pistoia (late eleventh century), and Verona (1135, rebuilt 1170s), see Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, 66–71, 89–92, 103–4, with further references. For Tuscania (bef. 1192), see Andrews, "Medieval Domestic Architecture," 18–20. Another index of the ubiquity of *palatia* in medieval Italy is the widespread persistence of place-names derived from the term; cf. Uggeri, "Stazioni," esp. 137–40.

20. The communal palace of Bergamo is first mentioned in 1198; see Paul, *Kommunalpaläste*, 124. For a general account of the Italian communal palaces, see Paul, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 35–40, which supersedes the general account in the previously cited work, although *Kommunalpaläste* remains useful for its histories of individual buildings. (Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, has abandoned the unconvincing position she had adopted in an earlier article ["Episcopal to Communal"], namely, that communal palaces preceded, and provided the model for, episcopal palaces. It was a thesis that failed to take into account the early

dates at which episcopal palaces are recorded in the north; cf. Streich, *Burg und Kirche*, esp. 1, 66–71 and 194–256.)

21. Two such buildings, one datable to before 1127, have been identified in Gorlago and Castelli Calepio, in the val Calepio between Bergamo and the lago d'Isèo. Each seems to have contained a large undivided hall on the first floor. See Brogiolo and Zonca, "Residenze medievali," 37–38. Examples in Verona are the former canonry of S. Procolo and the so-called palazzo di Ezzelino on the right side of the Adige and the so-called palazzo in tufo on the left. See *Chiesa di San Procolo*, 36–37, and *Ambienti di dimora*, 45–65, 89–98, respectively. (Unpublished examples in Verona include the canonry of S. Giovanni in Valle and an unnamed building on via S. Michele alla Porta, between via Adua and vicolo Ostie.) In what was the medieval province of Lazio, see the houses in Orvieto, Tarquinia, and Viterbo illustrated by Andrews, "Medieval Domestic Architecture," 59–60, figs. 1.23–24 (vie Francalancia, della Loggia dei Mercanti, and del Popolo, Orvieto); 28, fig. 1.10 (via degli Archi 55–57, Tarquinia); and 30, fig. 1.11 (via S. Lorenzo, Viterbo). Upper-hall houses in Ascoli are listed and drawn in Sestili and Torsani, *Ascoli e l'edilizia privata*, casa no. 4; case con torre nos. 7, 8, 21; case torre nos. 3, 5; piccole case nos. 1, 2; and casa d'artigiani no. 3 (the authors mistook upper-hall houses for towers, however, and thought of complexes comprising a tower and an upper-hall house as unitary constructions, whereas the book's plans show that the components were separately built). The house in Castel Fiorentino dates from before 1250, the year that Frederick II died there; see Beck, "Archeologia di . . . Fiorentino, and "'Domus' imperiale."

particular type. Two such edifices were built, one as an extension of the other, by the patriarchs of Grado, the first sometime before 1154, the second before the middle of the thirteenth century.²² Four other twelfth-century examples of the type are attested by fragmentary remains of their ground-floor arcades (see, e.g., Fig. 18).²³ As in the patriarchal palace, each arcade, and hence the façade of which it once was a part, decorates one of the long sides of the block; unlike the palace, however, each of these arcades faces landward and overlooks a courtyard, like a palatine building. The late-twelfth-century nucleus of the Fondaco dei Turchi, near S. Giovanni Decollato, seems to have been still another early instance, and also faced landward (Figs. 133–34).²⁴ A thirteenth-century version survives undiminished, albeit altered by an addition, in the Casa dell'Angelo, at the corner of rio della Canonica and rio dell'Angelo (Figs. 20–21);²⁵ another, handsomely finished but radically restructured, is Ca' Lion-Morosini in campiello del Remer, near S. Giovanni Grisostomo (Fig. 47).²⁶

22. See Appendix I (D).

23. Located in corte del Fontego (off campo di S. Margherita), corte del Teatro Vecchio (off calle del Campaniel near S. Cassiano; a capital is reproduced in Fig. 88), an unnamed corte at calle del Rimedio 4410–4414, and corte Muazzo (off the Barbaria delle Tole, at Castello 6455/6456). See Maretto, “Edilizia gotica,” 68–70 (separate edition, 68–69, pls. v vi), and idem, *Casa veneziana*, 66–70. Nothing is known of these structures' early history, but a twelfth-century date is suggested by their semicircular arches and plain archivolt of radially laid brick; see Chapter 4, on architectural sculpture.

24. See Appendix III (D).

25. The *iii* are also called, respectively, del Palazzo and del Mondo Nuovo. The building itself is sometimes referred to as Ca' Soranzo, the name of later owners. Its nucleus flanking rio dell'Angelo has a ground-floor colonnade supporting a fine wooden architrave, not an arcade, and windows on the upper floors that are formed of byzantinizing, stilted arches topped with ogees. A small addition, built along rio della Canonica, at right angles to the nucleus, has caused loss of the southern three bays of the colonnade as well as the exterior stair that must have been part of the original plan. See Maretto, “Edilizia

The second palace type found in Venice brings a radical reorientation of the building and its principal façade, a new relationship with the urban fabric, and a reorganization of the interior. Ca' Farsetti is an early example (Figs. 169–70).²⁷ The façade now decorates one of the short sides of the structure, making the building seem taller in proportion to its width than the palaces and upper-hall houses of old, more compact and more massive.

Courtyard and stairs to the first floor have been relocated at the back, that is, beyond the other short side.²⁸ A minor façade with less elaborate articulation may have marked this end of the building, but no medieval rear façades have survived, nor are any records of their elevations known. On the ground floor the front façade may be opened in its entirety as an arcade, or may have a screen of a few columns and arches before a recessed entrance porch. A long straight hall leads down the central axis of the building, from the front arcade or porch to the rear court, giving on to service or rental rooms on either side.

gotica,” 156, pl. vi (separate edition, 69, pl. vi), and idem, *Casa veneziana*, 66–70, pl. 3 and fig. 33.

26. See Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 31 and n. 181. The building's siting differs from that of other examples of this type in that the front court opens on a waterway, namely the Grand Canal. The first-floor hall, behind the courtyard façade, has been turned into four rooms divided between two separate apartments.

27. Elevations and floor plans have been much modified by later owners, as explained in Appendix IV (D) and as indicated on my plans. Diagrams of Ca' Farsetti's floor plan, and the floor plans of later buildings that illustrate successive permutations of the building type, were published by Maretto, “Edilizia gotica,” 138–39 (separate edition, 48–49). Although useful as a means of visualizing the course of change, Maretto's diagrams do not always correctly represent the buildings named in the accompanying captions, as is signally the case with Ca' Farsetti.

28. Later, but still before their migration indoors during the Renaissance, stairways could also be positioned at the sides of the palace; see Chiminelli, “Scale scoperte.”

A mezzanine, if such there be, may contain more service rooms or rental rooms, of which the latter may form a single unit with rental rooms beneath them on the ground floor.²⁹ Mezzanine windows may be tucked inside the portico of the arcade or porch.

On the first floor the traditional hall lies directly behind the main façade. But the rear of the hall now opens into a long hallway leading down the central axis of the building. The traditional hall has become a kind of transept to the new hallway; in plan, the two rooms together form a capital letter **T**, of which the traditional hall is the crossbar and the hallway the stem. The rooms are lit from two rows of serried windows: ornate ones on the main façade and of unknown character at the far end of the hallway.

The attic is often no more than a shallow open loggia atop the façade, as wide as the building and bordered at the front by a low colonnade.³⁰

As this building type evolved, the transept hall contracted, leaving space for a small chamber at one

or each front corner of the first floor, and giving the plan of the two rooms the shape of an **L** or **T** with shortened cross bar. Examples are Ca' Loredan and Ca' Falier (Figs. 197 and 44, respectively).³¹

Eventually, the transept disappeared entirely, giving way to large chambers at the building's front and leaving the long hallway between them, now effectively the building's one and only hall.³² Exterior articulation developed in tandem with the plan: on the ground floor, arcades disappeared, and there remained only colonnaded porches, as wide as the lower hallway, with tall windows left and right. On the first floor, a continuous bank of windows continued to express the front face of the building's main room, whether a diminished hall or the forward end of a hallway, but one or two single windows now appeared left and right, lighting the new corner chambers. Framed by walls on all four sides, corner chambers were capable, furthermore, of supporting low corner towers at the roof line, which allowed the truly vain to crown a residence with a seigneurial accent.

29. If the latter is the case, small wooden stairs connect the two sets of rooms. Generally, mezzanines replicate the plan of the ground floor, but if the latter's hall is two storeys high, the mezzanine may consist of no more than independent rows of rooms on either side of the hall's upper reaches.

30. Only two such loggias can be seen in Venice today, both of which were walled up for a time, namely, those of the so-called Osteria del Salvadego (or Selvadego) in Bocca de Piazza and Ca' Donà della Madonetta on the Grand Canal, near S. Polo (Fig. 36). For the former, see Forlati, "Restauro," 50 and 54; for the latter, Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 16 (where it is called Ca' Donà *tout court*, i.e., without a qualifier, which happens to be the name of quite a different building) and fig. 18. The two loggias were reconstructed from remaining fragments in modern times, that of the Osteria in 1925, that of Ca' Donà della Madonetta (still open when Canaletto drew it in the 1730s in his *Quaderno*, fol. 24r) shortly before World War I. Similar loggias are depicted on half a dozen Romanesque palaces in Jacopo de' Barbari's view: five (including Ca' Donà della Madonetta) appear in a row along the Grand Canal near S. Silvestro (Fig. 23); a sixth is Ca' Molin dalle Due Torri on the riva degli Schiavoni (Fig. 35). The motive seems to

have been widely used from the Middle Ages into the Renaissance, but the ease with which loggias could be enclosed to become living space has meant that hardly any survive. They are mentioned in Bari in the tenth century (see Guillou, "Habitat," 145); a monumental example of the thirteenth century is preserved in Lérida in Spain (see Fig. 13); a later fourteenth-century loggia stands atop Palazzo Davanzati in Florence (see Ginori Lisci, *Palazzi*, 1, 163, fig. 142); two fifteenth-century loggias may be seen in Figeac and Auvillar in France (illus., Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales*, respectively 64 and 100); numerous fifteenth-century ones survived in Rome until modern campaigns of urban renewal (illus., Giovannoni, "Case," passim; Tomei, *Architettura*, figs. 183, 185, 201; Magnuson, *Studies*, 45); early and High Renaissance examples stand atop the Canacci, Ginori, Girolami, and Guadagni palaces in Florence (Ginori Lisci, *Palazzi*, 1, 161, fig. 139; 347, fig. 276; II, 597, fig. 482; 735, fig. 594).

31. Modifications of the medieval Ca' Loredan are explained in Appendix v (D). For Ca' Falier, see Scattolin, *Contributo*, 33–46.

32. Represented in diagrams 3–7 of Maretto's schematics, cited above, note 27. This particular formula dominates all palace architecture in Venice from the fifteenth century forward.

Besides Ca' Farsetti and Ca' Loredan, cited above, Romanesque examples of the building type include Ca' Barzizza on the Grand Canal near S. Silvestro (late twelfth century in its nucleus), Ca' da Mosto on the Grand Canal near SS. Apostoli, and Ca' Donà and Ca' Businello on the Grand Canal near rio dei Meloni (all second quarter of the thirteenth century; Figs. 29, 38).³³ An example of the type's more evolved form, with an L-shaped hall, from the mid-thirteenth century, is Ca' Falier near SS. Apostoli (Figs. 44–45).³⁴

By the later thirteenth century this second palace type had become the standard in Venice; all later palace architecture in the city, whether Gothic, Renaissance, or Baroque in style, descends from it. Its origins remain obscure. Most scholars assume that somewhere in early medieval or ancient architecture must lie a model from which the type derives. Despite a century or so of searching, however, no convincing prototype has been found. Instead, the problem has grown into a tangle of unsustainable hypotheses built on false assumptions, circular reasoning, and improbable ideas.

Until quite recently, for instance, critics hunted exclusively for exterior resemblances, looking for

an elevation that anticipated the typically Venetian façade. Their preferred example in Venice was the Fondaco dei Turchi's façade toward the Grand Canal. Here two superposed arcades stand between flat, windowed walls that rise above the general roof line, forming low square towers (Fig. 137). Yet this elevation was uncommon in Venice. Only one other building among the seventeen Romanesque palaces known from standing remains or from their images in Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut view of Venice of 1500 undeniably had a similar, towered façade, namely, the now-destroyed Ca' Molin dalle Due Torri on the riva degli Schiavoni (Fig. 35).³⁵ Other early palaces with pairs of towers are mentioned in documents but no longer exist, for example, palaces of the Contarini, Sgaldario, and Giustinian at, respectively, S. Staë, S. Margarita, and the western bend of the Grand Canal.³⁶ It is unwise, however, to conclude from terse mentions that these buildings resembled the Fondaco dei Turchi. The towers of the Contarini palace may have been a mere decorative flourish, while those of the Sgaldario's building are explicitly described as of unequal size.³⁷ Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Ca' Barozzi, near S. Moisè, does show that the building

33. For these buildings, see, respectively, Schulz, "Ca' Barzizza"; idem, "Ca' da Mosto"; and Maretto, "Edilizia gotica," 150, pl. 1 (separate edition, 62 and pl. 1), or idem, *Casa veneziana*, 84–93. For the dates, see Chapter 4, on architectural sculpture.

34. Scattolin, *Contributo*, 33–46. Halls of this shape became very common in Gothic palaces.

35. See, Hellmann, "Ca' Molin." As pictured by Jacopo de' Barbari, the building seems to have had Gothic fenestration (whether original or the result of a remodeling is unknown).

36. The first was acquired by the Pesaro in 1558 and later demolished to make way for Longhena's Baroque Palazzo Pesaro (see the next note); the second is mentioned in a testament of 1261 (Dorigo, "Caratteri tipologici," 26, citing a copy from 1269; ASVe, CanInf, Notai, b^a 138, fasc. 14, no. 4; another copy, of 1420, is in *ibid.*, b^a 121, fasc. 2, no. 25); and the third was given by the republic to

Gianfrancesco Gonzaga in 1430 (*Libri commemoriali*, IV, 160, no. 130) and to Francesco Sforza in 1439 (Greppi, "Case degli Sforza," 327–31). The Sgaldario palace must have been earlier than 1261, but how early is unknown. Its towers seem not to have been paired, that is, emplaced in symmetrically corresponding positions on the façade. The dates of the other two buildings are unknown. Towers of some kind may also have capped the elevation of Ca' Loredan, although, admittedly, none are mentioned in the documents known to me.

37. In the case of the Contarini palace, the building itself and also the canal abutting its east side were named "dalle due torri," but the two towers must have been of different dates, and neither can have been very substantial. Plans drawn before the building's demolition show that any tower on the east would have been an addition, since it would have stood atop a row of two rooms both of which are labeled "camera nuova"; the drawings also show that the *piano nobile*

had two large square towers, but these stood originally at the building's back, not front, remaining embedded in the middle of the fabric when the palace was later extended rearward (Fig. 126).³⁸ Thus, out of seventeen buildings that survive or of which there is a visual record, two (the Fondaco and Ca' Molin) had twin-towered fronts, and a third (Ca' Barozzi) had a twin-towered back. A further two out of the unknown total of lost and unrecorded Romanesque façades exhibited excrescences of some sort, but seemingly unlike the Fondaco's.³⁹

In the towerless form, the typical Venetian Romanesque elevation has arcades on the ground floor and galleries of windows on the first floor, as in Ca' Barzizza and the enlarged Ca' Barozzi (Figs. 29, 171). Alternatively, the arcades and windows may

lacked underpinnings for at least one side of any tower at both the eastern and western corners of the building; cf. Mariacher, "Continuatore," plan A. Thus, the *due torri* could at best have been towerlets, like those atop late medieval villas outside Florence—for example, the Castello di Bisarno on the via di Ripoli; illus., Lensi Orlandi Cardini, *Ville di Firenze di là d'Arno*, pls. 1–2 (with an erroneous dating to the thirteenth century). For the Sgaldario palace, see the previous note.

38. See Appendix II (D).

39. By contrast, there were quite a few single towers in pre-Gothic Venice, each generally on the side or rear of its parent building rather than the front. Those whose appearance is known were not integrated into a monumental elevation of any kind and lacked the militaristic aspect of urban residential towers on the mainland. Still standing are the tower above the southeast corner of Ca' Lion-Morosini, near S. Giovanni Grisostomo (illus., Quadri and Moretti, *Canal Grande*, pl. 28), and the better part of the tower over the entrance from corte seconda del Milion to the former compound of the Polo (now the site of Teatro Malibran). The Polo tower has lost its topmost floor, which was still visible in 1838 (Fig. 22). Towers no longer extant are depicted in Jacopo de' Barbari's view just west of the Ca' del Papa at S. Silvestro (on block A; see also Appendix I, note 75); atop Ca' Grimani in ruga Giuffà (block B); atop Ca' Venier della Torresella near S. Vio (block D); also visible in many eighteenth-century *vedute*; the adjoining *rio* is called "della Torresella" after the building; both, palace and *rio*, are also called "delle Torreselle," in the plural, but only one tower was ever visible); in back of Ca' Contarini-Fasan off calle larga xxii Marzo (formerly calle larga S. Moisè; block D); and over the monastery of

be massed at the elevation's center and flanked on the left and the right by flat expanses of wall pierced by isolated windows, as in Ca' da Mosto and Ca' Falier (Figs. 38, 45). Ca' Farsetti and Ca' Loredan combine elements of both designs (Figs. 171, 198). The windows express the front hall on the first floor, the arcades mark just the ground-floor hallway. In each variant, an open loggia crowns the façade.⁴⁰

Traditionally, all Venetian pre-Gothic architecture, ecclesiastical and secular, used to be considered Byzantine in style, a notion taken for granted by the historians of the Enlightenment, repeated many times in the nineteenth century, still encountered in the early twentieth century, and alive as ever in the divulgatory literature of our day, such as guidebooks.⁴¹

S. Giorgio Maggiore (block D). A tower in the Boldù family compound near S. Samuel, recorded in a division of 1244 but now destroyed, was never depicted (Crouzet-Pavan, *Espaces*, I, 148 n. 23 [for the document's signature, read no. LXI instead of no. LI]). A tower of the Zane near S. Lorenzo is mentioned in 1324 (*Deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati*, I, 288, no. 74). Four others recorded in fourteenth-century documents are listed by Dorigo, "Caratteri tipologici," 26. Small towers are mentioned by Cecchetti, "Vita dei veneziani nel 1300," pt. I, 22 (in book form, 22). For the meaning of these structures, see Chapter 2.

40. See note 30 above. Two early palaces visible in their original state in Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut had arcades that extended across their entire fronts; see Fig. 23.

41. See Schulz, "Critica." Exponents of this idea were, among others, Tommaso Temanza, Jean-Baptiste Séroux d'Agincourt, John Ruskin, Adolfo Venturi, and Pietro Toesca. The most sweeping formulation was that of Léon M. E. de Beylié, who treated Venetian pre-Gothic palaces as Byzantine *tout court* in his monograph of 1902, *Habitation*, 154–60. The proof, in his eyes, was a putative resemblance between Venetian palace façades and structures sometimes seen in the background architecture of Byzantine frescoes, miniatures, and other art. Consisting of towerlike units on the left and the right and a lower, recessed row of openings between them, each of these structures offers a tripartite façade resembling that of the Fondaco dei Turchi, especially in those depictions where the middle tract is an arcade. Yet Beylié's comparisons were culled from a vast pool of background architecture that resembles Venetian buildings not at all. Typical was his use of the 430 illuminations in the so-called Menologium of Basil

Leopoldo Cicognara's suggestion that the detailing of Venetian palace façades was "Arab" or "Saracenic" in style briefly won adherents during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴² But the traditional view of a Byzantine connection prevailed, and it was not until 1919 that a new theory was proposed, this time by an Austrian scholar, Karl Swoboda. He argued that the Venetian palace façade followed a scheme introduced in Roman villa architecture of the second century and adopted during late antiquity as a model for palace façades in eastern and western provinces of the empire. There was born a distinct palace type that became widely disseminated during the early Middle Ages and that survives in the Romanesque Fondaco dei Turchi and other pre-Gothic palaces in Venice, demonstrating, in Swoboda's words, the "uncommonly strong conservatism" of Venetian art.⁴³

Swoboda's hypothesis long went unnoticed in Italy, where critics instead produced a more *nuancée*

II, from which he illustrated in the form of "dessins rectifiés" three tripartite façades (*Habitation*, 79, 87; based loosely on *Menologio*, pls. 54, 74, 119). Another sixty-seven tripartite edifices are scattered among the miniatures of the manuscript but do not look like Venetian palaces and are not mentioned by Beylié. Nor do his probatory examples, the rest of the tripartite units, or other architectural forms painted in the manuscript look like built or buildable structures: members float in the air and are swathed in giant veils, signifying that each structure as a whole is sacred. (One of Beylié's "rectified" examples was veiled too, but the veil has been omitted in his illustration on page 119.) The author's *insouciant* use of these illustrations fully bears out the cautionary remarks of Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium," 4.

42. See his unpaginated introductions to the plates for St. Mark's and SS. Maria e Donato of Murano in *Fabbriche più cospicue* (first published in 1815–20) and the remarks in his *Storia della scultura*, 1st ed., I, 166–67, 2d ed., II, 62–63, as well as Selvatico, *Sulla architettura*, 28–57, and Fontana's explanatory texts in *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, I: *Palazzi*—e.g., those for pls. 135 and 173 (respectively, Ca' Farsetti and Ca' Loredan). After long quiescence, the Islamic hypothesis has now flowered anew with Howard's book *Venice and the East*; see below and Chapter 4.

43. See Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, esp. ch. IV. The

formulation of the old idea of a Byzantine derivation. They argued that the inspiration of all pre-Gothic architecture in Venice and in the neighboring coastlands of the upper Adriatic had been, not the architecture of Constantinople, but a retardataire Byzantine style current in early medieval Ravenna.⁴⁴ Finally, in 1949, this view was cleverly married to Swoboda's hypothesis by Giuseppe Fiocco, who suggested that the Venetian Romanesque palace façade was a late antique scheme transmitted to Venice via Ravennate models.⁴⁵

At the time that Fiocco wrote, there had even come to light what was taken as proof of Swoboda's hypothesis, namely, the foundations of a small, late antique building in the Apennines above Forlì. Its excavators identified it as a hunting lodge of Theodoric the Great and offered a reconstruction of its elevation that bore a baffling likeness to a Venetian pre-Gothic palace façade.⁴⁶ The case for a late antique ancestry of the Venetian palace type seemed

villa type in question was christened by Swoboda with the jawbreaking label "Portikusvilla mit Eckkrisaliten."

44. The claim that early medieval Ravenna had a distinct architectural style was put forward by Giuseppe Gerola in 1921 and amplified by Giuseppe Galassi in 1928. The two scholars called it, respectively, "deutero-Byzantine" and "exarchal" architecture (in the latter case referring to the title of the exarch, or governor, of Byzantine Ravenna's province). See Galassi, *Roma o Bisanzio*, II, 415–21, for citation of both authors' publications. In 1938 Giuseppe Fiocco included medieval Venice among the tributary schools of this style; see his "Arte esarcale." Adopted by his pupil Sergio Bettini in the latter's "Architettura esarcale," the idea of an exarchal style that molded Venetian pre-Gothic architecture lives on in the work of Bettini's pupils.

45. See Fiocco, "Casa veneziana."

46. The building was found near Galeata, about twenty-four miles from Forlì and forty-two from Ravenna; see Krischen, "Theodoric Palast," 468–69 and fig. 2 (reconstruction), and Fuchs, "Galeata," 259–60 (identification with Theodoric). The building's discovery was thought to close an inconvenient gap in Swoboda's theory, namely, that no examples of a "Portikusvilla mit Eckkrisaliten" had been found in Italy. As such, the structure was introduced to the literature on Venetian palaces also by Fiocco, in the article cited in the previous note.

proved, and Swoboda's conclusion, that Venetian palace façades derive ultimately from a Roman villa type, has been repeated with more or less specificity for the last fifty years. Some writers have simply linked the Venetian palace with late antique residential architecture in general, omitting to name a specific model. Some have argued that Swoboda's prototypical villa elevation was deliberately reintroduced, as part of a broad revival in thirteenth-century Venice of late antique/early Christian motives and forms. Some have envisaged a more complex chain of transmission whereby the first to imitate the late antique villa elevation in palaces were the Byzantines, and it is the latter's imitations that were imitated in turn in Venice.⁴⁷

Clearly, scholars have been and continue to be unable to part from the notion that Venetian pre-Gothic architecture in general and palace façades in particular derive from Byzantine models. Most critics have examined only elevations, but have stepped

easily from there to the building type as a whole, not hesitating to claim a Byzantine or byzantinizing source for the palace type itself once they have so explained the palace elevation. It is important therefore to note before leaving this topic that what little is known of Byzantine residential architecture gives no comfort to the Byzantine hypothesis.

Imperial and elite palaces of both the late antique and the early Byzantine periods consisted of either very large and luxurious peristyle houses, similar to the grandest private houses, albeit extended in some cases by a loose agglomeration of further pavilions, courtyards, and tracts, or closed quadrangles, modeled on the fortified military encampments of the Roman *limes*.⁴⁸ Palaces of the middle and late Byzantine periods, both in and outside Constantinople, either continued such planning⁴⁹ or followed the palatine type discussed at length above. The palatine group includes the palaces excavated at the Myrelaion⁵⁰ and on the eastern

47. The various treatments, in chronological order, are as follows: Forlati, "Da Rialto a S. Ilario," 665–70 (1958; based on a late antique palace like Split); Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 102–3 (1960; deliberate revival of late antique motive); Maretto, "Edilizia gotica," 127–31, separate edition 37–40 (1960; Byzantine pure and simple); Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 250–51 (1965; from middle Byzantine models; 1986, 347–48, unchanged; the late Gothic and subsequent form of the plan from unknown Byzantine models reflected in Armenian and Bulgarian monuments); Maretto, *Casa veneziana*, 57–107 (1986; expanded from "Edilizia gotica"; unchanged); Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 21–22 (1970; late antique scheme, Romanesque detail); Howard, *Architectural History*, 35–43 (1980; "Veneto-Byzantine," inspired "in the east"); Bianchi, "Architettura civile," 148 (1994; late antique—e.g., Split); Concina, *Storia*, 61–73 (1995; transmitted via Byzantium); Dorigo, "Espressioni," 839–44 (1995; simple inheritance from late antiquity).

48. See Downey, "Palace of the Dux Ripae." The two types are exemplified by the palaces of Theodoric in Ravenna and nearby, in Palazzolo; see, for the first, Ghirardini, "Scavi del Palazzo di Teodorico," and, for the second, Bermond Montanari, "S. Maria di Palazzolo" and "Zona archeologica." Examples of the extended form are the Great Palace of the Emperors and the palaces, so-called, of

Antiochos and Lausus in Istanbul. See Ćurčić, "Great Palace," and Magdalino, "Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," 107 n. 27, respectively.

49. See the early descriptions adduced in their articles by Magdalino, "Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," and Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decorations."

50. Built probably for Romanos I Lekapenos (921–59), the structure—now no more than a thin layer of ground-floor foundations—stands atop a late antique perimeter wall, the inside of which was converted into a cistern; see Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler*, 104–5 and fig. 44, and Naumann, "Der antike Rundbau," 212–15 and fig. 1. Above the cistern both scholars imagined a multistorey structure of towerlike wings bracketing an arcaded portico and containing a hall parallel with and behind the portico. Their reconstruction has been adopted by Striker, *Myrelaion*, 13, fig. 26, and Ousterhout, "Secular Architecture," 197–98. Truth to say, neither Wulzinger nor Naumann saw remains of stairs to an upper floor or other indexes of a multilevel structure, or columns or marks of column bases on the site of the putative portico, so that these particulars are speculative. However, the principal rooms of the roughly rectangular building were aligned with its long axis, as was the imagined façade. These are characteristics of the medieval palatine building type, not the specifically Venetian palace.

grounds of the Topkapi Palace,⁵¹ the ruined Tekfur Sarayı⁵²—all in Istanbul—as well as the ruined palaces of the Nicene emperors, the Grand Comneni of Trebizond, and the despots of the Morea, at Nymphaion, Trebizond, and Mistra, respectively.⁵³ Simple houses, finally, were still courtyard houses during late antiquity, and during early and middle Byzantine times were either diminutive evocations of such houses, opportunistic adaptations of ancient ruins, or imitations of earlier, Levantine types.⁵⁴ None of these buildings seems to have had façades, let alone plans, that resembled the Venetian palaces.

Nor have anticipations of the Venetian palace type ever been found in late antique, Byzantine, or “exarchal” Ravenna or elsewhere near Venice.⁵⁵ Even the reconstructed elevation of the so-called hunting lodge of Theodoric at Galeata, which looks

51. Built, or completed, by Basil I (867–86) on a site near the Byzantine arsenal, or Mangana, this palace is also reduced to its foundations. These form a closed rectangle and suggest principal rooms aligned with the building’s long side, as is characteristic of the palatine type; see Demangel and Mamboury, *Quartier des Manganes*, 39–47 and pl. viii.

52. See Mango, “Tekfur Sarayı,” with further references.

53. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 254, 291, 290; and more fully on Nymphaion and Mistra, Kirova, “Un palazzo”; Runciman, *Mistra*; and Chatzedakes, *Mystras*. Cryptic remains of a large block of vaulted rooms inside a vast rectangular precinct in Küçükalyi, outside Istanbul, have been interpreted as ruins of a ninth-century palace modeled on the early Islamic palaces of the Near East; Eyice, “Contributions,” 245–50. The resemblance is at best slight and seems to me fortuitous.

54. See Bouras, “Houses in Byzantium”; idem, “Houses and Settlements”; and Rheidt, “Byzantinische Wohnhäuser”; between them they discuss houses in Argos, Athens, Corinth, Mistra, Pergamon, Thebes, and Thessalonica. (For those of Pergamon, compare the standard late antique house type of Syria, which goes unmentioned by Rheidt; cf. Sodini and Tate, “Maisons.”) For Rome, see Santangeli Valenzani, “Residential Building.”

55. This difficulty was already pointed out by Sergio Bettini, in a skeptical notice of the “Portikusvilla” hypothesis; see his review of Demus’s *Church of San Marco*, 269.

so similar to the elevation of a Venetian pre-Gothic palace, is not an anticipation, but merely an exercise in archaeological scholasticism. Putting to use Swoboda’s genealogy of the medieval palace façade, one of the excavators cobbled together a putative elevation that combines architectural sculpture found both on and off site with such foundations as remained or he inferred, looking for guidance at late antique Syrian country houses and medieval Venetian palaces.⁵⁶ In fact, Swoboda’s imagined chain of transmission of a palace type from late Roman times to the central Middle Ages and his demonstration of it by reducing to a linear sequence a swarm of buildings from different regions and of different scales, functions, and states of preservation have withered under the skeptical scrutiny of French and German scholars.⁵⁷

56. See Krischen, “Theodorich Palast,” 468–69 and fig. 2. Although Krischen does not mention Swoboda’s name, he adduces the same kinds of late antique prototypes and even a Venetian palace, echoing the older writer’s arguments. (Unfortunately, Krischen remembers the name of only one palace, the Ca’ d’Oro, whose lopsided Gothic façade in no way resembles his reconstruction.) The physical evidence itself, furthermore, cannot bear out the interpretation put upon it. Only some parts of the building’s foundations were recovered, and those gave no evidence of a one-time colonnade or upper floor, as first noted by Deichmann, *Ravenna*, II, pt. 3, 267–72, and now demonstrated *in extenso* by Bolzani, *Teodorico e Galeata*, 25–39. Bolzani has also invalidated the late hagiographic traditions and inscriptions on which the excavators based their identification of the building with a villa of Theodoric’s; *Teodorico e Galeata*, 9–24.

57. Noël Duval has been generating cogent criticism of Swoboda’s method and results since the 1960s; see Duval’s “Palais de Milan” of 1992, whose bibliography cites most of the author’s earlier contributions, the most notable being the bibliography’s nos. 51 and 53. Duval’s criticisms have been endorsed by Downey, “Palace of the Dux Ripae,” 196. Generally, critiques of Swoboda’s sequence have been growing ever since the late 1960s: cf. Paul, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 23–25 (1969); Meckseper, “Palatium Ottos,” 105–9 (1986); Mango, “Approaches to Byzantine Architecture,” 41 (1991); Ćurčić, “Late-Antique Palaces,” 72 (1993); and Albrecht, *Adelssitz*, 22 (1995). There is no mention whatever of Swoboda’s developmental sequence in Ćurčić’s long dictionary entry of 1996, “Palaces.”

Surely the notion of a survival or revival of late antique prototypes in the Venetian Romanesque palace is a mirage, and the question of the latter's origin should be addressed afresh. Two scholars have tried to do so, Deborah Howard and Wladimiro Dorigo. The former has pointed to Fatimid houses in Fustat (the first Arab settlement near Cairo) and later ones at Damietta and Rosetta (in the Nile delta). These, in her view, share with the Venetian palace "long, deep plans with access along a central spine . . . often with a **T**-shaped hall."⁵⁸ Yet, the examples she illustrates or cites do not look like Venetian palaces at all, whether in plan or elevation, and the stubby, **T**-shaped rooms that appear in some of them, functioning admittedly as reception rooms (as did the **T**-shaped hall of an early Venetian palace), are entered from, and open to, the house's central garden and fountain court. What resemblance there is seems fortuitous.

Dorigo, for his part, while retaining the identification of the late antique porticoed villa as the source of the typical Venetian façade, has postulated the three-aisled Christian church as the basis of the typical Venetian plan.⁵⁹ It is certainly true that the naves of most churches are divided longitudinally into three aisles, or vessels, as is the specifically Venetian palace. Yet, it is a far step from this similarity to the conclusion that the one derives from the other. The resemblance is not complete: in churches the boundary between nave and aisles is

open, whereas in palaces the three adjoining zones are separated by solid walls. Furthermore, a simple sense of decorum would surely have discouraged private patrons from modeling their residences on the house of God.

Structural considerations offer a more economical explanation of the seeming resemblance in layout of palaces and churches. Both consist of long flights of masonry tied together by the transverse beams of roof trusses and, in the case of palaces, floors. Since beams become progressively harder to obtain and more expensive the longer they are, builders have always tried to lay them in the direction of the shortest span and, if the distance to be spanned was broad, to divide it into several smaller spans. This has been true since prehistoric times and characterizes the integrally wooden barns and halls of ancient and medieval northern Europe, as well as the beamed but otherwise masonry halls, temples, and churches of the ancient and medieval Mediterranean.⁶⁰ Many are two-, many three-, and some even four-aisled for this reason.⁶¹ The appearance of a three-aisled system in Venetian palaces is yet another instance of the practice.

Altogether, structural needs provide a more economical explanation of the Venetian palace type, especially when considered in the light of environmental imperatives, than the strained comparisons suggested by critics of the past. The typical plan and elevation are but adaptations of those traditional to

58. Howard, *Venice and the East*, 138–40.

59. See his "Espressioni," 834, 839, 843, 844, 846, 847, and "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 45. In the latter he has compared the whole composition of a three-aisled palace with transverse ground-floor arcade to the plan of a three-aisled church with narthex. As for palace façades, he has distinguished four phases in the Venetian adaptation of the porticoed villa's elevation; "Espressioni," 837–44, esp. 843.

60. Elsewhere Dorigo has attributed the similar widths that mark a standard palace's three longitudinal vessels to a "lunghezza standard delle travi"; see his "Caratteri tipologici," 26. Yet, he does not grasp that this would explain the three-vessel format by itself.

61. See Horn, "Origins," 5–16, and, more fully, Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, II, 23–82.

the western European palatine building type and its descendant, the upper-hall house, examined at the beginning of this chapter. Thus, the Venetian palace hall's transept, located at the front of the building, occupies the position of the hall in either a palatine building or upper-hall house. The façade is nothing but the standard façade of such structures, detailed in forms that were fashionable in thirteenth-century Venice, many of them admittedly byzantinizing.⁶²

The real question is not, what is the basis of the Venetian pre-Gothic palace's façade? but, what is the basis of the building's peculiar plan: why is the traditional palace plan rotated by ninety degrees, causing the hall to be built across the short, rather than the long, axis of the fabric, and why is the shortened hall extended by a long arm down the spine of the building?

Reorientation of the palace block must in the first place have been a response to a dwindling supply of vacant land. The Venetian residence of the traditional palatine type had stood broadside to a street and occasionally a waterway.⁶³ This was a waste of frontage on arteries of pedestrian and waterborne traffic, especially in an era when growing population was causing an increasing density of settlement and raising the value of vacant land. It became more efficient to build into the depth of a site. Since architectural practice and the wish for display required nonetheless that the hall be placed

at the front, in the publicly most visible part of the building, chambers had necessarily to be strung out down the building's long axis.⁶⁴ Yet, unless some kind of passage were provided by which inhabitants could reach their chambers directly from the hall, they would pass incessantly through one another's rooms. Hence a long arm was attached to the hall, connecting it with the various chambers.

Still another consideration—also a consequence of increased urban density—urged creation of a room down the spine of the building, and not a narrow one at that. In the courtyards and beyond most “great houses” stood small rental houses or blocks of rental apartments belonging to the owner of the main house. Whereas the owner's mansion generally adjoined a waterway on one of its sides, the rental dwellings normally did not. Owners therefore granted their tenants access to the principal residence's waterside landing. As long as land was readily available, the owner could leave room for passage to the water at the sides of the residence. However, once mansions began to be butted one against the other, forming a continuous ribbon of buildings, passage could only be managed through the house.⁶⁵ This meant that the residence had to include a passage wide enough to let tenants transport their boats and supplies, that is, a passage wider than a simple corridor. And since the structural system used in Venetian buildings allowed only minimal

62. See Chapter 4.

63. Examples are the wooden building recorded in 1069 and the porticoed palaces of the later twelfth century; see notes 5 and 23 above.

64. Grandchamp adopted a similar explanation for the planning-into-depth of Romanesque houses in Cluny; see his *Demeures médiévales*, 27. Curiously, almost without exception scholars have ignored the relationship between medieval urban houses and the streets or waterways by which they stand, to the point that hardly any published

plan indicates an adjacent street. Judging from photographs and the location of entrance doors, the siting of houses in the Rhineland, London, and Lübeck during the central Middle Ages seems to have been similar to that in Cluny and Venice; cf. Wiedenau, *Katalog*; Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*; and Erdmann, “Entwicklungstendenzen.” For considerations of display, see Chapter 2.

65. An explicit grant to *vicini* of rights of passage through the ground-floor *porticus*, or central hall, is found in many charters—for example, those concerning Ca' da Mosto; cf. Schulz, “Ca' da Mosto.”

variation in plan from one floor to the next, a wide central hall on the ground floor necessarily begot wide halls on the upper floors.

Indeed, considerations of an even more narrowly structural nature must have been a powerful stimulus for that reorientation of palaces which created the peculiarly Venetian palace plan. Namely, the standard technique for founding walls on the city's waterlogged subsoil was to put down an initial layer of flat boards called a "raft" (*zataron* in Venetian).⁶⁶ For especially strong support dense rows of slender piles could be driven first, to compact the soil upon which the boards were to lie. Even when reinforced in this way, the base was never stable. Erosion by percolating water and natural subsidence would cause differential settlement, and structures incapable of flexing as the ground shifted were bound to suffer damage or even collapse.

Most threatened were walls adjacent to a waterway, where the forces of erosion were strongest. During the early Middle Ages, shores were generally unembanked or only weakly protected by embankments made of saplings and rush. Masonry embankments began to be built once pressure for development of shoreline properties mounted, reducing the risk of undermining by erosion but not eliminating it entirely. It was prudent, therefore, to minimize loading on waterside walls. In practice, this meant that it was wise not to stand a palace broadside to the water. The outer long walls

of such buildings were the principal load-bearing walls, supporting not only their own weight but also a major portion of the weight of the successive floors and nearly half the weight of the long roof. (This was so because most floor beams and all roof trusses seated in the outer longitudinal walls.) By contrast, the buildings' end walls supported only themselves, the forward half of the hall transept, and half of the roof's short ends (the other half resting on the adjacent roof truss). Undermining erosion thus presented less of a hazard if buildings were stood end-on to the water. Eventually the hazard was even further reduced when builders learned not to bond end walls into longitudinal walls at the point of meeting, but instead lightly to fasten the one to the other by means of iron tabs. This allowed the two walls to move up and down independently of one another, responding differentially to the differential settling of Venice's unstable subsoil.⁶⁷ As a result, Venice is full of façades whose horizontal courses sag to one side or the other, or undulate alarmingly, while the buildings behind them remain sound.

Although the new building type must have taken shape only by degrees, no texts or monuments demonstrating one or more transitional phases are known to me. On the other hand, the introduction in medieval Venice of the term *porticus* (*portego* in Venetian) to signify a palace's principal hall, whether **T**-shaped, **L**-shaped, or straight, seems to betray an earlier moment in the suggested development.

66. Zuccolo, *Restauro statico*, 59. As noticed by Dorigo, some early structures seem to have been built directly on the soil, not on wooden platforms or piles; "Espressioni," 830. Under such conditions, my argument is even more cogent.

67. For further details, see Piana, "Accorgimenti costruttivi" and, more at length, "Note sulle tecniche murarie," 62–65. (Goy, *Venetian vernacular*, 43, misunderstands the use of fasteners rather than bonding as faulty construction technique.) Piana also suggests (in the second of

his articles) that structural considerations might have encouraged the further evolution of palace façades, by which the continuous gallery of windows was limited to the center of the elevation and replaced on the sides by solid wall containing one or two isolated windows. Such a system was more rigid than the old one, less liable to slantwise movement in façade members that were growing taller and taller as floors grew higher and higher.

The standard term in medieval Latin for such a hall was *sala*, whereas *porticus* normally signified either a walkway or porch open on one side to the exterior, or a corridor or passage. The two terms occur side by side in the descriptions of the main halls of two pre-Gothic palaces. One case is Ca' Barozzi, whose first floor had, as the result of an early enlargement, transepts across each end of the building—facing the Grand Canal and facing inland—and broad passages through the middle of the fabric connecting the two, an arrangement that resembled in plan a sideways letter **H**. In this case the transepts are termed *salae per transversum* and the connectors *portici per longitudinem*. The distinction, which assigns representational value to the transepts alone, occurs in all the known early descriptions of the building, from 1279 to 1332. Since the palace was built a good deal earlier, and since medieval Venetian notaries tended to copy building descriptions from one charter to the next, rather than compose them anew in each successive deed, the language in these acts may well go back to now lost documents of an earlier time.⁶⁸

The other instance is a palace on the riva del Carbon that belonged to a branch of the Dandolo. As described in a patrimonial division of 1225, its

68. On the ground floor there was only one transept, also termed *sala*, namely on the side next to the canal, and a *porticus* that debouched directly into the landward court. (The *porticus* was flanked at this end by *hospicia*, bed-sitting-rooms; see Chapter 2.) For the documents and Ca' Barozzi's building history, see Appendix II, (A), respectively nos. 1–3, and (D).

69. Thus the division by the brothers Giovanni Dandolo, count of Ragusa, and Marco Dandolo, sons of the late Jacopo Dandolo of the ward of S. Luca, of their family palace on the riva del Carbon, executed in 1225 and quoted *in extenso* in sentences of 1364 and 1367 by the Giudici del Procurator; see ASVe, CanInf, Notai, b¹ 115 (not. Marino, prete di S. Trovaso), *protocollo* for 1357–64, entry no. 196, and *protocollo* for 1364–69, no. 94. (Giovanni Zambon has found another copy, in a sentence of 1370 concerning the same case, in ASVe, ProcSMco, *Misti*,

principal first-floor room comprised a transept facing broadside to the Grand Canal and styled a *sala*, another transept facing the court at the rear and termed a *porticus maior per transversum*, and a room connecting the two through the middle of the fabric, called a *porticus minor*. Beneath the last, on the ground floor, was a *porticus*, not otherwise qualified, leading to the Grand Canal and ending in a series of columns on the canal that are said to have supported the first floor *sala*—apparently the orders of some kind of porch or continuous arcade, although never called such. On plan the first-floor rooms formed a sequence resembling a sideways letter **H**, as at Ca' Barozzi, and those of the ground floor traced an inverted **T**. Here too, the loftier and more venerable name of *sala* was attributed to the transept, facing the Grand Canal.⁶⁹ Whether the multiplicity of halls was due to an early enlargement or was present from the birth of the building is uncertain.

What may be actual remains of such a building, albeit reduced to disconnected scraps, stand on the Pasina, near S. Silvestro. They are the vestiges of two colonnaded arcades, one across the building's front, toward the Grand Canal (Fig. 27), the other across its rear, where there must have been a courtyard.⁷⁰

Miscellanea pergamene, b^a 14, erroneously dated 1320 on the wrapper; see Dorigo, "Caratteri tipologici," 25 and n. 34.) For the persons and the building, see the appendix to Schulz, "Houses of Titian."

70. The property is bounded by the *fondamenta*, sottoportego, and campiello della Pasina on, respectively, the south, east, and north; a door on the middle of the *fondamenta*, used to bear the street number S. Polo 1114; the building is nowadays entered from the side on the *sottoportego*, through a door numbered 1116. On the cadastre of 1808–10, the property is plat no. 9498, jointly owned by members of the Mocenigo and Querini families. Sometime before, it belonged to the Avogadro, whose arms are on the main façade; see Appendix I, note 75. Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice shows it as sandwiched between Ca' Barzizza on the west and a tower on the east and containing two main floors plus an attic that might originally have been

The front arcade is now reduced to damaged orders and fragmentary archivolt, immured in a façade consisting otherwise of late Renaissance forms; the rear arcade has been walled up, but its members are visible on the interior, which has been adapted to serve as the modern building's entrance hall, while on the exterior the arches are hidden by a nineteenth-century utilitarian block butted against the fabric. Drastically rebuilt on every floor, the building has lost all other traces of its medieval layout. Given the doubled porticoes, however, that layout may have resembled the plan described for the Barozzi's and the Dandolo's palaces.

As the transepts of T-shaped halls contracted, becoming stubby or one-sided, in the manner outlined earlier in this chapter, their functions must increasingly have shifted to their perpendicular extensions. Ultimately, transepts vanished altogether, and extensions were left to serve in their place: what had merely been a *porticus* had taken over the functions of a *sala*. Such is the evolution that seems to be caught at a transitional moment in the terminological distinctions made in descriptions of the Barozzi and Dandolo buildings.

Taken together, the foregoing observations bring out the exquisitely adaptive character of the specifically Venetian palace in siting, structure, layout, and articulation. That such a building type imitated exotic models invented for quite different urban

contexts, whether Byzantine or Islamic, and quite different styles of living is unlikely. That it should be based on a completely unrelated building type with which it shares only short beams is implausible. Instead, the Venetian palace should be considered a local adaptation of what was a category of medieval architecture familiar and widely disseminated throughout western Europe, the palatine residence and its downsized offspring, the upper-hall house. The much-analyzed façade is but the accompanying adaptation of the elevation of such residences. As the plan of residences evolved to respond to the local urbanistic and geological conditions, so necessarily did the elevation, arriving finally at the rhythmic distribution of openings that is in itself a characteristic feature of the city and welds its urban fabric together into a homogeneous and unmistakably Venetian whole.⁷¹

Undeniably, from the thirteenth century onward, for a hundred years or more, Venetian palaces were dressed in forms of which many were imports or imitations of Byzantine manufactures.⁷² Yet fashions of detailing are superficial, easily assumed (as when byzantinizing forms replaced the older Romanesque ones) and easily dismissed (as when byzantinizing details gave way to Gothic ones). The fact is, the common adage notwithstanding, clothes do not make a man, and they have never made a building either.

an open loggia. Jacopo has compressed the fabric's width and omitted the alley along its side (now a *sottoportego*); his difficulties with fitting into this zone all the buildings that stood there in 1500 are described in Appendix 1 (D). By the 1630s the palace had been rebuilt and the passage on its right turned into a *sottoportego*; see the painted bird's-eye view of Venice from Trent, now at the Museo Correr, *Architettura e utopia*, cat. no. 11. As for the building's original date, the colonnade toward the rear has no distinctive chronological markers, while that

toward the front—with its exaggerated stilted arches and archivolt formed of thin limestone friezes of scrolls, rosettes, pomegranates, and lotus leaves between tori of Veronese red *broccatello*—recalls an orphaned façade on rio di Ca' Foscari that is generally regarded as particularly early, that is, of the twelfth century; see Chapter 4, note 18.

71. The effect is noted by Herzner, "Die Monotonie," 60–61.

72. See Chapter 4.


 DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS

THE EARLIEST DESCRIPTIONS of pre-Gothic palaces say virtually nothing concerning the purposes that the various interior spaces served. Indeed, even the descriptions written in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance stint information in this regard. It must be that functions were understood by all—owners, buyers, parties to patrimonial divisions, notaries—and did not need to be defined. Such information as we have comes from other documents: wills, inventories, rental records. Even these accounts are few and spare; moreover, most are later than the central Middle Ages. Normally one would reject the testimony of later sources, but given the conservatism of Venetian palace architecture, this would be precipitate. Although palaces did begin to grow larger in scale in the later Middle Ages, and although they grew larger still in early modern times, and began gradually to add new room types, supplementary to those introduced during the Middle Ages, change was slow until the seventeenth

century. Both the basic organization of a palace and the principal room types remained much the same as in the Duecento. It is likely, therefore, that until the seventeenth century the function of the traditional rooms remained little changed as well.

A typical palace, as explained in the previous chapter, contained service and rental rooms on the ground floor (and the mezzanine, if there was one) and a hall and dwelling space on the upper, residential floor. When a palace was built to serve two related families, it might have a second upper floor, similar in plan to the first, and even a second mezzanine between first and second floors. (In some cases the second floor is of a later architectural style and hence plainly an addition.) Above the topmost residential floor lay either an attic or an open loggia. A few buildings had low towers above their façade's corners or at their backs or sides; the sources known to me do not indicate that tower rooms had a special use of their own.¹

1. For all these rooms, see also Chapter 1.

The most important of all these spaces was the first-floor hall. Its two parts, the transept (called, when identified separately, a *sala*, *porticus maior*, or *crux* in Latin and *crozola* in the vernacular) and the long arm that reached to the back of the building (called *porticus* in Latin, *portego* in Venetian, terms that were also applied to the entire configuration), were distinguished on the building's exterior by the rhythm and detailing of the orders framing the transept windows. In Ca' Farsetti, for instance, the transept is illuminated by an unbroken sequence of windows, whose orders sport more elaborate capitals at the center, opposite the mouth of the appended hallway, than at the sides (Figs. 174, 177). In Ca' Loredan the orders at the center bear composite capitals, those at the sides Corinthian, while the orders opposite the boundaries of the hallway's mouth are doubled and married to impost capitals (Figs. 199, 204, 205). In still other buildings—for example, Ca' Barzizza and Ca' da Mosto—the windows are massed at the center, forming a continuous row, whereas they are set apart at the sides.²

There is no evidence, on the other hand, that the division into transept and hallway was marked architecturally on the interior (as by a door, an arch or distinctively scaled or decorated beam, or a

change of floor level or pavement); the two seem to have functioned as a unified space and were used as was the ordinary, rectangular hall in other private residences of the time. Elsewhere in Europe a medieval palace's hall was a multipurpose room, used for common activities such as eating, conversation, and receiving. When the owners were of elevated status, the hall might serve for the more formal of these activities—feasts and receptions for kin and clients, acts of office if the owner were charged with public duties of some kind—and another, smaller hall for everyday activities.³ In the case of the Venetian *portego*, its row of large open windows made it the best lit, but in winter the coldest, of a palace's rooms. That is to say, as late as 1594 *porteghi* generally lacked fireplaces and yet were open to the breezes; presumably the *porteghi* of the pre-Gothic palaces were also unheated and open. One must have alleviated the cold by carrying about portable charcoal braziers.⁴

Window seats were common in halls of mainland palaces, suggesting that such rooms also served for social intercourse in small groups. Venetian fenestration does not allow for window seats, but individuals seem to have tarried by the windows nonetheless, at least in the sixteenth century, when the hall functioned as a general day room.⁵

2. Cf. Schulz, "Ca' da Mosto," and idem, "Ca' Barzizza."

3. For England, see Girouard, *Life*, 30–40, and Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 88, 95. For France, see Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, II, 84–96, and Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales*, 78–79.

4. Writing of the palaces, Sansovino claimed that "tutte le finestre si chiudono . . . con bianchissimi & fini vetri"; *Venetia città nobilissima* (1581), 141v. But an almost contemporary English traveler made clear that windows of *porteghi* and chambers were treated differently: "The windowes are for the most part very large, the greater roomes lying almost altogether open to receive aire, but the lodging chambers have glasse windowes, whereof the Venetians brag, glasse being rare in Italy, where the windowes are for the most part covered with linnen or paper"; Moryson, *Itinerary*, I, II, 88–89 (reprt. I, 193;

Moryson visited Venice in January 1594). The only early palace whose *porteghi*, according to a schedule of glass purchases of 1436, may have been glazed at least in part is the Ca' d'Oro; see Schuller, "Facciate dei palazzi medioevali," 312–18 and fig. 41. Yet, the extravagance of this building's finish put it in a class all of its own.

5. Anton Francesco Doni writes that "si riduce tutta la casa a un tratto dentro [la sala]: le donne si stanno a piedi delle finestre, sí per veder lume a lavorare con l'ago le cose sottili e i ricami, sí per potere esser comode a farsi alla finestra; alla tavola in testa si mangia, a quella da lato si gioca; alcuni passeggiano, altri si stanno al fuoco; e così v'è luogo per tutti"; *I marmi*, I, 136 (the book was first published in 1552, by which time fireplaces had begun to appear in the *porteghi*).

Venetians dined in their halls. In a surviving testament of 1346,⁶ the testator grants his brother continued rights of residence in the former's palace, as well as use of the kitchen to cook and the hall to eat. Sixteenth-century inventories list boards and trestles (made up into tables at mealtime) and benches and chairs as standard furniture in a palace hall.⁷ Beyond its practical purpose as a dining and day room, the *portego* also functioned as a signifier of social status. Its conspicuous size and massed, finely carved windows carried into the domain of private, residential architecture a scale and richness long common in public interiors. The message was reinforced by some of the furnishings, at least in the Renaissance, when it is recorded that owners displayed in their *porteghi* arms, armor, and banners. (In Venice, patricians had not only the right but also the duty to bear and maintain arms, and many had led Venetian ships or troops into battle.) While on the exterior the *ca' grande* spoke as a whole of the owner's social and political importance, on the interior it was the *portego* above all that represented who or what he was.⁸

6. Quoted in Schulz, "Houses of Titian," 110–11 n. 51. See also the text by Doni, quoted in the previous note, and Sanudo's account of a dinner in 1520 for a large and select company at Ca' Pesaro on campo di S. Beneto: "la cena . . . fu preparata nel soler di sopra, taole attorno il portego e in mezzo una dove cenò esso principe"; *Diarii*, xxix, col. 537.

7. Schulz, "Houses of Titian." The practice of making tables out of boards on trestles was universal in medieval Europe and gave birth to the English locution "to set the table." "Flexibility of use, created by the absence of solid furniture, was one of the main characteristics of medieval rooms, as opposed to modern ones," observes Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 152.

8. For furnishings in the Renaissance, see Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima* (1581), 142v. Further examples are listed by Schulz, "Houses of Titian," 111 n. 52; Crouzet-Pavan, *Espaces*, 1, 405–6; *Archivalische Beiträge*, 63; and Molmenti, *Storia*, II, 487, col. 1. In describing what European critics would call the "representational" aspects of a *ca' grande*, I have paraphrased Thébert, "Vie privée,"

In back of the hall's transept, to either side of the central *portego*, lay the private quarters of the owner's family. I have not come upon medieval descriptions of these rooms, but Renaissance inventories describe them as equipped with beds, chests, tables, and chairs, showing that at the time they were used as bed-sitting-rooms.⁹ Presumably this was their function already during the Middle Ages. Called *hospicia*, *camerae*, or *caminatae* (*albergo* and *camera* in Venetian),¹⁰ some may have had fireplaces for heating as early as the eleventh century. The suite generally included a kitchen and next door to it one or two small storage rooms.

The ground floor and mezzanine were multipurpose floors. Modern scholars have tended to misrepresent this zone of a palace as devoted exclusively to business, that is, the storage of trading goods and contraction of sales and purchases. Accordingly the critics have baptized the pre-Gothic palaces *case fondaco*, marrying the common name for a house with the term *fondaco*, which in medieval parlance signified a depository, especially of taxable goods, or even the place where taxes were

309 and 351, using, in the second instance, the original and especially apt language of the English translation by Arthur Goldhammer, 365.

9. Schulz, "Houses of Titian," 110–11 n. 51. Moryson, as cited in note 4, calls them "lodging chambers."

10. Strictly speaking, these terms should have signified different things: *hospicium* a lodging in the generic sense (potentially more than a single room), *camera* a room, and *caminata* a room with fireplace (*caminum*). Yet, Venetian owners and notaries seem to have used the words interchangeably. As a result, when *caminatae* are mentioned, the rooms may, or may not, have had fireplaces (the word occurs already in the eleventh century—for example, in the descriptions of a Badoer property [1038] and of a house at S. Silvestro [1070], in Fulin, "Le carte," no. 1, and in Appendix 1 [A], no. 1, respectively). The earliest explicit mention of a fireplace that I have encountered dates from 1225; see the portion accruing to Giovanni Dandolo in the division cited in Chapter 1, note 69. Multiple fireplaces on the same chimney stack are mentioned in 1269; see note 16 below.

levied.¹¹ Yet, although some storage rooms—termed *magazini* or *volte* in Venetian parlance—were normally present on the ground floors of noble residences, the documents that mention them never explain for what purpose such rooms were maintained.

Clearly, the *magazini* of a private residence could be used to keep merchandise, for storage at home is mentioned in later-thirteenth-century legislation concerning the levy of duties.¹² But traders generally rented and kept their goods elsewhere, in *magazini* and *stationes*, that is, storerooms and shops, located near their abodes or, more commonly, near Rialto.¹³ It was at Rialto that the principal exchange for imports and exports had been established in the eleventh century, and that levies owed for landing imports or contracting exports had to be paid upon

presentation of the dutiable goods.¹⁴ Hence, convenience militated for keeping one's goods at Rialto, and the concentration of storage rooms and shops there reached such height that by the end of the Middle Ages ordinary residents had been well nigh crowded out.¹⁵

Furthermore, nonbusiness uses for the rooms on a palace's ground floor are either attested or readily inferred. Thus, inventories and descriptions mention rental dwellings on the ground floor and mezzanine; stairways that link a ground-floor room with a mezzanine room directly above, creating a small rental apartment, appear in some of the later plans.¹⁶ As for ground-floor storage rooms, some must have been filled with household provisions, which medieval Venetians of means acquired in

11. I have not seen the locution *casa fondaco* used before 1933; cf. Lorenzetti, "Prototipo," 30. A recent writer has barbarized it as *palazzo-fondaco*, marrying an early modern with a medieval term. Dorigo instead has coined a new name, *casa deposito*, and in a flight of picturesque invention sketched a lively image of it, with freighters tied up in front, scores of serfs at work downstairs and in the courtyard, and a *dominus* on patrol to supervise the busy men; "Espressioni," 808, 842, 846. Alas, there were no serfs in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Venice, and no private palace is known to have been so extensively devoted to business. As for the mezzanine, it is true that in the eighteenth century it came to be used for offices, to the point that the Venetian term *mezà* came to signify a suite of offices; cf. Boerio, *Dizionario*, or Folena, *Vocabolario*, s.v. *mezà*. Yet, there is no evidence of such use in medieval times; see further below. Finally, for the medieval usage of the term *fondaco*, see Pegolotti, *Pratica della mercatura*, 15, 17, 162–63, 183–84.

12. See, for instance, a resolution of the Consiglio Maggiore of 1265 threatening any importer with a fine if goods of his that were stored "in domo sua aut alio loco" were moved to be reexported before duty had been paid; *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, II, 276, no. v. See also Sansovino's comment on early palaces, which—although it makes no sense structurally—states flatly that a medieval merchant kept his goods at the front of his own house: "hanno [viz., the palaces] le loggie a pie piano con colonne, & con volti, ma però tirate a filo del resto della faccia. Et era ciò fatto da i vecchi: perche conducendo a casa le mercantie, le scaricavano in loggia; dalle cui bande erano i magazini per riporle"; Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima* (1581), 142.

13. Thus the resolution quoted in the previous note concerns goods stored in the home or "in alio loco." A 1310 inventory of the house and trading goods of a certain Filippo Quintavalle distinguishes neatly between the contents of his house and of his shop, presumably at Rialto; *Domenico prete*, doc. no. 7.

14. Duties were collected by the commune's Visdomini, who sat at counters, or *tabulae*, on the riva del Vin, immediately south of the Rialto Bridge. Provisions did exist from the later thirteenth century onward for taking one's goods to one's private house or to a storage room elsewhere in the city and making no more than an oral declaration to the Visdomini; the practice led to abuses and outright evasion, which called forth increasing restrictions, until, in 1410, it was voted that goods could only be placed in storage sites controlled by the Visdomini; ASVe, Senato, *Misti*, copy of 1408/11, b^a 48-II, fols. 596r–v. For the earlier history of the Visdomini and their work, see Zordan, *Visdomini*.

15. By 1509 there were only 459 residents left on the island, and by 1537 storage rooms and shops made up about 80 percent of its buildings. See, respectively, Calabi and Morachiello, *Rialto*, 16–17, and Concina, *Venezia*, 38 n. 11. On the other side of the Rialto Bridge, in the wards of S. Bartolomeo and S. Salvatore, the concentration in 1537 of shops and magazines was less, but still nearly 50 percent of all structures, while generally, throughout the city, they were never less than 20 percent; Concina, *Venezia*, 38 n. 11 and 37 n. 8.

16. Several ground-floor *hospicia* are attested in Ca' Barozzi (1312, 1332) and Ca' Farsetti (1351), while a mixture of "domus de sergentibus et volte sive magaçeni" were located beneath the *piano nobile* of the Fondaco (1377). See, respectively, Appendix II (A), nos. 2–3; IV

bulk, indeed in Brobdingnagian quantities.¹⁷ Unwieldy necessities like a spare boat or one under repair, boat canopies, oars, ropes, and so forth, must have been kept on the ground floor as well, because difficult to move any distance.¹⁸ Finally, if the property lacked a stable, horses and mules must have been kept on the ground floor in winter and their feed and tackle throughout the year.¹⁹ In short, a palace's ground floor was not a warehouse, and its mezzanine not an office suite; the two floors served a spectrum of functions, and the building was, when all is said and done, a private *ca'* or *ca' grande* and not a *casa fondaco*.

If a house had a second residential floor and the house's occupants were two households of the same family (e.g., the households of a father and grown son, or of two brothers who owned and occupied

the building *in fraterna compagnia*), the second floor would be furnished and used quite like the first below it. In smaller houses a second floor might simply complement the first, offering further chambers for the family that inhabited the first floor and dividing dining and receiving functions between the downstairs and upstairs halls.

Attic loggias, shown on several Romanesque palaces in Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice, are not mentioned in inventories, because unfurnished. Presumably they were for taking the air on very hot days. The rest of the attic, likewise unmentioned, may have served for storage, drying laundry in damp weather, and lodging servants that could not find a corner downstairs in which to curl up. (It was common for at least one servant to sleep in the master's or mistress's room.)²⁰

(A), no. 6; and III (A), nos. 4, 8 (note 16), and 17. One of the *hospicia* in Ca' Farsetti looked out on the riva del Carbon—that is, was in a choice location. Deeds of 1269 through 1270 list fireplaces in four of Ca' da Mosto's ground-floor rooms, suggesting that they too served as habitations; see Schulz, "Ca' da Mosto," 77. Apartments of paired ground-floor and mezzanine rooms can be seen on the earliest plans of the Fondaco dei Turchi; see Appendix III (B), no. 2.

17. An account book for nine consecutive months during 1343–44, recording the provisions laid in for a household of eight to nine mouths between family members, servants, and visitors, lists purchases of up to 1 bushel of beans at a time, ½ bushel of dried peas, 21½ bushels of bread (!), 47½ bushels of wheat, 23¾ pounds of cheese, 14½ gallons of olive oil, and 636 gallons of wine (!). Meat was bought in lots ranging from 38 to 280 pounds; firewood, delivered three times during the nine months, totaled 28¾ cords, an average of 9 cords per delivery. See Luzzatto, "Costo della vita." (The source is an account book of a Morosini household residing near S. Maria Formosa.) Legislation of 1271 decreed the taxability of oil, cheese, and meats imported by merchants "per fruere in domo" and kept by them "in domo"; *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, II, 285, no. vi. Thus, foodstuffs imported for private use from abroad were acquired in bulk too. Bulk storage of provisions at home continued to be practiced into the Renaissance, not only in Venice; see Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, bk. V, ch. 17. When the house of Giorgio Corner (q. Marco) on the Grand Canal burned, in 1532, the ground-floor magazines contained six hundred cartloads of firewood and barrels, the contents of which go

unmentioned. Trading goods, namely sugar and cotton, were there too: they had been landed damp and brought to the house's attic in order to dry—evidently a special case. See Sanudo, *Diarii*, LVI, col. 753. Writing in the early seventeenth century, the architect Vincenzo Scamozzi called a typical Venetian palace's ground-floor rooms the "officine della casa" and compared them to the basement rooms of a mainland house; see his *Idea*, I, 243.

18. I have not encountered any document that mentions storage of boats inside a palace. However, I have visited innumerable buildings in which I stumbled over boats and marine gear in the entrance *portego*. Presumably, the practice of keeping them there is age-old. One would not know, in fact, where else to put them.

19. The use of steeds and beasts of burden is well attested in medieval Venice; cf. Cecchetti, "Vita dei veneziani nel 1300," pt. I, 39–41 (in book form, 39–41), and Mazzi, "Note per una definizione della funzione viaria," 13 n. 18. Yet, the only separate stable that I have come across in property deeds was a building put up behind Ca' Loredan by Federico Corner soon after 1369; see Appendix V (A), no. 2 (the stable did not yet exist when no. 1 was executed, and has long since disappeared). More commonly, when animals needed shelter, they must have been brought into the residence.

20. One who did so was the slave of Bishop Domenico Gaffaro of Eraclea, who in 1370 murdered his master in the latter's Venetian residence; Tassini, *Alcune delle più clamorose condanne*, 25, cited by Romano, *Housecraft*, 269 n. 109.

It is one of the curiosities of Venetian secular architecture and social standards that the utilitarian simplicity of the medieval palace plan—which provided an ample, if awkwardly shaped, common room for the family, private bed-sitting-rooms for each individual, storage space, and a minimum of service rooms (kitchen, latrines)—persisted far into the Renaissance. Residences of the prosperous and powerful in central Italy grew increasingly complex from the fifteenth century forward, absorbing an ever more variegated array of rooms: secondary reception rooms (*salotti*), antechambers, dressing or extraprivate rooms (*guardarobe*), informal dining rooms (*tinelli*), studies (*studioli*), and still other specialized spaces. The more sumptuous buildings

might contain several of each kind, organized into separate suites for the several inhabitants and their families.²¹ But in Venice, Vincenzo Scamozzi, describing an ideal Venetian palace in 1615, still pictured an interior layout little different from that of a pre-Gothic palace.²² Although by then there were owners who had incorporated some of the central Italian room types in their buildings, many more were content to live in more traditionally and more sparingly conceived palaces, whether old or built anew. It is only in the seventeenth century that the old model was, if not completely superseded, so much enriched and enlarged that Venetian patricians of means could finally live like princes.

21. See further in Chapter 3.

22. Scamozzi, *Idea*, 1, 242–43.

T H R E E

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND



RUSKIN COINED THE evocative name “sea palace” for the many Venetian buildings that rise as if from the water. Indeed, the popular notion of Venice is that its buildings all stand at the water’s edge and its inhabitants and goods all move by water. Yet, the modern city moves much on foot and has many buildings that stand away from the water, circumstances whose incidence seems to increase the further back one looks in time. Of the pre-Gothic palaces, some turned their backs to the water, several possessed great courtyards and/or sizable shelves of open ground between themselves and the shore, and still others were removed from the edges of

1. With the exception of the Ca’ del Papa, early upper-hall-house buildings faced away from the water; see Chapter 1. Among palaces of the specifically Venetian type, Ca’ Barozzi turned its back to the water when first built, as well as standing away from it. The beautiful but demolished palace near S. Moisè that is generally connected with the Giustinian family also stood at a distance from a waterway. Ca’ Barzizza (near S. Silvestro), Ca’ del Papa, Ca’ Farsetti, and Ca’ Loredan faced the water from behind embankments. Most of these buildings are treated in this book. For Ca’ Barzizza and the palace near S. Moisè, see, respectively, Schulz, “Ca’ Barzizza,” and Selvatico, *Sulla architettura*,

adjacent waterways by at least the width of a public or private embankment.¹ It is only during the thirteenth century—the period of these palaces—that the residences of notables gradually began to press their principal façades nearer and nearer to a waterway’s banks.

No doubt there was more than one cause for this development. A rapidly growing population must have led to more and more intensive use of the city’s terrain, as already argued in Chapter 1. Increasing embankment of canals with masonry consolidated canal sides, protecting them against erosion and encouraging construction nearby. But

75. Documented instances of much earlier buildings that stood on the water are claimed by Dorigo, “Espressioni,” 843. It may be that he saw only misleading excerpts of the documents he cites (but does not quote). In one, from 1134, it is a boatyard, not a residence, that stands on the water. In another, from 1167, the water bounds a lot, not a building. Cf. ASVe, CodDipVen, nos. 792 and 2642, respectively. In a third, a provision states that “a comprehenso capite de mea porticu quod est de contra rivum usque in rivo . . . aedificio fieri non debeat,” suggesting existence of a shelf of land between the building and the canal large enough to build upon; see *Documenti del commercio*, 1, doc. no. 16.

social changes, in governmental institutions and in the self-image of the governing class, must also have encouraged the development of outward-looking residences built of expensive materials and distinguished by richly decorated façades. Unfamiliar to medievalists working outside the field of Venetian studies, these social changes require fuller explanation.

At the beginning of the central Middle Ages, Venice was a city of neighborhoods, *viciniae*, out of which in the mid–eleventh century grew municipal divisions, or wards, as also happened in the cities of the mainland.² Wards were organized around the church where the inhabitants worshiped, and were mostly coextensive with its parish. When in the mid–twelfth century Venice began to adopt communal institutions modeled on those of the older communes of the mainland, it established councils and offices, whose members and holders were chosen by representatives of the wards according to rules that allotted to the latter fixed numbers of seats or offices, in this way systematizing and

2. In Venice, wards were called *confinia*, *contratae*, and (very occasionally) *horae*. Before the introduction of wards, locations were specified via broad, imprecisely bounded settlements: Canaregio, Luprio, Dorsoduro, Rialto, Gemini, Olivolo, and so forth. Mention of wards began in the mid–eleventh century: the *confinia* of S. Moisè in 1043 or 1053 and S. Salvatore in 1067; see, respectively, Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, IX, 2–3, and Gloria, *Codice diplomatico padovano dall’anno 1101 alla pace di Costanza*, I, 226, no. 197, as cited by Zolli, “Antica toponomastica,” 13–14. By 1152 the wards were organized into groups of two, thirty of which encompassed the city as a whole. For the existence of thirty groups, see Sanudo, *Vite*, ed. Monticolo, 235 n. 2; for the composition of a group, see Canal, *Estoiros*, 252. There is no study of Venetian wards, but they must have functioned generally as did those of other towns. For an overview, see Luzzatto, “Vicinie e comuni,” and, for specifics, Mazzi, *Vicinie* (Bergamo); Pini, *Ripartizioni* (Bologna); Franceschini, *Frammenti epigrafici*, 22 (Ferrara); Davidsohn, *Geschichte*, I, 326–30 (Florence); and Sinatti D’Amico, *Per una città*, 132–45 (Milan). The work of the individual wards is spelled out most clearly by Mazzi, who used thirteenth-century account books of the wards of Bergamo.

strengthening the wards’ political weight.³ Small wonder that in this period the major family or families of a given neighborhood would build their home facing inland, toward the church, in whose parishioners, priests, and lay administrators was vested the authority for the myriad decisions that governed local daily life. Thus, the fronts of buildings of the palatine and upper-hall-house types, such as those represented by the twelfth-century fragmentary arcades and the nuclei of Ca’ Barozzi and the Fondaco dei Turchi, faced not toward a waterway but toward the paths that led to the local church.⁴

Yet, in the long term the introduction of communal government worked against the political importance of local communities, reducing them bit by bit to simple administrative divisions. Everywhere, on the mainland and in Venice, the newly established communes’ councils, magistratures, and courts increased in number and size and expanded their authority, taking over more and more business heretofore discharged in the wards.⁵ The expansion was

3. A council advising the doge is first mentioned in 1141, and the obligation of citizens to swear obedience to it, in 1143; see, respectively, Luzzatto, “Più antichi trattati,” and *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, I, 235–36, no. 1. A new electoral law adopted in 1207 (by which time a second council and a number of communal officers had been introduced) specifies that six wards, rotating annually among the city’s sixty wards, shall nominate three electors who, in turn, shall nominate councilmen and officers at specified ratios, so many to each pair or other grouping of wards; *ibid.*, I, 263, doc. A. (The scheme replaced an earlier one mentioned but not described in a statute of 1185; *ibid.*, I, 252–53, no. xvii.) Histories of Venice’s communal phase may be found in all the standard works, as well as in the introduction to *ibid.*, I, iv–xx. A stimulating résumé was published by Cassandro, “Concetto.”

4. For the arcades, see Chapter 1; for Ca’ Barozzi and the Fondaco, see, respectively, Appendix II (D) and III (D).

5. For the Italian development in general, see Pini, “Dal comune città stato al comune ente amministrativo”; for Venice, see Cracco, *Società e stato*, 158–63.

due in part to the growing complexity of urban, social, and economic affairs in an age of soaring populations, expanding commerce and industry, and new wealth. No doubt it was due in some part to the age-old propensity of governments to grow in size and reach. But not least it was also a consequence of the political and social rivalries that dogged all the communal governments throughout their existence.

Created and initially governed by those families of notables which, in the early Middle Ages, had furnished advisers and justices to the counts, bishops, or doges who ruled the polity, the communes were soon beleaguered by rising classes of citizens who sought equal access to office and power: traders and bankers, artisans, newly urbanized nobles from the countryside. Soon the drive for representation became a struggle for control. Groups combined and recombined opportunistically as they sought advantage over one another, so that the sequence and character of the coalitions varied from town to town. But the mechanisms by which a voice was given to one faction or another—whether enacted by those on top who sought to co-opt and make allies of an excluded party, or by parties who had seized the commune for themselves and wished to exclude rivals—were everywhere the same: the newcomers were seated in existing councils, courts, and magistratures, expanding them, or they were

given new ones of their own from which to stand watch over the old.

As is well known, on the mainland the contest ended with the arrival of strongmen in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the *signori*, who, having led one or another coalition to hegemony, sought to turn their positions of leadership into personal, hereditary rule.

In Venice, by contrast, open strife was avoided, but a corresponding transformation took place. By the 1230s councils had grown in number from one to four; by the 1280s courts had grown from one to eight; officers multiplied during the thirteenth century from a communal treasurer, an advocate, and two others to more than two dozen who looked after trade, finance, food supply, public order, public works, public property, urbanism, and so forth.

As the central government grew, the role of the neighborhoods declined. “Heads” of the wards, the *capita contratarum*, who first come into view at the end of the twelfth century, initially possessed both law-giving and law-enforcing powers, like the *consules* and *rectores* who headed wards in the mainland cities of the time. Their function seems to have been to represent the ward to the commune and the commune to the ward.⁶ I do not know how they were chosen at first, but they seem to have been residents of the ward they oversaw.⁷ By 1282 they had lost all but a policing function, however, and

6. A decree of 1192 requires that property owners report to their *caput contratae* any foreigners harbored in their houses; see Cecchetti, *Programma*, 56–58. A decree of 1223, forbidding the sale of certain timber, was signed jointly by the *capita contratarum*, the doge, the Consiglio Maggiore, Consiglio Minore, Quarantia, and *iusticierii*; see *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, I, 129, no. 1. In 1229 the *capita* joined with the same three councils to prescribe conditions of office (the *Promissione*) to the doge-elect, Jacopo Tiepolo; see *Promissioni*, 19. In outlying

settlements of the lagoon and in undeveloped parts of the capital's archipelago, a *gastaldus* played a comparable role, albeit assisted by various underlings; see Castagnetti, “Insediamenti e ‘populi,’” 592–96 (including mention of a *gastaldus* for Dorsoduro in 1140).

7. In 1188 Tomaso Falier of the ward of S. Pantalon called himself former “caput mee contrate”; see *Documenti del commercio*, I, doc. no. 365. (The document is dated 1187 by Cecchetti, “Vita dei veneziani fino al secolo XIII,” 108.)

they were chosen by a committee of the commune's all-powerful Great Council.⁸ They now only represented the commune to the ward.

Actions that in many spheres had been voluntary or regulated locally now came increasingly under centralized control. An example is the manner in which the state raised extra revenue in times of special need. Traditionally, in Venice as on the mainland, the ordinary costs of government were met by indirect levies, such as fines, fees, export and import duties, and the leasing-out of revenue collection and government properties. Extraordinary costs, especially those of war, were met from occasional taxes on property, the *decimum* and *adventaticum*, and from loans taken up among wealthy supporters of the state.⁹ Toward the end of the twelfth century, however, such taxes and solicited loans gave way to forced loans imposed by the commune: the government would determine the total amount needed and order individual citizens to pay their share, calculated in proportion to their wealth.

8. *Capita contratarum* now oversaw sales to their wards' residents of grain from government stockpiles, enrolled male residents for military service, and directed the latter's regular target practice with crossbows (Cecchetti, "Vita dei veneziani nel 1300," pt. v, 25–26 [in book form, 139–40]; Molmenti, *Storia*, I, 506–8). *Capita* also notified the doge and his counsellors of residents who refused to swear fealty, reported lawbreakers to the doge and his counsellors and, together with the latter, determined the appropriate punishments, summoned the residents to hear governmental proclamations in the local church, and exacted from residents sworn undertakings to pay their share of the latest forced loan (*Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, respectively, I, 228–29, no. 1, of 1228; I, 229–30, no. 2, of 1228; III, 54, no. 192, of 1283; III, 290, no. 164, of 1291). Still another duty was to report what arms a resident kept in his home (Romanin, *Storia documentata*, II, 332 [reprt., II, 237], of 1294). Other functions previously the headman's were now the duty of specially appointed officers, also called *capita*. Thus, the taking of oaths of fealty was now the work of special *capita obidentiae*, who reported the renitent to the local *caput contratae* for further action (*Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, I, 228–29, no. 1, of 1228; thereafter regularly incorporated in the *Promissio* sworn by every new

Nonpayment led to fines, seizure of property, or even banishment.¹⁰

Another example is urbanistic regulation. A magistrature to oversee streets, waterways, and embankments, with the power to report to the Consiglio Maggiore usurpations of public space, is first mentioned in the 1220s. Revamped several times and acquiring scope in the process, it reached its final form in the 1290s as the Iudices super publicis (Giudici del Piovego), with power over waterways, streets, bridges, and public property. The magistrates could adjudicate disputes between private parties and the state over ownership of properties, discover usurpations of public rights of way, prove transfers of public property to private parties, prescribe repairs to privately owned embankments at the owners' expense, order waterways dredged, diverted, or filled and collect a portion of the expense from the riparian owners. The *iudices* had authority, furthermore, to take depositions under oath, levy fines upon those who would not depose, compel reversal

doge, *Promissioni*, 35, 49, 55, 75, 96–97, 121, 149). Other specially appointed *capita* oversaw street and waterway repairs; see below.

9. The *decimum* seems to have been a secular tithe levied on patrimonies once in any generation or, possibly, every two generations. In another form, the *adventaticum*, it was levied more often, and possibly at a lower rate. See *Bilanci*, I, I, cxliii–cxlvii, and 15 n. 2 (I owe the citation to Prof. Reinhold Mueller); Castagnetti, "Insediamenti e 'populi,'" 596–99. An example of a voluntary loan is the 1,100 marks of silver borrowed in 1164 from a dozen individuals in exchange for the next eleven years' income from the state-owned market of Rialto; see Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, doc. no. 1.

10. Forced loans were introduced sometime in the 1180s or 1190s. Only the poor were exempt, and even the doge had to participate (see *Promissioni*, 14 [1229]). A citizen's worth was at first established by tax officials; eventually the citizen himself declared it under oath to the tax office. When, in the later thirteenth century, officials realized that the accumulating debt could never be repaid, it was turned into what was effectively a funded national debt, represented by obligations on record in the loan office that earned interest and could be transferred. See Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, iii–xx, and idem, *Storia economica*, 32–33.

of contraventions of their regulations and demand posting of bond until the contraventions were made good. Finally, they appointed foremen, whom they called (confusingly) *capita sive suprastantes*, to supervise and keep accounts for each project the *iudices* had ordered in the various wards.¹¹ By the time the magistrature reached this final form, scrutiny and discipline of the intersection between public and private in urbanistic matters had passed completely to the centralized state.

Parallel with the rise of centralized government was the rise of a governing class. Whereas in the mainland communes the older and the newer notables continued to contest control of the commune until the coming of *signori*, in Venice a struggle was avoided by co-optation of rising men into the governing group. The process can be charted by the growth in the number of families participating in the ducal and then the communal administrations.¹² In the two centuries preceding the establishment of the commune, before the 1140s, that is, the doges and the *iudices* (officers and advisers of the doges' personal administration), who regularly signed the former's decrees, were drawn from twenty-nine long-established families of wealthy notables. During the years 1141–1204, the period of the early commune, forty-five additional families, newly risen in prominence and not previously active in government, joined the older group and appeared with

them among communal officeholders and signatories of decrees. Between 1261 and 1281, finally, a further 168 new families served alongside the previous two groups as members of the Great Council (Consiglio Maggiore).¹³ (As the commune's sovereign authority for all basic legislation—including the establishment of new councils, magistratures, and offices, the election of major officers, and prescription of election rules for lesser ones—this was the most important council of all. Furthermore, membership in the Great Council increasingly became a prerequisite to appointment or election to other communal positions.)

Eventually, membership in the Great Council, of the most important of both old and new families, was “locked in” through constitutional reforms enacted piecemeal between 1297 and 1323.¹⁴ The first and most important of these reorganizations had both practical and political aims. Whereas at the beginning of the century the council had consisted of thirty citizens, selected to represent the wards, plus ten officers of the commune serving *ex officio*, fifty years later the councilmen—one does not know how chosen—numbered one hundred and those serving *ex officio* over two hundred. The pool from which officers and council members were drawn needed very much to be enlarged. At the same time, factional divisions between the older and the more recent families of notables, such as were rending the

11. See Roberti, *Magistrature giudiziarie*, II, 278, no. 46, and, more generally, 257–65 (history of the magistrature), 271–303 (its regulations), and the introduction to *Codex publicorum*.

12. I have taken my figures from the tables constructed by Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 65 (for the years 960–1140), 103–4 (1141–1204), and 127–32 (1261–81).

13. Some of the last group appear only once or twice during those twenty years. But sixty served in the council for ten or more sessions; they, plainly, had become valued members of the ruling group.

14. A mid-fourteenth-century chronicler, writing of the initial statute of 1297, wrote that its effect was to *serrare* the council membership, a word repeated by chroniclers and historians ever since and generally interpreted to signify that the council was closed defensively against newcomers. Yet, the primary meaning of the word *serrare* is to throw a lock shut; it is only as a function of locking that it may connote the barring of entry or a closing. See Lane, “Enlargement,” 255. Lane's article, as well as the pages devoted to this reform by Rösch (*Venezianische Adel*, ch. 6), is the basis of my account.

older communes on the mainland, had to be forestalled by confirming the inclusion of newcomers.

Calls for revising the method of choosing council members began in the 1280s. After years of inconclusive debate, the qualification for membership was finally redefined in 1297 as membership during any of the previous four years. A newly established council, the *Consilium de XL* (the *Quarantia*), had to approve such men's reappointment for the next year, as well as the appointment of individuals lacking the newly instituted qualification but recommended by the doge and his communal advisers. The following year the system was extended for the indefinite future; subsequently it was repeatedly amended in ways that made the entry of omitted families increasingly difficult, eventually turning the qualification for membership into a hereditary privilege of an early member's male descendants. In this way the changes ultimately led to a closed caste of governors of the commune.¹⁵ The outcome had been implicit in the first reform, however, for by establishing experience as a prerequisite for membership and placing oversight of the reelection of previous members in the hands of an assembly instituted and elected by the Great Council, the

15. Although the statute of 1297 did provide for the induction of further families, as mentioned above, the practice gradually fell out of use. Revisions of membership statutes down to 1323 are analyzed by Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 176–79 (179 n. 44 contains two important misprints: the date “1223” on line 1 should read “1323”; “parte” on line 4 should read “patre”).

16. Indeed, it is only in the early fifteenth century that the state abandoned the name *commune Veneciarum* and began to style itself a *dominium*; see Cozzi and Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica*, 100–101. For the patriciate's further evolution from the 1290s to 1379, see Chojnacki, “In Search” (criticized, but misguidedly, by Ruggiero, *Violence*, 56–58), and Romano, *Patricians*. Reflections of a new class consciousness in fourteenth-century testaments have been illustrated by Mueller, “Espressioni di *status*.” According to Romano, the new governing

latter had assured that its members and their kind would continue to govern.

Other, nongovernmental identities of interests tied the older and the newer of these families together: they had been intermarrying; they had been sharing business ventures. In short, their joint administration of communal affairs welded more tightly bonds that had been forming for a century and more. It took still longer, until well into the Quattrocento, for the families of this new governing class to acquire the full panoply of values, conventions, and institutions that characterize the mature patriciate of Venice.¹⁶ But their bonding and their attendant sense of themselves as leaders of a common enterprise, the commune, were already emerging in the Duecento.

Introduced as the change was gathering momentum, the new palace type seemed to reflect this growth of a governing class, or more particularly of an uppermost stratum in this class, one pleased to display its status, wealth, and power.¹⁷ Not every patron harbored the exhibitionist tastes of the builders of the new palaces, or had the means to realize them. Indeed, some still built residences in scale, plan, and siting similar to the older, upper-hall

class's opportunities for bestowing state patronage reinforced their growing cohesion; *Patricians*, 120–31. Using illustrative material from the fourteenth century, he too detects a new “state-centeredness” and an attendant “turn away from the neighborhoods” in the actions and values of the men who sat in the *Consiglio Maggiore*.

17. The heterogeneous character of the Venetian patriciate—in terms of political influence and wealth—during early modern times has often been pointed out; see Megna, “Grandezza e miseria.” However, already in the later Middle Ages the patriciate comprised a mix of the rich and not so rich, the powerful and not so powerful; see Chojnacki, “In Search,” 60–70. At its top were some fourteen families with the deepest pockets, the greatest longevity, and the most male offspring.

houses.¹⁸ The new palaces instead were larger in every respect than such houses, having more expansive halls, higher floor levels, and wider intercolumnations in their arcades.¹⁹ Furthermore, the new palaces turned away from the local church, facing now upon public waterways, above all the Grand Canal. In their new situation, they exhibited to passersby the owners' membership in a citywide ruling class, responsible for the polity as a whole, not just a local ward or a series of wards.

The palaces that still survive, or whose appearance is known from early views, stand out for their lavish finishes. Not only were they built of stone and brick, more expensive to procure and to shape than the common building material of early medieval Venice—wood—but they were also finished with fine carvings: complex moldings, capitals, and figurative sculpture. Admittedly, masonry construction was becoming more common generally in urban architecture during the central Middle Ages, both in Venice and on the mainland. It was more permanent than wood, proof against fire, and more resistant to assault. Yet, pre-Gothic residences of notables in other Italian cities were plainer: trimmed with sculpture in a local limestone, rather than with

marble *spolia* of late antique origin or carvings in an expensive, Veronese *broccatello*; exhibiting simpler forms than those of Venetian palaces.²⁰

In addition, certain features of the Venetian buildings were long-established signifiers of rank and wealth. Namely, some sported towers and crenellation. These were very ancient forms, invented in preclassical antiquity for military defense. Making visible the power of those able to command defenders and to inflict harm on challengers, the two forms had furthermore become symbols of high status, dominion, and the wherewithal to defend both, that is, wealth.²¹ Both kinds of structures became part of the architectural vocabulary and iconography of the Graeco-Roman world and were inherited by the latter's Byzantine, Islamic, and Latin offspring.

In late antique and medieval times, the right to fortify—to build castles and towers or to install crenellation—had become a regalian prerogative of the sovereign or his representative.²² Technically, an intending builder of such structures had to obtain the sovereign's license to fortify; in receiving it, the builder assumed the status of a delegated defender of the state. In practice, more and more lords built

18. An example is the so-called Casa dell'Angelo, for which, see Chapter 1, note 25, and Figs. 20–21. Its stone details bespeak a date in the mid-thirteenth century, but the building is smaller than contemporary palaces on the Grand Canal, turns a plain back to the neighboring *rii*, exhibits rather plain architectural sculpture on its principal façade, but hides that from public view in a courtyard.

19. None of the surviving fragments of these houses includes an upper floor, so that one can only compare heights and spacing of members on the ground floor. Furthermore, subsidence and the parallel practice of raising sunken pavements have left uncertain the exact original height of the fragmentary arcades of former upper-hall houses (of whose footings none have been excavated). As of today, the height of ground floors in the arcades of the corti del Fontego and del Teatro is some two meters less than in the Romanesque palaces, making no

allowance for subsidence in either case. Radical alterations in the distribution of rooms make it impossible to determine the depth of the arcades or the sizes of the rooms that lay behind them.

20. See the mainland upper-hall houses cited in Chapter 1, note 21, and the Continental palaces discussed in the Conclusion; Figs. 14, 16, 56, and 57, respectively.

21. See Porada, "Battlements," and Settia, "Lo sviluppo di un modello." For the physical appearance of symbolic crenellation, or cresting, on Venetian palaces, see Chapter 4.

22. Representatives might be bishops, *missi*, *comites*, or other high lords. For England, see Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, 1, ch. 8; for Germany, see Schrader, *Befestigungsrecht*, and Coulin, *Befestigungshoheit*; for Italy, see Vismara, "Disciplina giuridica" (here the language of grants is quoted: e.g., 19, 36, 41).

without authorization, seeking royal approval *ex post facto* or not at all. Even so, whether legal or not, castles, towers, and crenellation not only exhibited power but also continued to connote high status.²³ When notables in Italian cities began, in the eleventh century, to erect the so-called family towers and, in the twelfth and thirteenth, to build crenellated palaces, they were not only trying to protect themselves but also exhibiting their pretensions to power and social status.²⁴

In pre-Gothic Venice, where self-defense was not a consideration, battlements and towers had but a symbolic function, which encouraged an increasingly decorative treatment of their forms. Crenellation in residential architecture became ornamental cresting, consisting of gable- or shovel-shaped blades that might sport sculptures or be pierced by openings.²⁵ Towers were subsumed into façade articulation or added casually as an accent atop some other part of a building.²⁶ Even in their more decorative form, however, or as parts of a larger composition,

23. Charles H. L. Coulson has published numerous articles on fortification in medieval England and France, the titles of which suggest that his subject is the iconographic role of these features. Yet, aside from a general incoherence of argument, the discussion always veers toward legal issues. See, for instance, his “Structural Symbolism.”

24. Long interpreted as military structures, intended to protect the owners against attack by political enemies, towers and crenellation seem in many instances to have had no more than a symbolic function. Put forward as long ago as 1956 by Paolo Vaccari, this interpretation has gradually gained adherents; see Vaccari, *Pavia*, 67; Moos, *Turm und Bollwerk*, 18–25; Fasoli, “Le torri,” esp. 22; and Hubert, *Space*, 192–93. An instance of a “symbolic” tower is one in Verona that, changing hands in the early thirteenth century, was acquired by owners who wanted, not to live there, but to overawe a rival family living within sight of it; see Varanini, *Torri*, 190–91. Towers abounded in all the medieval cities of north central Italy, as evident from a simple listing of those towns, the towers of which have been treated in specialized studies: Ascoli Piceno, Asti, Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Lucca, Luni, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Ravenna, Rome, San Gimignano, Siena, Todi, and Vicenza. The literature consists mainly

of antiquarian compilations, but includes a few carefully documented studies: e.g., Gozzadini, *Torri gentilizie* (Bologna); Macci and Orgera, *Architettura e civiltà* (Florence); and Katermaa-Ottela, *Casetorri* (Rome). Few towers still stand or stand to their full height; early city views give an idea of their density in the medieval urban fabric and exhibitionistic heights. See, for instance, the idealized view of Siena in Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s well-known mural *Good Government* of ca. 1338–39 (Palazzo comunale, Siena) and the topographical view of Padua in Giusto de’ Menabuoi’s mural *Bd. Luca Belludi’s Vision of St. Anthony* of 1382 (basilica of St. Anthony of Padua); for the latter, see *Cappella del Beato Luca*, 54–55, 70, 72. Both images reproduce crenellated residences as well.

In sum, the known pre-Gothic palaces paraded the importance of their builders. Unfortunately, only one builder can be identified: Renier Dandolo, who put up Ca’ Farsetti. He was without any doubt a member of the topmost stratum of the emergent patrician class.²⁷ For the rest of the pre-Gothic palaces the trail of ownership begins only in the mid-Duecento or later, a generation or more after they were built, when the family inhabiting a building may no longer have been that which put it up.

As residences began to acquire socially representational forms in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, and as the buildings were handed on to descendants and the descendants of descendants, palaces began to acquire still another meaning, as an embodiment of the owning family’s identity. As a consequence, in mainland Italy, when one faction had gained the

25. For illustration of the forms of Venetian cresting, see Chapter 4.

26. For examples, see Chapter 1, notes 36, 39.

27. Ranking the importance of the various clans according to several different indexes, Chojnacki placed the Dandolo among the fourteen leading family groups in the patriciate during the period 1297–1379; see Chojnacki, “In Search,” 67 and 89.

upper hand over another, it would order its opponents' houses to be wasted.²⁸ Owners, for their part, both in Venice and on the mainland, with increasing regularity saw fit to bequeath a family residence to their principal male heir or heirs and the latter's male descendants, hedged about by restrictions that explicitly proscribed sale or encumberment of the building in any form at any time.²⁹

It is an unexplained paradox that, testamentary strictures notwithstanding, palaces in Venice changed hands frequently. Of the four family residences treated in the Appendix, Ca' Farsetti was sold in the fifteenth century by the last and childless descendant of the fourteenth-century doge who had wrested the building from the family of its builder.³⁰ Ca' Loredan was built in the thirteenth century by an unknown family, acquired somehow before 1316 by the Zane, and fifty years later bought by the Corner.³¹ The Fondaco dei Turchi, part owned in 1309 by a Pesaro but certainly begun a hundred years or more before, was not necessarily built by that family; in any case, in 1381 the Pesaro were forced to sell it to the state.³² Among other buildings of which we have some early notice, Ca' da Mosto was bought only in 1266 by the family under whose

name it goes today. Earlier owners, although very likely not the first, were a branch of the Barozzi.³³ A now-destroyed early-thirteenth-century palace adjoining the latter's "Ca' grande" near S. Moisè was in 1279 an inheritance of the sons of Marino Ghisi q. Marco. Yet, Marino had been living at the opposite end of Venice, near S. Geremia, at the time the building was built. Somehow he must have acquired it ready-made.³⁴

Among methods of transfer other than voluntary or forced sale were gift of the family residence as dowry to a marrying daughter and forfeit under a court order compensating a creditor of the owner's.³⁵ There were also false forfeits, under which a building might be pledged as security for a loan the borrower did not intend to repay; this method was useful for selling surreptitiously a testamentarily restricted building.³⁶

The Venetian practice of partible inheritance, furthermore, could lead to division of the title into ever more shares. Eventually some share might leave the family by one or another of the means of transfer listed above. Indeed, title could be divided into so many shares that no single portion was large enough to make a suitable patrician home. In this

28. See, for instance, the long list of Guelf properties wasted by the Ghibellines of Florence after the Guelfs were crushed at Montaperti, and qualifying for restitution upon the Guelfs' return to power in 1270; *Liber extimationum*. Less common in Venice than on the mainland, wreaking destruction on an enemy's or offender's house was not unknown. An early example is the wasting of the Dandolo houses in 1148 by order of doge Giovanni Polani; see Appendix I (C), esp. note 52. The most widely known instance in Venice is the razing of the Tiepolo's residence at S. Agostino and wasting of the Querini's at Rialto as punishment for their conspiracy against the constituted government. See Lazzarini, "La casa e la colonna," where other examples are listed as well.

29. For typical examples of such dispositions, see Appendix II (A), no. 4, and Appendix III (A), no. 1.

30. See Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," and Appendix IV (A), no. 12. Whereas a doge's desire for one's property might have been impossible to resist, childlessness was not a sufficient reason to alienate one's ancestral home—one could leave it to collateral relations, as many childless owners did.

31. See Appendix V (C). Later, in 1388, the building was awarded by court order to a creditor of the late Federico Corner's; see Appendix V (A), no. 2.

32. See Appendix III (A), nos. 3–4.

33. See Schulz, "Ca' da Mosto."

34. See Appendix II, note 88.

35. For an example of the latter, see note 31 above.

36. See Schulz, "Wealth in Mediaeval Venice," 32.

case, selling or renting one's fraction of the building to a co-owner or an outsider was acceptable.³⁷

Changes of ownership tended to hasten physical change. As new owners took possession, bringing with them new needs and new tastes, buildings would be retrofitted to bring them into harmony. Indeed, the palace type that evolved during the central Middle Ages continued to evolve, reflecting not only changing fashions in architectural styles but also an evolution in the values and lifestyle of the Venetian patriciate. As the epoch of the medieval patriciate receded, pre-Gothic residences began to die—were demolished or transformed beyond recognition—or to adapt to the requirements of more modern owners. Half of the ten pre-Gothic palaces depicted in Jacopo de' Barbari's view, for instance, lining the north side of the Grand Canal between rio di S. Silvestro (now infilled) and rio di S. Polo (Fig. 23), no longer exist.³⁸ Gone, too, is the Romanesque-Byzantine palace of the Zeno near S. Sofia, replaced by the flamboyantly Gothic Ca' d'Oro.³⁹ Numerous buildings described at length in thirteenth-century records no longer match those standing on the same sites today.⁴⁰ And every one of the palaces examined in this book suffered either outright replacement (Ca' del Papa), extensive truncation (Fondaco dei Turchi), or more or less

drastic rebuilding (Ca' Barozzi, Ca' Farsetti, and Ca' Loredan).

Of the changes that came over the old palaces, alterations in the style of their exterior forms—from byzantinizing-Romanesque to Gothic to Renaissance and beyond—have consistently been emphasized by critics. They do attest an element of fashion in palace design, and changes of fashion are a social phenomenon. Being dressed in the same style as one's peers reinforces the sense of social acceptance and cohesion. If the style involves significant costs or difficulties of procurement, it may reinforce the sense of social superiority. Certainly, the more florid forms of Gothic capitals, door and window frames, cornices, and crenellation required more stone and more numerous and expert masons than the fewer and simpler forms of the byzantinizing-Romanesque. They reflect an increase of patron wealth and a greater willingness to display it. But changes of the palaces' inner organism tell us far more of the society the buildings housed than changes in exterior dress.

Relatively superficial as well, at least in their social implications, are the very early enlargements—in the late Middle Ages, the construction of annexes or the conversion of attic loggias into enclosed, second residential floors that followed the same plan as

37. See Megna, "Comportamenti abitativi," 289–97. Many further examples of the residential dilemmas of, and choices made by, patricians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are supplied by Sabbadini, *Acquisto della tradizione*, 142–48.

38. By the date of Jacopo's woodcut, 1500, one of these buildings had already been given a new façade. Sometime after that date the following buildings disappeared (reading from left to right—that is, west to east—on Jacopo's print): the predecessor of Palazzo Grimani; the small building with a modernized façade but Romanesque crenellation between Ca' Donà and Palazzo Coccina-Tiepolo; the small building between Ca' Businello and Ca' Barzizza; the predecessor of the

building fronting on fondamenta della Pasina and bearing the Avogadro arms; and the tower adjoining the Ca' del Papa, owned in the sixteenth century by the Michiel.

39. The wife of Marino Contarini, builder of the Ca' d'Oro, had brought the older building to her husband. Extensive remains of the latter's carved friezes were incorporated into Contarini's showpiece. They are not treated and only dimly visible in Goy, *House of Gold*, but see Zuliani, "Conservazione ed innovazione," 31.

40. Among them the *domus magna* with two unequal towers, adjacent to S. Margarita, of Giovanni Sgaldario, almost every room of which is listed in a description of 1261; cf. Chapter 1, note 36.

the floor below. Whereas such changes might significantly alter a fabric's silhouette, they brought no change in how the building was used or in the basic system of its layout. The purpose was to gain more floor space and so accommodate an increase in the numbers of individuals rooming together. In fact, until legally emancipated, married sons would often continue to live in the family palace with their elders and siblings, and even after a father's death would tend to stay together, sharing their patrimony and palace *in fraterna compagna*. Enlargements of this type, and very likely for this reason, were practiced in the late Middle Ages at Ca' Farsetti and also Ca' da Mosto.⁴¹

More telling than simple enlargement, however, is the growing scale of new buildings put up in the years of the Gothic style. Whereas in mid-fourteenth-century buildings, such as the older of the two Ca' Soranzo on campo di S. Polo, the scale is still comparable to that of pre-Gothic palaces, a mid-fifteenth-century building such as Ca' Pesaro "degli Orfei" on campo di S. Benedetto (Figs. 50–51) outdoes them all. Dimensions are extravagant throughout: *porteghi* forty-two meters long, eight meters wide, and five and a quarter meters high—

twice as long as the longest, half as wide again as the widest, and nearly as high as the highest of pre-Gothic halls.⁴² Here a desire for interior luxury and exterior magnificence was obviously at work, expressing an owner's new proclivity for self-display.

Beginning in the fourteenth century also came a change in the shape of the principal hall, already mentioned in Chapter 1. First one side or the other of a hall's transept disappeared, changing the plan of the room from an inverted **T** to that of an **L**. In this way space was created for a privileged lodging at one of the building's front corners, with better light, air, and views than the dark rooms along the sides. Soon even the remaining, rump transept was dropped, allowing two such corner chambers. The hall itself turned into a long rectangular room, just like the halls of mainland palaces but located on the central axis of the fabric.

Here was a change of plan that enhanced comfort and, to some extent, representational effect: living at a palace's front corner was like occupying the best seat at the table.⁴³ The change became normative, setting a standard for palace plans that was observed in Venice down to the middle of the eighteenth century. Pre-Gothic palaces were

41. For *fraterne*, see Pertile, *Storia del diritto*, III, 282. Wings added along the northeast side and in back of Ca' Farsetti, and a second floor that took the place of an earlier loggia, can be seen in Jacopo de' Barbari's view (Fig. 183) to have been originally Gothic in style and thus late medieval; see Appendix IV (D). An added, second floor atop Ca' da Mosto is first mentioned in 1381; see Schulz, "Ca' da Mosto," 73. Both owning families had grown considerably in the mid-fourteenth century. Doge Andrea Dandolo (who acquired Ca' Farsetti in 1347–52, when it had only two storeys) begat two sons, of whom one had four sons of his own. Marco da Mosto (who bought Ca' da Mosto in 1266–69, when it had only two storeys) had two grandsons who begat five sons between them. (The additions to both buildings were later refaced in early modern styles and thus are not readily recognized as medieval today.)

42. Ca' Pesaro is called "degli Orfei" after the musical society "degli Orfei" that met there in the eighteenth century. Arslan dates the building to the mid-fifteenth century: *Venezia gotica*, 319–20. Dimensions are taken from Maretto, "Edilizia gotica," pl. XVIII. Pre-Gothic *porteghi* range in length from fourteen to twenty-one meters (Ca' Falier and Ca' Vitturi, respectively), in width from just under four to just under seven meters (Ca' Barzizza and Ca' Farsetti), and in height from four to five and three-quarters meters (Ca' Barzizza and Ca' Loredan). The early Gothic Ca' Soranzo falls in the range of the pre-Gothic buildings: its *portego* measures seventeen and a half meters in length, two and a half in width, and just over four in height; see Maretto, "Edilizia gotica," pl. XIII, and (for the date) Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 92–93.

43. In inventories, the first-floor rooms at a palace's front corners are usually identified as the owner's and senior relations' chambers.

modified retrospectively to accord with the new standard—their halls converted to long rectangles with adjoining corner chambers at the front end—some as early as the Trecento, others (e.g., Ca' Farsetti and Ca' Loredan) during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁴

Further change came at the beginning of the Renaissance. Exterior forms and planning were both affected. Reforms began in Florence, where the fourteenth-century taste for Gothic details gave way in the 1420s to a taste for classicizing forms. The first Renaissance palace in Italy, Palazzo Medici of Florence, was begun in the mid-1440s. Imitations quickly followed in that city; by the third quarter of the century the new palace architecture had made beach heads in Rome and Lombardy; by the last quarter it landed in Venice.

Scale now increased again. As in Florence, Rome, and Lombardy, palaces were built in Venice that by dint of their larger and more numerous rooms noticeably outdid their Gothic predecessors for sheer size. The earliest was Ca' Vendramin-Calergi near S. Marcuola, built for a branch of the Loredan in the first decade of the sixteenth century; even larger were the mid-sixteenth-century Ca' Corner della Ca' Grande near S. Maurizio and Ca' Grimani neighboring S. Luca (Figs. 52–53).⁴⁵

44. The transept of Ca' Barzizza's second-floor hall was converted into corner rooms in the Trecento, as is apparent from the Gothic *balconi* made especially for the new rooms. See Scattolin, *Contributo*, pls. VIII–IX, and Schulz, "Ca' Barzizza." For the later conversions at Ca' Farsetti and Ca' Loredan, see below and, in greater detail, Appendixes IV (D) and V (D).

45. The fullest treatments of these buildings will be found in monographs on their architects: Mauro Codussi, Jacopo Sansovino, and Michele Sanmicheli, respectively.

46. See Chiminelli, "Scale scoperte." For plans, see Maretto, "Edilizia gotica," pls. XI, XIII *bis* (no. 2177), XVI, XVII, and his *Casa veneziana*, pls. 10, 11, 16, 18A (no. 2177), 23.

Important changes in the basic palace plan that appeared with the new style included incorporation of stairways and courtyards into the fabric of the building. Until now, stairways to the upper floors had been located, as in most medieval Italian houses, on the outside.⁴⁶ Courtyards, when present at all, had been utilitarian, unarticulated spaces at a building's sides or rear. With Palazzo Medici a new standard was introduced. Stairs became switchback stairs inside the fabric, rather like those of Roman apartment houses.⁴⁷ Interior courtyards, regularly found in ancient Greek and Roman houses and already introduced inside some Gothic houses in central Italy, were made canonical in the new age by their appearance in Palazzo Medici.

In Venice, both features began to appear in buildings erected or rebuilt at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There are switchback stairs, for instance, in the palaces from those years designed by Mauro Codussi.⁴⁸ In older buildings, exterior stairs were gradually demolished and interior ones inserted in their place. Ca' Loredan exemplifies the practice; its exterior stairs were demolished and new interior stairs built in the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Medieval, exterior stairs entered the first floor at the back of the *portego*. Interior stairs could not be built there, for they would deprive

47. Renaissance architects could also see Roman stairs in the ruins of the Tablinum and Domus Augustana of Rome.

48. They are Ca' Zorzi near S. Severo (1480s), Ca' Corner-Spinelli near S. Angelo (ca. 1490), and Ca' Vendramin-Calergi near S. Marcuola (1502–9). See Olivato Puppi and Puppi, *Mauro Codussi*, respectively, 183–85, 203–6, and 221–26.

49. For Ca' Loredan, see Appendix V (D). For an unconventionally straight interior staircase, introduced into a pre-Gothic building in the early seventeenth century, see Schulz, "Ca' da Mosto."

the *portego* of space and light. They were inserted instead at the *portego*'s side, a position that became normative, even in palaces built *ex novo*, from the ground up.

Highly articulated courtyards enclosed within a fabric began to appear in the same years.⁵⁰ Such an interior court was created retrospectively at Ca' Loredan in the seventeenth century.

Fashion was not the sole driving force in these modifications, however. They also betray a search for greater comfort and privacy: the new style of stairs and courtyards made life easier, especially in the rainy season, and they allowed owners and visitors to move about without being seen by neighbors. Still another change of planning can be viewed in the same light: the vertical division of selected rooms on the upper, residential floors, so as to create scattered mezzanine rooms—called *solaretti* or *sopracamere*—that could be used as studies, nurseries, living space for nurses, and, occasionally, kitchens.⁵¹ Separate rooms for children and their nurses freed mothers from having to sleep and live with their offspring; separate *studioli* gave greater privacy for the master and protection for his most treasured possessions and private papers. Moreover, the individual *sopracamere*, reached through separate stairs of their own, bypassed the *enfilade* of bed-sitting-rooms, typical in Venetian palaces to the end of the republic, joined one to the next by doors that permitted other family members and servants to walk

through one's personal quarters. Hence, kitchens on this upper level spared the private chambers the odors and bustle of cooking. *Solaretti*, not mentioned in early descriptions of the interiors of Romanesque and Gothic palaces, began to appear in such buildings from the late Renaissance forward, retrospective insertions presumably. They turn up, for instance, in the record of an inspection of the Fondaco dei Turchi's *piano nobile* in 1608.⁵²

As the Cinquecento advanced and the Venetian patriciate became increasingly aristocratized, new social values and standards of conduct encouraged not only a further growth in scale of residential palaces but also an increasing specialization of room functions, an attendant increase in the number of rooms each individual required, and an ever greater luxury of interior appointments.

Rooms befitting a more formal etiquette were inserted into the traditional Venetian palace scheme. For instance, both Ca' Corner della Ca' Grande and Ca' Grimani at S. Luca have entrance porches on their principal fronts, facing the Grand Canal. Each of these is a walled-off section of the ground-floor *portego* and has its own distinguishing articulation. In Ca' Grimani the entrance is divided by files of orders to make it a three-aisled atrium, as in Palazzo Farnese at Rome. Ca' Corner, for its part, has walled-off areas at the ends of the upper *porteghi* where the stairs debouch.⁵³ Both—entrance porches and segregated stair landings—created spaces where

50. Early examples are the colonnaded court of Ca' Contarini del Bovolo near campo Manin (thus far unpublished), created in the 1490s by rebuilding and expansion of a Gothic nucleus; the uncolonnaded doubled courtyards envisaged by Jacopo Sansovino in ca. 1527 for a palace (never built) on the site of the Ca' del Duca; the partially colonnaded one in Ca' Grimani near S. Maria Formosa, continually improved from ca. 1532 to the end of the Cinquecento; the partially colonnaded one in Sansovino's Ca' Dolfin near S. Salvatore (ca. 1536);

and the courtyard without colonnades in Sansovino's Ca' Corner della Ca' Grande (planned by 1537). See Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, respectively, 432–33, 235–40, 171–82, and 118–29.

51. They appear in the description by Scamozzi of an ideal Venetian palace; see his *Idea*, I, 242–43.

52. Appendix III (A), no. 17.

53. For plans, see Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 121, and Sanmicheli, *Fabbriche*, pls. xxxii, xxxiv, respectively. For the entrance atrium of

an arriving visitor might be received by servants or the owner in a manner befitting the visitor's rank.

Already by the mid-sixteenth century a wealthy and important patrician's residential suite, like that, for instance, of the procurator Vettor Grimani, might contain not only the usual *portego*, bed rooms, and service rooms but also a wardrobe, private reception room, and gallery for works of art.⁵⁴ These were the rooms that constituted a high noble- or churchman's apartment in a Roman palace of that day, and it is likely that the proliferation in Venetian palaces of specialized room types from the later sixteenth century onward was, in fact, modeled on the central-Italian example.⁵⁵

As the patriciate divided further, to become by the later seventeenth century a multitiered class of noblemen, distinguished from one another by circumstances that ranged from extreme wealth to near penury,⁵⁶ patrician residences divided into tiers as well. Residential suites of the wealthiest continued

to grow, assimilating further room types—private reception rooms, chapels, ballrooms, and libraries, for instance—and claiming still greater floor space and height in the traditional rooms. Goldoni satirized the new multiplicity of spaces in his comedy *La casa nova* (1761), in which the hapless hero, citizen Angeletto, amidst the conflicting counsel of relatives, friends, workmen, and hangers-on, endeavors to create a residential suite that will be worthy of his bride-to-be. His dream house ramifies into innumerable chambers, including not only a *portego* but also *camere da ricever*, *d'udienza*, and *della conversazione*, bedrooms, an intimate dining room (*tinello*), and the indispensable service rooms, including a kitchen.⁵⁷

To finish the more public of these rooms in fitting style required fine mural decorations of stucco and fresco, of which very many survive, locked up, unfortunately for the tourist, in what are still private residences, closed to casual visitors.⁵⁸

Palazzo Farnese, see Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau*, II, 54–56, and III, pl. 40–b.

54. See the inventory of Grimani's apartment in the family palace off *ruga Giuffa*, taken at his death in 1558; Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 237.

55. Vettore and his brothers, Cardinals Marino and Giovanni, and their uncle, Cardinal Domenico Grimani, were patrons and collectors in the Roman mode and patronized artists in Venice who were either immigrants from central Italy or had trained there; see Paschini, "Marino Grimani." For the rooms of Roman Cinquecento palaces, see Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau*, I, ch. 4.

56. Studies on social distinctions within the patriciate are wanting for the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, whereas they have recently become almost excessively abundant for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For an excellent recent summary, see Gaetano Cozzi, in Cozzi and Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica*, 168–74. Giacomo Nani (q. Antonio) divided the mid-eighteenth-century patriciate into five tiers and assigned some 560 families to their appropriate levels: rich, well-off, sufficiently endowed, insufficiently endowed, and dirt poor; see his "Saggio politico," fols. 8–13. Nani's system and rankings are generally accepted by modern students of the patriciate in the later

Seicento and the Settecento—e.g., Hunecke, *Venezianische Adel*, 56–62. An excellent review of the many self-questioning writings on this phenomenon by Nani and other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century patricians is available in Del Negro, "Venezia allo specchio."

57. I owe the reference to *La casa nova* to Franco Fido, to whom I give warm thanks. The various rooms are all mentioned in act I: see esp. scenes i, ii, iv, and x. In Nicola Mangini's edition of Goldoni's works (Turin, 1971), the passages are found in volume II, pages 753, 754, 755, 758, 761, 764, 770, and 771. There has been no study of the interior functioning of Venetian Baroque palaces. In default of early descriptions that would provide contemporary testimony, it remains to reconstruct room functions laboriously from the plentiful surviving inventories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

58. The decorations receive their fullest treatment in the specialized literature on the individual artists, the most active of whom were Nicolò Bambini, Louis Dorigny, Gregorio Lazzarini, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, and Antonio Zanchi. An excellent general account is available in Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 245–67. Mazzariol, Trivellato, and Dorigato, *Interni veneziani*, and Zorzi, *Palazzi veneziani* offer generous anthologies of photographs. Sabbadini, *Acquisto della tradizione*, 148–56, passes in review a large number of luxurious palaces of the Seicento

Because most older buildings could not accommodate such outsized ambitions, the last centuries of the republic witnessed the erection of a series of mega-palaces. They are mostly situated along the Grand Canal: buildings of exhibitionistic dimensions and finish, in which residential suites, room sizes and varieties, and interior decorations are bombastically self-advertising by virtue of size, variety, and the messages conveyed by the painted and stucco decorations. Some of these buildings were erected for old, patrician families like the Pisani, the Pesaro, and the Corner della Regina. But some of the very largest were built, significantly, by families newly admitted to the patriciate, like the Flangini, Grassi, Labia, and Rezzonico (whose mega-palace was acquired by them unfinished from an older, but less well-endowed, family, the Bon).

An early example of a Baroque mega-palace is Palazzo Pisani di Santo Stefano (Figs. 54–55). It was put up in 1614–15 and greatly enlarged in 1720–28. The seventeenth-century building had but one residential floor, containing two principal apartments that shared a *portego* between them. They possessed private chapels, but otherwise were constituted as were the suites in a romanized sixteenth-century building like Vettor Grimani's.⁵⁹ The building's novelty lay instead in its overweening size, richness of

articulation, and multiplication of traditional features. Every surface of its exterior was worked with rustication, orders, socles, brackets, balustrades, and so forth. Within were two interior courtyards instead of one.

As enlarged in the 1720s, the original fabric was raised by one floor, adding further apartments for lesser members of the family, and extended on one side by a large wing containing a ballroom and a library.⁶⁰

Later mega-palaces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries resemble the Pisani's in their overbearing scale and finish. Their plans incorporate elements introduced during the Renaissance, like articulated interior courtyards and interior stairs, and still newer features, such as chapels, galleries, and ballrooms. Yet, their basic schemes remained conventional. That is to say, the awkward site of the Pisani palace—wider than deep—had forced its architect to string rooms parallel with, rather than perpendicular to the fabric's principal façade. New-built palaces of the period confronted with less awkwardly shaped sites clung to the traditional Venetian plan, wherein the rooms developed into a site's depth.⁶¹ Not only that, but architectural inventions seen in the residential architecture of other centers were almost entirely ignored. When,

and Settecento, although he does not analyze them for their plans or decorations.

59. See Gallo, "Famiglia patrizia," esp. 34–41. For an appraisal of the building and identification of the architect, see Bassi, *Architettura del Sei e Settecento*, 56–60.

60. See Gallo and Bassi, as cited in note 59 above. Still another extension, in 1751, added a wing of minor rooms on the west and carried the complex to the edge of the Grand Canal.

61. Examples are the Palazzi Belloni-Battaglia (begun 1648), Corner della Regina (begun 1723), Giustinian-Lolin (ca. 1623), Pesaro (1628–1710), and Rezzonico (1649–1756). Selected plans (albeit

"corrected" by Antonio Visentini) of the first and third are illustrated by Bassi, *Palazzi di Venezia*, 194–95 and 104–8, respectively. Selected plans of the second, fourth, and fifth are illustrated by Olivato, "Storia di un'avventura," figs. 27–32, and Cristinelli, *Baldassare Longhena*, 113, 88–89, and 103, respectively. Palaces like Palazzo Pisani, occupying sites that are wider than they are deep, are the only exceptions to this rule—for example, Palazzo Ruzzini by S. Maria Formosa (before 1603); see Bassi, *Palazzi di Venezia*, 224–27. Yet, even in such buildings, Palazzo Pisani included, the chief room on the residential floor, the *portego*, will extend in the traditional fashion from front to back, making for a short hall even though the building as a whole is huge in scale.

exceptionally, a “foreign” invention was imitated by an adventurous Venetian architect, the latter’s peers and successors dared not repeat it.⁶²

To the extent they could, Sei- and Settecento owners of pre-Gothic palaces tried to comply with the new fashions by modernizing their homes. Giovanni Battista Corner della Piscopia, owner of Ca’ Loredan in the later seventeenth century, extensively redecorated the building and made significant structural alterations. He could not expand it in depth, since much of the site had by his time passed into other hands, nor could he raise its height, for it had already been raised in the sixteenth century. But he had the medieval, exterior staircase replaced with a fine set of interior switchback stairs ending in ponderous portals down- and upstairs, the lower and the upper *porteghi* redecorated with heavy door frames and fine stucco moldings, and a Baroque columnar façade erected for the full height of the building in back (Figs. 196, 209, 211, 212).⁶³ The effect of the new rear façade was to make the open area behind the palace resemble to some degree the grandly articulated interior courtyards that distinguished the new mega-palaces of his day. Thus, the building was made more magniloquent, even though not larger. In another project, not properly categorized an alteration and yet likewise in accord with the taste of his time, he greatly expanded the library and collection of sculpture and mathematical and geographical curiosities inherited from his

father, seeing to the carving of elaborate, architectural shelving as a setting for the whole.⁶⁴

By contrast, the far wealthier Farsetti, who had been able to acquire, together with the former palace of the Dandolo, a considerable portion of the houses behind it, proceeded in the early eighteenth century to make lavish and far-reaching alterations.⁶⁵ The most important of these was demolition of the medieval building’s rear façade and construction on its site of a new stair tower containing, not simple switchback stairs, but an ostentatious, “imperial” stairway to the *piano nobile* (Fig. 180) along with a separate square revolving staircase to the upper floors. An extension to the original building, as deep again as the latter and repeating the latter’s *porteghi* and chambers, was built behind the new stair tower. The added chambers allowed larger apartments for more family members, and the added *porteghi* allowed new display spaces, such as ballrooms and showrooms for the family’s collections of books and works of art. Ground-floor and first-floor rooms were embellished with stucco decorations and fine door frames. Finally, the outer arches of the medieval entrance porch were closed, gaining a ground-floor room on either side and creating a shortened arcade, more in the style of the entrances to Baroque palaces. The ancient house had been turned into as near an equal to the newly built palaces of its day as money and ingenuity could engineer.

62. An example is the handsome bridge arcade of the first unit of Palazzo Pisani, imitated from Flaminio Ponzio’s bridge arcade of 1608 at Palazzo Borghese in Rome; illus., Bassi, *Architettura del Sei e Settecento*, 59, and Hibbard, *Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese*, 50 and pls. xxiii, xxv. Despite its success in other centers—for example, Genoa—the motive does not appear a second time in Venice.

63. See Appendix v (D).

64. Thus his testament of 1690; see Appendix v (A), no. 16. The library continued to be open to the public and was still considered one of the notable ones of the city as late as 1707; cf. Blainville, *Travels*, I, 533, and II, 115. Today its furnishings are destroyed and holdings dispersed.

65. See Appendix iv (D).

F O U R

ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE



THE ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE that decorates the exteriors of the pre-Gothic palaces—carved stone arches, capitals, moldings, figurative reliefs, and the like—has a history of its own, intertwined with that of the architectural sculpture decorating medieval Venetian churches of the central Middle Ages but not identical to it.

In Venetian ecclesiastical architecture the types and styles of carved ornament during the central Middle Ages were shaped above all by one specific building: the new basilica of St. Mark, erected in the later eleventh century to replace a timeworn, early medieval church.¹ Conventionally called the Contarinian St. Mark's—after the doge, Domenico

Contarini, during whose reign work was begun—the new church's plan was modeled on that of Emperor Justinian's church of the Apostles at Constantinople. Its stone trim agreed in style: most elements were either late antique or early Byzantine originals (especially Justinianic), middle Byzantine derivations from them, or Venetian imitations. Evidently, the aim of San Marco's builders was to erect a church that by its form and detailing would at once claim and display the character of an early Christian apostolic shrine.²

The original St. Mark's had looked to the mainland for inspiration. Its three east-end apses and nave, substantial remains of which form the new church's

1. According to traditional sources and a lost inscription, the new basilica was begun in 1063, far advanced in 1071, and consecrated in 1094; see Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 70–75.

2. See Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 88–100. Dependence of the new church on Justinian's Apostoleion was first asserted in the twelfth century and is generally accepted today, at least insofar as the plan of the nave and crossing is concerned. The source of the building's interior Byzantine sculpture is unknown. Many critics write vaguely that it was taken from Constantinople or other Byzantine sites. It seems

improbable, however, that imperial authorities would have allowed export of historic artifacts, let alone the despoliation of monuments, especially in the capital. A more likely source would have been the ruins of shrunken and impoverished Ravenna and other decayed outposts of Byzantium in Italy and around the Mediterranean. Cf. Demus, "Ravenna," 57 (reprt., 1, 124), and Deichmann, *Ravenna*, 1, 64–69; II, i, 131–34; II, ii, 106–12, 202–30; II, iii, 273–76. For the exterior sculpture, see below.

crypt, attest a plan closely related to the plans of pre-Romanesque churches on the Istrian and Dalmatian coast and in northeast Italy.³ Fragments of its terra-cotta trim, which were recovered from the aggregate inside the brick-framed rubble walls of the new church and were presumably spoils from the demolished upper walls of the first church, are similar in style to the architectural sculpture of pre-Romanesque buildings in the same regions.⁴

By contrast, the new building was programmatically and broadly byzantinizing in style. Its local impact was immediate and long lasting: almost all churches built in Venice and on nearby islands, from the end of the eleventh century until far into the Duecento, if not laid out on byzantinizing lines, were at least dressed in byzantinizing trim. The fashion was powerfully reinforced when the Venetians and their partners in the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople in 1204, and Venice became lord of three-eighths of the Byzantine Empire and capital. The occupation lasted until 1261, so that

3. That the crypt preserves the plan and much masonry of the first St. Mark's was convincingly argued by Dorigo, *Venezia origini*, II, 556–81. His identification has been adopted by some scholars (notably Polacco, *San Marco*, 9–17, and Vio, “Cripta o prima Cappella Ducale?”) and contested by others (e.g., several times by Lorenzoni, last in his “Espressioni d'arte: I principali monumenti,” 881). Dorigo has replied to his critics in “Lo stato della discussione.” There too (35 n. 53) is an amplified list of early churches comparable with the crypt, superseding the list in *Venezia origini*. Still another comparable building may be added to his list, namely the early medieval church of S. Lorenzo, Cremona, of ca. 990; see Voltini, *San Lorenzo*.

4. See Dorigo, “Ricerche.”

5. For the medieval modifications of the Contarinian church, see the partly conflicting accounts of Demus, *Venezia origini*, 82–88, 100–105, 120; idem, *Mosaics*, text I, 3–4; and Polacco, *San Marco*, 28–29. A brief history of this new wave of *spolia* is offered by Kramer, “Zur Herkunft,” in *Corpus der Kapitelle*. Among the pieces now installed were sets of extraordinarily fine matching shafts and matching capitals, which, one suspects on the basis of quantity and quality, could only have come from hitherto undespoiled buildings in Constantinople.

for over half a century Venetians were able to loot choice sculpture from the Byzantine capital and hinterland for reuse in Venice. St. Mark's, originally a structure of exposed brick, was now recased in slabs of eastern Mediterranean marble into which were let numerous Byzantine and byzantinizing reliefs and before which paraded battalions of purloined columns with superlative capitals, again late antique or early Byzantine pieces, middle Byzantine derivations, and Venetian imitations.⁵

Now the architectural sculpture of private palaces also went Byzantine, at least in inspiration. Yet, whereas the sculpture of the Contarinian St. Mark's and its sister churches has been explored for over a hundred years, accumulating a very large specialized literature with much learned elucidation and controversy,⁶ the sculpture of the palaces has received scant attention.⁷ Notice is generally restricted to passing aprioristic remarks in studies on the buildings' architecture, terming the sculpture Byzantine because the buildings themselves are presumed to

Also in this case, however, there is no corroborating testimony from witnesses.

6. The principal studies, each with further references, are as follows, in chronological order: Cattaneo, “Storia architettonica” (1888); Demus, *Church of San Marco* (1960); Buchwald, “Carved Stone Ornament” (1962–64); *Corpus der Kapitelle* (1981); Richardson, “Byzantine Element” (1988); Polacco, *San Marco* (1991); Tigler, “Catalogo delle sculture,” in *Sculture esterne* (1995); lectures by Minguzzi and Russo in *Storia dell'arte marciana: Sculture . . .* (1997); essays and lists by Minguzzi and Da Villa Urbani in *Marmi della Basilica di San Marco* (2000); and Zuliani, “Conservazione ed innovazione” (2000).

7. Arslan has written a brief but excellent account of arch forms and one particular capital type as an introduction to his *Venezia gotica*, ch. I. Swiechowski and Rizzi, *Romanische Reliefs*, have collected a corpus of decorative reliefs—*patere* and *formelle*. Grandesso, *Portali medievali*, has published a corpus of portals, offering an uncritical compilation of unverified information, illustrated with wretched photographs. Mariacher, “Capitelli veneziani,” and Arslan, “Portali romanici,” contain illustrated brief overviews of the respective subjects.

be Byzantine. Leaving aside the literature on the architectural sculpture of St. Mark's and related churches, which would take us far afield, we may nevertheless note that, despite some resemblances between the ornamental repertoire of the palaces and that of St. Mark's, the former's history does not follow the course of the latter's. The palaces' detailing can be illustrated by itself, and merits careful study because it can give us further insight into the history of the palace type itself.

Most of the extant sculpture is found on the palaces' front façades, which normally look toward the water. Portals and windows on a building's secondary elevation, normally toward the land, and interior doorways for the principal rooms must have been of some pretension too, even if not as ostentatious as those of the main façade. Yet, since the backs of the surviving pre-Gothic palaces have all been rebuilt and the interiors redecorated, nothing of their sculpture remains.

The principal classes of palace sculpture are four: archivolts, capitals, figurative reliefs, and horizontal accents (friezes, cornices, and cresting). Of these, archivolts and capitals exhibit the most change over time. The palaces exhibit four different shapes of arches, for instance, each with different treatments

of the archivolt. Their sequence was first worked out by John Ruskin.⁸ Ordinary semicircular arches—in use generally throughout pre-Gothic Europe—are the earliest. There follow three variations peculiar to Venice, which Ruskin called the “orders of Venetian architecture” and arranged in the following sequence (Fig. 64): (1) a semicircular arch raised on tall impostos to become a stilted arch; (2) a semicircular stilted arch modified by addition of an ogee at the apex of its extrados; and (3) a semicircular stilted arch with ogees at the tops of both extrados and intrados.

The plain half-round arch, prelude to Ruskin's “orders,” is found in the fragmentary arcades described in Chapter 1, remains of palaces built on the Continental model of an upper-hall house (see, e.g., Fig. 18). It also occurs in a particularly early example of the specifically Venetian palace type, Ca' Barzizza, on the Grand Canal near S. Silvestro (Fig. 29).⁹ Some ecclesiastical structures in Venice exhibit this arch as well—for instance, the cloister of S. Apollonia (Fig. 65).¹⁰ Since the earliest datable palaces using the subsequent Venetian “orders” are of the thirteenth century, the simple half-round arch may be assigned to the later twelfth century.

The stilted arch (Ruskin's “first order”) is often

8. Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, 1st ed., II, pl. XIV, with explanation on 248, or *Works* (Library Edition), X, pl. XIV, with explanation on 290–91. Chapter, plate, and figure numbers are unchanged in the book's successive editions, for which reason references hereinafter will cite those numbers. When specific page numbers must be cited, they will be those of the first edition and the standard edition of Ruskin's *Works*, namely the Library Edition; vols. I, II, and III of *Stones of Venice* are vols. IX, X, and XI in *Works*. Ruskin's “orders” were reintroduced to the literature by Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 24.

9. Schulz, “Ca' Barzizza”; Scattolin, *Contributo*, figs. 33–38.

10. The cloister belonged originally to the church of S. Scolastica (later rededicated to SS. Filippo e Giacomo, and still later deconsecrated and converted to commercial use). Its modern appellation

recalls an altar in S. Scolastica and an adjacent oratory that belonged to a confraternity of S. Apollonia. See Corner, *Notizie storiche*, 174; Cicogna, *Inscrizioni*, III, 77–78; and Franzoi and Di Stefano, *Chiese di Venezia*, 386–88. Andrea Dandolo, writing in the fourteenth century, stated that S. Scolastica was among the churches destroyed by a fire storm in 1106; Dandolo, *Chronica*, 225. Records of property disputes in the neighborhood mention S. Scolastica in 1038, 1148, 1153, et seqq.; Cavazzana Romanelli and Piana, “Archivi monastici,” 277. The cloister's heavy, squat columns recall in proportion those of the fragmentary cloister of the Benedictine abbey of S. Maria in Carceri, near Este (Fig. 67), which may be of the later twelfth century; cf. Zattin, *Monastero di Santa Maria*, 16–20; Limena, *L'abbazia*, 18–21.

called an import from the Byzantine East. To be sure, the form was pioneered there in the sixth century, and eventually became standard in Byzantine architecture.¹¹ It was also exported during the sixth century to Byzantine dependencies in Italy, such as Ravenna and Grado,¹² not to speak of Byzantine Apulia, Campania, and Sicily. During the early Middle Ages it began to spread to other parts of the Italian peninsula, as well as northern Europe and the Islamic East.¹³ With the advent of the Romanesque in the central Middle Ages, the plain half-round arch became the preferred form, but it did not render the stilted arch extinct. The latter occurs not infrequently in the Romanesque buildings of Verona¹⁴ and other parts of Italy,¹⁵ as well as north of the Alps.¹⁶ In and about Venice it appears in the new St. Mark's and all other churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁷

11. For early Byzantine examples, see Hag. Eirine in Istanbul (aisle arcades; after 532) and the church at Qasr-ibn-Wardan in Syria (arcades and windows; dated 561–64); illus., Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 110, 151. After sporadic appearances during succeeding centuries—for example, Hag. Sophia, Salonika (aisle arcades; eighth century; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 161)—the stilted arch became the norm in middle and late Byzantine construction, examples of which are too many to enumerate.

12. In Ravenna, cf. S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe, both begun in the second quarter of the sixth century. In Grado, see S. Maria delle Grazie (rebuilt in the second half of the sixth century).

13. Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 13, listed among Italian examples outside Venice S. Satiro in Milan (ninth century). Other examples from the eighth and ninth centuries are S. Maurizio, Milan; S. Salvatore and the Duomo Vecchio (crypt), Brescia; S. Sofia, Benevento; and in France St. Germigny-des-Près (Loiret).

14. The early-twelfth-century nave arcades of S. Lorenzo and S. Marica Antica are stilted, as are the nave arcades and crypt vaults from, respectively, the mid and late twelfth century of S. Zeno Maggiore. For the first two buildings, see Arslan, *Architettura romanica*, 25; for the third, Valenzano, *Basilica di San Zeno*, 72–75 (nave), 79–80 (crypt), and atlas, plan 3.

15. Lombard examples include S. Tomaso in limine in Almenno S. Bartolommeo, of the eleventh or twelfth century; S. Bassiano in Lodi Vecchio, of uncertain date; S. Pietro in Tuscania (crypt); S. Angelo in

Venetian builders of secular structures surely did not need inspiration from the East to hit upon the stilted arch. A better question is why they adopted that form in preference to the half-round arch they had been using before. Very likely they had practical as well as aesthetic considerations in mind. Whereas the arcades of the earliest palaces—of the type of the upper-hall house—consisted of equal intercolumnations, the arcades of early examples of the specifically Venetian palace type had an emphasized, wide central arch and narrower arches on the left and the right. In such compositions, the plain half-round arches of unequal spans will unavoidably be of different heights, since the diameter of a semi-circular span fixes its height. To align the peaks of such arches a builder would have to vary the supporting column heights. However, if stilted arches are used, the builder can insert imposts of different

Formis outside Capua; the cathedral of S. Maria (exterior) in Pisa; and S. Lorenzo in Mantua, all of the eleventh century. Other Italian instances of that period are the cathedral of S. Matteo in Salerno and abbey church of Pomposa (nave, narthex, and campanile). Twelfth-century examples are the baptistery (interior) and cathedral campanile of Pisa, S. Michele in Foro and the cathedral of S. Martino (façades) and S. Frediano (nave arcade) in Lucca, and S. Salvatore in Calchi in Ravenna. Some of these are also listed by Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 13.

16. In France, stilted arches are repeatedly found in the arcades of east-end ambulatories. In England, the chapel of the Tower of London and nave arcades of St. Bartholomew, London, offer examples of Norman stilted arches.

17. Beside St. Mark's, buildings of the eleventh century include S. Nicolò di Lido, outside Venice, and the cathedrals of S. Maria in Torcello and S. Stefano in Caorle. See Demus, *Church of San Marco*; Fabbiani, *Fondazione monastica di San Nicolò*; Polacco, *Cattedrale di Torcello*, 5–26; and Scarpa Bonazza, "Basilica di Caorle," respectively. Twelfth-century instances include SS. Maria e Donato of Murano, S. Fosca in Torcello (exterior apse and portico), and perhaps the not securely dated churches of Summaga and Sesto al Réghena, both near Portogruaro; see Rahtgens, *S. Donato*, 8–10, and *L'Abbazia di Santa Maria di Sesto*, 266, fig. 62, and 268, fig. 65 (here too Caorle, on 271, fig. 70).

heights under the different arches, that is, give narrow arches taller impostes than wide ones, and so equalize the levels to which all of them rise from aligned capitals.

This is the technique used in the beautiful orphaned façade on rio di Ca' Foscari (orphaned in the sense that the fabric it clothed was long ago replaced); in its present, ruinous state the façade exhibits the remains of a broad arch, four narrow ones on one side, and a single narrow one on the other (Figs. 24–25). Presumably it was originally symmetrical, with a very broad central arch and four extremely narrow ones to the left and the right. The latter are roughly half the width of the central arch but seated on impostes twice as high; as a result, despite the arches' greatly different widths, they attain the same height as the central arch.¹⁸ Buildings in which arches of disparate widths are seamlessly

18. Remains of bases, capitals, and/or archivolt from one wide and five narrow arches survive; all shafts have disappeared. An errant stretch of a frieze of rosettes is incorporated into the archivolt of one of the narrow arches. Archivolts of the lesser arches consist of an inner torus of red Veronese *broccatello* bordered by a lotus-palmette frieze; the central archivolt consists of two such tori framing a scroll inhabited by plants and animals, with a lotus-palmette frieze beyond the outer torus. For reproductions and reconstructions, see Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, II, app. II, no. 5, and atlas (*Examples*), pls. 8–10 (*Works*, respectively, x, 454, and XI, 334–38); Trincanato, *Venezia minore*, 251–54; and the anonymous undated drawings preserved in a file of student drawings of historic structures at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice. Relative proportions differ slightly in all three. Trincanato called the building Palazzo Foscolo, and all subsequent writers have followed suit, but she gave no source for the name.

19. Both are illustrated by Maretto, *Casa veneziana*, respectively, 94, fig. 39, and 75, fig. 24a. Still another example was the now-destroyed ground-floor arcade of Ca' Donà (on the Grand Canal between the rii della Madonetta and dei Meloni), depicted in Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut (Fig. 23). In some buildings, such as the Fondaco dei Turchi, the device is used to effect an optical correction, not apparent in distant views or reduced plans, wherein the intercolumnations widen very slightly toward the center of the arcade.

20. See Bony, *English Decorated Style*, 22–25. The motive's Indian origin was also noticed by Coletti, "Arti figurative," 119 (reprt., II, 66).

unified by a common height include Ca' Priuli-Bon (near S. Staë; Fig. 41) and an unnamed house opposite S. Marcuola, between the former house of Teodoro Correr and Palazzo Giovanelli.¹⁹

Addition of an ogee to the peak of an arch seems to have been introduced in Venice in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. An ancient Indian motive that had gradually traveled westward, the ogee arch had appeared in Egyptian decorative arts in the ninth century of our era and in monumental architecture at the latest by the twelfth.²⁰ Europeans probably first knew it and imitated it as a decorative motive.²¹ As an architectural form, however, it turns up in the West only with the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and then in Venice. Namely, the earliest known instances of ogee arches in Europe are five portals of St. Mark's, one dating from soon after 1231, the others from

Some twenty of the 125 ogival stucco grilles in the ninth-century Mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo are topped by a timid, diminutive ogee; see El Masry, "Tulunische Ornamentik," figs. 115–239. A Coptic stela with a small decorative ogee arch in the Coptic Museum of Cairo may be even earlier; see *Catalogue général*, 60, no. 133. Full-size ogee arches are found at the Masshad of Aswan (ca. 1100–1110) and at the Masshad of Sayyida Ruqayya (1133) and Mausoleum of Huhammad al-Hasawati (ca. 1125–50), both in Cairo; illus., Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, I, pls. 78, 86, 113–e, respectively.

21. Thus Bony, *English Decorated Style*. An example would be the tenth-century reliquary of St. Anastasius, from Antioch and now in the treasury of Aachen cathedral; illus., *ibid.*, fig. 141. The first instances of the form in Venetian decorative arts appear among the reliefs affixed to palace exteriors, namely among the shovel-shaped *formelle*, which often have an ogee on top (Fig. 40). The earliest of these are dated to the twelfth century, albeit without any kind of demonstration, by Swiechowski and Rizzi, *Romanische Reliefs*, 23–24 (dating), nos. 185, 220, 718, 734, 735, 770–75, 806, 897, 1079, 1080 (descriptions). Another early instance in a decorative context may be the diminutive arcade pictured in the mosaic floor of SS. Maria and Donato, Murano (dated 1141), unless, of course, this is a restorer's interpolation, as Zuliani wondered; "Conservazione ed innovazione," 32–33.

somewhat later in the century. They exhibit the motive in its ultimate, doubled form; that is, the ogee appears on both extrados and intrados, as in the third of Ruskin's "orders." Two of the portals—namely, those of the mid-thirteenth century, on the outside left and right of the main façade—have the silhouette of a stilted semicircular arch from which rises a short ogee at the apex, like a cowlick atop a head of hair (Figs. 68–69). The others, including the earliest of the group, the portal to the treasury (Fig. 70), have an undulating, compound silhouette and project very steep and tall ogees from their apexes.²²

At St. Mark's the motive may have recommended itself as a reference to Alexandria, an Arab city since the seventh century, where Mark had been bishop, had suffered martyrdom, and was first buried.²³ Be that as it may, from St. Mark's the motive spread rapidly to secular architecture; Ca' da Mosto's first-floor windows already exhibited a single ogee on the archivolt's extrados, Ruskin's "second order,"²⁴ by 1242.

22. All five are assigned dates and illustrated in Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 103–5, 144, 168; figs. 86, 88, 91, 92, 96. An early (albeit not contemporary) report of a fierce fire in the treasury in 1231 led Demus to date its sculpted portal—which is on the basilica's side of the existing entrance into the treasury—soon after that year. His reasoning was challenged by Peter Diemer, who observed that the fire was reportedly made to burn itself out by closing the doors to the treasury, and a new portal would therefore not have been needed; see Diemer's review of Wolters, *Skulpturen*, 109. The objection overlooks the fact that there were reportedly three entrances to the treasury, all of which were closed. Today there is only one door; thus, access to the room was reconfigured after the fire, and the existing sculpted portal was very likely put up soon after 1231, as postulated by Demus. In northern Europe the ogee arch first appears in architecture during the 1290s, decorating Gothic, not Romanesque, arches; cf. Bony, *English Decorated Style*, 22–25.

23. Thus Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 104–5. Howard claims a general parallelism between Venice and Alexandria—in site, circumstances of foundation, and urbanism (*Venice and the East*, 67–71)—but the comparison seems strained. For the various churches at Alexandria dedicated to St. Mark, see note 142 below.

Doubled ogees, Ruskin's "third order," appeared on the Querini's *domus maior* at Rialto, a remnant of which is now incorporated into the fish market (Pescheria) (Fig. 43). That palace is first mentioned in 1276.²⁵

In the cloister of S. Apollonia and the remnants of porticoes, the simple half-round arch is marked by radially laid bricks and rests on impost capitals of Veronese red *broccatello*, shaped like inverted truncated pyramids with beveled corners (Figs. 65–66).²⁶ These forms and this stone were associated in Veronese ecclesiastical architecture as early as the first half of the twelfth century (Figs. 86–87).²⁷

Archivolts of stilted half-round arches come in many guises. Some are of limestone from Aurisina, some of Veronese red *broccatello*;²⁸ some are plain, some are faced with bands of colored stone, some with carved scrolls; some are bordered on one edge or both by billet moldings, some by tori, some by vegetative friezes. The windows of Ca' Donà della Madonetta have archivolts of solid limestone,

24. See Schulz, "Ca' da Mosto" (illus.); Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, fig. 17. In Florence, the semicircular arch with ogee on the outside became a favorite treatment for portal and window frames during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. An early instance was the riverside wing of Palazzo Spini-Ferroni, part of a late-thirteenth-century rebuilding of an agglomeration of earlier towers and houses; see Figs. 57–58 and Trotta, "Architettura," 43–49.

25. *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, II, 310, no. III.

26. For this capital and its origins, see below.

27. They appear in the canons' cloister of the cathedral of Verona, for instance, for which Arslan's dating to ca. 1140 is generally accepted, although it may be even earlier; cf. Arslan, *Architettura romanica*, 161, and *Casa del capitolo*, 62 (citing a document of 1123).

28. Both quarried since Roman times, the first comes from the coast near Trieste. An off-white limestone, it was the standard stone for exterior use in medieval Venice before the late Middle Ages, when it was gradually supplanted by *pietra d'Istria*. The second is found north of Verona, in the Monti Lessini and the Trentino, and also occurs in other colors—for example, pinkish, yellowish, and sand-colored. See Pieri, *Marmologia*, s.v. *marmi di Aurisina* and *broccatello*, as well as *marmi rossi e gialli di Verona*, respectively.

bordered on the outside by a fillet with a superimposed billet molding and on the inside by a sunken fillet (Fig. 37).²⁹

At Ca' Barzizza—probably the oldest surviving example of the fully developed Venetian palace—the arches of the ground and first floors are of the simple half-round form, and the archivolts are bordered by thick tori of Veronese red *broccatello* and faced with Aurisina limestone. Moreover, the facings are carved with inhabited scrolls and friezes of rosettes that imitate both Continental and Byzantine models.³⁰ Equally rich are the archivolts of the ground-floor arcade of Ca' da Mosto, opposite the Rialto fish market, originally part of an arcade of simple half-round arches (Figs. 38–39). They are bordered by tori of red *broccatello* and faced with friezes of rosettes and carved scrolls in *pietra d'Aurisina* like those of Ca' Barzizza, but they are also bordered outside the upper torus by a lily-and-palmette frieze.³¹

Solid stone hoods of Aurisina limestone are the norm in the “second order” of arches, those that have an ogee on the extrados. Their extrados is normally bordered by a torus or a billet molding.³²

29. Cf. Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 16 (as Ca' Donà Dolcetti), figs. 8, 10. By 1828, all but five of the windows had been closed, and those reduced to a rectangular shape; see the lithograph in Quadri and Moretti, *Canal Grande*, pl. 8. The medieval windows were reopened in the late nineteenth century, but for want of records we do not know whether the restorers left the original archivolts and capitals, substituted replicas, or installed pastiches. Perhaps the alterations seen in the lithograph were superficial and left the Romanesque membering in place. In fact, when Ruskin studied the building, in 1845–46 or 1851–52, he could clearly make out the original arrangement despite the covering stucco; see his work sheet with notes and drawings on the two Ca' Donà, preserved among the notes and drafts for *Stones of Venice* at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 398–400. Although hard to read, because it is discolored and encrusted with dirt, the existing membering seems to be medieval.

30. On the ground floor there remains only the central arch of what was probably a seven-bay arcade. Its archivolt and soffit are

With the “third order” some of the variety of materials associated with uninflected arches returns. In the windows of Ca' Lion-Morosini near S. Giovanni Grisostomo and the arcade of Ca' Priuli-Bon adjoining S. Staë, for instance, one encounters colored marbles bordered by billet moldings of Aurisina limestone (Figs. 47, 48, 41).³³ The window hoods of Ca' Moro on campo di S. Bartolomeo are of solid limestone, marked only by an outer torus, like the windows of Ca' Farsetti.³⁴ Window hoods at Ca' Vitturi on campo S. Maria Formosa and Ca' Morosini-Sagredo near S. Sofia are also of solid *pietra d'Aurisina*, but are bordered on the extrados by a raised band with a superimposed billet molding and on the intrados by a narrow fillet, in the manner of Ca' Donà della Madonetta.³⁵

Generally, the decoration of archivolts develops away from Continental models and toward something original and exclusively Venetian. Relief decoration, common in Romanesque archivolts on the mainland, disappears; the uniform treatment of extrados and intrados lapses. A comparable pattern governs the capitals, consisting first of *spolia* and

decorated with scrolls of different styles, for which, see below. On the first floor there remain five and a half arches of a row that originally numbered nine; the two archivolts on the outside right are decorated, one with a scroll, the other with a frieze of rosettes, while the remaining three and a half central arches are faced with colored marble only. For the character of the scrolls and friezes, see the discussion of moldings below.

31. An exterior lily-and-palmette frieze is found again at the ruin on rio di Ca' Foscari, for which, see Figs. 24–25 and note 18 above. In a subsequent rebuilding, the arches of Ca' da Mosto were turned into stilted arches by inserting impost blocks beneath them; see Schulz, “Ca' da Mosto.”

32. Cf. Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, figs. 15, 17, 19–20.

33. Maretto, “Edilizia gotica,” pl. IV, or (for Ca' Priuli-Bon) Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, fig. 27.

34. Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, figs. 33–34.

35. *Ibid.*, figs., 29–30 and my fig. 91, respectively.

imitations and developing into artistically independent productions. However, given the enormous variety of capital types used in Venetian palace architecture, the pattern can be discerned only if one learns to distinguish the different types, which requires an attempt to categorize them in the first place.

A large proportion of the capitals seen on pre-Gothic palaces, like those decorating St. Mark's, are early Byzantine capitals of the fifth and sixth centuries or middle Byzantine derivations from them; the rest are Venetian. Most of the Byzantine pieces are found on thirteenth-century buildings; they came to Venice, presumably, as part of the flood of *spolia* from Constantinople and Byzantine Greece that followed the Fourth Crusade.

Four basic types of capitals can be distinguished, each including two or more variants: namely, Corinthian, composite, two-zone, and impost. Most common of all is the Corinthian, or rather a type comprising early and middle Byzantine stylizations of the classical Corinthian capital³⁶ and Venetian imitations thereof. Given the great many variants in this group, it would take us far afield to describe them completely. Suffice it to say that all turn the heavy plastic volutes and richly modeled, naturalistic acanthus leaves of the classical model into flattened and drily schematic forms. Aside from their

36. Kautzsch offers the largest sample; *Kapitellstudien*, 5–152. Later literature has in part revised Kautzsch's datings and developmental sequences and supplemented his examples; see esp. Betsch, "History, Production, and Distribution of the Late Antique Capital," and Zollt, *Kapitellplastik*. Even so, the copiousness of Kautzsch's material makes his work a standard reference still, whether for Corinthian or other types of capitals.

37. Kautzsch introduced the terms "leatherleaf," "V," and "lyre" capitals; *Kapitellstudien*, 56–61. They have been used by all scholars until recently, when Zollt urged that they be abandoned; see his

forward-curling tips, the leaves adhere to the capital's bell, articulated only by veins and edges in low relief. Lateral leaves of one plant touch those of the next, leaving irregular spaces in between that create abstract patterns of shade. There are usually two tiers of four to eight leaves, sometimes one rising from the other, in that the stems of the upper leaves may be seen growing between the fronds of the lower ones, sometimes one simply superposed above the other (Fig. 71). A popular variant, called a leatherleaf capital by specialists, lacks the inner pair of helices. It has large, fleshy acanthus leaves: one broad leaf spreading in the middle of each face, and at each corner a taller leaf, whose tip reaches and fuses with the underside of a much shrunken corner volute (eventually replacing the latter as the style evolved) (Fig. 72). In variants of this particular form there may be a deep triangular or ovoid depression between each pair of corner volutes; such capitals are called V and lyre capitals (Fig. 73), respectively.³⁷

Leatherleaf and lyre capitals adorn the columns of the ground-floor porches of Ca' Farsetti and Ca' Loredan³⁸ and the ground-floor arcade of the Fondaco dei Turchi (Figs. 175–76, 202–3, 139–40). Leatherleaf and V capitals occur on the outermost first-floor windows of Ca' Loredan (Fig. 205).³⁹ A lyre capital crowns an errant column immured in

Kapitellplastik, 5. No one has followed suit, but he, for his part, eschews their use for Figure 72, which is his cat. no. 410.

38. Two of Ca' Loredan's capitals are reproduced by Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, II, pl. VIII, nos. 4–5 (*Works*, x, 159).

39. See also Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, fig. 7. Mistakenly called "Corinthian palmette" capitals by Dorigo, "Espressioni," 850, 852, 854. These are capitals that substitute palmettes for the acanthus leaves conventional in Corinthian capitals; cf. Buchwald, "Eleventh Century Corinthian-Palmette." Used in some Venetian twelfth-century churches, the Corinthian palmette does not appear in any of the palaces.

the exterior wall on rio terà di S. Silvestro, now part of the priest's house of that church but possibly from the Ca' del Papa, one wing of which originally stood on this spot.⁴⁰ Further examples of the leatherleaf and its variants are found at Ca' Barzizza and Ca' Businello near S. Silvestro (on the ground-floor portal of the former and on the second and fourth columns from the left of the latter's first-floor *balconada*; Figs. 34, 74–75).⁴¹

Some of the enumerated examples are Byzantine originals, taken from Constantinople or other Byzantine settlements in the East or on the Italian peninsula. Others are Venetian imitations of the thirteenth century or modern replicas. Those on Ca' Barzizza, the first floor of Ca' Loredan, and in rio terà di S. Silvestro seem to be Byzantine. Those of Ca' Businello and the Fondaco (both down- and upstairs) are of medieval Venetian manufacture, whereas those of Ca' Farsetti's now glazed entrance porch are modern replicas of those that stood there

40. Reproduced by Dorigo, *Venezia origini*, II, 674, fig. 462; idem, "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 46, fig. 15.

41. Ca' Barzizza's capital is a fragment, now eroded almost beyond recognition. It was drawn by Ruskin when better preserved, in the piece of a work sheet now at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Dept. of Drawings, Viljoen Bequest, 1979.49 (Fig. 34). The capitals of Ca' Businello (also misidentified as Corinthian palmette capitals by Dorigo, "Espressioni," 855) are leatherleaf and lyre capitals.

42. The original capitals of Ca' Farsetti's porch were replaced during the restoration of 1871; see Appendix IV (A), no. 31; (B), no. 17. At the Fondaco, restored in the same period, the capitals were not replaced, but patched with plugs and cleaned; they were not significantly altered, as may be seen by comparing the drawings by Ruskin (before restoration) with those for certification of the restoration (after); see Appendix III (B), respectively, nos. 13 and 22 (tavv. D, H), and also Schulz, "Restoration."

43. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 140–52. There is also a "wind-blown" composite capital, but it does not appear on the Venetian palaces. For the simple composite, see below.

44. *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 334–42.

45. Filled leaves (a term used by Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 22) are smooth in outline and lack any interior detail beyond a central nerve.

before.⁴² (The distinction between late antique capitals and medieval Venetian imitations or modern replicas will be taken up below.)

Another Byzantine version of the Corinthian capital shows the acanthus leaves moving sharply left or right, a motive called wind-blown acanthus.⁴³ Several early Byzantine examples are on the exterior of St. Mark's.⁴⁴ The form appears only once on a palace, in the first capital on the left of the first-floor gallery of the Fondaco dei Turchi—a Venetian free variation, not a Byzantine *spolium* (Fig. 142).

In still another variant the classical model is stripped of most of its naturalistic detail: the leaves are filled,⁴⁵ while the stems of the inward-facing helices and the corner volutes have been stylized as decorative bands or even simple raised lines (Fig. 76).⁴⁶ In this case the antique form was taken over by early medieval builders in northern Italy, nearby Istria, and more distant places.⁴⁷ Less rude versions were produced during the eleventh and twelfth

Meyer, *Frühmittelalterliche Kapitelle*, calls them *Zungenblätter*, that is, tongue-like leaves, some of which she qualifies additionally as "corinthesizing," "acanthizing," or "palm-leaf-like," but these last are distinctions of such subtlety that I have been unable to recognize them.

46. Classical examples are the illustrated two-tiered pier capital from the amphitheater of Verona, now at the local Museo Archeologico, and a reused column capital at S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome; see, respectively, Sperti, *Capitelli romani*, 60, no. 57, and Brenk, "Spolien," 55, fig. 6. Late antique examples are the two-tiered column capitals in the transepts of Hag. Demetrios, Salonika, and a two-tiered, very compressed pier capital in S. Aquilino, at S. Lorenzo, Milan; illus., respectively, Texier and Pullan, *Architecture byzantine*, pl. xxiv, fig. 2, and Verzone, *Architettura religiosa*, pl. xlix. Two late antique examples from Salona are illustrated by Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 23–24, nos. 34, 38.

47. The known early medieval examples are *spolia* and museum pieces. Outside of Italy they are found in Spain (e.g., at S. Miguel de Tarrasa in Catalonia; illus., Byne, *Sculptural Capital*, pl. 3) and Germany (at Brunswick, Frauchiensee, Fulda, Fulda-Petersberg, Höchst, and Lorsch; illus., Meyer, *Frühmittelalterliche Kapitelle*, I and II, s.v. Brau 2, Frau 2, Fu 2, FuP I, and Lo 10–11, and Meyer-Barkhausen, "Kapitelle," figs. 1, 9, 14–15). In Italy there are examples in the Friuli (Zuglio), Lombardy (Brescia, Milan), Umbria (S. Angelo in Massa,

centuries in the Veneto, Emilia, Lombardy, Liguria, Tuscany, and Umbria,⁴⁸ as well as Germany.⁴⁹ Twelve such capitals adorn the six central pairs of colonnettes of the first-floor gallery of Ca' Farsetti (Fig. 177); they are of local manufacture.⁵⁰

A second group of capitals derives from the early Byzantine version of the classical composite capital (Fig. 77).⁵¹ There are many examples among the *spolia* at St. Mark's.⁵² Much used in early churches of the upper Adriatic coastlands—for example, at Poreč, Grado, and Ravenna⁵³—the type survived into the early Middle Ages in both northern and southern Europe: one encounters it, for

S. Gemini, and Taizzono), and Veneto (Murano and Verona). For illus., see *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, III, nos. 149–50, 153–54, 162; X, nos. 512–13; XII, nos. 77b, 86–88, 96, 104, 107; Cattaneo, *Architettura*, figs. 62, 107; Meyer-Barkhausen, “Kapitelle,” figs. 6, 7, 11; Verzone, *Architettura religiosa*, pl. XLIX, or his “Capitelli,” figs. 9–13. Istrian examples are found in Pula; illus., Marusić, *Kasnoanticka i bizantinska Pula*, pl. II.

48. An erratic example is in the baptismal chapel of SS. Maria e Donato, Murano, a possible remnant of an early medieval ciborium according to Rahtgens, *S. Donato*, 39 and fig. 33. Examples of the form on the mainland are found in Verona, Pomposa, Como, Isola di S. Giulio, and Barbarino Val d'Elsa; illus., Arslan, *Architettura romanica*, pl. XCIX; Lisca, *Basilica di San Zenone*, figs. 6–8; Valenzano, *Basilica di San Zeno*, figs. 84–85, 91; Russo, “Profilo storico-artistico,” 215, fig. 6; Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, atlas, pl. 100, fig. 9; pl. 126, fig. 6; pl. 151, fig. 5; pl. 152, fig. 4; Rossi, *Como*, figs. 35, 59, 61–63.

49. At St. Cyriacus, Gernrode, and St. Servatius, Quedlinburg. The head mason of the latter church may have been the Italian Nicolaus. For illus., see Nickel, “Untersuchungen,” respectively, 51, fig. 115, and 32, fig. 10.

50. Ruskin drew them incorrectly, with outer, but without inner, helices; see his work sheet among the notes and drawings for *Stones of Venice* at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 398–400 (illus. in *Works*, IX, pl. C). His engraved illustration repeats the mistake: *Stones of Venice*, II, pl. VIII, no. 3.

51. See Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 125–39. The finest examples use two tiers of fine-toothed, rather than spiky, acanthus—for example, those at Hag. Ioannes of Studius, Constantinople; illus., Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 146, 147, 156. They are often called “Theodosian capitals.” The illustrated example in Berlin was acquired in Istanbul; see *Museum für spätantike und byzantinische Kunst*, no. 37b. What seem to be examples of still another, Justinianic version of this capital, not

instance, in Lorsch and among errant pieces in Ravenna.⁵⁴ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries it reappears in ecclesiastical architecture in Padua, Palermo, and Venice.⁵⁵ Volutes are marked by strongly carved scrolls and linked across the top of the bell by a cushion bordered with palmettes, ivy leaves, or abstract moldings like egg and dart; two tiers of acanthus leaves, stylized as in the Byzantine Corinthian capital, surround the bell. Composite capitals of this type adorn the fifth through ninth columns from the left on the first-floor gallery of Ca' Loredan (Fig. 204).⁵⁶ They are also found on the second and third columns of the first-floor windows

known to Kautzsch, survive in Venice. Here the leaves, worked *à jour*, fuse with each other at the tips, completely obscuring the capital's calathos and even the volute cushion. Four examples are mounted on the columns of the Arsenale gateway, Venice; illus., Concina, *Arsenale*, 56, figs. 44–45. In addition, there exists a Byzantine, “wind-blown” form of this capital; illus., Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, nos. 12, 341, and Deichmann, *Ravenna*, I, figs. 35–39. Frequently found in Ravenna, it does not appear on any of the Venetian palaces.

52. *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 267–69, 272, 276, 277, 296, 303, 318–21, 329–31, 344–51, 354, 359–60, 374–95, 480–81, 558, 564–65; possible thirteenth-century imitations are nos. 284–85, 416, 437–38, 446, 450. Color illustrations in *Marmi della Basilica di San Marco* use *Corpus* numbers.

53. “Theodosian” capitals are found at the Basilica Eufrasiana of Poreč, S. Maria delle Grazie and S. Eufemia of Grado, and the Neonian Baptistery, S. Giovanni Evangelista, and S. Vitale of Ravenna. See, respectively, Russo, *Sculture del complesso Eufrasiano di Parenzo*, nos. 12, 14, 17, 23, 25, 28; Bovini, *Grado paleocristiana*, 59–60, figs. 16–17, and 154, fig. 48; and (the best illustrations) Colasanti, *Arte bizantina*, pls. 2, 16, 46, 48.

54. On the west side of the Carolingian gatehouse of Lorsch and in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna; illus., respectively, Meyer, *Frühmittelalterliche Kapitelle*, Lo 1, and Deichmann, *Ravenna*, I, fig. 51.

55. Namely, at S. Sofia, Padua; the Martorana, Palermo; the cathedrals of Murano and Torcello; and S. Eufemia on the Giudecca; illus., *Chiesa di Santa Sofia*, figs. 5–6, 8; Colasanti, *Arte bizantina*, pl. 31; Rahtgens, *S. Donato*, 29–31, figs. 14–18; Schulz, *Kirchenbauten*, pls. 14, 15 (or Errard and Gayet, *Art byzantin*, IV, pl. vi); Buchwald, “Eleventh Century Corinthian-Palmette,” fig. 41.

56. The version with a collar of ivy leaves is illustrated by Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, II, pl. VIII, no. 7.

of Ca' Businello and the central column of the first-floor windows of Ca' Vitturi. A variant with only a single tier of tall leaves, on the second-floor gallery of Ca' Barzizza, looks like a medieval imitation (Figs. 30–31).⁵⁷

Two-zone capitals form a third group of classical origin that survived into the early Byzantine period, begetting many variations.⁵⁸ Examples with eagles, griffins, or oxen in the upper zone and vine leaves, palmettes, or generic vegetation in the lower one are found in Poreč; others, with rams, lions, or griffins above and acanthus or vine leaves below, are found at Ravenna;⁵⁹ still more variants appear among the *spolia* on the exterior of St. Mark's.⁶⁰ No such capitals appear on the palaces that are the focus of this book, but two badly damaged ones of doves and basket weave, seemingly of Byzantine manufacture, survive on the two-light windows of Ca' Lion-Morosini, near S. Giovanni Grisostomo (Figs. 48–49), while a Venetian imitation of one with rams' heads above acanthus is found in a truncated

courtyard arcade at corte Muazzo, near Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

Finally, impost capitals form a fourth, and very large, group of capitals. Their basic shape is blocky, forming an inverted truncated pyramid that grows increasingly circular as it nears the neck. In Justinianic examples the surface is dissolved by exquisitely delicate carving.

Four types of this group are represented among the palaces. The first is covered by weaving branches of leaflets, worked *à jour* and resembling the lateral spikes of acanthus.⁶¹ The branches may be growing freely over and around the capital or confined within panels, one to each face, and framed by vegetative borders that are also worked *à jour*. The branches may grow out of cornucopias or vases⁶² or simply extend across the available field in endlessly varied patterns of growth: branches may swirl,⁶³ rise up the faces of the capital (Fig. 78),⁶⁴ grow out from the middle or inward from the corners, either vertically or horizontally,⁶⁵ grow or dance within a

57. For Ca' Businello and Ca' Vitturi, see Mariacher, "Capitelli veneziani," figs. 32, 35; for Ca' Barzizza, *ibid.*, fig. 28.

58. For the *genre* as a whole, see Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 152–65. He seemed to believe that it was basically a Byzantine creation, but compare the Pegasus capitals from the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, Rome; *illus.*, Zanker, *Foro di Augusto*, pls. 15–17.

59. For Parenzo, see Russo, *Sculture del complesso Eufrasiano di Parenzo*, nos. 13, 15, 24, 46, 48, 49; for Ravenna, see Deichmann, *Ravenna*, I, figs. 44–47.

60. They comprise capitals with doves in the upper zone and interwoven strips below, worked *à jour* so as to resemble basket weave (*Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 167, 172, 635, 638; medieval versions, nos. 168–71, 434, 436; modern replicas, nos. 592–95); with rams' heads above and basket weave below (nos. 322–23, 325); with doves above and a ring of acanthus leaves below (nos. 271, 352–53, 355, 357); with eagles and basket weave (nos. 273, 332, 343, 451–52, 463–64); with rams' heads and acanthus leaves (nos. 315–16, 325, 455, 460, 568); with eagles and vine leaves (no. 469); and with rams' heads and palmettes (no. 636; modern replica, no. 511). Color illustrations in *Marmi della Basilica di San Marco* use *Corpus* numbers.

61. Cf. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 186–87.

62. Thus two types of capitals at the Basilica Eufrasiana, Poreč; see Russo, *Sculture del complesso Eufrasiano di Parenzo*, nos. 30, 90, 91.

63. Examples are found at Hag. Sergios kai Bakchos and Hag. Sophia in Constantinople; S. Apollinare Nuovo (Capp. delle Reliquie), S. Vitale, and the Museo Nazionale (from S. Michele in Africisco) in Ravenna; the Basilica Eufrasiana of Poreč; and S. Maria delle Grazie in Grado. *Illus.*, respectively, Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 259 and 279; Colasanti, *Arte bizantina*, pl. 49, top and center right, and Farioli, *Scultura architettonica*, cat. nos. 60, 57, 55; Colasanti, *Arte bizantina*, pl. 52, bottom right; and Bovini, *Grado paleocristiana*, 64, fig. 21, and *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, x, no. 636. Another example at S. Vitale is illustrated by Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, fig. 307.

64. Illustrated is a sixth-century capital in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul. Slightly earlier are some capitals at Hag. Demetrios, Salonika; later are the examples from Hermoupolis Magna, near Ashmounein, Egypt, now in the Coptic Museum, Cairo; see, respectively, Texier and Pullan, *Architecture byzantine*, pl. xxv, fig. 1, and Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici*, nos. 662 and 668.

65. Vertically: For examples at Hag. Sophia, Constantinople, and S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, see, respectively, Mathews, *Byzantine*

series of rhomboid fields delineated by bands that zig-zag across the capital's face.⁶⁶ One or more medallions, with or without carved monograms or symbols, may appear in the middle of each face. A number of capitals of this type survive as *spolia* in medieval buildings.⁶⁷ Medieval imitations are carved in relief rather than *à jour* (Fig. 79).⁶⁸ Two early palaces sport what seem to be original early Byzantine versions of such capitals, albeit much weathered: Ca' Barzizza (central windows of the first and second floors; Figs. 30–31) and Ca' Businello (first floor, last column on the right, the front medallion broken off).⁶⁹ Those of Ca' Barzizza lack central medallions, and their lateral faces are divided down the middle by a raised band of unworked stone,⁷⁰ suggesting that already in their original position they stood amidst a row of windows, as they do now.

Churches, 305, and Farioli, *Scultura architettonica*, cat. no. 53. Horizontally: Examples in the Basilica Eufrasiana, Poreč, are illustrated by Russo, *Sculture del complesso Eufrasiano di Parenzo*, nos. 26, 94. Another, from S. Miguel, now in the Museo Arqueológico, Barcelona, each corner of which is marked by a rising branch of laurel leaves, is illustrated by Schlunk, "Byzantinische Bauplastik," 235 and pls. 66–69. A similar pattern decorates the body of some pseudo-Ionic capitals from the Beyazit church A and at Hag. Sophia, Constantinople; see Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, respectively, 31 and 306.

66. Thus two capitals at the Basilica Eufrasiana, Poreč, and two on the exterior of St. Mark's, Venice; illus., respectively, Russo, *Sculture del complesso Eufrasiano di Parenzo*, nos. 86, 87, and *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 432, A-3.

67. Examples of the swirling variety are in S. Salvatore, Brescia; on the exterior of the Palazzo del Consiglio at piazza delle Erbe, Padua; and on the exterior of St. Mark's; illus., respectively, Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, pl. 36, no. 2; Bettini, "Padova," fig. 37; and *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 425, 598.

68. See the capitals of Hag. Andreas and the so-called Fehtiye Camii at Istanbul; illus., Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, nos. 662, 670–71; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 12, 363. In Italy, medieval reproductions are found on the interior and exterior of St. Mark's, Venice; in S. Sofia, Padua; at the Palazzo della Ragione, Pomposa; and in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna; illus., respectively, *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 260 (another of this set is illustrated by Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, II, pl. VII,

The second type of impost capital, called a folded capital or melon capital, also exhibits weaving branches of spiky leaflets, sometimes with inset medallions, the whole worked *à jour*. But the capital's body follows an undulating plan, similar to that of the abacus of some late antique Corinthian capitals. That is, the capital as a whole curves inward from its jutting corners and then swells outward again at the middle. The earliest examples, in Istanbul and Ravenna, are Justinianic (Fig. 80).⁷¹ Several of the same epoch found their way to Venice and were installed on the exterior of St. Mark's, alongside Venetian imitations (Fig. 81).⁷² The capital appears twice among the palaces, once in the form of a Byzantine *spolium* on Ca' Vitturi and again as an energetic relief imitation on the gallery of the Fondaco dei Turchi (Fig. 143).⁷³

fig. 9), 309, 312, 362, 367; *Chiesa di Santa Sofia*, figs. 7, 11, 16, 21, 24; and Salmi, *Abbazia di Pomposa*, 110, figs. 229, 231.

69. Illus., Mariacher, "Capitelli veneziani," figs. 29 and 33, respectively.

70. A band like this, called a *Bossenstreifen* by German scholars, must have been meant to afford a seat for a window casement wedged against it. I am most grateful to Robert Ousterhout, who took time to ponder this mysterious feature.

71. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 187–89, nos. 591–603. For the capitals at S. Vitale, Ravenna, see also Colasanti, *Arte bizantina*, pl. 48, top left; Farioli, *Scultura architettonica*, cat. no. 58; and Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, fig. 306. Early Byzantine productions were used as *spolia* in the Kalenderhane Camii and Vefa Kilise Camii, Istanbul; cf. Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 185, 388.

72. *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 182–83, 200–201, 293–94, 300, 314, 433 (Venetian: 518; modern: 286, 289, 431, 512). One of these capitals was drawn by Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, II, pl. VII, no. 10. Middle Byzantine imitations are found in Greece, but seem markedly islamized in style; see Dennert, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle*, nos. 277–78.

73. Illus., Mariacher, "Capitelli veneziani," figs. 34 and 27, respectively (the latter also appears in Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, III, pl. XII). An earlier imitation, as energetic as that of the Fondaco, plus several further blocks, rough-hewn to become folded capitals but never completed, are found in the Veronese countryside at S. Pietro, Villanova; see Arslan, *Architettura romanica*, 145–46, pl. XCIII.

A third type is covered by a mesh of interwoven strands, worked *à jour*, so as to simulate the interwoven reeds of a basket. In the middle of each face is a recessed trapezoidal picture field containing a strange plant, which some authors call a lotus, others a “split palmette,” and others still a palmette with lotus leaves. It consists of a fan of three leaves shaped like inverted tear drops, flanked on each side by a three-pointed palmette. A seed pod depends from each palmette by an **S**-shaped twig. The capital was an early Byzantine invention and is found at Alexandria, Istanbul, Cairo, and Ravenna (Fig. 82).⁷⁴ Four examples are mounted on the exterior of St. Mark’s.⁷⁵ Four medieval Venetian imitations are found on St. Mark’s (Fig. 83) and the first-floor gallery of Ca’ Loredan (third, fourth, eleventh, twelfth column from the left; Fig. 205).

A related type—the fourth of this group—must also have been a sixth-century Byzantine invention, but no early examples have been found thus far. The basket weave would be worked *à jour* and extended over the entire capital, omitting a picture field with a plant.⁷⁶ (At the top and neck there might be a band of vegetative or abstract forms.)

74. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, nos. 627–32. The seeming archetype, specimens of which were found at Hag. Polyuktos, Constantinople, and are now in the museum there, was identified only recently; see Harrison, *Excavations*, 1, 126–28, nos. 3.a.i–iii. The Alexandrian and Cairene examples are listed and in part illustrated by Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici*, nos. 656–60. For those at S. Vitale, Ravenna, see Farlioli, *Scultura architettonica*, cat. no. 54; Deichmann, *Ravenna*, II, ii, figs. 78–80; and idem, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, figs. 285, 293, 295, 297, 301, 303–4. Capitals exhibiting just the mysterious plant by itself are found at the Basilica Eufrasiana, Poreč; see Russo, *Sculture del complesso Eufrasiano di Parenzo*, nos. 11, 16, 18, 22, 27, 29. A middle Byzantine imitation, in which the mesh is not undercut but worked in relief, is noted at Pomorie, Bulgaria, by Dennert, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle*, no. 214.

75. *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 299, 304, 372–73. The first is a medieval Venetian imitation; the rest are early Byzantine productions

Later examples, in which the body tends to be more rounded and the strands are not undercut, survive in Istanbul, Egypt, Palestine, and northern Mesopotamia.⁷⁷ In Venice, a medieval imitation with each face treated as a separate framed panel of crossing strands, simulated by carving aligned rhomboid holes that evoke the voids between strands, occurs twice among the first-floor windows of Ca’ Donà, near S. Silvestro (Fig. 84).

Impost capitals were invented in the West as well; in fact, the most popular of all capitals in medieval Venetian architecture in both secular and ecclesiastical construction was a Western creation. It is tall in proportion to its cross section, square at the top and circular at the neck. The transition from a large square abacus to a small circular neck is achieved by progressively narrowing the block as a whole and at the same time cutting away at each corner a flat or gently convex triangular facet, whose apex lies at the abacus and the base at the capital’s neck (Fig. 85, no. 1). Generally, a distinct angle marks the line at which the facet and the capital’s matrix meet; sometimes the meeting is marked by a raised or incised line. In many cases, the facet is

that, together with the nearby *pilastri acritani* (*Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 639–40; Harrison, *Excavations*, 1, nos. 5.a.ii–iii), were taken from Hag. Polyuktos. Ruskin’s rendering of no. 373 is in *Stones*, II, pl. IX.

76. Similar to the missing archetype are some capitals, worked *à jour* but exhibiting a very tiny picture field, that were reused in an Ottoman tomb at Bursa; illus., Kramer, “Zu den Methoden,” 48 and pl. II, figs. 10–12.

77. That in Istanbul was found in the ruins of the church of the Chalkoprateia. Mathews dated it to the ninth century (*Byzantine Churches*, 321), but Dennert redated it to the mid-tenth (“Zum Vorbildcharakter,” 129–30). For the others, see Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici*, nos. respectively 661, 665–67; Dennert, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle*, nos. 144–54; and Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, nos. 675, 818, and 825–27.

bent along its axis, and the bend may be marked by raised or incised lines, making the facet resemble a leaf with a central nerve (Fig. 85, no. 2).⁷⁸

Whereas there is a term for this capital in Italian, *cubo discantonato* (“discornered block”), there is none in English. I would suggest “beveled block.” The shape seems to have been developed in Verona, out of a long-established and widely used method of reducing a cubic block of stone so that it might be married to a circular column, namely by sawing off the lower corners, leaving a flat triangular cut.⁷⁹ Whatever the background, by the early twelfth century the capital was being used in its fully developed form in major Veronese churches (Figs. 86–87).⁸⁰ It

78. The drawings are Ruskin’s, *Stones*, III, pl. II (*Works*, XI, oppos. 12).

79. Sawed-off corners were a ubiquitous form during the central Middle Ages, both in Italy and the rest of western Europe. Thirty-two such capitals are built into the eleventh-century interior of St. Mark’s—namely, on the upper registers of the presbytery (*Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 79–88), transepts (nos. 89–94, 99–100), and apsidal entrance niche (nos. 221–34). In Verona “sawn-off” capitals are found in the early-twelfth-century galleries of S. Lorenzo, nave arcades of S. Maria Antica, and crypt of S. Giovanni della Valle; near Verona they are found in the eleventh-century nave arcades of S. Severo in Bardolino and S. Andrea in Sommacampagna. In the galleries of S. Lorenzo and the nave of S. Maria Antica, one can observe the transition to the beveled-block form, in that the latter’s tall proportions already characterize the S. Lorenzo capitals, while at S. Maria Antica “sawn-off” capitals alternate with beveled-block ones. See Romanini, “Arte romanica,” respectively, 591, fig. 5; 593–94, figs. 8–9; 623, fig. 34; 637, fig. 45; and, for S. Maria Antica, 632, as well as Arslan, *Architettura romanica*, pl. XIII. (For a claim that the “beveled-block” capital has a late antique source, see the next note.)

80. It is found at the cathedral (blind galleries of the main façade and the illustrated canons’ cloister), S. Giovanni in Valle (remains of the cloister), S. Trinità (porch, campanile), and S. Zeno Maggiore (blind gallery of the main façade, interior compound piers). See, respectively, *Cattedrale di Verona*, 130; *Casa del capitolo*, 64; Valenzano, *Basilica di San Zeno*, figs. 16, 17, 18; Arslan, *Architettura romanica*, pls. xcVIII, c; and Valenzano, *Basilica di San Zeno*, figs. 15, 19, 31, 33, 39. At S. Maria Antica the form occurs in alternation with old-fashioned, “sawed-off” capitals; see the previous note.

81. For the cloister, see note 10 above; for further illustrations, see Forlati, “Restauro del chiostro di Santa Apollonia.” The

must have come to Venice soon after that, perhaps in the train of the Veronese *broccatello* that was being imported for the stone trim of medieval buildings. Thus, it appears in the very Veronese ensemble of the cloister of S. Apollonia (Figs. 65–66).⁸¹ By the end of the century it was being used in Venetian residences of the upper-hall house type (Figs. 19, 88).⁸²

In Verona masons generally left the capital’s corner facet undivided and made its borders sharp and distinct. A few of the beveled-block capitals in Venice are similar.⁸³ More commonly, however, the facet in Venetian examples is bent into two planes, the bend being marked with a raised fold⁸⁴ or incised lines.⁸⁵

combination of beveled-block capitals and pseudo-Attic bases of red Veronese marble with brick arches displaying two-step archivolts does not occur in any other known ecclesiastical complex of Venice but is typical of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Veronese monuments. An early appearance of the capital by itself, however, can be seen in St. Mark’s, on the orders supporting the pulpits. These stand atop an early-twelfth-century pavement, so that the whole assembly—orders and pulpits—is somewhat later, perhaps of the mid-twelfth century; see *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 661–84, and Minguzzi, “Elementi di scultura,” 8 (Minguzzi, 14–16, calls the form of these capitals late antique, adducing capitals at Salona, Pomposa, Rome, and elsewhere that are, in fact, quite different, their corners having been shaped like lanceolate leaves rather than beveled away into triangular facets).

82. See the fragmentary porticoes cited in Chapter 1, note 23.

83. For example, at Ca’ Farsetti, framing the outer windows left and right of the first-floor gallery (Fig. 177), and on the lateral windows of the Fondaco dei Turchi, illustrated by Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, II, pl. VIII, no. 1 (*Works*, X, 159). It seems to be a Veronese version too that appears in the early-thirteenth-century Procuratie Vecchie and Nuove, as recorded in Gentile Bellini’s depiction of the medieval square of St. Mark’s; cf. Schulz, “Piazza medievale,” fig. 12 and (for the date) 142.

84. This form is found once in Verona, in the cloister remains at S. Giovanni in Valle, of uncertain date; illus., Valenzano, *Basilica di San Zeno*, 29, fig. 18. It is extremely common in Venice: see the capitals of the walled-up porticoes of Ca’ Businello, along rio dei Meloni near S. Silvestro; in front and back of the one-time house of the Avogadro on fondamenta della Pasina, also near S. Silvestro; and the arcade in corte del Teatro Vecchio, near S. Cassiano. No illustration exists of the first; for the other two, see Figs. 28, 88, and Maretto, “Edilizia gotica,” pl. I (reprt., 60, bottom right) respectively. See also the capitals of

The capital spread to other sites as well. It makes early appearances in the Veneto, Emilia, and Tuscany, for instance, perhaps also brought there by Veronese masons.⁸⁶ Later it was taken up in cities of the immediate hinterland of Venice, such as Padua.⁸⁷

Neither in Verona nor elsewhere on the *terra ferma* did the capital change very much with the passage of time.⁸⁸ In Venice, on the other hand, masons added enrichments, changing the bell's silhouette and adding new elements. A version of the

capital in which the bell balloons outward from its base before beginning its gently flaring rise appears by the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Fig. 46); the curious silhouette survived beyond the Romanesque: it is still found among Venetian Gothic capitals.⁸⁹ In another version the facets are reshaped into large lobed leaves, separated sometimes by a rosette, cross, star, or similar ornament on the capital's face (Fig. 42).⁹⁰ From early on carvers imitated the French crocket capital, extending the

the fragmentary portico (until recently walled up) in the interior court of calle del Rimedio 4410–4414; the first and third capitals of the upper windows of Ca' Favretto Bragadin, near S. Cassiano; the outer first-floor windows of Ca' Barzizza, near S. Silvestro; the fifth and sixth capitals of the portico of Ca' Falier, near SS. Apostoli (curiously, in the first four capitals of the building's ground-floor portico the edges of the facets are smoothed); and the first-floor windows of Ca' Zane in campo di S. Maria Mater Domini; illus., respectively, Maretto, *Casa veneziana*, figs. 10, 40; Scattolin, *Contributo*, figs. 38, 18, 20; Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 58, fig. 20. The capital of Ca' Barzizza was drawn by Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, II, pl. VIII, no. 2 (*Works*, x, 159).

85. See the capitals of the walled-up interior portico of the Dandolo's house B, near S. Luca, or the four-light windows of the Casa dell'Angelo in calle del Rimedio; illus., Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," fig. 3, and Maretto, *Casa veneziana*, fig. 33, respectively.

86. In the Veneto it is found in the twelfth-century (?) canons' houses adjoining Treviso cathedral and the later twelfth-century cloister of the former Benedictine abbey in Carceri; illus., Fig. 67 and *Veneto nel Medioevo*, 17, fig. 8, and Zattin, *Monastero di Santa Maria*. In Emilia it occurs in the twelfth-century twin-light windows on the north side of the nave (and also in the thirteenth-century cloister) of the abbey church in Pomposa, and in the exterior galleries of Piacenza cathedral. See, respectively, Salmi, *Abbazia di Pomposa*, figs. 34–35, 115, 142, 144, 246, and Romanini, "Kathedrale," 131, fig. 5. In Tuscany it is seen in the crypts of the abbey church of S. Bartolomeo in Ripoli (near Florence) and the parish church of Ponte allo Spino, Sovicille (near Siena). The first is dated to the eleventh century by Salmi; the second was under construction in 1189; see Salmi, *Chiese romaniche*, respectively, 10 and 24, pls. II and 108.

87. See the first-floor windows of the Palazzo della Ragione (1218–19), the exterior galleries and the turrets of the façade and crossing of the Basilica del Santo (third quarter of the thirteenth century), the so-called Tomb of Antenor (1283), and a great number of thirteenth-century houses and street porticoes: illus., respectively, *Palazzo della Ragione*, figs. 50–51; *Edificio del Santo*, figs. 4, 53–54,

66–67; Grandi, *Monumenti dei dottori*, 343, fig. 163; and Puppi and Zuliani, *Padova*, pls. 29–30, 32–33, 37, 39, 44.

88. For Verona, see the capitals of the cloister of S. Zeno Maggiore, rebuilt at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century; illus., *Abbazia e il chiostro*, 49, 50, 107. Later mainland sites include Padua (see the previous note) and Bologna, where the capital was used on the tombs of professors—namely, those for Odofredo Denari (1265) and Accursio (bef. 1293), behind S. Francesco, and the one for Rolando Passaggeri, (ca. 1300) in piazza S. Domenico; illus., Grandi, *Monumenti dei dottori*, 33, 35, 73.

89. Romanesque examples, aside from those of Ca' Falier, include the capitals of two fragmentary late-twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century arcades in the Pasina (near S. Silvestro; Fig. 27–28; see Chapter 1, note 70) and the thirteenth-century arcade of Ca' del Papa (datable, like Ca' Falier, to the second quarter of the thirteenth century; Fig. 113–B). In these the capital's neck (a sunken fillet above a torus) is part of the capital; for the buildings, see Scattolin, *Contributo*, 33–46 and Appendix 1. Capitals with a bell of the same silhouette, but with crockets at the tops of their corner facets (and lacking a torus at the neck), may be found in the nave of S. Giacomo dall'Orto and the ground-floor arcade of Ca' da Mosto; see Figs. 89 and 39, respectively. S. Giacomo is said to have been rebuilt beginning in 1225, although its roof timbers (possibly replacements for older ones) date from the last quarter of that century; see, respectively, Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, VI, 378, and Menichelli, Piana, and Pignatelli, "Dendrochronologia," 86–89. Ca' da Mosto's façade must have been put up shortly before 1242; Schulz, "Ca' da Mosto," 80 and n. 44. Without crockets, but with the same silhouette, the capital reappears in the Gothic church of S. Lazzaro degli Armeni, completed in 1346; see *San Lazzaro*, 87, illus. 86, 88–90. Decked out with fleshy Gothic foliage, heads, and even figures (but lacking all moldings at the neck), it is found on Ca' Zorzi-Bon, Ca' Agnus Dio (both undated), and the south wing of the Ducal Palace (begun 1340); see Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, pls. 67–68, 83 and 100, 113, 117, 129.

90. The earliest datable examples are the colossal capitals atop the two columns at the mouth of the Piazzetta; illus., Fig. 85, no. 8.

tips of the beveled block's facets to form small volutes or crockets and treating the facets themselves as if they were some kind of stem from which the crockets had sprung (Fig. 85, no. 4; Fig. 89).⁹¹ In the Trecento the last of these embellishments evolved still further, the volutes or crockets becoming folded-over fleshy leaves (Fig. 85, no. 3).⁹² By now the type had begun its transformation into an ever more naturalistic, plastic, and expressive variety of Gothic capital—a development that falls outside the scope of this book.

Capital types are easily identified, but dating individual specimens and determining their provenience is difficult. Late antique or early Byzantine capitals can generally be distinguished from later imitations by the former's high quality of design and execution. What in the former were complex forms and virtuoso craftsmanship become in middle Byzantine imitations more schematized, if not merely busy, and more ordinary performances—for example, *à jour* carving is translated into simple relief. Venetian imitations, at least the early ones, tend to be somewhat harder and commensurately more schematic than their Byzantine models. But this last difference does not last. By the thirteenth century, the Venetian pieces may exhibit a new

forcefulness of technique and conception: the chisel is wielded with vigor, and forms such as leaves and volutes are spirited, organic, and plastic—full of latent energy. Prime examples of these virtues are the capitals on the arcade and gallery of the Fondaco dei Turchi. They include Corinthian leatherleaf capitals in which the leaves have fewer and more boldly carved lobes than do the Byzantine models (Figs. 146, 139, 140);⁹³ a wind-blown-acanthus composite capital in which volutes and volute cushion are simpler but more forcefully modeled than in the prototypes (Fig. 142); and a folded impost capital, whose abacus and leaves are not undercut but carved in relief, with an un-Byzantine brio and force (Fig. 143).⁹⁴ Touches of free elaboration mark the folded capital, whose abacus has been decorated with a garlandlike pattern that is found, not on Byzantine capitals, but in jewelry, and the composite capital, where the mason turned what had been a raised boss in the model into a recessed band of leaflets growing lustily toward the sky.

New versions of the long-standing favorite, the byzantinizing Corinthian capital, were also introduced by Venetian sculptors. One exhibits but a single tier of very tall, forward-curling acanthus leaves, of which those at the corners fuse with the

The story of Renaissance chroniclers—tirelessly repeated by all writers down to the present day—that St. Mark's square, its buildings, and its decorations, including the columns, were put up during the six-year reign of doge Sebastiano Ziani (1172–78), is a pious fabrication. Instead, the columns were put up shortly before 1283; cf. Schulz, "Piazza medievale," 138, and Tigler, "Intorno alle colonne," 30. Similar capitals are found on the first-floor galleries of Ca' Favretto Bragadin, Ca' Falier (second floor too), and Ca' Priuli-Bon; illus., Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, respectively, 65, fig. 28; 58, fig. 19; and 63, fig. 26.

91. For the illustrated capitals of S. Giacomo dall'Orto, see note 89 above. Decorated with arms and rosettes on the faces between crockets, the capital occurs on the first- and second-floor windows of a house on the fondamenta S. Andrea, the first-floor windows of Ca'

Moro in campo S. Bartolomeo, the ground floor of Ca' da Mosto (Fig. 85, no. 7, and Fig. 39), and a multilight window of the former Ca' Grande dei Querini (now rebuilt as the Rialto fish market; Fig. 43). For the first two, see Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 60 fig. 21; 68–69, figs. 31, 33–34. S. Giacomo's nave and Ca' da Mosto are most likely of the second quarter of the Duecento; see note 89 above. Ca' Querini is first mentioned in 1276; see *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, II, 310, no. III.

92. "The simplest form of the middle gothic capital," according to Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, III, 235 (*Works*, XI, 277).

93. Also drawn by Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, III, pl. XII. Other examples are the leatherleaf and lyre capitals on Ca' Businello; Figs. 74–75.

94. Also drawn by Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, III, pl. XII.

volute, as in a leatherleaf capital (Fig. 85, no. 6). Leaf lobes are large, regular, and fleshy rather than spiky. Another, similar in its foliage, proffers a knob, or cauliculus, at the end of the curling corner leaves (Fig. 85, no. 15), paralleling the development of the corner facet in the Venetian-Veronese impost capital. A version without cauliculus may have been elaborated from a late antique model.⁹⁵ In Venice capitals like these are found on the first-floor galleries of Ca' Donà, Ca' da Mosto, and Ca' Donà della Madonetta, as well as in a late addition to St. Mark's (Figs. 84, 38, 37, and 90, respectively).⁹⁶

Another new type uses forward-curling water leaves rather than acanthus: tall ones at the corners, a slightly shorter one in the middle of each face. A single tightly wound volute rises above each corner leaf. The capital's bell is exposed above each middle leaf, and is decorated with a rosette.⁹⁷ A common form in early Gothic palaces, this capital first appears

95. Diminutive and somewhat crude reflections of the putative prototype are the capitals of the fifth-century *templon* in the Oratory of S. Giustina, Padua; illus., Zovatto, "Oratorio paleocristiano di S. Giustina," 44–46, figs. 27–30. The appearance of similar capitals during the central Middle Ages in Provence and Mozarab Spain suggests that there may have been a common late classical source. See the twelfth-century capitals in the apses of the chapels of St. Quénin in Vaison-la-Romaine and Nôtre Dame du Groseau on Mt. Ventoux (both in Vaucluse), which are by the same workshop; illus., Borg, *Architectural Sculpture*, figs. 121–22. See also the tenth-century capital in the museum of Léon but supposedly from Sahagún (site of an early medieval Benedictine abbey); illus., Schlunk, "Byzantinische Bauplastik," pl. 77 (cf. pp. 240–44).

96. A cauliculus appears only on the capitals of Ca' da Mosto. For the palaces, see Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, respectively, 51, fig. 12; 56–57, fig. 17; and 49, fig. 10. (Regarding Ca' Donà della Madonetta, see also note 29 above.) For St. Mark's, where miniature versions of the capital, without cauliculus, appear atop the paired colonnettes to either side of the central niche in the portal from the Cappella Zen into the atrium, see Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco*, 1, 309, fig. 50. Elsewhere the author has dated these niches to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century; cf. Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 186.

in late Romanesque multilight windows—for example, those on the mezzanine of Ca' Morosini-Sagredo, near S. Sofia (Fig. 91); on the exterior and courtyard façades of Ca' Donà at campo S. Polo; on the first floors of the houses at ponte della Corona (on rio di S. Giovanni Novo); and at the fondamenta Moro near S. Marziale.⁹⁸

Once one has established the characteristics of the different types, variants, and qualities, one can search for patterns in their distribution on palace façades. What emerges in palace architecture during the lifetime of the Romanesque style is an increasing use of locally made and locally invented capitals. Buildings that exhibit Ruskin's "first order" (stilted half-round arches) offer a potpourri of all possible types and qualities: authentically Byzantine, imitation Byzantine, medieval Western of some sort, Veronese-Venetian, and purely Venetian. No building uses capitals entirely of one stylistic class.⁹⁹

97. Illus., Fig. 85, no. 13, from Ruskin. The latter's key for this plate (*Stones*, III, app. III) does not specify the location of the illustrated capital, but states that it is taken from the likewise unidentified windows shown in vol. II, pl. XVI. Those happen to be the windows of Ca' Foscari-Contarini, on the Grand Canal, opposite the Scalzi.

98. Illus., respectively, Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 70, fig. 36, and 107, fig. 52; Maretto, *Casa veneziana*, 104, fig. 54 (the *rio* misidentified as rio S. Provolo), and 96, fig. 42.

99. The buildings (in alphabetical order) and the character of their capitals are as follows: Ca' Barzizza (auth. Byzantine [ground floor, some on the first floor], imit. Byzantine, and Veronese-Venetian [some on the first floor]), Ca' Businello (auth. Byzantine and purely Venetian [first floor]), Ca' del Papa (Veronese-Venetian [columns *in situ*], auth. Byzantine [erratic column in rio interrato S. Silvestro]), Ca' Donà (imit. Byzantine, purely Venetian [first floor]), Ca' Donà della Madonetta (Veronese-Venetian [loggia], purely Venetian [first floor]), Ca' Farsetti (imit. Byzantine [ground floor], Western medieval, and Veronese-Venetian [first floor]), Ca' Loredan (Veronese-Venetian [ground-floor windows], imit. Byzantine [*piano nobile*, ground-floor portico]), and Fondaco dei Turchi (imit. Byzantine).

Structures with second-order arches bring a sudden dominance of locally made capitals. This is as true of the few edifices in which the previous arch shape (stilted half-round) is used downstairs and the second order (stilted half-round with ogee on the extrados) upstairs¹⁰⁰ as it is of those that use the second order throughout.¹⁰¹ Finally, all but two buildings with third-order arches use purely Venetian capitals.¹⁰²

Invented long before any of the known palaces were built, the capital types that appear on them cannot fix the buildings' dates. On the other hand, the distribution of imported and locally produced capitals gives support to the assumption that Ruskin's "first order" is the oldest of the Venetian arch forms. Presumably, by the time the "second" and "third orders" were introduced, imported capitals were becoming increasingly difficult to obtain and increasingly old-fashioned, accounting for the growing dominance of homegrown forms. Thus, the "orders" probably did follow the sequence implicit in Ruskin's numbering. Yet the fact that locally produced capitals can already appear in buildings exhibiting "first-order" arches cautions one against too rigid an application of Ruskin's scheme. It must be that arch forms did not so much replace as blend into one another, so that at any given time two,

100. Ca' da Mosto (Veronese-Venetian and purely Venetian [ground floor], purely Venetian [first floor]), Ca' Falier (Veronese-Venetian [ground floor], purely Venetian [first and second floors], and Ca' Priuli-Bon (unrecognizable because mutilated [ground floor], purely Venetian [first floor]).

101. Casa dell'Angelo (Veronese-Venetian), Casa Zane in campo S. Maria Mater Domini (Veronese-Venetian), house at the ponte delle Ostreghe (purely Venetian), Osteria del Selvadego in Bocca di Piazza (Veronese-Venetian).

102. Ca' Favretto-Bragadin, Ca' Moro, Ca' Morosini-Sagredo (mezzanine—the only remaining early windows), Ca' Querini della Ca' Grande (now the fish market), and the houses on calle del traghetto

perhaps even three, overlapped. Hence, they provide only approximate, not firm, datings.

Pre-Gothic palaces are often decorated with small figurative reliefs. Circular or shovel-shaped, Venetians call them, respectively, *patere* and *formelle* (Figs. 26, 40). Their repertoire of subjects includes figures like Christ, Hercules, and Samson; hunters attacking some quarry; animals such as lions, bears, camels, horses, wolves, foxes, rabbits, eagles, peacocks, wading birds, fishes, and snakes, shown singly, in pairs, or (more rarely) larger numbers, sometimes confronting one another heraldically, sometimes in combat; and fabulous creatures like centaurs, griffins, basilisks, dragons, mermaids, sirens, and winged versions of normally terrestrial animals.

Several such sculptures are generally found arrayed in a rhythmic pattern above the windows of a palace's main residential floor (Fig. 38).¹⁰³ An occasional piece may also appear casually immured in a courtyard or lateral wall. In the latter case the reliefs are most often *spolia*, taken from some other context. Many reliefs show a "good" force, or a "good" force overcoming a "bad" one; they have been plausibly interpreted as apotropeia.¹⁰⁴ Yet, many other reliefs have unconstruable subjects; they may have been intended as formal accents pure and simple.

di S. Barnaba, fondamenta Moro, ponte della Corona, and rio terrà del Barba Frutariol. The exceptions are the first-floor windows of Ca' Lion-Morosini and Ca' Vitturi, which exhibit authentic Byzantine capitals.

103. For example, a *patere* above every spandrel (Ca' Donà della Madonetta), or *patere* above the windows and *formelle* above the spandrels (Ca' da Mosto, Fondaco dei Turchi), or *patere* above the windows and *formelle* in the zones of solid wall between windows (Ca' Vitturi).

104. Swiechowski and Rizzi, *Romanische Reliefs*, 10–11. For an account of animal symbolism, see Testini, "Simbolismo." One of the most common motives is the subject of Wittkower's "Eagle and Serpent."

Writers on medieval Venetian art and architecture traditionally have characterized these reliefs as Byzantine in style or even as a Byzantine genre. A corpus of them claims that most are made of Greek marble.¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere, one of the corpus's compilers has suggested that the *patere* at all events were made from antique marbles, especially transverse slices of dismantled column shafts, and were fabricated in the East—meaning the Byzantine East—for export to Venice.¹⁰⁶ Yet, there are no equivalents for these pieces in early or middle Byzantine architecture, whether in the eastern Mediterranean or in those parts of Italy that were under Byzantine administration during the early Middle Ages—namely, Apulia, Calabria, coastal Campania and Romagna, Sicily, and Sardinia. To be more specific, the characteristic formats of roundel and shovel-shaped upright were not used in Byzantine lands for figurative reliefs, nor, judging from the little that is known of Byzantine secular architecture, were such objects a common part of the latter's decorative vocabulary.¹⁰⁷

Whether in Venice the reliefs were peculiar to the decoration of secular buildings, not churches, as scholars are wont to believe, remains an open question. It is true that outside of some reliefs on St. Mark's, there is in Venice today but one example

of a church exterior with such sculptures, a set of five *patere* on the hood over the side entrance of S. Maria del Carmine. They seem to be reused *spolia* rather than parts of the original fabric (Fig. 94).¹⁰⁸ Still, as a cautionary note, one might observe that most pre-Gothic church façades of Venice were long ago pulled down.

The earliest datable examples of such reliefs in Venice are those on the exterior of St. Mark's, comprising thirteen *patere* and two *formelle*. One *patera*, showing interlaced ribbon ornament rather than a figurative subject, was found at the north end of the principal narthex, set into the latter's late-eleventh- or early-twelfth-century brick exterior and now hidden beneath the exterior's later (thirteenth-century) revetment. The location fixes the *patera*'s date in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The other twelve *patere* are set instead into the revetment, but some may have been taken from the brick wall beneath and remounted. The brick wall at this point forms the exterior of a broad corridor, built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, that extends along the basilica's north flank, linking the narthex with the north transept. If any of these particular *patere* were indeed made for the church's prerevetment exterior, they would date

105. See the individual entries in Swiechowski and Rizzi, *Romanische Reliefs*. Most *patere* and *formelle* are immured high up on exterior walls, badly eroded, and encrusted with dirt; it is a brave man who, even with the aid of binoculars, thinks he can recognize the type of marble from which they were carved.

106. For varieties of stone, see Swiechowski and Rizzi, *Romanische Reliefs*, 21–23, and their catalogue, *passim*. For slicing of columns, see *ibid.*, cat. no. 963, and Rizzi, “*Patere e formelle veneto-bizantine nella terraferma*,” 161.

107. Byzantine reliefs of comparable subject matter tend to be rectangular; for examples, see Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines*, I and II, and Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*. The seeming exception of a roundel with a griffin, in the

Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, is but the broken-out fragment of what was a larger panel; see Firathi, *Catalogue des sculptures byzantines*, no. 338. Another seeming exception, a *formella* in the Louvre representing five animals in fairly high relief, was published as a Byzantine work “from Greece”; see Vitry, “Un bas-relief,” and also Coche de la Ferté, *Antiquité chrétienne*, fig. 13. Whether this means that the piece was bought in Greece or that a Greek provenience was asserted by its seller or assumed by Vitry is not clear. By style and subject matter the work looks Venetian. Indeed, whenever they have a known provenience, the *patere* and *formelle* in American and European museums come from Venice.

108. The fourteenth-century portal is certainly later than the sculpture affixed to it.

from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹ The two *formelle*, for their part, are fixed on the north and west faces of the Arco di S. Alipio and date from the thirteenth century.¹¹⁰

Pre-Gothic palaces decorated with *patere* are of the end of the twelfth century (Ca' Barzizza) or later; those bearing *formelle* as well are of the thirteenth century. Given the slightly earlier dating of the *patere* at St. Mark's with respect to those of the palaces, and the contemporaneity of its *formelle*, it seems likely that both genres took their start in the workshop of St. Mark's.

Parallels for the repertoire of motives appearing in the reliefs, for the physiognomies of represented animals, and even for conventions used to render hair, feathers, and other details can be spotted easily in early and middle Byzantine stone reliefs, ivory boxes, silks, and ceramics.¹¹¹ But it is true too that a similar repertoire, comparable physiognomies, and even some of the eccentricities of stylization can be found in Islamic decorative arts throughout the Near East and in the Romanesque architectural sculpture and *Kleinkunst* of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain (Figs. 92–93). Much of this common vocabulary can be traced back to the decorative arts and architectural sculpture of late antique Persia, especially Sasanian ceramics, metalware, textiles, and architectural stucco.¹¹² Adopted by craftsmen of the

109. For all these *patere*, see Tigler, "Catalogo delle sculture," nos. 24, 66–73, 80–83. For the first *patere*, which is partially effaced, see Marangoni, "Architetto ignoto," figs. 16, 21. The empty recess of a second early *patere*, long ago removed, is seen in his figure 17. An erratic, fragmentary *patere* with a geometrically interlaced ribbon that may be a *spolium* from the Contarinian basilica is catalogued by Swiechowski and Rizzi, *Romanische Reliefs*, as no. 1096. (Interlaced ribbons were a common decorative motive in middle Byzantine architectural sculpture; see Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines*, II, pls. LIX, XCIII, CXXXII.)

110. Tigler, "Catalogo delle sculture," nos. 77 and 92, respectively.

Byzantine and Arab states that succeeded the Sasanians, the latter's repertoire of motives soon spread north and west. By the late eleventh century it had reached the Latin countries, where it gave birth to the taste for monsters and mayhem that informs so much of the architectural sculpture of the Western Romanesque. In sum, the genre of *patere* and *formelle* seems to have been invented in Venice and to have remained a Venetian specialty, but its subjects and style were inspired by Byzantine sculpture of similar subjects and, like the latter, were but another instance of a pan-Mediterranean taste rooted in the late antique Near East.¹¹³

Finally, there are carved moldings that occur typically on Venetian pre-Gothic palaces: inhabited scrolls, friezes of rosettes, cornices of curling acanthus, and roofline cresting.

Inhabited scrolls—tendrils and leaves aligned in sinuous waves or encircling rings adorned with animals, figures, fruit, and decorative leaves—were originally a classical motive, found in both architectural sculpture and mosaics throughout the Graeco-Roman world. In ancient examples the plant is most often acanthus; in early Christian, early Byzantine, and early medieval derivations it is also grape vine (a symbol of salvation). In scrolls of these later periods the leaves became progressively simplified and generalized: tendrils turned into flattened strands

111. See the general works cited in note 107 above; Firath, *Catalogue des sculptures byzantines* (esp. nos. 249, 320, 322, 338, 340, and 342); and Coroneo, *Sculptura mediobizantina* (an excellent account of, with references for, middle Byzantine sculpture in Sardinia and Campania).

112. For the illustrated gaming pieces, both of the twelfth century, see *Reich der Salier*, 65, no. 23, and Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, III, 48, no. 225. General accounts of Sasanian wares and their influence are offered by Erdmann, *Kunst Irans*; Bernheimer, *Romanische Tierplastik*; and Franz, "Medaillon."

113. So too Swiechowski and Rizzi, *Romanische Reliefs*, 12; Rizzi, *Sculptura esterna*, 21–39; and Tigler, *Portale maggiore*, 497–503.

or thin tubes, and foliage into generic leaves, shown either singly or in sprays. Inhabiting forms became fewer; indeed in many examples there are only leaves and clusters of grapes.¹¹⁴

In this stylized form the motive survived into the repertoires of Romanesque and middle-Byzantine masons and craftsmen, who began gradually to expand the vocabulary of beasts and plants accommodated within the tendrils.¹¹⁵ At the same time, the lifelike tendrils and multilobed leaves of ancient acanthus scroll were resurrected in Italy, in the form of both *spolia* from ancient ruins and newly made imitations. In northern Italy this revival began in Lombardy, Emilia, and the Veneto during the first half of the twelfth century.¹¹⁶

114. Early medieval scrolls are found in all parts of Europe, western and eastern, where classical remains were common and classical influence was strong. Examples near Venice include the stucco window soffit of the *episcopio* by the Basilica Eufrasiana, Poreč (Russo, *Sculture del complesso Eufrasiano di Parenzo*, no. 150); three surviving faces of a disassembled ciborium, used as altarpiece frames in S. Maria, Lison (near Portogruaro; Bonfioli, *Arcate marmoree*, figs. 8, 10, 12); terra-cotta fragments at S. Salvatore, Brescia (*Chiesa di San Salvatore*, 79–81, figs. 64–66); and the famous stuccoes of the Tempietto Longobardo, Cividale del Friuli (*Chiesa di San Salvatore*, 190, fig. 138, and 285, fig. 41). Byzantine examples are readily seen in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines*, I, pls. xviii [no. 3], xxxvi [no. 3], and xxxix [no. 4]). Outside Italy, they are found in Spain and southern France (Provence)—for example, in S. Pedro de la Nave (Zamora) and S. Maria at Quintamilla (Burgos) in the first place (see *Denkmäler*, pls. 128–39, 151), and in St. Gilles-du-Gard, Cavaillon, St. Restitut, Pernes-les-Fontaines, Vaison-la-Romaine, and St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux in the second (for St. Gilles, see Hamann, *Abteikirche*, I, figs. 11–14, 120, 122, 186–88; for the others, Borg, *Architectural Sculpture*, figs. 73, 86–87, 98–99, 119, 135). The motive survived in ivories too; see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, nos. 47–49, 50; II, nos. 32, 92, 236 (for revised dates of objects in vol. I, see II, 236–43).

115. See, for instance, the scrolls at Sant'Abondio, Como, of the later eleventh century; Balzaretti, *Sant'Abondio*, figs. 8, 14, 17, 19, 29.

116. Among the very earliest are the scrolls by Wiligelmus on the façade of the cathedral at Modena and on the porches by Nicholas at the cathedrals of Ferrara, Piacenza, and Verona and at S. Zeno, Verona; see Peroni, "Acanthe remployée" (with further references).

Both types of scroll, the more stylized and the classicizing, more naturalistic, appeared in Venice in parapet panels of the new St. Mark's, locally carved at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century,¹¹⁷ the former inspired presumably by Byzantine examples (although the motive was endemic on the mainland too), the latter imported most likely from Verona. At the end of the twelfth century, the two types of scroll could be found also on palaces, albeit not on the buildings treated in my appendixes. Stylized scrolls appear in a first-floor archivolt of Ca' Barzizza, a lateral archivolt of the ground-floor arcade of Ca' da Mosto, and the previously mentioned ruinous façade on rio di Ca' Foscari (Fig. 24), to name only early buildings.¹¹⁸

Elsewhere in Italy, the naturalistic scroll reappeared in the lintel of the Porta di S. Ranieri at the cathedral of Pisa, either an antique *spolium* or a *spolium* eked out by a twelfth-century imitation; see the descriptive caption by Giovanna Tedeschi Grisanti in *Duomo di Pisa*, text volume, 382–83.

117. See Buchwald, "Carved Stone Ornament," pt. I, 188–94. The panels are better and more fully illustrated by Zuliani, *Marmi*, who otherwise repeats Buchwald's conclusions; see Zuliani's cat. nos. 34, 106, 110, 113, and 124 (stylized); nos. 111–12 (naturalistic); nos. 114–19 and 121–22 (mixing elements of both styles). (Four contemporary parapet panels with stylized scrolls surrounding large animals, now at Torcello cathedral, were perhaps also made for St. Mark's; see Polacco, "Plutei.") Mixed-style vines appear again on the tomb of Felicità Michiel in the narthex and on a *pluteo* affixed to the exterior of the basilica's treasury; Zuliani, *Marmi*, nos. 128–29 and 143. Buchthal numbered the panels at St. Mark's separately for each arm of the church; Zuliani, while numbering them continuously, in the style of a catalogue, at the same time specified their locations. A recent summary of the two scholars' work has abandoned both systems of identification and numbered the panels continuously from 1 to 80. It offers no concordance with the earlier numbering styles, supplying for guidance only a location plan and a series of brutally reduced and almost indecipherable elevations of the panels *in situ*; *Marmi della Basilica di San Marco*, 210–13.

118. For the first two, see Scattolin, *Contributo*, 61, fig. 38, and 30, fig. 6; for the last, Ruskin, *Examples*, pl. 9, and note 18 above. Arslan thought that the oldest of all the scrolls in Venice, datable to the twelfth century, were the stylized ones over the entrances to the passage connecting corte seconda del Milion and campo del Teatro

A naturalistic scroll—the only example in palace architecture known to me—decorates the soffit of Ca' Barzizza's ground-floor portal (Fig. 33). In this case, the vine's structure and leaf shapes suggest that it is modeled on the neo-antique scrolls of the Romanesque sculptor Nicholas, two of whose lavishly decorated portals are found in Verona.¹¹⁹

Friezes of rosettes framed by raised fillets are also encountered in some pre-Gothic palaces, but not in the five buildings especially studied here. The rosettes are arrayed in single file, separated one from the other by a spray of three leaves that is pinched together at the middle by a button or strap, making the leaves fan out at their tips so as to cleave to the rounded outer edges of the rosettes. Such friezes decorate another first-floor archivolt at Ca' Barzizza, for instance, and one of the lateral arcade arches at Ca' da Mosto. Although there are numerous middle-Byzantine examples of the motive in southern Italy, the type has not been found in the Byzantine homeland.¹²⁰

The last two motives, an acanthus cornice and roofline cresting, are more difficult to account for.

Since the nineteenth century scholars have been wont to derive the one from Byzantine and the other from Islamic models, but in the first case chronology invalidates the derivation, and in the second a southern Italian connection is more plausible, although only slightly less perplexing.

Cornices of acanthus leaves, the tallest of which curl forward and down at the tip, appear in the eleventh-century basilica of St. Mark's and recur in ecclesiastical and secular buildings in and around Venice until far into the thirteenth century. The motive was carefully examined by Hans Buchwald in his meticulous study of the architectural sculpture of St. Mark's. He connected it with curling-acanthus cornices surviving in late Byzantine churches of Constantinople. Yet, those cornices are later than the Venetian ones, and their leaf forms are dissimilar.¹²¹ He remained unaware, furthermore, that the motive was well established throughout western Europe from the eleventh century forward.

The ultimate source is the classical Corinthian capital, whose acanthus leaves curl similarly at their

[Malibran]; "Portali romanici," 16. However, this type was extremely common during the central Middle Ages, and variations between one and another example, whether of design or execution, are often as not a reflection of quality rather than date.

119. See *Nicholaus*, III, 241–42, figs. 11–12; 250, fig. 20; 252, fig. 22; 276, fig. 22 (the volume also illustrates the artist's four other, equally rich portals). The front face of the archivolt contains, by contrast, a stylized scroll (Fig. 32). Mixed-style scrolls appear over the entrance portal of Ca' Lion-Morosini (Fig. 47) and the central ground-floor arch of Ca' da Mosto (Fig. 39). Stylized and naturalistic scrolls appear over the thirteenth-century portals of St. Mark's, as do more developed scrolls in which the inhabitants have well-nigh eclipsed the framing vegetation; see Tigler, "Catalogo delle sculture," nos. 34, 126–35 (stylized), 36–48, (naturalistic), and 35, 49–63, 117–25, 136–48 (naturalistic, but elaborated to the point that the inhabitants overwhelm the scrolls).

120. For Ca' Barzizza and Ca' da Mosto, see Scattolin, as cited in note 118. Italian examples are illustrated by Coroneo, *Scultura medio-bizantina*, 155, fig. 118, cat. nos. 1.6, 1.7, 7.1, 9.5, 10.4, 12.1, 13.17, 13.24, 13.37, 13.38, 14.5, and 15.2. Rosette friezes from the East link the flowers by means of a single or double fillet that is twisted at each interstice between one rosette and the next; cf. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines*, I, pl. XXII, no. 3.

121. Buchwald, "Carved Stone Ornament," pt. II, 156–60. To overcome the discrepancy in dates, Buchwald suggested that the Constantinopolitan examples were made in the tenth century and reused in the spots they occupy now. Later writers have rejected this early dating; see note 126 below. Raffaele Cattaneo was the first to call Venetian acanthus cornices Byzantine, interpreting the friezes of the new St. Mark's (for which, see below) as reused fragments of the original, ninth-century church, which he regarded as having been fully Byzantine in style; see his "Storia architettonica," 128.

tips. In late antiquity the curling became more marked,¹²² and leaves of this type began to appear not only in capitals of broad piers and pilasters but also in running moldings, like cornice cymas and string courses (Fig. 99).¹²³ They survived into early Byzantine architecture (Fig. 100),¹²⁴ but eventually in both East and West they retired into the minor arts, especially ivory carving.

Masons reintroduced the motive to architectural sculpture during the central Middle Ages. By the twelfth century it was ubiquitous in France (Fig. 101), Spain, the former Yugoslavia, and Italy.¹²⁵ In the Byzantine Empire, on the other hand, it

reappeared only in the last quarter of the thirteenth century (Fig. 102).¹²⁶

Different schools of masons produced different versions of the motive, which, to describe it more precisely, consists of a line of simplified acanthus plants with spiky leaves, quite like those seen in late antique Corinthian capitals. Each leaf extends to the left and the right lateral fronds that are mirror images of one another, like a butterfly's wings. A tall central frond rises above them and curls strongly forward at the tip. The lateral fronds of one plant touch the next, leaving between the touching spikes waste spaces that are deeply drilled so as to create

122. See, for instance, the fourth-century capitals on the Arch of Constantine, Rome; illus., Kähler, *Gebälke des Konstantinsbogens*, Beilage 1–4, esp. 2.

123. Illustrated is the frieze atop the relief fields of the Arch of Galerius at Salonika (ca. A.D. 297–305). See further the entablature of the Arch of Theodosius at Istanbul (ca. A.D. 393); illus., Verzzone, "Tetrapilo," fig. 19. Fifth-century instances include the piers of Hag. Demetrios, Salonika, and the pulpit from Salonika and statue base from Constantinople at the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; illus., Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst*, pls. 214 right, 78–79. Emphatically curling acanthus leaves, albeit not assembled in a frieze but of considerable influence in the Middle Ages, form the consoles of the entablature on the entrance to the narthex of fifth-century Hag. Ioannes of Studius, Constantinople; illustrated most clearly by Salzenberg, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale*, pl. III, nos. 3 and 5. A legion of fourth-century examples can be found in the late antique ruins of Syria, Israel, and Egypt, of which, more below.

124. Illustrated are the two pseudo-entablatures around the interior of sixth-century Hag. Sophia at Istanbul, consisting of a curling acanthus cyma above curling acanthus consoles. Another example is the pier capital of the late-fifth-century church H ("Tomb Church") at Corycus, on the southeast coast of Turkey, near ancient Seleucia (modern Silifke). For the first example, see Kähler, *Hagia Sophia*, figs. 36–37, 63 (photographs); Salzenberg, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale*, pl. xv, nos. 1, 4–5, and pl. xvi, nos. 2–3 (drawings); and Butler, "Nave Cornices" (discussion). For the second, see Hill, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 131–36. Double-tiered acanthus is ubiquitous in the capitals and cornices of the great pilgrimage church of Qualat Siman and is altogether commonplace in the architecture of northern Syria during the fourth and fifth centuries; cf. Strube, *Baudekoration*, 1. Curling acanthus in two and three tiers decorates capitals and cornices of the seventh-century Golden Gate in Jerusalem; illus., Wilkinson, *Column Capitals*, 6–14,

35–48, esp. nos. 1–2, 6, 10, 12, 15 (the most readable reproductions out of many). Related capitals, *spolia* from unknown buildings, are found nearby in the al-Aqsa Mosque and the crusader chapel of St. Helena in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; Wilkinson, *Column Capitals*, respectively, nos. 16–31, and SSB, SSF, SSG, SSH, SSI. (Other capitals in both monuments may be similar, but Wilkinson's illustrations are so execrable that one cannot make them out.)

125. The examples are far too numerous to list. Suffice it to say that in France they range from the Ile-de-France (e.g., the illustrated Portail Royal of Chartres) and Picardy (e.g., the exterior apse of Berzy-le-sec) all the way to Provence (e.g., St. Gilles-du-Gard, St. Trophime of Arles, and Notre Dame de Doms of Avignon); in Spain they are concentrated in the north (e.g., Santiago de Compostela); and in Istria and Dalmatia they line the coast from Poreč (the sarcophagus of Sts. Mark and Eleutherius) to Split (the cathedral campanile). In Italy they span the peninsula, with notable groups in Sicily (e.g., the cathedrals of Monreale and Palermo and the imperial tombs inside the latter), Apulia (e.g., the cathedrals of Bari, Bitonto, and Trani), Tuscany (e.g., the cathedrals of Pisa, Lucca, and Siena), and nearby Lombardy (e.g., S. Simpliciano, Milan, and Isola di S. Giulio). For examples in the Veneto, see below.

126. It is found in Istanbul on the icon frames of the Kalenderhane Camii and Kariye Camii, the arcossolium tombs in the pareklesion of the latter, and in erratic pieces of architectural sculpture collected at the Archaeological Museum. None of these examples is earlier than the 1290s, making all later than the Venetian instances. See Belting, "Konstantinopol'skaia Kapitel'," 143–52; Peschlow, "Architectural Sculpture," in Striker and Kuban, *Kalenderhane*, 101–11, cat. nos. 169–70; and Firath, *Catalogue des sculptures byzantines*, 192–93, cat. no. 414. These authors reject the early datings by Buchwald, "Carved Stone Ornament," pt. II, 156–58.

a pattern of shadowy recesses, triangular or trapezoidal in shape.

Venetian and Continental versions of the motive differ in the overall pattern formed by a single plant and in the shape of the uppermost, pendant tip. On the Continent, neighboring plants tend to retain clear borders, even when their lateral leaves touch; curling leaf tips have lobed or shovel-shaped ends; and the forms of lateral fronds and leaf stems can be so schematized as to lose all resemblance to a plant.¹²⁷ In Venice and neighboring towns, by contrast, fronds, although schematized, are always recognizable as vegetative forms. The neighboring plants do not simply touch one another, they fuse: the outstretched fronds of one meet the next, tip to tip, their touching spikes forming arcs, one above the other. Curled tips in the Venetian examples are relatively narrow and exist in at least three variant forms. In one they vaguely resemble a snake's head: tonguelike in shape, divided by incised veins, and marked by two eyes drilled right through the stone. In another the overhanging tip ends in a fan of three small curving spikes, somewhat resembling

a lily palmette, and a row of still smaller spikes on each side nestling in the curve of the larger ones. In a third variant the tip has more baldly the shape of a lily palmette; that is, it is less delicately shaped at the tip and lacks the small spikes on its sides. In some examples of this latter form, the leaves alternate with tall vases or chalices.¹²⁸

In Venice there are only two examples of the Continental type, both carved in the third quarter of the thirteenth century for the west front of St. Mark's (Fig. 103).¹²⁹ The three Venetian types, by contrast, are to be seen throughout the city.

Of these types, the first is the oldest, appearing in the late eleventh century, even earlier than acanthus cornices on the Continent. Long stretches of "snake's-head" leaves are immured in the fabric of the new St. Mark's, lining the outer edge of the walkway around the principal exterior apse and accenting the springing of the interior barrel vaults (Fig. 104).¹³⁰ The same leaves appear again on the interior and exterior of the apse of SS. Maria e Donato of Murano, whose construction probably straddled the end of the eleventh and beginning of

127. See, for instance, the Italian examples illustrated by Decker, *Italia romanica*, pls. 47, 57, 62–64, 177, 189, 203, and 214.

128. The three variants are defined and illustrated by Buchwald, "Carved Stone Ornament," pt. II, 144–47, figs. 1–15. Still a fourth variant was recently glimpsed on San Marco's main façade: behind the central portal's outer band of sculptures, installed during the thirteenth-century cladding of the twelfth-century brick core, was a fragment of the core's original crowning cornice, composed of acanthus leaves and an overhanging central tip; illus., Zuliani, "Nuove proposte," fig. 9. The tip (only partly seen in the one published illustration) may be of the snake's-head variety, but the two visible leaves are fleshier than in other Venetian instances of the molding, and the one on the bottom is but a single small spike. One hopes that more of this cornice will be brought to light, making its characteristics more clearly observable.

129. They decorate the illustrated freestanding arch at the façade's left (arco di S. Alipio) and the lunette above the first portal on

the right (now rebuilt as a window); treated by, respectively, Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 100–104, pl. 86, and Polacco, *San Marco*, 86–87 and 109. The two resemble acanthus friezes found in Apulia, in which delicately picked-out fronds cleanly fill a rectangular area: for example, on the façade of the cathedral of Trani and—in a greatly more stylized form—on the apse window of the cathedral of Bari; illus., respectively, Decker, *Italia romanica*, pl. 189, and Poeschke, *Skulptur*, 1, pl. 207.

130. See Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 70–75. Friezes of the first type are immured in some parts of the exterior apse (immediately below the encircling walkway) and at the impost level of the great barrel vaults seated on the four-legged piers in the crossing and nave and the corresponding level of the vaults and lunettes in the nave aisles and chapels flanking the presbytery; see Buchwald, "Carved Stone Ornament," pt. II, 144–45, figs. 1–3. A later type appears elsewhere in the building (see below).

the twelfth century, and whose floor is dated 1140 (Fig. 105).¹³¹

The second type is only a little less ancient than the first, appearing in buildings probably built not later than the first half of the twelfth century; it is found bordering the interior apses of the cathedral (S. Stefano) in Caorle and S. Fosca in Torcello, and recurs as an immured erratic fragment at S. Sofia in Padua.¹³² In Venice a long run of it is immured in a house on the south side of corte seconda del Milion, near S. Giovanni Grisostomo (Fig. 106).¹³³

The third type, in which the protruding leaf is shaped like a lily tip, appears in buildings of the first half of the thirteenth century—for instance, on Ca' da Mosto near SS. Apostoli.¹³⁴ Stretches of a version

in which a chalice or vase stands between each pair of successive plants are found in St. Mark's.¹³⁵ Both variants can be found in fragments scattered about the city and lagoon (Fig. 107).¹³⁶ Further afield they are found on the façade and retro façade of the Santo at Padua, which was begun in the 1230s.¹³⁷

Similar leaf types are hard to find outside of Venice and its immediate surroundings. At best, the shape of the projecting tip in the second type can be compared to leaf tips on byzantinizing composite capitals of a variety seen at St. Mark's and the cathedral of Torcello.¹³⁸ Yet, the capital's leaves resemble only in the form of the tip; otherwise they are different. Leaf tips and leaves of the first and third types are not duplicated outside of Venice at all.¹³⁹

131. For the date, see Rahtgens, *S. Donato*, 49–50, 70–72; see also Buchwald, “Carved Stone Ornament,” pt. II, 144–45.

132. The date of S. Fosca is unknown and much contested. Without explanation, Ughelli gives a date of 1038 for S. Stefano; *Italia sacra*, v, col. 1335. Modern authors have accepted the date; cf. Scarpa Bonazza, “Basilica di Caorle 126, and Mareschi, “L'architettura,” 109–13. Yet, it has never been verified and may be somewhat too early. S. Sofia was begun before 1106 and was in use, although not necessarily finished, in 1129; cf. Bellinato, “Contributo,” 15–23.

133. In this house (number 5846–5848), a late Romanesque building from the end of the thirteenth century and property of the Morosini in 1384, the frieze may be *in situ*. Elsewhere it is reused—for instance, on Ca' Bembo on the riva del Carbon, where it is mixed with pieces of the third type. Other fragments of it are found on the side of a house on the fondamenta Widman along rio di S. Canciano (Canaregio 5409/5410), on the *rio* façades of Ca' Van Axel near S. Maria dei Miracoli, and over the entrance of the sottoportego del Tamossi (S. Polo 1500A); illus., respectively, Rizzi, *Scultura esterna*, 303 and 363. Forlati associates a fragment at S. Zaccaria with a tenth- or eleventh-century rebuilding of the church; “Da Rialto a S. Ilario,” 645, illus. 121, fig. 22. Worth noting is a section of a colossal version of this type used as lintel on the portal of S. Giovanni al Sepolcro (of the twelfth century?), Brindisi. I have not been able to locate the fragment illustrated by Salmi, *Abbazia di Pomposa*, fig. 82 (fig. 77 in the 1st ed.).

134. The frieze is hard to see and impossible to photograph because it lies in the shadow of a later balcony; see instead the drawing in Tomadin, “Progetto,” 180, fig. 4b; see further Schulz, “Ca' da Mosto,” esp. 78 (for a date).

135. Specifically, at the vault impost and base of aisle lunettes on both sides of the south transept, on the west side of the north transept,

around the openings (*pozzzi*) in the galleries over the east-end chapels, and on the south side of the exterior apse. Buchwald hypothesizes that in the transepts the frieze was installed retrospectively, in a standing wall, and on the exterior apse as a later repair. See Buchwald, “Carved Stone Ornament,” pt. II, 145–46, fig. 5; a sharp drawing is illustrated by Cattaneo, *Architettura*, fig. 145.

136. The illustrated lintel, which alternates leaves with vases, crowns the side portal of S. Maria del Carmine. Fragments of the same variant are affixed to the *rio* side of a house at S. Croce 898 (visible from ponte Raspi o Sansoni), the front of Ca' Minotto-Lucceschi at the corner of rio S. Maurizio and the Grand Canal, to either side of the entrance to the ramo or sottoportego del Carbon from riva del Carbon, and in corte del Presepio at S. Polo 1038/1038A (recently installed and illustrated by Rizzi, *Scultura esterna*, 343). More fragments are intermingled with pieces of the second type on Ca' Bembo, on the riva del Carbon. A fragment with leaves only is immured in the exterior of the north side of Torcello cathedral.

137. The church was ready to receive the body of its titular saint in 1263; see *Edificio del Santo*, 39–40, and (illus.) figs. 4–5, 14–17, 20, 34–37, 99–101.

138. They are capitals based on an early Byzantine model, of which one example was at S. Sebastiano, Ravenna, and others at S. Vitale; illus., Colasanti, *Arte bizantina*, pls. 16 and 46, respectively. The imitations at St. Mark's and Torcello are illustrated in *Corpus der Kapitelle*, nos. 17–18, and Errard and Gayet, *Art byzantine*, IV, pl. xvi, respectively.

139. St. Mark's cornices of the first, “snake's-eye” type have been compared to the acanthus cornices of Hag. Sophia, the Kariye Camii, and the Kalenderhane Camii, Istanbul; see Richardson, “Byzantine Element,” I, 45. The cited Byzantine examples, however, are not only unlike one another but also unlike the cornice in St. Mark's.

On the other hand, a distinctive feature of the first Venetian type, the “eyes” in the projecting leaf tip, does occur in Roman, late antique, and early Islamic Corinthian capitals from a swath of Near Eastern sites that extends from Cilicia to Syria and Egypt. Many are *spolia* incorporated in later buildings, but some are or have been recovered *in situ* (Figs. 97–98).¹⁴⁰

There is no demonstrable link between the Venetian cornices and these Levantine capitals, but a speculative argument for the link might be made. Among the capitals cited above are some at Petra. For several generations archaeologists have believed that the architectural sculpture of Nabatean Petra is based on that of Roman Alexandria.¹⁴¹ Their reasoning is strong but circuitous, for only the most pitiful scraps of Alexandria’s early monuments survive: a great many vanished as the city’s waterfront gradually slid into the sea; the rest were buried, cannibalized, or torn down by later inhabitants.

Among lost buildings are the city’s three recorded churches of St. Mark: a fourth-century martyrion in an eastern suburb, a new church built downtown a century later at the behest of St. Cyril,

and a still later church built in the sixth century “at the edge of the sea,” which would have been the site where the saint’s remains were kept in the ninth century, when, according to tradition, they were stolen by a group of intrepid Venetian traders.¹⁴² A site of pilgrimages and an active commercial port, Alexandria received Western pilgrims and traders all through the Middle Ages. It seems more than likely that Latin visitors sought out Alexandrian spots sacred to the memory of Christian martyrs, among them those associated with St. Mark. Such a visitor might have brought to Venice knowledge of an Alexandrian motive appropriate for a new basilica of St. Mark.

The other two Venetian types would, under this hypothesis, have been local elaborations of the imported motive, influenced by, among other things, locally available composite capitals.

Cresting, the last type of architectural sculpture to be considered, is an ornamental or symbolic form of battlement or crenellation and, like the latter, was invented in the ancient Near East.¹⁴³ To be sure, battlements could be symbolic without seeming ornamental: whenever merlons are too small to

140. The earliest are the column capitals of the first-century Nabataean tomb called el Khasneh, or the Treasury, at Petra and those of the late-second- or early-third-century fountains at Dandarah, on the Nile, near Luxor in Upper Egypt; see Ronczewski, “Kapitelle,” and Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici*, nos. 220–26. A late-fifth-century example at Corycus in Cilicia was cited above; see note 124. Sixth-century examples were excavated in the main church of the monastery of Apa Geremias at Saqqara, south of Memphis, and are now at the Coptic Museum, Cairo, among which that depicted in my Figure 98 was first published, mistakenly, as from Bawit; see Pensabene, *Elementi architettonici*, no. 590. Early Umayyad versions appear as pilaster capitals in the seventh-century Golden Gate, column capitals of the al-Aqsa Mosque (now removed to the Islamic Museum), and *spolia* in the chapel of St. Helena of the Holy Sepulchre, all in Jerusalem; illus., Wilkinson, *Column Capitals*, 36–37, 41, 43, 46, 50, 52, 56, 58–59 (others are too poorly reproduced to distinguish the exact forms).

141. See Ronczewski, “Kapitelle,” esp. cols. 68–87, and McKenzie, *Architecture*, 61–70, with extensive bibliography.

142. See Chaîne, “L’église de Saint-Marc”; Faivre, “L’église,” esp. 68–74; and Pearson, “Acts of Mark.” The third building burned in A.D. 912/13; I do not know how long its ruins continued to stand.

143. The term “cresting” is well established in the vocabulary of architecture, signifying the ornamental fretted combs atop roof ridges and eaves of Gothic buildings; see Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire*, IV, s.v. *crête*. It seems more appropriate for the highly decorative blades atop the eaves of Venetian pre-Gothic palaces than the more commonly used term “crenellation,” which suggests a practicable defensive structure. For the Near Eastern origin of both crenellation and cresting, see Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, ii, 389, or, more fully, Porada, “Battlements.”

afford cover for a standing man, and wherever a parapet walk is absent, leaving no space behind the merlons for defenders to station themselves, one may assume that the feature lacked a practical purpose. Such crenellation was either a bluff or was meant to arrogate for the building on which it appeared the connotations of an orthodox battlement.¹⁴⁴

Battlements remained a standard defensive device throughout the Mediterranean basin during classical antiquity and the early and central Middle Ages; they are found on Byzantine, Islamic, and western city walls and gates, fortresses and princely residences. As an ornamental or symbolic form, as cresting, that is, they remained current chiefly in Islamic lands, where they were a standard finishing touch on mosques, tombs, religious schools, and princely palaces, growing ever more varied and decorative with the passage of time. At the advent of the twelfth century, some of these new, entirely ornamental forms began to appear in Norman Sicily (Fig. 95); in the thirteenth century they arrived

144. For symbolic meaning in battlements, see Chapter 2.

145. The monument illustrated in Figure 95 is the cathedral of Palermo, begun ca. 1170, dedicated 1185, still under construction in the earlier thirteenth century, and enlarged and embellished several times thereafter; see Stefano, *Monumenti*, 74–82, pls. CVIII–CXVII. Three types of cresting are visible: gable-headed atop the twelfth-century nave, fretted as part of the fourteenth-century embellishments ringing the western towers, and alternating gable- and round-headed over the aisle chapels. Other Sicilian examples include the cathedrals of Catania, Cefalù, Messina, Monreale, and Siracusa; the abbey La Badiazza at Messina; churches such as SS. Pietro e Paolo of Agrò and S. Nicolò Reale of Mazara del Vallo, and the church of unknown dedication in the ruins of the Temple of Apollo, Siracusa; and palaces such as the Palazzo Reale and La Zisa in Palermo—all of them twelfth-century buildings. For illustrations, see Stefano, *Monumenti*, pls. XXIX–XXXI, CX–CXIII, CXXX–CXXXVIII, CLVII–CLVIII, CLXI, and CXCI; Basile, *Architettura della Sicilia*, figs. 52–53, 57, 104, 107, 125; and Decker, *Italia romanica*, pls. 146, 156, and 165. As for pre-Gothic Venice, see the buildings on the medieval piazza di S. Marco, the predecessor of Palazzo Grimani-Marcello (near the corner of rio di S. Polo and the Grand Canal), the Fondaco della Farina (at the corner of rio di S. Silvestro

in Venice. Whereas in Sicily such embellishments occur on both ecclesiastical and secular buildings, in Venice they seem to have been limited to civil architecture.

Merlons in Norman and Venetian cresting may be rectangular or round-headed, standard shapes for military battlements, or take less functional forms, gable-headed, swallow-tailed, and shovel-shaped (fig. 96).¹⁴⁵ Both in Sicily and in Venice the crests may have slits in them. A merlon in defensive crenellation sometimes had a slit, a feature that in a military context served a practical purpose, for it permitted archers to shoot from behind a merlon rather than have to step out into a crenel when doing so. In decorative cresting, slits may have been no more than a picturesque embellishment. Rectangular merlons were ubiquitous in the Mediterranean world.¹⁴⁶

Although historians of architecture have long believed that Venetians brought home their forms of cresting from the Near East,¹⁴⁷ the idea seems rather unlikely. Their traders called at ports all

and the Grand Canal), Ca' del Papa, Ca' Barozzi, and the Fondaco dei Turchi. The first of these is visible on Gentile Bellini's depiction of the medieval square (Fig. 96). The second and third are visible on Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut (Fig. 23); the others, in Figs. 115, 126, and 137, respectively.

146. Round-headed merlons are found on the eleventh-century walls of Cairo (see Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1, pls. 57–62, 70) and, with a slit in them, on the minaret of the ninth-century congregational mosque of Qairawan (Marçais, *Manuel*, 1, 65). Gable-headed merlons with a slit in them decorate the tenth-century *maqsarah* of the mosque at Qairawan (Marçais, *Manuel*, 1, 69).

147. The most recent partisan of the idea has been Howard, *Venice and the East*, 153, 164, 178. Her Venetian instances are the cresting atop the fourteenth-century Ducal Palace, fifteenth-century Ca' d'Oro, and fifteenth-century courtyard walls in general (her figs. 224, 157, and 210, respectively). She compares them to Cairene and Alexandrian monuments with key-shaped merlons and fretted parapets that are pierced by holes (her figs. 225, 226, and 53, respectively). However, the same types of cresting may also be seen in Norman Sicily. Key-shaped crests are found at the Cappella Palatina, and fretted parapets atop S. Cataldo and around the western towers of the cathedral, all in

along the Muslim coastlands of the Mediterranean and at major inland cities like Cairo, but even so, one cannot imagine these merchants looking on strangely structured sultans' palaces, mosques, madrasahs, and tombs as fitting models for their homes and churches. In Norman Sicily, on the other hand, where Venetians also called, cresting had been grafted on to buildings that had familiar plans, uses, or associations—namely, Christian churches and palaces of Western rulers.

Presumably, the genre of cresting reached Sicily during the more than two hundred years (831–1072) that the island had been ruled by Arabs from North Africa—first Aghlabids then Fatimids. They were eventually thrown out by the Normans. Nothing has survived of the Arabs' Sicilian constructions; nor can precedents for every form of cresting encountered in Norman buildings of Sicily be found in known Aghlabid and Fatimid buildings of North Africa. Even so, it does not seem unreasonable to imagine that the newly dominant Christian Normans should have made use of local masons, schooled in Islamic architecture, to build their new churches and palaces. It is very much more difficult, however, to explain why Venetians felt moved to

imitate a decorative form seen in Norman Sicily. The circumstances for the arrival of cresting in Venice remain perplexing.

Looking back on this survey, the architectural sculpture associated with the Venetian pre-Gothic palace can be seen to have developed out of motives and *spolia* from the nearby Continent and other Mediterranean sites, begetting imitations and, eventually, entirely Venetian elaborations and inventions. If Near Eastern models and Byzantine imports launched the motive of the acanthus frieze in the eleventh century, capitals and naturalistic scrolls came to Venice in the twelfth century from Verona. Arrival in the thirteenth century of masses of late antique and Byzantine *spolia*, most of them looted in Constantinople, gave a new impetus to byzantinizing decorations, whether composed of authentic Greek pieces or Venetian imitations.¹⁴⁸ However, as Venetian masons became more proficient and copies quickly took the place of *spolia*, the imported motives were assimilated and increasingly reshaped, developing into an indigenous repertoire of architectural sculpture that was neither Byzantine nor Islamic nor Romanesque, but vaguely smacked of all.

Palermo. See Fig. 95; Stefano, *Monumenti*, pls. LII, LIV, LXXXV–LXXXIX, CXI; and, for a detailed drawing of S. Cataldo's parapet, Marçais, *Manuel*, I, 193, fig. 113. The archetype of such parapets can be seen in the ninth-century congregational mosque of Ibn Tulun in al-Fustat; illus., Howard, *Venice and the East*, fig. 53. Endlessly varied forms of the motive are encountered in later Tulunid and Fatimid buildings, both in Egypt and in Sicily, but none is exactly like the Venetian parapets

of the Quattrocento, which consist of rows of individually assembled plastic merlons of stone or brick, not a low continuous plane of bricks fancifully contoured and pierced by fancifully shaped voids.

148. A fresh current of Byzantine borrowings at the beginning of the thirteenth century is also seen by Demus, "Bisanzio e la scultura," 142–51 (reprt., *Studies*, II, 178–83); idem, "Renaissance," 358–59 (reprt., *Studies*, II, 17–19); and Pertusi, "Venezia e Bisanzio," 20–22.

CONCLUSION

IN ITS FULLY developed form the Venetian palace type of the central Middle Ages stands apart from contemporary palace architecture on the Continent. Whereas the magnates of Italian mainland cities still lived in congeries of buildings of various sizes, plans, materials, and dates, grouped often as not around a tall masonry tower, their Venetian peers had hit upon a compact, blocklike fabric, laid out internally according to a symmetrical plan and exhibiting externally a symmetrically articulated and relatively open façade of monumental galleries or fenestration. Towers, if present at all, were more decorative than menacing in size and appearance.

1. For a general account (with emphasis on Bologna and Genoa), see Heers, *Clan familial*, ch. 4, and idem, *Espaces publics*, 33–55. Numerous such enclaves appear in the “Guasta Lambertaciorum,” a census of the 155 Ghibelline properties in Bologna that were destroyed in 1287 by Guelfs (called the Lambertazzi). Only individual items from this list have been cited thus far, and it merits publication; see Heers, *Espaces publics*, 107. Published in full is an analogous list of 1,009 Guelf properties in Florence and the nearby *contado*, savaged in 1260–66 by the Ghibellines, then in power; see *Liber extimationum*. Altogether 122 *turres*, 100 *palatia*, 8 *domus magna*, and 779 wooden or masonry *domus* are listed (I have not counted minor structures, like *capanne*, *apothecae*,

Comparison between Venetian and mainland examples is difficult, to be sure, because study of the latter is only just beginning and few have been published thus far, even partially. Great numbers of complexes of disparate buildings are attested by written sources in medieval Bologna and Florence.¹ Published remains of such compounds, with and without towers, are in Ascoli Piceno, Tarquinia, and Verona.² Remnants are often difficult to recognize, because they have suffered extensive and repeated rebuilding inside and out, to render them more uniform in height and exterior articulation and more suitable as living quarters for multiple unrelated

molendine, and *columbaria*). Thirty-four of the “palaces” and 49 of the “houses” were joined to a tower, forming one residential complex with it. The Ghibellines presumably lived in similar enclaves. Residential complexes in Milan, Rome, and Verona were never as extensively documented but are occasionally mentioned in private deeds: see Saita, “Città ‘turrita’?” 319–20; Hubert, *Espace*, 185–93; and Varanini, *Torri*, 185–92, respectively.

2. See Sestili and Torsani, *Ascoli e l’edilizia privata* (a revised version of the same authors’ *Casa e torri romaniche di Ascoli*, Ascoli Piceno 1986); Andrews, “Medieval Domestic Architecture,” 26, fig. 1.9 (Tarquinia); and *Ambienti di dimore* (Verona).

owners. Notable examples of such renovated complexes are the houses of the Peruzzi and the Spini, bankers and industrialists, respectively, and leading Guelfs in medieval Florence (Figs. 56–57).³

Not only were the Venetian palaces different from such residential enclaves in massing and planning and in the coherence of their elevations, but they were also more elaborately finished on the exterior, or at least on their principal façade, exhibiting more decorative forms—Byzantine and byzantinizing—alongside more orthodoxly Romanesque ones current on the mainland. No wonder that for over a century scholars have been seeking a foreign prototype for the Venetian buildings. In the history of architecture, as we have heard, the *opinio communis* is that the Venetian palace type was based either directly or indirectly on Byzantine example.

It is a fact that Venice was born in late antiquity as a dependency of the Byzantine Empire, and continued to enjoy close relations with the latter into the early Middle Ages. From this fact scholars of Venice have derived an overriding conviction not only that the island city's civilization as a whole was Byzantine at its foundation but also that it remained forever after shot through with threads of Byzantine culture. The notion has been a powerful tool for unlocking mysteries of the city's early constitution, legal foundations, state ritual, and art. But it has been a constraint on the study of Venice's

later development, encouraging an insular bent in scholarship by which historians seek to explain local phenomena chiefly by scouring the Byzantine infancy of the city or Byzantium itself.

Moreover, Venetian traditions and institutions having in this way acquired an odor of non-Western strangeness, historians of other parts of Italy have been led similarly to think of the Serenissima as exceptional—"another world," in Petrarch's words⁴—as somehow not of the same stuff as other medieval and early modern city-states in north-central Italy, like Milan or Florence. In modern multivolume histories of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, or of Italy, the Venetian experience is often treated apart from the rest of north-central Italy, in chapters of its own.

If a handicap in general, separatism of the kind traditional in Venetian studies is particularly out of place when trying to understand the city's early architecture. Settled on marshy islands, Venetians had to import building materials from the mainland: there were no tall trees or stone in Venice. Here and there the archipelago offered clay suitable for making bricks. Even so, most bricks in early buildings were scavenged from Roman ruins or imported from furnaces on the mainland. It is reasonable to assume that specialists trained to work these nonlocal materials were lacking in Venice as well, and were initially imported from the *terra ferma*

3. Illustrated and briefly described in Ginori Lisci, *Palazzi*, 1, no. 4, and II, no. 93, respectively; fuller accounts in Macci and Orgera, *Architettura e civiltà*, 157 and 133–34. Both complexes were enlarged and rebuilt in the thirteenth century, leaving the time of their origin and their original appearance uncertain. Successive renovations have eliminated any difference in the height of the component houses and towers. The Spini buildings, furthermore, have been recased in a uniformly rusticated exterior, pierced by continuous rows of identical windows and topped with a uniform line of merlons. Sinding-Larsen

dates the Peruzzi houses in their present form to the third quarter of the fourteenth century; "Tale of Two Cities," 178–80. Recasing of Palazzo Spini seems to have begun in 1288, but the exterior was again wholly reformed in the nineteenth century; see Trotta, "Architettura," 43–63 (with floor plans).

4. He called it "orbis alter" in a letter of 1367 or 1368 to Urban V; see his letters of old age, bk. IX, no. 1, in *Librorum Francisci Petrarce*, II, signature 6v.

alongside the logs, stones, and bricks themselves. There is no evidence that skilled carpenters, stone carvers, or brick layers were brought over to Venice from the Byzantine East or other distant places.⁵ Traditions of construction and design known to these workmen must have been, necessarily, those in use on the nearby Continent.

In ecclesiastical architecture, the only medieval building with multiple unmistakable references to Byzantine models in plan, elevation, and details is the existing basilica of St. Mark, built in the last quarter of the eleventh century. Here the references must have been intentional, and must have cost much effort to realize. St. Mark's was, like the Apos-toleion in Constantinople (whose plan it imitated up to a point), the shrine of an apostle. Its early Byzantine form and details, as well as the byzantinizing mosaics added later, conferred on it a bogus but effective resemblance to the early Christian monuments of cities older and with a longer religious history than Venice: the basilica was meant to body forth its own function and importance. It had one imitator, the now-destroyed church of S. Maria of Iesolo. Otherwise, none of the churches of the region, whether earlier than or contemporary with

St. Mark's, in the city or nearby, made similarly overt reference to Byzantine models.⁶

When it comes to residential architecture, the presence or absence of a link with Byzantine prototypes is much harder to demonstrate, since remains of middle Byzantine examples are so few and fragmentary. Not only that, but our knowledge of the Byzantine material is clouded by the more or less overt tendency of Byzantinists to reconstruct the missing elements of Byzantine ruins by looking to Venetian buildings for guidance.⁷

Although we do not know enough to exclude categorically a Byzantine source for the Venetian palace type, patterns well established by the central Middle Ages on the Italian mainland are actually a sufficient basis by themselves for the Venetian development. *Terra ferma* residences of secular and ecclesiastical lords, couched in the older and more monumental form of the medieval pan-European palace type, and houses of notables, of the upper-hall-house type, contain the same basic elements of plan and elevation found in the Venetian buildings.⁸ It is such models that were familiar to masons in medieval Venice. It is such models that Venetian patrons would have been most likely to emulate.

5. All scholars agree, for instance, that the brickwork of St. Mark's follows Italian, not Byzantine, practice—e.g., Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 99. On the other hand, several early chroniclers state that St. Mark's—strongly byzantinizing in plan and much detailing—was designed by an architect from Constantinople. Modern scholars consider the claim a pious fiction.

6. A compendium of diagrammatic plans of 113 Venetian and lagunare churches founded before 1200 is offered in Dorigo, *Venezia origini*, II, 549–610. Necessarily, a good deal of surmise has gone into the plans of buildings now much changed or gone. Moreover, some of the plans are by now outdated (e.g., S. Lorenzo in Venice, recently excavated). Even so, although prepared by a scholar with a firm commitment to Venice's "Byzantine connection," none of the plans are byzantinizing, other than those of St. Mark's and S. Maria of Iesolo.

It is true, on the other hand, that architectural sculpture from early phases of some of these buildings includes *spolia* and imitations of late antique or early Byzantine work. Ruins along the Adriatic seaboard were a prolific source of *spolia* for early medieval builders, not only in the Veneto but also in Emilia-Romagna. Such stones recommended themselves as economical and—since they were generally considered antique—as imbued with the authority of the ancients. They cannot be taken as evidence for a willed Byzantinism in design.

7. See Chapter 1. Early Byzantine palaces, better known, have no resemblance to Western buildings, being loose assemblies of courtyards and pavilions in the late antique tradition.

8. See Chapter 1 for the two building types and their distribution in Italy.

Although Venice became ruler, with the Fourth Crusade, of a part of Constantinople and various territories in the Byzantine Empire, and although some Venetians briefly entertained moving their capital to Constantinople, the development of an indigenous palace type had by then already begun: surviving remains in Venice of upper-hall houses and the very first “palaces” must be of the late twelfth century.

Nor is it likely that members of the emerging patriciate of Venice would have identified with the Byzantine nobility to the point of imitating wholesale the latter’s residential habits and structures. Venetians traded in various Byzantine ports throughout the central Middle Ages, maintained a permanent settlement of traders and service businesses in Constantinople, and acted on occasion as the empire’s military allies. Yet, they remained devoted to their own brand of Christianity and their home country, and they seldom intermarried with Greeks. There is no evidence that the Venetian merchants were ready to abandon their own lifestyle for that of their hosts and commercial correspondents, just as there is none that other Italian traders of the time were disposed to byzantinize themselves. Of Latin borrowing from the Greek East during the Middle Ages, it was individual motives and techniques that moved most commonly, motives in *objets d’art*, iconographic schemes in book illumination, the medium of mosaic, methods of bronze casting, and the like. Building types and plans were seldom transferred unless there were iconographic reasons,

9. Admittedly, it is difficult to chart the development of the urban residential palace elsewhere in medieval Italy. An abundant literature on communal palaces of that period is of little help, for these constitute a building type of their own, whose history is not interchangeable with that of the residential palace. The latter continues to

as in the numerous Western imitations of the Holy Sepulchre and the imitation of the Apostoleion in St. Mark’s, or a wholesale change of political control, as in the construction of byzantinizing buildings in Apulia during the period of Greek control.

In sum, the distinctively Venetian palace type should be considered a derivation from an established Continental building type that underwent a further, local development in response to local imperatives, both environmental and social. Presence of byzantinizing capitals, reliefs, or incrustation in these structures cannot be construed as evidence of a wholesale atavistic dependence on a dominant cultural model from the distant past. To the extent that these elements are *spolia* from the East, they may reflect a feeling of pride and superiority on the part of the builders, who had become lords (and despoilers) of three-eighths of the Byzantine Empire and its capital in 1204. But more generally the *spolia* and imitations speak of little more than a desire to dress up the new palaces in borrowed finery of pseudo-antique grandeur. Such details are externals, easily put on and easily put off, which indeed they were when the fashion changed to Gothic dress in the fourteenth century.

On the other hand, more monumental than the congeries of buildings that formed the residential enclaves of the central Middle Ages on the mainland, more coherent in plan, open to the outside, and elaborate in finish, Venetian palaces seem to have begun in the late Duecento to cast an influence back upon the palace architecture of Continental Italy.⁹

be studded with uncertainties: the dates of many buildings are mere tradition; renovations and alterations remain unascertained; floor plans are unavailable. Again and again the modern critic finds little more to go on than exterior appearances.

That influence is seen first in the borderland where Lombardy meets the Veneto. In Verona and Mantua are palaces of this era that, although detailed in the traditional style of Lombard Romanesque architecture, are striking for their new, extravagant size, blocklike mass, and artful façades, the latter composed of monumental fenestration and some of the accoutrements of a seigneurial residence.

Veronese examples include the palaces of Bailardino Nogarola (an *intime* of the city's Scaliger lords), in use by the 1340s, and of Alberto I della Scala, mentioned in 1276, enlarged and rebuilt by Alberto's great-grandson, Cansignorio, and mentioned in this recast form in 1344.¹⁰

Comparable palaces in Mantua are the several residences around piazza Sordello, remodeled or rebuilt for the Bonacolsi, lords of the city between 1273 and 1328. The buildings include palazzi Guerrieri, Acerbi-Cadenazzi, and Castiglioni (Fig. 59), one next to the other on the square's north side, and the so-called Magna Domus and Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo, one next to the other on the south side. Of this group, the first two were purchased in 1273 and 1281, respectively, by Pinamonte Bonacolsi and rebuilt for him in 1281, the third built anew for him that same year, the fourth and fifth put up in the 1290s but rebuilt in more overtly Gothic forms by the Bonacolsi's successors, the Gonzaga.¹¹

What the Veronese and Mantuan buildings have in common is not only their mass and scale but also carefully articulated façades that open toward the exterior through large handsome arcades and

multilight windows framed by great relieving arches. The arcade and window arches may be either half-round or squatly ogival, even in the same building, and are outlined coloristically by archivolt of alternating stone and brick voussoirs. Towers, where present, as at the Scaliger palace of Verona in its final form and the palaces on the north side of piazza Sordello in Mantua, are either placed symmetrically, at the two ends of the elevation, or set apart from the main façade, at the buildings' backs. Swallow-tailed crenellation extends along the roofline. Capitals are of the beveled-block type. The colorism, the mixing of half-round with ogival arches, and the capitals are all typical of Veronese late Romanesque architecture. It may be therefore that in Mantua the Venetian models were known through Veronese intermediaries.

The interior layout of these buildings can only be surmised. The Nogarola house, which opens onto an inner courtyard through an arcade (now walled up) extending for the depth of the courtyard, presumably had a hall above the arcade, overlooking the courtyard through the great first-floor windows. Halls probably lay behind the first-floor windows of the other buildings too, in the manner of upper-hall houses. Yet how these halls were connected to the buildings' chambers remains to be established. Given that mainland sites did not present the same static challenges as Venetian ones, it is unlikely that builders on the *terra ferma* imitated the odd device of a broad corridor—a *portego*—along the central axis of the fabric. Even so, the ultimate inspiration

10. These two and other cognate Veronese buildings are mentioned briefly by Arslan, *Architettura romanica*, 218–19, and Brugnoli, "Trionfo cortese," 258–60 (the latter reproduces early views of the Nogarola house, figs. 137–39). For more particular information, see

Sandri, "Bailardino Nogarola," esp. 487 (reprt., 341–42), and Hudson, "Il palazzo," 232 nn. 14–19, 234 n. 34.

11. For these buildings, see *Mantova: Le arti*, I, 30–31, 146–52, and figs. 95–121.

in Mantua and Verona must have been the Venetian palace type, earlier by over half a century than the earliest of the Veronese and Mantuan buildings.

As the fourteenth century advanced, a courtyard plan modeled on the architecture of castles was introduced in Lombard residential construction. But the block palace was not abandoned. The palace on Piazza Grande at Pavia, built in the early 1380s for Nicolò de' Diversi, tax collector and general factotum for Giangaleazzo Visconti, is still an example of the genre.¹² Its principal façade, which extends over an entire block on the west side of the piazza, rests on an arcade of four broad ogival arches. On the first floor were four three-light windows (only one remains) topped by small trefoil arches and gathered together under large ogival relieving arches. Behind them must have lain a hall. On the second floor, what were probably five two-light windows (only one remains in this case too) were framed by ogival relieving arches of their own. Arcade and relieving arches are framed by broad terra-cotta moldings. Although the forms and materials are typical for the Lombard architecture of the later Trecento, in its massing, scale, openness, and ornateness the building still adheres to the standards first introduced in Venice.

In Emilia and Tuscany, the search for scale and embellishment in palace architecture seems to have begun later than in Verona or Lombardy. In

12. See Fagnani, "Piazza Grande," 85; for an illustration, see Jacini, *Viaggio del Po*, v, 427. Some authors date the building to 1376, but that is the year in which Giangaleazzo Visconti ordered the piazza enlarged; Diversi himself is first recorded on the piazza in 1383; see Fagnani, "Piazza Grande," 90 and 85, respectively. Diversi, for his part, is frequently recorded in Giangaleazzo's service from the early 1380s until 1398; see Bueno di Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*, 30–31, 325 (more notices are indexed). For courtyard palaces, see Romanini, "Architettura lombarda," 721–22.

Bologna, for instance, the earliest monumental palace known to me is that of Taddeo Pepoli, begun in 1344.¹³ It is a giant, sparsely ornamented block, with relatively few, irregularly placed windows—a guarded and conservative response to the relative openness of the new palace type. On the ground floor, which has a pugnaciously battered base, the windows are small; higher up they are larger (but not very large) and contain twin lights, illuminating what must have been the original building's hall. The shapes of window surrounds and relieving arches are a mixture of half-round and ogival; inserted lights are ogival. Archivolts are monochrome, but picked out by slender terra-cotta moldings. A broad frescoed frieze, just below the crenellation, provides a touch of polychromy. Taken as a whole, the building is clearly in the same tradition as those just examined.

If the Bolognese adaptation of the palace type might be adjudged conservative with respect to openness, the Florentine version is conservative with respect to embellishment. Numerous Florentine palaces of the Trecento are strikingly large, block-like in massing, and abundantly supplied with generously sized openings, but the detailing of walls and openings is downright austere.¹⁴ Early examples are Palazzo Davanzati in via Porta Rossa (Figs. 60–61) and Palazzo Salviati-Quaratesi in via Ghibellina, of the third and last quarter of the

13. The date is supposedly supplied by chronicles; see Zucchini, *Bologna*, 44, and idem, *La verità*, 149–52 (here a summary account of the restoration of 1938–39 and illustrations "before" and "after").

14. For recent accounts of the Florentine late medieval palace, see Sinding-Larsen, "Tale of Two Cities," and Klotz, "Florentiner Stadtpalast." Both authors admit some influence from Roman and medieval styles of rustication, but treat the Florentine development as otherwise autochthonous.

century, respectively.¹⁵ Plans of the former, which was given an uncharacteristically skewed layout in order to fit it into an ill-shaped building plot, show that each of its two residential floors had a hall straddling the entire street front, in the manner of an upper-hall house. Detailing in all these buildings is almost entirely a matter of surface textures: lower floors are roughly rusticated, upper floors more smoothly rusticated or ashlar, undressed stone, or even brick, perhaps originally stuccoed; surrounds of arches over windows and portals are rusticated or of drafted stones. Arch forms are mildly gothicized: the intrados, that is, may be half-round or segmental, but the extrados is generally pointed. Only the multiple lights inside the window's relieving arch may display more decorative forms—small but fully Gothic arches and orders—but in the majority of buildings the original lights no longer survive.

In some other parts of Tuscany, the unified blocklike palace arrived in a more roundabout fashion. Namely, in Pisa and, influenced by Pisan example, in Lucca and Siena, the tower residences of urban notables, found throughout Italy in the twelfth century, had evolved by the middle of the thirteenth century into newly sophisticated and ornate structures.¹⁶ Tall and narrow—four to five storeys high, one to two bays wide, deeper than wide—these buildings were, during the later twelfth

and early thirteenth centuries, pared down to skeletal masonry structures of piers tied together by stiffening architraves or arches with curtain walls of brick filling the voids in between. On the buildings' street fronts, the walls were pierced by large multi-light windows set beneath half-round or, eventually, ogival relieving arches.

During the later Duecento and early Trecento such towers began to be joined together to make larger units, inspired perhaps by the growing scale of upper-class residences elsewhere on the Continent, especially in nearby Florence. From this point, it was but a short step to the construction *ex novo* of blocklike palaces of the type by now well established in north-central Italy.

In Siena, Palazzo Tolomei is an extremely early example of this end point (Figs. 62–63). Erected in its present form in ca. 1270–72, it is a massive unified structure laid out in the manner of an upper-hall house, with its principal room extending across the fabric's front on piazza di S. Cristoforo. The hall is lit by ornate twin-light windows, each capped by a trefoil arch and gathered beneath an ogival relieving arch. A very tall, emphatically pointed entrance arch leads into the building from the piazza.¹⁷ Although the structure follows the modern building type of the blocklike palace and the decorative features are couched in the modern, Gothic vocabulary,

15. See Sinding-Larsen, "Tale of Two Cities," 180, 187, pl. XIII (b–c); Klotz, "Florentiner Stadtpalast," 321, 324, 341, figs. 21, 31, 49; and Rosenberg, *Davanzati Palace* (plans). For the latter, see also Sinding-Larsen, "Tale of Two Cities," 187, pls. XXIX (c), XXX, XXXI (a). For views of the two buildings as a whole, see Ginori Lisci, *Palazzi*, I, no. 11 and p. 21, respectively. I take my dates from Sinding-Larsen, who categorized the various styles of rustication and assigned them dates. (He divided the stonework into four types: "early" [1350s–1370s], "severe" [1380s], "transitional" [turn of the 1380s to 1390s], and "neo-naturalistic" [1390s]. *Palazzi Davanzati's and Salviati-Quaratesi's stones*

belonged, by his reckoning, to the first and fourth categories, respectively.) Klotz, "Florentiner Stadtpalast," 321, dated Palazzo Davanzati "ca. 1370."

16. See Redi, "Dalla torre al palazzo." There is no general treatment for Lucca, but see the illustrations in Belli Barsali, *Guida di Lucca* (3d ed.), 11–13, 19. For Siena, see De Vecchi, "Architettura gotica civile," esp. 4–8.

17. A previous building on the site was totally demolished (for political reasons) in 1267–68; see Guido Pampaloni, "Il palazzo," in *Palazzo Tolomei*, 61–86, esp. 78–81.

the tall and narrow silhouette still recalls the older tower format, while, among the details, the windows are only haltingly Gothic, in that their trefoil arches are composed of circular, not ogival, curves.

By the fourteenth century the new building type had become the standard palace form in Pisa, Lucca, and Siena, with portals, windows, and other features, such as corbel tables, detailed throughout in Gothic shapes and ornament.¹⁸ Gothic detailing was not another instance of Venetian influence (Venetian palaces having by this time adopted the Gothic mode too), for local ecclesiastical architecture had already begun, under the influence of monastic orders that had been building in this style for some time in France, to adopt Gothic forms of planning and details.

Meanwhile, the norms for massing a residential fabric and opening its principal façade with handsomely detailed windows and arches, introduced in Venice more than a century before, remained in force in Tuscany as well as in northern Italy. With the revolution in architectural design, begun in Florence in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, by which classical forms, types, and proportions

increasingly replaced medieval ones, the forms in which such buildings were clothed changed once again. Classicized, the building type now began to spread on the coattails of the humanistic Renaissance, first through the rest of Italy, then through most of western Europe.

Historians of Italian architecture long ago recognized the common features that link central Italian palaces of the late Middle Ages with those of the early Renaissance. In the words of Staale Sinding-Larsen, Florentine and Roman builders aimed for “large, space-consuming, one-man [scil., “one-family”] houses, not built for renting or for industrial activities, but as a tribute to the owner’s personality and position,” and both made use of forms with “seigneurial, or at least distinctively upper-class connotations.”¹⁹ These are characteristics that obtain equally for late medieval palaces in other parts of central Italy and even for those of some north Italian cities, as we have seen. They obtain also for the pre-Gothic palaces of Venice,²⁰ which seem to have provided the initial inspiration for them all.

18. See Redi, *Edilizia medievale*, figs. 144, 147, 148, for typical Sienese palaces (in all three cases, only the ogival relieving arches, not the multilight windows that were set within them, survive), and fig. 108, for a Lucchese example.

19. Sinding-Larsen, “Tale of Two Cities,” 204–5.

20. The common assumption that the Venetian building type combined residential, warehousing, and office use, and the fact that ground-floor and mezzanine rooms not used by the owner were often

rented to outsiders, might suggest that Sinding-Larsen’s definitions apply to the Venetian buildings only in part. Yet, as I have tried to show in Chapter 2, the *communis opinio* in regard to multiple use of Venetian pre-Gothic palaces is mistaken. Giving over surplus space to rental tenants, furthermore, is not the same as setting out to build rental space. On the other hand, Sinding-Larsen specified still other characteristics not found at all in medieval Venice: “commonness [here used as the antonym of “elitist”] in style and simplicity,” and rustication.

APPENDIXES

KEY

Each of the five appendixes pertains to a specific building. The buildings follow one another in approximate chronological order:

- I Ca' del Papa
- II Ca' Barozzi
- III Fondaco dei Turchi
- IV Ca' Farsetti
- V Ca' Loredan

Each appendix has four divisions: (A) Written Sources, (B) Visual Sources, (C) The Owners, and (D) The Building. The material in each division is arranged in chronological order. Full titles for citations accompanying the catalogue are found in the Bibliography.

(A) Written Sources. In order to save space, documents are generally excerpted. Dates and names in summaries are standardized according to modern usage; that is, calendar years follow the *stilus Circumcisionis* (which begins the new year on January 1), days

of the month are numbered continuously from 1 forward, and given names are italianized.

Dates and names in transcribed texts are reproduced as written. Thus, years may be numbered in the style of Venice, *more Veneto* (Venice began the new year on March 1). Days of the month may be numbered forward for the first half of the month (*introeunte*) and backward for the second half (*exeunte*). Given names may be in Latin or Venetian. Otherwise the texts have been somewhat modernized. Capitalization and punctuation, for example, follow modern usage. Notarial abbreviations and elisions have been expanded; consonantal *i* and *u* have been transcribed as *j* and *v*; the vowels *j* and *y* have been transcribed as *i*. These changes excepted, spelling has been left unaltered.

Editorial comments or explanations are enclosed in square brackets [] or, if lengthy, relegated to footnotes. Emendations, that is, words supplied to complete an ungrammatical, damaged, or otherwise defective passage, are enclosed in angle brackets <>.

Collocations of source materials are reported in a note at the end of each entry, together with previous

publications, if any, and early copies. Fascicles of documents are called by the terms in use at the archive where they are kept, for example, *busta*, *filza*, and *registro*. Documents kept loose in bundles, neither paginated nor numbered internally, are called loose and referred to by their date.

(B) Visual Sources. Paintings, drawings, and prints are arranged in chronological order, irrespective of medium. Those that belong to a single set or series are treated as a single entry. Unless another unit of measurement is indicated, dimensions are stated in millimeters, height before width. Inscriptions are transcribed only to the extent they date or authenticate the

item, or provide information not easily visible in the reproduction. In accordance with modern practice, the words of inscriptions are transcribed as written. Expansions of abbreviations or elisions, when needed, are printed in *italics*.

(C) The Owners. A critical account of the identity and character of the families believed or known to have owned the building in question, with reference to the documents offered in division (A), early histories, and modern scholarship.

(D) The Building. A reasoned reconstruction, to the extent documents, images, and surviving structures allow, of the building's original plan and elevation.

APPENDIX I: CA' DEL PAPA

(A) WRITTEN SOURCES

I 1070 (January) Domenico [Marango], patriarch of Grado, attests to Vitale Morario that “te plebanum et priorem investivimus et confirmavimus in basilica Sancti Silvestri, quae est de sinu nostrae Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae per jus et possessionem ab antiquis temporibus, ut omnibus vitae tuae diebus ibidem plebanus et prior existas ad ordinandum et disponendum [. . .]. Predictam autem ecclesiam Sancti Silvestri et ecclesiam Sancti Johannis, sive Omnium Sanctorum, cum tota sua cella et domo et caminatis cum suo solario, et aliis caminatis [. . .] in tuam tradimus potestatem [. . .]. Verum tamen secundum quod nostri antecessores habuerunt ita, et nos in supra dictis basilicis et solariis sursum atque deorsum receptionem et honorem habere debeamus nos videlicet et nostri successores ac nostri homines.”¹

1. ASVe, MensPat, b^a 3, no. A-3 (not. Domenico Tino; abraded, lacking ca. 2 cm of its left-hand edge; transcribed in ASVe, CodDipVen, [II], 103–5, no. 172). Undamaged copies: Parish archives of S. Silvestro, Pergamene, b^a 1, loose, under date (copies of September 1198 by not. Marino Lambardo, and 4 January 1461 *m. V.* by not. Bartolometo de’ Camini q. Tomà); ASVe, MensPat, b^a 1, “Catastico Bragadin,” fols. 7–10 (eighteenth century; published by Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 57–58, doc. A). Dated January 1169, eighth indiction, the document uses a mixed style of dating: that is, the year is given according to the usage of Venice (where years changed as of March), and the indiction is

2 1153 (January) Presiding over a provincial synod in Venice, “Quapropter nos Henrichus Dandulus Dei nutu gradensis patriarcha [. . .] in nostra aula resideremus, adhibitis nobis venerabilibus fratribus nostris episcopis et maxima multitudine reverendorum clericorum nostre patrie [. . .], venit ante nostram presentiam Angelus da Molino [. . .].”²

3 1164 (June and 15 July) Legates of Alexander III adjudicate ecclesiastical disputes in Venice, sitting, respectively, “in palatio Sancti Silvestri” and “in palatio Gradensis patriarche.”³

4 1177 (11 May and 1 August) Arriving in Venice (11 May) to begin talks toward a settlement of the schism and the fighting between himself, the empire, the Kingdom of Sicily, and Lombard communes, Pope Alexander III “ad patriarche palatium cum magna gloria est et honore deductus. Postquam autem cardinales et

given, as usual in patriarchal charters, according to the style of Rome (where indications changed as of January). Corner mistakenly kept the year as given in the *datatio* and “corrected” the indiction to seventh.

2. Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, v, cols. 1371–77. The act was indited in Venice (its *datatio* states “Rivoalti”) and thus cannot refer to a meeting held at Grado, as Dorigo suggests in “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,” 36.

3. Respectively, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto*, 81, no. 26, and Gloria, *Codice diplomatico padovano dall’anno 1101 alla pace di Costanza*, pt. II, 125, no. 851.

Lombardi, qui papam fuerent subsecuti Venetias applicuerunt, papa mediatoribus pacis iniunxit, ut in cappella, que erat in palatio patriarche, convenientes, primo de pace Lombardorum que prolixiori indigebat tractatu, haberent colloquium de pace regis et ecclesie, que quasi una est, postmodum tractaturi.”

Later (1 August), upon agreement on a settlement, the principals come before the pope to swear observance of its terms: “Augusti imperator [Federicus I] cum archiepiscopis et episcopis et reliquis principibus suis et magna populi multitudine ad patriarche palatium, in quo papa erat hospitatus, accessit. In cuius palatii aula longa satis et spatiosa, papa in eminentiori loco positus in faldestolio suo resedit [. . .], imperatorem quidem in sua dextera supra episcopos et presbyteros cardinales, Romoaldum vero Salernitanum archiepiscopum in sinistra supra diacones cardinales residere precepit.”⁴

- 5 1182 (11 April) Patriarch Enrico Dandolo transfers the shops and rooms beneath the patriarchal palace and church to the church of S. Silvestro: “damus concedimus atque per hanc nostre concessionis cartulam transactamus ecclesie Sancti Silvestri, que est de iure nostri patriarchatus, ac plebanis omnibus, qui per tempora deo volente ibidem ordinati fuerint, hoc est totas stationes, vel cameras, positas in suprascripto

confinio sancti Silvestri, permanentes sub palatio et ecclesia nostri patriarchatus in iam dicto confinio, videlicet a comprehenso arcu qui stat in capite patriarchalis eiusdem ecclesie, usque ad canalem sicut circundant discurrente recto tramite usque in rivum Sancti Silvestri, quasquidem esse cognoscimus de iure et pertinentiis predictae ecclesie Sancti Silvestri.”⁵

- 6 1182 (14 April) Domenico Minotto having been named to, and invested with, the *plebanatus* of S. Silvestro by patriarch Enrico Dandolo, a deacon now conveys to Domenico the shops and rooms beneath the patriarchal palace and church that patriarch Enrico gave to S. Silvestro three days before: “et sic Leonardus diaconus et canonicus Gradensis ecclesie per manum et parabolam iamdicti domini patriarche posuit in tenutam predictum Dominicum presbiterum et plebanum suprascripte ecclesie Sancti Silvestri de totis illis stationibus ac cameris positis in iam dicto confinio Sancti Silvestri permanentibus sub palatio et ecclesia patriarchatus iamdicti confinii, videlicet sic circundant a comprehenso arcu qui stat in capite porticatus de eiusdem ecclesie Sancti Silvestri usque ad canalem discurrentem recto tramite usque in rivum Sancti Silvestri, sicut continetur in illa concessionis et promissionis cartula quam iam dictus dominus patriarcha eidem prefato plebano fecerat.”⁶

4. Romualdus Salernitanus, “Annales,” 446 and 453, respectively (“Chronicon,” 275 and 286, respectively).

5. ASVe, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, b^a 129, loose, in a folder marked “1182 Dandolo Enrico” (a fifteenth-century copy prepared for Maffeo Girardi, patriarch of Venice, 1466–92). Other copies, with some omissions and errors: MensPat, b^a 1, “Catastico Bragadin,” fols. 70–71 (where the words “nostri patriarchatus”—in the phrase “permanentes sub palatio et ecclesia nostri patriarchatus”—are rendered as “in panthanus”; published by Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 76, doc. L); MensPat, b^a 8, item B-166 (copy of 1682); and MensPat, b^a 8, item B-186, fasc.

2, fols. 73r–v (an eighteenth-century copy of a copy of March 1184 in a fascicule titled “Scrittura nel confin di S. Silvestro . . .”).

6. ASVe, MensPat, b^a 8, item B-167; an eighteenth-century copy in MensPat, b^a 1, “Catastico Bragadin,” fols. 72–73 (published by Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 77, doc. M). A *soi-disant* copy, datable to between 1508 and 1512, in MensPat, b^a 8, item B-177, fols. 2r–6r (variants in wording, but not in content); an eighteenth-century abstract of this conveyance and of the protests it occasioned from the neighboring Contarini, in APVe, MensPat, b^a 1A–2A; “Catastico Bragadin,” I, respectively 149, no. 167, and 159–60, nos. 180–83.

- 7 1182 (4 May) Abstract of a lost charter of that date: “Instrumento di promissione al patriarca de Grado di non molestar il Patriarcha di grado del pallazzo nel qual habita, ecetto che in quello che si contiene nella carta de concessione fatagli 1182 d’aprile.”⁷
- 8 1256 (10 July) Brief of Alexander IV addressed to patriarch Angelo Maltraverso of Grado: “Cum, sicut ex parte tua exhibita nobis petitio continebat, tam tu quam predecessores tui apud Venetias in mansionibus, quas ibi Gradensis ecclesia obtinet, continue consueveritis commemorari, nos, devotionis tue precibus inclinati, quod in eisdem mansionibus morari valeas juxta consuetudinem superscriptam, auctoritate tibi presentium indulgemus.”⁸
- 9 1269 (23 March) The Maggior Consiglio authorizes a contribution of £200 for rebuilding the “capella patriarche Gradensis.”⁹
- 10 1299 (16 November) Bull of Boniface VIII authorizing the patriarchs of Grado to reside at their “palace” in Venice: “Ex tenore siquidem tuae petitionis accepimus, quod Gradensis civitas non est locus adeo idoneus et insignis, quod patriarchae Gradensis qui sunt pro tempore ibi valeant residere decenter et ea quae ad ipsorum spectare noscuntur officium exercere. Propter quod in palacio, quod eadem ecclesiae in Venetiis Castellanae diocesis tuae provinciae obtinet, ut

plurimum commorantur. Nos autem tibi et eidem ecclesiae specialem in hac parte gratiam facere intendentes, tuis supplicationibus inclinati, palacium ipsum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ab omni jurisdictione et potestate venerandi fratris nostri episcopi Castellani suffraganei tui apostolica auctoritate prorsus eximimus, et patriarchali sedi Gradensi nullo subicimus mediante auctoritate predicta tibi tuisque successoribus concedentes, ut in eodem pallacio, tu et successores praedicti, nec non tui et ipsorum successorum officiales, possitis publice pro tribunali sedere, causas quarum cognitio, et decisio ad sedem pertinent supradictam audire, et etiam terminare, et omnia alia quae ad tuum et successorum eorundem spectant officium libere exercere. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae exemptionis subjectionis et constitutionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire.”¹⁰

- 11 1353 (22 March) The chapter of S. Silvestro agrees to disburse its income as laid down by the patriarch: “Actum Veneciis in pallacio patriarchali domini patriarchae Gradensis super salam que est prope cameram infrascripti domini vicarii Gradensis.”¹¹
- 12 1451 (8 October) Nicholas V decrees the fusion of the Patriarchate of Grado and Bishopric of Venice in a single office, named the Patriarchate of Venice.¹²

7. ASVe, MensPat, b^a 2, “Catastico Priuli,” fol. 21v, no. 12.

8. *Registres d’Alexandre IV*, I, 431, no. 1414. *Mansio* is a general term in medieval Latin for a dwelling or house; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, or Sella, *Glossario*, s.v. Cf. also Dorigo, “Caratteri tipologici,” 16.

9. *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, II, 69, no. CIV; Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, XIV, 200.

10. Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 113–14, doc. S 2. An abstract in

Registres de Boniface VIII, II, col. 496, no. 3924. The privilege was renewed five years later by Boniface’s successor: *Registre de Benoît XI*, 174, no. 402.

11. Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 48–49 (erroneously rubricated in the margin as of 1352).

12. *Bullarum . . . : Taurinensis editio*, V, 107–9, Nicholas V, no. 6.

13 1456–1797 Management records for the Ca’ del Papa (now vacated by the patriarchs), both originals and copies, forming a copious, albeit fragmentary, record of leases, evictions, inventories, alterations, payments of rent, and tenant disputes for the three and a half centuries that the Ca’ del Papa served as rental property.

A double-entry ledger for income and expenses of 1456–60 on properties of the new Patriarchate of Venice explains the building’s fate. Stating whose accounts are to be found within, the ledger opens: “1456 El patriarchado de veniexia posto in la contrada de castello, el qual prima era vescovado de Castello, dove he al presente patriarchado, in el qual habita el patriarcha cum la sua fameglia ———.” A few pages on begin entries for the Ca’ del Papa: “Item el palazzo del patriarchado posto in San Silvestro, in lo qual non habita alguni, ma la Signoria con debito de Raxon mete algune volte per esser vuodo alguni ambadori, el qual e da fictar per ogni presio azio non sia mal tratado o diropto et dissipado.” The first entry is dated 1456. A later entry further

explains the palace’s fate: “1458 Avemo dato [a misser Alexandro Contarini] el palazzo detto patriarchado a ficto, considerando quello esser in mala condicion per esser sta in man de soldati et ambadori posti per la signoria, li qual ad essi pato balchoni et molti ornamenti del detto, et de di in di andava de mal papezo, fossemo contenti che detto misser Alexandro fesse conzar el detto, edificase zerto muro, cusina, balcon, con camere, letiere et altra cosse necessarie.”¹³

Subsequent records provide much information about the character of tenants, layout of the various rental units, and alterations thereto.¹⁴ Some of these improvements were carried out by the patriarchate, but most were the work of the tenants.¹⁵ Interior partitions multiplied as all spaces were more and more intensively exploited.¹⁶ Unfortunately, records are not uninterrupted and not always detailed, so that it is impossible to reconstruct the building’s original layout by following rentals back in time. In the event, as the roof and bearing walls deteriorated bit by bit, all but a few inchoate scraps of the medieval fabric were replaced.¹⁷

13. ASVe, MensPat, b^a 58, *vacchetta* no. 1, fols. 1-a, 4-a, and 8-a, respectively. The thoughts of the last two passages are repeated once more on fol. 4-b.

14. See notes 60–61 and 78–79 below.

15. An example of patriarchally financed work is the renovation in 1633 of one of the units in the arm of the palace that extended into campo di S. Silvestro: “refabricata nuovamente et in solari, con sue porte, balconi della bottegha, scuri, vedri, scantie, soaze, porte, seradure, chiavi et caenazzi, il tutto fatto di novo”; ASVe, MensPat, b^a 53, ledger no. 9, fols. 30r–v. The most ambitious of the works by tenants are the total rebuilding of the fabric’s western side in 1584–90 and its eastern side in 1653–55, calendared below as nos. 19 and 20, respectively.

16. In 1572 there was even a suite of two rooms perched above the *sottoportego* from campo di S. Silvestro to the Grand Canal that one entered from a ladder kept chained to the side of the church; see b^a 52, fasc. 5, fols. 102v–103r.

17. The records are scattered across at least eleven *buste* of the series ASVe, MensPat. In numerical order they are b^a 2, “Catastico

Priuli,” fols. 33r–44r (abstracts of leases, 1486, 1492, 1554–78), and fascicule titled “Raccolta di vari Instrumenti . . .,” fols. 72v–74v (copies of leases of 1476, 1478, 1492, 1495, 1545, 1549); b^a 8, items B-178 (copy of lease of 1486, for which see no. 15 below), B-187 (copies of leases, litigation, renovation accounts, 1557–91, including the renovation of 1584–90, for which see document no. 19 below), and B-186, fasc. 2, titled “BB Scritture nel confin de S. Silvestro” (copies of leases, evictions, inventories, 1547–91); b^a 41, fasc. 10/V, fols. 2r–3v (record of tenancies, payments, description of units, 1598), and fasc. “BB,” items 289, 303, 312 (records of an inventory, 1557; a lease, 1561; a moratorium of rent, 1578); b^a 49, item 19, fols. 1v–4r (receipts, expenditures, 1508), and item 12 (legal papers concerning renovation of 1653–55, for which see no. 20 below); b^e 51 through 54 (record of leases, 1545–1744, distributed over thirteen ledgers, numbered 3 through 15); b^a 55 (leases 1758–97); b^a 58, *vacchetta* no. 1 (1456–60; excerpted above); b^a 66, fasc. “1664–1669,” fols. 1-a, 4-a, 14-a, 17-a; fasc. “1678,” fol. 120-a; fasc. “1725,” fols. 1-a–8-a (records of payment, 1664 and 1678; record of leases, 1725).

- 14** 1460–63 By a bull of 3 December 1460, Pius II authorizes the patriarch to sell the Ca' del Papa, provided that its chapel of All Saints is either preserved or reerected in a new form by the buyer. Although approved by the Venetian Senate on 18 April 1461, sale of the building is stayed by the Giudici del Esaminador upon suit by the parish of S. Silvestro, which owns the palace's ground-floor shops and rooms. In further litigation, the stay is vacated and then upheld. Upon petition of the patriarch, Pius reaffirms his authorization of a sale by a new bull of 15 December 1463, but no sale is ever effected.¹⁸
- 15** 1486 (23 April) Maffeo Girardi, patriarch of Venice, and Andrea da Bolzano, *guardiano grande* of the Scuola di S. Rocco, enter into an emphyteutic lease by which the Scuola, against an annual payment of 50 ducats, will lease in perpetuity a portion of the Ca' del Papa, namely: “Una proprietas terre et case coperte et discoperte, que est una domus magna a statio supra canale magnum, patriarchatus Sancti Silvestri nuncupata, que comprehendit partim a prima trabatura superius per supra partes voltos et domunculas a sergentibus. Et partim comprehendit a predicta prima trabatura superius per supra voltum sive porticum discurrentem ad Sanctum Silvestrum. Et partim comprehendit a terra usque ad primam trabaturam cum sua schala magna lapidea et pato ipsius schale sive podiolo cooperto et colonellis in via. Et per supra dictum voltum et anditum, cum sua curia in solario et puteo, firmante a terra usque ad dictam primam

trabaturam, tota insimul coniuncta posita in confinio Sancti Silvestri superscripti.

“Secundum quod ipsa firmat ab uno suo capite partim cum sua schala lapidea et pede schale, muro, porta et merlatura propriis in via sive campedello discurrente ad canale magnum, ad Sanctum Silvestrum et alio, unde habet introitum et exitum. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius cum suis muro et fenestris propriis in campedello discurrente ad Sanctum Silvestrum. Et partim firmat a predicta prima trabatura superius in una terra vacua, sive curticella clausa ad presens cum tabulis. Et partim firmat a predicta prima trabatura superius cum suis muro et fenestris propriis usque ad tectum per supra terram vacuum sive apotecam a lignamine dicti patriarchatus. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius cum suis muro et fenestris propriis per supra tectum sive apotecam dicti patriarchatus. Et partim firmat cum suo podiolo et colonellis per supra voltum versus canale magnum.

“Ab alio suo capite firmat partim a prima trabatura superius usque ad tectum in muro communi huic proprietati et proprietati sive plebi Sancti Silvestri. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius cum sua curia et spongia et puteo a terra usque ad primam trabaturam in proprietate sive capella Omnium Sanctorum dicti patriarchatus. Et partim firmat cum dicta curia in predicta capella. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius cum suo muro in callicello de grondali <communi>¹⁹ huic proprietati et proprietati plebis predicte. Et partim firmat in muro communi dicte proprietati et proprietati

18. The two bulls are copied in full in ASVe, MensPat, b^a 8, items B-172 and B-173, respectively. They and the other actions are abstracted in MensPat, b^a 2, “Catastico Priuli,” fols. 32r–33r, nos. 155–63. Approval by the Senate is minuted in ASVe, SenTer, reg^o 4,

fol. 168v; the resolution notes that the palace “ut omnibus notum est amplam minetur ruinam.”

19. *Communi* is required by the sense.

sive plebi Sancti Silvestri. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura usque ad tectum in muro communi huic proprietati et proprietati sive capelle predictae Omnium Sanctorum. In quo muro est una porta, que vadit per salam magnam in dictam capellam. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius cum sua canipeta cum suo muro et fenestris propriis et per supra voltum discurrentem ad Sanctum Silvestrum. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius usque ad tectum cum sua saleta sive albergo magno in muro communi huic proprietati et proprietati dicti patriarchatus. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius in muro communi huic proprietati et proprietati <patriarchatus>²⁰ predictae. Et partim per supra tectum predicti patriarchatus. Et partim firmat a predicta prima trabatura superius cum suis muro et fenestris propriis in una curia dicti patriarchatus.

“Ab uno suo latere firmat partim a prima trabatura superius usque ad tectum in callicello de grondali <communi>²¹ huic proprietati et proprietati de ca’ contareno. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius usque ad tectum cum suo muro proprio per supra tectum dicti patriarchatus. In quo muro est una fenestra magna, unde saletam sive albergom magnum [*sic*] habet lucem. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius cum patu scale lapidee sive podiolo et columnellis per supra terram vacuam apotece a

legnaminiibus. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius cum sua canipetta in capella Omnium Sanctorum. Et partim firmat cum latere sue curie et putei in solario in capella predicta Omnium Sanctorum.

“Ab alio suo latere <firmat>²² a prima trabatura superius usque ad tectum cum suis muro et fenestris propriis per supra fundamentum parvum positum supra rivum fontici. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura superius cum suis muro et fenestra magna in una requina posita inter medium volti. Et partim firmat a prima trabatura usque ad tectum cum muro communi huic proprietati et proprietati dicti patriarchatus.

“Et est sciendum, quod hec proprietates tenere debet suum culminem et trabaturas in concio et ordine, itaque proprietates sive volti inferius positi non recipiant damnum, et etiam dicte proprietates sive volti tenere debent suum fundamentum et muros, itaque proprietates superior non habeat damnum.”²³

- 16 1486 (16 June) The parish priests of S. Croce and S. Geremia, appointed by the papal legate, Bishop Nicolò Franco of Treviso, to review the lease of Ca’ del Papa by the Scuola di S. Rocco, inspect the building and, “sedentes pro tribunali in domo predicta supra sala magna posita a parte interiori versus canalem magnum,” approve the contract.²⁴

20. Thus the clean copy (see note 23 below).

21. See note 20.

22. The sense requires *firmat*.

23. ASVe, MensPat, b^a 8, item B-178, fols. 2v-3r; a contemporary clean copy, fols. 7r-8r. The description is based on a survey carried out by Zuanne dei Rossi and Pasqual di Ambrogio in the presence of the Scuola’s *guardiano grande*, assisted by Lorenzo Pignolo, *preco palatii*, and Zuanne Tura, notary of the Officiali alle Cazude. The same file contains a contemporary copy of the terms of lease that lacks the description above; *ibid.*, fols. 2r-v (published by Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 140-42, doc. I 3, and Soravia, *Chiese di Venezia*, III, 172-76,

doc. I). Further acts bearing on the lease are transcribed by Soravia, *Chiese di Venezia*, III, 176-90, docs. K-N, and abstracted in MensPat, b^a 2, “Catastico Priuli,” fol. 33r, nos. 169-72.

24. ASVe, MensPat, b^a 8, item B-178, fol. 4r (published by Soravia, *Chiese di Venezia*, III, 178-81, doc. L). There are no other descriptive passages in the report, although the committee remarks that “dictam domum patriarchate et quecunque loca sua fore et intus esse dirupta conuasata ex veteribus lapidibus et lignis corosis impresentiarum constructa, propter antiquam eius fabricationem, ita quod timendum sit omnia de brevi coruere et deveniri ad ruinam.”

- 17** 1486–88 In an undated petition to Innocent VIII, Alvise Bagato, parish priest of S. Silvestro, protests that the Scuola di S. Rocco, on the basis of its lease of the Ca' del Papa, has unjustly occupied the palace chapel of All Saints, which belongs to his church. Bagato's appeals to ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Venice, seeking expulsion of the Scuola from the chapel, having been denied, he asks Innocent to assume jurisdiction in the dispute, which the pope does by a *motu proprio* of 13 November 1486. Hearings by arbitrators and legates, appeals and more appeals follow, until on 27 August 1488 Bishop Pietro Barozzi of Padua, charged by the pope to settle the matter, finds that, “stante unione dicte Capelle cum plebe Sancti Silvestri,” the Scuola is illegally occupying the chapel, must vacate it and pay the applicable court costs.²⁵
- 18** 1518 (12 November) Pope Leo X grants indulgences for various religious observances at S. Silvestro, to raise funds, “ut Capella magna in collegiata ecclesia Sancti Silvestri Venetiarum quae Omnium Sanctorum nuncupabatur, ac a felice recordatione Alexandro Papa III, predecesore nostro, consecrata fuit, propter terraemotum et incendium, quod superioribus annis in Rivoalto eijusdem civitatis fuit, ruinae subjacet, et dudum dictae collegiatae ecclesiae Sancti Silvestri unita, annexa, et incorporata extitit, [. . .] in suis structuris et edificiis debite reparetur, construatur et manuteneatur, ac eius campanile etiam combustum, quod reparatione et edificatione non modica indige, reparetur.”²⁶
- 19** 1584–90 The western half of the Ca' del Papa's canal-side front is rebuilt by a resident, the weaver Giannantonio Mitta. The project is described in his suit submitted on 19 February 1591 to the Giudici del Forestier and his further deposition of 16 March 1591. Between them these papers explain that, “per l'antiquità della mittà del pallazzo patriarcal posto in San Silvestro, affitato a me, Zuan Antonio Mitta, esso stabile da ogni parte minacciava espressa ruina, così nelli muri maestri come nelli tramezzi et coperto.” Despite previous piecemeal repairs by the patriarchate, this side of the building had continued to deteriorate, reaching “inhabitabilità.” In 1584, therefore, having obtained patriarch Giovanni Trevisan's authorization to renovate it and agreement to share the costs, Mitta took the work in hand, “redificando in molte parti li muri [. . .], facendo far muri alle fondamenta, et frontitii pur di muro, acciò la muraglia antiquissima non cascasse, coprendo le camere, portico, cucina et altri lochi di legname, mettendoli la travadura da novo, perchè tutta la travamenta vecchia era consumata [. . .], facendo finestre di vero co' suoi pergoli et scuri [. . .], con porte, erte et tiese di marmoro, terrazzi, nappe, et camini, soleri di piere cotte [. . .], et altri infiniti reparamenti [. . .].” Yet, by the time work was completed, patriarch Trevisan had died. Rather than repay a share of the expenses to Mitta, Trevisan's successor ordered the weaver evicted.²⁷ Suing for redress in the Curia del Forestier, Mitta declared himself willing to vacate the building if he were paid what he was owed. On 8 July he submitted to the court a detailed statement of his costs. It itemizes sums for a

25. Soravia, *Chiese di Venezia*, III, 191–243, docs. O–R (Barozzi's finding on 232–34). In an undated broadsheet, Bagato also asked his parishioners to support union of S. Silvestro and the chapel; Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 51–52.

26. Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 148–50.

27. Trevisan died on 3 August 1590; the order of eviction was handed down 9 February 1591.

total just short of £5,000 paid for 248 workdays of masons and masons' helpers, 122¾ workdays of carpenters, 14,800 bricks, plus lesser, miscellaneous services and materials. By sentence of 17 September 1591 the court upheld Mitta's eviction, but awarded him the right to recoup his construction costs from future tenants of this half of the building.²⁸

- 20 1653–55 The eastern half of the Ca' del Papa is rebuilt. By an agreement of 17 January 1653, the patriarchate recovers from S. Silvestro ownership of the ground-floor spaces along rio del Fontico. Two days later, the patriarchate contracts with the lessee of this side of the palace—Alessandro Pesenti, a fruiterer—for replacement of the entire fabric, described as a “fondo ruvinoso,” 66 feet long on the end toward the Grand Canal, 54½ feet on the side toward the *rio*. Costs shall be met by the patriarchate; rents from future tenants shall be collected by Pesenti; half the cost shall be treated as a loan to Pesenti at an annual rate of 5 percent. On 17 December 1655, the new building having been completed, but neither party having lived up to the terms of their contract, Pesenti petitions for the latter's renegotiation.²⁹

28. ASVe, MensPat, b^a 8, fasc. B-187, fols. 3r–5v (complaint), 10r–v (deposition), and 15r–38r (expenses), and b^a 52, ledger no. 6, fols. 53r–54r (mention of the court judgment). The ledger entry, dated 1592, records that the unit formerly occupied by Mitta was then rented to a certain Baldassare Zeti. A document of 1598 that sets down the exact boundaries of the various rental units and the names of their tenants shows that Zeti was occupying the western half of the canal-side front; see *ibid.*, b^a 41, item 10/V, fol. 2.

29. Pesenti's building is henceforth called the “fabrica nova di S. Silvestro.” For recovery of the ground-floor spaces, see ASVe, MensPat, b^a 1, “Libro d'Oro,” fol. 120v, no. 69-H. For construction of the “fabrica nova,” see MensPat, b^a 49, fols. 1r–3v (the contract) and 6–8 (the petition). Longhena's plan for the new building envisioned preserving the aboveground cistern of the former Ca' del Papa; see (B), no. 5 (Fig. 119).

- 21 1797 (13 March) Giovanni Todeschini and patriarch Federigo Maria Giovanelli enter into a conditional contract, subject to approval of the Senate, by which the patriarch would transfer to Todeschini the western portion of the Ca' del Papa against an annual payment to the patriarchate of 405 ducats and Todeschini would undertake to rebuild the structure. Preliminary projects for the rebuilding show that the fabric in question was the western tract of the palace, bounded by the campo di S. Silvestro and the Grand Canal on the north and the south, and a property of procurator Mocenigo and the *sottoportego* from the campo to the Grand Canal on the east and the west. Overtaken by the revolution of 12 May 1797, the project was abandoned, leaving in its wake litigation between the patriarchate and Giovanelli's heirs.³⁰

- 22 1808–11 The new, Napoleonic property cadastre of Venice identifies plats 9492, 9495, and the upstairs of plats 9493–9494 as patriarchal property.³¹ The first plat is the seventeenth-century “fabrica nova” on the site of the eastern portion of the Ca' del Papa, the second is the Ca' del Papa's western portion, and the last two

30. Relevant papers were brought forward in a civil suit by patriarch Lodovico Flangini against the heirs of his predecessor, Giovanelli, seeking compensation for works of maintenance deferred by the latter, including repair or rebuilding of the Ca' del Papa. See *STAMPA DELLA N. D. ELENA FLANGINI SANDI PROCURATRICE DI SUA EMINENZA [. . .] LODOVICO CARDINAL FLANGINI PATRIARCA DI VENEZIA CONTRO LI NN. HH. CONTI ISEPPPO, ED ANTONIO FRATELLI GIOVANELLI EREDI DEL FU [. . .] FEDERICO MARIA GIOVANELLI FU PATRIARCA DI VENEZIA [. . .]*, n.p. or d., but ca. 1803, in ASVe, MensPat, b^a 49, item no. 4. Here, on pp. 16–24, as “Allegato C,” is the contract of 1797; on pp. 28–42, as “Alleg. E–K,” are the subsequent recriminations exchanged by Giovanelli and Todeschini in 1798; and on pp. 78–95, “Alleg. Avv. 2–5,” are seven preliminary projects of 1792 for rebuilding the west side of the Ca' del Papa.

31. For the accompanying cadastral map, see (B), no. 6, and Fig. 120.

are rooms suspended above the *sottoportego* from the campo to the fondamenta.³²

- 23 1906–7 Giuseppe Ravà is granted permission to build a new landing stage in front of his property on the Grand Canal and authorized to make a garden in front of his “Palazzo [. . .] sul Canal Grande.”³³

(B) VISUAL SOURCES

- I 1494 Foreshortened view of the eastern half of the Ca' del Papa's front toward the Grand Canal, being the setting of the action in the painting by Carpaccio, *Patriarch Francesco Querini of Grado Exorcises with the Relic of the True Cross the Demon of a Possessed Man*.³⁴ Figs. 115–16
- 2 1500 The Ca' del Papa's front toward the Grand Canal, seen from the southeast (i.e., from the Grand Canal) and above, being a detail of block

32. ASVe, CatNap, *Sommariioni*, “Venezia,” reg^o v, pp. 141–42. Other plats listed are 9489, the portico alongside S. Silvestro, bordering rio del Fontego, and 9490–9491, the adjoining priest's house. The portico is a public right-of-way, as is the ground floor of 9493–9494 (*sottoportego* di S. Silvestro, or del Traghetto). The priest's house and church (marked with letters on the plan, rather than numbers) are ecclesiastical property. Alvise Mocenigo q. Alvise is owner of plats 9496 (a house adjoining Ca' del Papa's site on the west) and 9497 (further west; situated above the public *sottoportego* della Pasina). He and Domenico Querini are joint owners of plat 9498 (still further west; adjoining the public *sottoportego* della Pasina, no. 9497). Cf. Fig. 120.

33. AMVe, AUff, 1905–9, filza x–2–5 (no. 650/907) and 1–4–9 (no. 67023–1906), respectively. In both cases, the actual document is missing, and an unsigned sheet bearing a one-sentence summary has taken its place. Ravà was the builder of the *faux* Gothic building that now occupies the site of the Ca' del Papa's western portion.

34. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, inv. no. 391, from a cycle of miracles of the relic of the True Cross formerly in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Venice. See *Gallerie dell'Accademia*, no. 94 (cf. further no. 56); Lauts, *Carpaccio*, no. 78; *Vittore Carpaccio*, no. 17; and Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*, 282–86. The painting was restored in 1959–60. Radiographs made on the occasion showed that the detail of the Ca' del Papa's façade was badly abraded and had been extensively repainted in an early restoration (perhaps that of 1827). Some

A of Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut bird's-eye view of Venice of 1500.³⁵ Fig. 117

- 3 1625 (15 September) Dimensioned plan of the Ca' del Papa's site at the approximate scale of 1:200. Titled and dated on the verso: “Accordo di San Silvestro,” “Pianta del sitto di Ragion del Patriarcado à San Silvestro,” and “.D.M.D.CXXV—15 9^{bo}.” Anonymous; 281 × 419 mm; pen and brush and brown ink and light brown wash. Comparison of actual dimensions with dimensions quoted on the plan as multiples of a unit “P” confirms that the unit is the Venetian foot.³⁶ However, compound sums expressed as multiples of “P^a” and “p” are *passa quadrate* and *piedi quadrati*, respectively.³⁷ I have not identified the agreement referred to on the verso.³⁸ Fig. 118
- 4 1630s The Ca' del Papa as seen from the Grand Canal, being a detail of an anonymous painted *Bird's Eye View of Venice*.³⁹

of this repaint was removed (“asportate le ripassature specialmente nell'edificio a sinistra in alto, subito dietro la loggia”; Moschini, “Altri restauri,” 359–61), but not all; see notes 91 and 94 below. The picture is not dated, but its date is reported in a description of the cycle, in a manuscript that came to light shortly before 1590, when it was published. See *Miracoli della Croce*, fol. C–2v, and Bernasconi, “Dating of the Cycle,” 198–202. Querini is mistakenly styled patriarch of Aquileia by many writers on the painting, but he was patriarch of Grado (from 1367 to 1372; cf. Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, v, cols. 1150–51).

35. Preparation of the print began in 1497 or 1498; see Schulz, “Jacopo de' Barbari's View,” 429 (trans., 15).

36. An untitled scale of fifty feet along the left side measures about three Venetian inches overall (9 cm), indicating that the intended ratio is 1:200.

37. Areas noted (and repeated on the verso) are, from left to right, P^a 367 p 5, P^a 46 p 10, and P^a 207 p 21. There are twenty-five *piedi quadrati* to the *passo quadrato*. The first and the last of the three noted areas are correct within a very few *passi* when open ground is included. The other is overstated, even when the apse of the patriarchal chapel is included.

38. APVe, MensPat, fondo antico, carte d'amministrazione, ser. 2^a, b^a 18, loose, at the beginning of unnumbered fascicule titled “E S. Silvestro.”

39. Venice, Museo Civico Correr, inv. no. 9394, on loan from

- 5 [1653] Ground-floor plan of a proposed new building on the site of the eastern end of Ca' del Papa. Scale unstated; undated; inscribed (verso), "I / Patriarcado / C / Gozi Terzi."⁴⁰ By Baldassare Longhena; 289 × 405/415; pen and brown ink over pencil preparation. Longhena's plans for the "fabbrica nova di S. Silvestro" were complete by 1653.⁴¹ Fig. 119
- 6 1808–11 Site plan of the former Ca' del Papa, being a detail of the plan of Venice at the scale 1:1,000 prepared for the so-called Napoleonic cadastre of Venice.⁴² Fig. 120
- 7 1828 Structures on the former site of the Ca' del Papa, their façades toward the Grand Canal, in a lithograph by Dionisio Moretti, being a detail of a continuous elevation of the building fronts on the Grand Canal.⁴³ Fig. 121

(C) OWNERS AND TENANTS

Called the Ca' del Papa by Venetians because Pope Alexander III had once been a guest there,⁴⁴ the palace was in fact the residence of the patriarchs of Grado,

primates of the ecclesiastical province that included Venice.⁴⁵ Second oldest of the Italian provinces, it originally embraced the entire northeast of the peninsula, with Aquileia its patriarchal seat. However, when the Lombards invaded Italy in the sixth century, the patriarchs fled to Aquileia's port, Grado, on a nearby barrier island. Soon they lost access to the province's mainland territory, retaining control of just that zone which eventually formed the nucleus of the Venetian state, namely, the coast from Cavarzere on the west to Grado on the east, called the *ducatus* or *dogado*. Meanwhile the rulers of the *terra ferma* revived a Patriarchate of Aquileia, even though the town itself had fallen into ruin, to serve as a vehicle for control and patronage of the churches in their mainland domains. It is the rivalry between these two jurisdictions—Grado and the revived Aquileia—that eventually precipitated the construction of the Ca' del Papa.

Initially the contest had been confined to petitions, hearings, and church synods, and waged with ancient briefs, bulls, and other documents, some genuine, some forged. But at least five times between the ninth and eleventh centuries it had broken out in fighting. The most destructive episodes were the invasions of Grado by Poppo of Treffen, primate of Aquileia from 1019 to 1042. He overran Grado in 1024

Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte; see Bellavitis, *Palazzo Giustinian Pesaro*, 70–73; Azzi Visentini, "Venezia," 35; *Architettura e utopia*, cat. no. 11. A copy with a procession of Venetian grandees added at the bottom hangs in the lobby of the Hotel Danieli in Venice.

40. Bergamasque families of the Gozi and then Terzi were the building's leaseholders in later years and remained embroiled for almost two centuries in litigation with the patriarchate concerning which of them should pay the taxes due on the property; see the papers kept alongside the drawing.

41. APVe, MensPat, fondo antico, carte d'amministrazione, ser. 2^a, b^o 18, loose sheet at the beginning of a fascicule titled "E S. Silvestro." See further Schulz, La "fabbrica nova" a S. Silvestro."

42. ASVe, CatNap, Mapped Venezia, pl. XII, plats 9492, 9493, 9495. A reduced tracing is illustrated in *Catasti storici*, [50]. See also *Guida generale*, IV, 1070–76. For the identity of the various plats' owners in 1808–11, see note 32 above.

43. Quadri and Moretti, *Canal Grande*, pl. 9 (from Ca' Barzizza to the riva del Vin).

44. Circumstances in the patriarchate's history are interwoven with the Ca' del Papa's history in Dorigo's paper "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," prepared at the same time as the present account but published beforehand. Although the author relies more on secondary sources than do I (e.g., Piva, *Patriarcato*), and hence is occasionally led into error, he adduces many of the same events and authorities introduced below. Our interpretations and conclusions differ considerably, however, as the notes will make clear.

45. The medieval patriarchate figures in all histories of early Venice—e.g., Kretschmayr, *Geschichte*; Cessi, *Storia*; and idem, *Venezia ducale*. More detailed accounts are offered by Fedalto, in Carile and Fedalto, *Origini di Venezia*, 253–427; Kehr, "Rom und Venedig"; Piva, *Patriarcato*; and *Patriarcato*, ed. Tramontin.

and again in ca. 1040, carrying off the treasure and relics of its churches and putting the town to the torch. In between, in 1027, he and his patron, Emperor Conrad II, prevailed upon the pope to declare the See of Grado illegitimate, a mere dependency of Aquileia, and to confer the title and jurisdiction of the patriarchate upon Aquileia exclusively.⁴⁶

During this period the patriarchs seem first to have put down roots in Venice. Heretofore, Grado had been not only their titular but also their physical seat. It was there that patriarchs were elected and buried, that most of their provincial synods were held, and that they maintained a patriarchal residence.⁴⁷ When business or private affairs called them to Venice, they lodged in houses owned by local churches. Thus, in the ninth century, a patriarch is recorded staying in a house belonging to the church of S. Giuliano. By the eleventh century the patriarchs had acquired rights of reception in buildings owned by S. Silvestro, a church that lay under the patriarch's, not the local bishop's, jurisdiction.⁴⁸

46. On these episodes, see also De Grassi, "Poppone."

47. A brief of Nicholas III teaches that until the thirteenth century elections were held at Grado; cf. *Registres de Nicolas III*, 38, no. 119. Burials are reported in all the early chronicles. In 844, the body of a patriarch who died in Venice was even returned to Grado for burial; cf. Iohannes Diaconus, "Chronicon," ed. Monticolo, 124–25, or ed. Berto, 140. The palace of Grado, now destroyed, stood south of the patriarchal basilica, S. Eufemia, in what is today a vacant area called campo dei SS. Ermagora e Fortunato. I do not know when it was demolished. By 1811 it was already gone and its site called Corte del Palazzo; see Cuscito, "Nucleo antico," col. 175.

48. For the house of S. Giuliano, see Iohannes Diaconus, as in the previous note, and Kehr, "Rom und Venedig," 60–66. (The owning church is mistakenly identified as S. Giovanni di Rialto by Cappelletti, *Chiese d'Italia*, IX, 45.) For S. Silvestro's buildings, see (A), no. 1, of January 1070. A nearby vineyard and piece of land, mentioned a month later, were instead owned directly by the patriarchate; cf. Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, III, 59–62, docs. B and C. Ownership is confused by Dorigo, who calls the buildings property of the patriarchate, and the vineyard property of S. Silvestro; cf. "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 36. (In Corner's doc. B that vineyard is transferred to a third party, as acknowledgment of the latter's contribution of £40 for the repair of a "domus maior" belonging to the patriarch, the site of which is not specified. Dorigo compounds his confusion by identifying the "domus" with the buildings of [A], no. 1, although the latter

With Poppo's invasions Grado grew unsafe. The patriarch of that time, Orso Orseolo (1014–45), began to reside, as need would have it, in either Grado or Venice. At the end of the century, his successors were residing principally in Torcello and Venice.⁴⁹ By then, there was little inducement to return to Grado. Although Benedict IX in 1044 and Leo IX in 1053 had reconfirmed Grado's title and prerogatives, the relics and treasure carried off by Poppo had not been returned, and the damage wrought by him had not been made good.⁵⁰ And, while Grado moldered, Venice embarked on the demographic, economic, and political expansion that in a few generations was to make it a major power in the Mediterranean world.

Neither officially accredited to Venice nor factually in possession of a seat in the city, the patriarchs seem nonetheless to have striven from the mid-eleventh century onward to fix themselves there.⁵¹ Indirect evidence for this may be found in the rivalry between them and the local bishops, beginning in 1041 and culminating in 1147 with the expulsion from

are neither property of the patriarchate nor termed a "domus maior," and though the location of the former is unknown; Dorigo, "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 36, 38.)

49. For Orso, see Kehr, "Rom und Venedig," 92. (I know no evidence that Orso settled in Torcello, as claimed by Polacco, *San Marco*, 18, col. 2.) A later patriarch (Piero Badoer) stayed variously in Torcello and Venice, but, seemingly, not in Grado. That is, in a grant of land in Torcello to the monastery of S. Cipriano, also at Torcello, made in 1092, Badoer required the monastery to disburse the applicatory annual census directly to him or "ad nostrum missum si in Rivoalto [= Venice] erimus." (In fact, the deed was indited at Venice.) See Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, III, 185–86, doc. A. It is not recorded where Orso and Piero stayed in Venice, but in 1070 the patriarchs had long-standing rights of reception at S. Silvestro; cf. [A], no. 1.

50. For the two popes' bulls, see *Italia pontificia*, VII, II, 54–56, nos. 87 and 90. Although doge Pietro II Orseolo (991–1008) had seen to the restoration of Grado after the ninth- and tenth-century raids by mainland opponents and seaborne marauders, no restorations are recorded after Poppo's raids; cf. Iohannes Diaconus, "Chronicon," ed. Monticolo, 150, or ed. Berto, 178. As for Poppo's booty, the patriarchs waived their claim to it in 1180; see *Italia pontificia*, VII, II, 67, no. 131.

51. There is no basis for the statement, in the standard repertoire of bishops, that the patriarchs moved to Venice in 1170: Gams, *Series episcoporum*, 791.

Venice of patriarch Enrico Dandolo and the wasting of all his relations' houses by order of a doge whose son was the bishop of Venice.⁵² In between those two dates, the popes tactfully but unsuccessfully pressed for change, twice urging the Venetians to provide the patriarchate with a more dignified and less impoverished seat than dirt-poor Grado.⁵³

Eventually the patriarchs took matters into their own hands. As of 1153, patriarch Enrico Dandolo

52. In 1041 the two prelates were disputing title to S. Trovaso of Venice; see Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, v, 240–42. In 1053/54 Leo IX proscribed any patriarch or bishop other than the bishop of Venice from offering sacraments or calling synods within the diocese of Venice without the local bishop's consent; see *Italia pontificia*, vii, ii, 130, no. 4. In 1144, when the patriarch of the day was visiting in Rome, Lucius II issued parallel privileges only days apart, one to the patriarch, the other to the bishop, precisely defining their respective prerogatives and titles in Venice; see *ibid.*, 61–62, no. 114; 130, no. 5. In 1147, when patriarch Dandolo was expelled, doge and bishop were, respectively, Pietro and Giovanni Polani. Dandolo fled to Rome, the pope excommunicated the doge, and the breach was not repaired until after doge Polani's death (1148). His successor (Domenico Morosini) now recalled Dandolo, ordered restitution to the latter's relatives, and arranged an intermarriage of the Dandolo and Polani houses. Some recent writers have tried to find a deeper cause for the Polani–Dandolo quarrel—namely, opposition by the former to the latter's sympathy for reform and espousal of new collegiate foundations; cf. Rando, *Chiesa di frontiera*, 175–80. Others prefer to see a straightforward jurisdictional rivalry, envenomed by family antagonisms; cf. Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 84, 188–89, and Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 393. Both families, the Dandolo and Polani, resided in the parish of S. Luca, and in 1191 (under Enrico Dandolo) the patriarchate maintained a warehouse there. Thus, neighborhood rivalries may have played a part in the dispute too. For the Dandolo in S. Luca, see Appendix IV (C). For the Polani, see *Famiglia Zusto*, nos. 4–5 (of 1107); ASVe, CodDipVen, [vi, 1126–34], no. 752 (of 1132); and Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, v, 159 (of 1142). For the warehouse, see Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 398. At all events, the measures adopted by doge Morosini were clearly meant to redress personal, not constitutional, grievances.

53. In 1073 Gregory VII wrote to doge Domenico Selvo, urging the latter to augment the patriarch's temporal estate, because the primate found himself “encircled by poverty” at Grado; see *Italia pontificia*, vii, ii, 20, no. 33, and 57–58, no. 98, and Kehr, “Rom und Venedig,” 105–6. In 1112 or 1115 Paschal II wrote one brief to the doge and people of Venice, urging that the patriarch be given a parish of his own, so that he would not have to reside within the dioceses of his suffragans, and a parallel brief to the patriarch and his suffragans, rebuking them for having failed to agree at the last synod on means

possessed an *aula* in Venice. A patriarchal *palacium* by S. Silvestro is twice mentioned in 1164. Presumably the three notices refer to the same building.⁵⁴ In 1177, when Pope Alexander III lodged and some meetings of the Congress of Venice were held in this palace, and in 1182, when the church of S. Silvestro was given title to the building's ground-floor rooms, it was already a substantial affair: at least two storeys high, encompassing a large hall and a private chapel on its first floor.⁵⁵

to meet the patriarchate's need, and authorizing the patriarch to reside in any of his properties, wherever located, until a fitting parish were found for him; see *Italia pontificia*, vii, ii, 58–60, nos. 108–9, and Kehr, “Rom und Venedig,” 117–20.

54. See (A), nos. 2–3. Inception of the Ca' del Papa in the 1150s led to eventual confusion between this event and a gift of land to the patriarchate in February 1155 *m. V/1156 st. C.* by Leonardo Corner q. Stefano. The land was to be the site of a new church, S. Matteo, which the donor undertook to build with the aid of relations and neighbors and place under the patriarch's jurisdiction; Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, iii, 177–78. Most chronicles report this story correctly, but Lorenzo de Monacis, writing in the early fifteenth century, misremembered the name of the donor and called him Bernardo Corner; cf. his *Chronicon*, 121. The mythical Bernardo then begat a new tale, to the effect that the gift of land in 1155 had been his and was intended for a new palace of the patriarchs in Venice, so that they might escape the raids on Grado by a rival patriarch in Aquileia, Ulrich. (The latter, however, only entered office in 1161.) The tale first appears in the early-fifteenth-century “Cronaca di Daniele Barbaro” (in one version the donor's first name is given in the diminutive, Bernardino), was repeated in the sixteenth-century “Cronaca Veneta” of Leonardo Savina, and printed in 1795 by Gallicciolli (calling the donor Bernardin); see the two versions of the “Cronaca Barbaro” ([A] fol. 66; [B] fol. 67v), the two versions by Savina ([A] fol. 23r; [B] i, p. 66), and Gallicciolli, *Memorie venete antiche*, iv, 41–42 (repeating the “Barbaro” text almost verbatim). Modern authors continue to retell it; e.g., Dorigo, “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,” 35.

55. See (A), nos. 4–6. An inscription in early-sixteenth-century lettering, formerly in the presbytery of S. Silvestro and now immured in a first-floor passageway behind the apse of the nineteenth-century church, states that Alexander consecrated the palace chapel on 1 November 1177; see Cicogna's unpublished “Inscrizioni veneziane,” BMCVe, MS Cicogna 2014, fasc. v, fol. 1, and, for an *illus.*, Dorigo, “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,” 36, fig. 2. Contemporary accounts of Alexander's doings in Venice make no mention of this ceremony, however; cf. further Dandolo, *Chronica*, 265, lines 33–34, and Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, iii, 2. The tablet was probably installed when the chapel and S. Silvestro were physically integrated; cf. (A), no. 17.

Whether the building was begun before Dandolo's expulsion from Venice, constituting one of the provocations that led to it, or after Dandolo's return, reflecting his new stature upon the quarrel's settlement, must remain a moot question. However, notices of the palace first occur during Dandolo's reign as patriarch (ca. 1130–88), and he must have been its builder.

If the patriarchs' *de facto* residence in the capital was henceforth tolerated, it was not approved *de jure* for another century, and rivalry with the diocesan clergy continued twice as long. There were repeated disputes over the bishop's and the patriarch's respective titles, powers, and revenues, challenges to the latter's authority, and studied insults to his honor.⁵⁶ The first papal mention of the building was a masterpiece of evasion: in 1256 Alexander IV approved the patriarch's continued use of his Venetian "houses" or "stopping places" as in the past. Only in 1299 was the primate given license to reside and exercise his functions at his "palace" and the building declared extradiocesan, that is, outside the jurisdiction of the Venetian bishop.⁵⁷

Work on Dandolo's palace by later patriarchs is not recorded, other than a renovation of the palace

56. See *Regesta pontificum*, I, 64, no. 671; 94–95, nos. 1004–6, 1010; 97, no. 1049 (1199, 1200); 569, no. 6530; 778, no. 9083 (1233); 811, no. 9499; 816, no. 9564; ASVe, MensPat, b^a 41, fasc. 2, fols. 4r–5r (1212, 1221); *Registres de Grégoire IX*, I, 210, nos. 346–47 (1229); 622, nos. 1074–76 (1233); *Libri commemoriali*, III, viii, no. 1 (1231–33); *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, I, 430, no. 1413 (1256); Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, XIII, 253–54 (1348), and III, 39, 127–29 (1422). The issues ranged from division of diocesan tithes and refusal by the diocesan clergy to swear obedience to the patriarch to failure of Venetian priests to include, as customary, the patriarch's name or respect his rank in Easter prayers or to ring their church bells whenever the latter reentered the city.

57. See (A), nos. 8 and 10, respectively. Alexander III made an earlier attempt to regularize the situation, in 1179 or 1180, shortly after his stay in the Ca' del Papa, when he recommended to the doge that, given the importance of Venice in provincial affairs, and given Enrico Dandolo's extreme age, it would be a kindness to the latter if the patriarchal seat were moved to the capital; cf. *Italia pontificia*, II, ii, 67–68, no. 133. No response is recorded.

58. See (A), no. 9. The report of the sixteenth-century antiquarian Stefano Magno, that in 1204 "patriarch Pantaleon Giustinian" had the palace enlarged and with Innocent III's approval moved from

chapel in 1269.⁵⁸ Indeed, the palace was much deteriorated when, in 1451, Nicholas V fused the Patriarchate of Grado and the Bishopric of Venice, putting an end to the strife between the two but also obviating the need for separate patriarchal and episcopal residences.

The new bishop-patriarchs chose to remove to Castello, installing themselves in the old episcopal palace adjoining the cathedral, S. Pietro di Castello. The Ca' del Papa became surplus property. For a time the state made use of it as lodging for visitors and mercenary troops.⁵⁹ Then the patriarchal administration began to rent it out. Sale was considered briefly, in 1460–63, but successfully opposed by S. Silvestro, which had title to some of the building's ground floor, and rentals therefore continued. Initially, patricians and a quasi-public institution could be found among the lessees of the residential floors,⁶⁰ but the building quickly grew *déclassé*: from 1476 to 1486 the eastern half served as a hostelry, and soon both it and the western half of the canalward front began to be leased to a succession of textile workers.⁶¹ Ground-floor spaces on the west side and the houses behind that part

Grado to Venice, suffers from the defect that Giustinian was patriarch of Constantinople, not Grado; cf. Magno, "Cronaca," v, fols. 68r–v.

59. See (A), no. 13. Such use was made of the building even before it became vacant. In February 1425 the government used Ca' del Papa to put up Francesco Carmagnola and his twenty retainers, who had come to Venice to negotiate a *condotta* with the republic. See Sanudo, "Vite dei duchi," col. 978, and Battistella, *Carmagnola*, 100 n. 4.

60. Alessandro Contarini and his widowed sister, Beatrice Venier (in 1456–1458), members of the Goro family (Nicolò and Francesco in 1456–1458, Marco and Cristina in 1508), and the Scuola di S. Rocco (in 1486–1488) were early tenants; see (A), nos. 13 and 15.

61. See the management records cited in (A), no. 13. In the case of the residential floors facing the Grand Canal, one can establish the changing social status of their tenants by reconstructing the succession of rentals between 1456 and 1598. (The chain of rentals also allows one to establish the basic layout of this area, which will be dealt with in section [D] below.) There were two large units, left (west) and right (east) of the *sottoportego* to campo di S. Silvestro. That on the west (left) was initially occupied by members of the Goro family; ASVe, MensPat, b^a 58, *vacchetta* no. 1, fol. 8A, and b^a 49, ledger no. 19, fol. 1v

of the palace, reaching into campo di S. Silvestro, were let as shops, storage rooms, and habitations for craftsmen like coopers, fabricators of chests, shoemakers, and the like, and retailers of raw materials like lumber and coal.⁶²

Dilapidation only increased now that the palace was not occupied by the owner. It was grazed by the great fire that destroyed Rialto in 1514,⁶³ and it was savaged by the tenants. Some, when quitting their tenancy, would walk off with windows, doors, wainscoting, moldings, or hardware and whatever else they could pry loose. Others, occupying rooms without fireplaces, would build fires on the floor.⁶⁴ To make a little money on the side, tenants would also wall off

portions of their tenancies in order to sublet them, creating a thicker and thicker tangle of jerry-built partitions and stairs. Meanwhile, unable or unwilling to cope with the rising tide of deterioration and abuse, the patriarchal administration would strike ill-calculated bargains with its tenants, under which the latter might make repairs and even alterations according to their own lights and at their own expense, and deduct the cost in installments from their rent.⁶⁵ As a result, uncoordinated alterations began gradually to spread throughout the hulk, until, by the later seventeenth century, it had been altered out of existence.

The most radical surgery was performed by a weaver, a certain Giovanni Antonio Mitta, and a fruiterer,

(1456–58 and 1508, respectively). From 1547 through 1591 it was rented to a series of weavers, most of whom sublet parts of it to fellow weavers, and one of whom radically rebuilt it between 1584 and 1591; *ibid.*, b^a 8, item B-186, fascicule titled “B.B. S. Silvestro,” fols. 6–13, and fascicule titled “BB Scritture nel confin di S. Silvestro . . .,” fols. 19–21 (Zuan Domenico Assori q. Gabriel and his son Zuanne, weavers, 1547–57), plus (A) above, no. 19 (Zuannantonio Mitta, weaver, 1584–1591). That on the east was initially rented by Alessandro Contarini and his widowed sister, Beatrice Venier; *ibid.*, b^a 58, *vachetta* no. 1, fols. 8A–B (1456–58). They were followed by a certain Cristoforo Antonelli, who operated a hostelry on the premises. After him one Lazaro de Vescevellis q. Pecino of Brescia took over, for purposes unknown; *ibid.*, b^a 2, fascicule titled “Raccolta di vari Instrumenti . . .,” fol. 73v, and Nicoletti, *Illustrazione*, 56. Next came the new Scuola di S. Rocco, seeking meeting rooms and use of the adjoining patriarchal chapel but lasting little more than three years; see (A) above, no. 15, and Soravia, *Chiese di Venezia*, III, 244–50, doc. S (1486–89). In 1492 appeared a pair of dyers, in 1495 a weaver or seller of velvet, in 1508 a weaver of damask, and from sometime before 1551 to 1592 a silk weaver, his widow, and an executor of his estate; ASVe, MensPat, respectively, b^a 2, fascicule titled “Raccolta di vari Instrumenti . . .,” fols. 73r–v (1492); b^a 49, ledger no. 19, fol. 2r (1508); b^a 52, ledger no. 5, fols. 22–23, 34, 55–56, 78–79, 93–103v (before 1551–72), and ledger no. 6, fol. 4v (1592). Finally, parallel rentals of the western and eastern units in 1598 make it possible to distinguish them clearly; *ibid.*, b^a 41, fasc. 10/V, fol. 2. The western one was at that time taken by a certain Baldassare Zeti of unknown condition (he had first rented it in 1592; *ibid.*, b^a 52, ledger no. 6, fols. 53–54). The eastern one housed a wine seller named Bernardo de’ Conti (also recorded in *ibid.*, b^a 52, ledger 6, fols. 137v–138).

62. Of the ground-floor spaces, only those on the west side were rented out by the patriarchate; they appear *passim* in the various

management records listed in the previous note. Those on the east side are seldom mentioned, and then only as landmarks. The eastern spaces, therefore, are the rooms that were given to the church in 1182; see (A), nos. 5–6. Rentals in the houses on the *campo* are booked in 1456 and then continuously from 1549 on; see ASVe, respectively, MensPat, b^a 58, *vachetta* no. 1, fol. 9A, and b^a 2, fascicule titled “Raccolta di vari Instrumenti . . .,” fols. 73v–74, as well as b^a 51 through 55, *passim*. One such house, when leased in 1633, was “refabricata nuovamente et in solari,” suggesting that in earlier times it, and perhaps the others, had been low and relatively small; see *ibid.*, b^a 53, ledger 9, fols. 30r–v.

63. Sanudo, who was an eyewitness, wrote that the fire endangered S. Aponal for a time but was finally stopped on the east side of the rio del Fontego; see his *Diarii*, xvii, cols. 458–69. This would imply that the Ca’ del Papa (on the west side of the *rio*) had escaped untouched. Yet citing a recent earthquake (1511) and the fire, Pope Leo X granted S. Silvestro an indulgence to repair damage suffered on these occasions by its campanile and its chapel of All Saints (the former chapel of the patriarchal palace); see (A), no. 18. This would suggest that the fire had jumped the *rio* after all.

64. See the papers spawned by a suit in 1554, and the 1557 inventory of a vacated apartment: ASVe, MensPat, b^a 8, item B-186, fasc. 2, titled “BB Scritture nel Confin di S. Silvestro . . .,” fols. 28r–29v (boot-leg hearths), 34v–35v (stolen fittings), and b^a 41, fasc. BB, item 289 (stolen fittings).

65. We first hear of such an arrangement in 1495; ASVe, MensPat, b^a 2, fascicule titled “Raccolta di vari Instrumenti . . .,” fols. 73r–v. Innumerable rental contracts booked by the patriarchal administration make provisions of this sort; just during the patriarchate of Federico Maria Giovanelli (1776–1802), their cost totaled £199,906.3; cf. *ibid.*, b^a 49, item 4, p. 73. (For the surviving rental contracts, see [A], no. 13.)

Alessandro Pesenti. The first entirely rebuilt the palace's western wing on the Grand Canal, between the projecting porch and the tall tower visible in Jacopo de' Barbari's view of 1500, where an early-twentieth-century building stands today (Figs. 117 and 111 respectively).⁶⁶ The second hired Baldassare Longhena to design and oversee construction of a four-storey block to replace the eastern wings—namely, the one east of the entrance porch and the one facing the no-longer-extant rio del Fontico. Longhena's building still exists (Fig. 111).⁶⁷ The palace's rear block, on campo di S. Silvestro, was partly rebuilt in 1633.⁶⁸

A new and radical rebuilding of the western wing, already rebuilt once, to be financed in the accustomed fashion by lessees, not the patriarchate, was being planned just when the republic fell, in 1797.⁶⁹ Aborted, the project was not revived before the building passed into private ownership, presumably victim to the seizures of ecclesiastic properties operated by the Napoleonic occupiers. It was one of the new owners who replaced this end of the palace, rebuilt three and a half centuries before by the weaver Mitta, with the neo-Gothic fantasy of a building that catches the eye today as one passes the former Ca' del Papa's site.⁷⁰

66. See (A), no. 19, and, for further details, (D).

67. See (A), no. 20.

68. See (A), no. 13, esp. note 15.

69. See (A), no. 21.

70. The replacement was designed by Giovanni Sardi, architect of the even more entertaining Excelsior Hotel on the Lido; cf. Romanelli, "Architetti e architetture," 36 and figs. 19–20. The builder was Giuseppe Ravà, who in 1906 was granted a thirty-year lease on the canal-side quay in front of his building and made of it a garden; see (A), no. 23.

71. A recently published article by Dorigo, "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," also offers a history and reconstruction of the Ca' del Papa. His conclusions are noted and in part adopted here. Unfortunately, Dorigo's archivist's amanuenses remained unaware of some of the available sources; the students who took dimensions for him incurred errors; and the draftsman who drew the reconstructed elevation published with the article seems to have struck out on his own, for the drawing does not agree in all respects with Dorigo's written description. The present account addresses these difficulties.

72. For the vaults, see further below. The immured column is

(D) THE BUILDING

Only pitiful scraps of the Ca' del Papa survive today:⁷¹ two archivolts and their supporting columns, now partly interred, from the palace's arcade along the Grand Canal (Figs. 113–14), and an errant column, immured in a small court between S. Silvestro and the seventeenth-century fabric that now stands at its back.⁷² Taken in combination with the early texts and views, these survivals allow a rough site plan, a hypothetical reconstruction of the medieval building's façade along the Grand Canal, some insights into its layout, and a building history. The evidence is insufficient to reconstruct its second façade, facing the rio di S. Silvestro.

The fabric's original extent and relation to other buildings is spelled out in two medieval charters and a site plan of 1625 (Fig. 118).⁷³ Joining on to the church's portico (located at the side of the church, not the front, and facing rio di S. Silvestro),⁷⁴ the palace extended due south along the *rio*, from which it was separated by a narrow quay, turned a right angle behind the church's presbytery, and continued westerly along a broad quay that flanked the Grand Canal, ending at

reproduced by Dorigo, "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 47, fig. 18. It bears a capital similar to one still in place on the site of the former arcade (Fig. 113-B) and must come from there. (It is not in its original position, since it stands entirely above ground, whereas those surviving *in situ* are deeply interred.) Still another errant column is immured (also above ground) in the exterior of S. Silvestro's parish house on rio terà di S. Silvestro; illus., *ibid.*, fig. 15. It may have belonged to the Ca' del Papa, the latter's chapel, the medieval church of S. Silvestro, or still another, unidentified fabric. Further errant columns, now cleared away, were still lying about the quay on the Grand Canal in the 1840s; see *ibid.*, 52 n. 85.

73. See, respectively, (A), nos. 5–6, and (B), no. 3. The patriarchate still owned the site in 1808–11, when the city's so-called Napoleonic property cadastre was compiled, even though by this time virtually nothing of the original building was left; see (A), no. 22, and (B), no. 6 (Fig. 120).

74. Demolition of the portico and filling of the canal (now rio terà del Fontego, or di S. Silvestro) were decided in 1840 and completed in 1847; see AMVe, AUFF, 1840–44, filza IX-5-9, and 1845–49, filza IX-5-5. See also Zucchetto, *Altra Venezia*, 288–91.

a line now marked by a private building that juts forward to the water's edge and cuts the quay in two (Fig. 111; see also Fig. 121).⁷⁵ At its rear the western arm of the palace reached far into campo di S. Silvestro.

In the absence of floor plans, the Ca' del Papa's interior can be reconstructed only partially, relying on the known exterior features and descriptions of the rental units into which the building was divided once the patriarchs moved out and began to rent it to private parties. Thus, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the upper floors constituted two principal tenancies, while the ground-floor spaces and the houses on campo di S. Silvestro, at the back of the palace's west side, formed a constantly shifting array of lesser ones.

Although the management records convey many details of layout and usage, they are generally vague about the situation of the features described, locating individual flats by such phrases as "part" or "half of the palace," "on the campo," or "on the quay."⁷⁶ Two documents, however, offer not only a breakdown of apartments into individual rooms but also more or less exact locations. They are an account book of 1598, describing all rental units in the canalward tracts of the palace, and a description of 1486 of the main tenancy on the east.⁷⁷ The first allows one to visualize the two principal flats overlooking the Grand Canal, which

lay to either side of the *sottoportego* to campo di S. Silvestro. In 1598 each comprised a first and a second floor, with a *portego*, two or three *camere*, a kitchen, and service rooms on each level, including a weaving studio on the first floor of the unit on the west (toward the rio dei Meloni). A two-storey porch and exterior stairway, astride the entrance to the canalward end of the *sottoportego*, were shared by both units, along with a corridor that led perpendicularly into the fabric from the porch. The second describes the eastern unit before its conversion to residential use. Ground-floor spaces were not part of these flats, but were rented out separately by the patriarchate; occasionally one hears of wooden stairs connecting one of these tracts with the *piano nobile*.⁷⁸

Two upper floors are first mentioned on the western side in the 1540s.⁷⁹ Carpaccio's and Jacopo de' Barbari's views of the canal-side façade, prepared in the 1490s (Figs. 115–17),⁸⁰ show an attic on the *rio*-side tract. There is no mention of a proper second floor in the full description of 1486 of the eastern portion of the canal-side tract,⁸¹ nor do any second-floor windows appear there in the fifteenth-century views. In fact, it seems improbable that a second floor was inserted *ex post facto* into the fabric by closing the long rows of first-floor windows toward the Grand Canal and projecting floor beams across the rooms behind

75. One author would have the palace extend beyond this point to include a property lying far to the west, namely, a palace on the fondamenta della Pasina, with entrance from campiello della Pasina 1116. An illustration of its entrance vestibule is captioned "portico posteriore di ca' del Papa" by Mareto, "Edilizia gotica," 150 (illustration) and pl. 1 (caption), or 60–61 in the separately published version. Neither this building, which is plat no. 9498 in the Napoleonic cadastre, nor plats nos. 9497 and 9496, lying between it and the patriarchal properties (cf. Fig. 120), were ever part of the latter. No. 9496 (which in Jacopo de' Barbari's view forms a tower; cf. Chapter 1, note 39) belonged to the Michiel as early as 1557–58; see ASVe, MensPat, b^a 8, item B-186, fasc. 1, titled "B.B.," fols. 14v, no. 259/66 (whose date is given as 1558 in *ibid.*, b^a 41, fasc. 10/V, fol. 2), and 18, no. 312/66 (undated, but amidst entries of 1557). They are named as owners also on the plan of 1625 (Fig. 118). By 1808–11 it had passed to Alvise Mocenigo q. Alvise, who also owned no. 9497 and, jointly with

Domenico Querini, no. 9498; see note 32 above. Earlier owners of plat no. 9498 were the Avogadro, whose arms hang on the façade.

76. For a cumulated list of the rental records, see note 17 above. Those pertaining to the principal and lesser tenancies in particular are reviewed in notes 60 and 61 above, respectively.

77. ASVe, MensPat, b^a 41, fasc. 10/V, fol. 2r, and (A), no. 15, respectively.

78. The two principal flats can be tracked in the surviving record continuously from 1456 to 1598; see note 61 above. Spaces beneath the *rio*-side tract are not mentioned in these papers. S. Silvestro, given the flats in 1182, was renting them out for its own account; cf. (A), nos. 5–6.

79. See ASVe, MensPat, b^a 8, fasc. B-186, item 2, titled "Scrittura nel confin di S. Silvestro . . .," fol. 19 (1547).

80. See (B), nos. 1 and 2.

81. See (A), no. 15.

them. From the building's abandonment by the patriarchs in the 1450s to the end of its days as patriarchal property, the administrators of the patriarchal household did their best to avoid even minor improvements and consistently minimized maintenance expenses; one cannot imagine that they broke the pattern by undertaking the hugely expensive construction of an altogether new floor. More likely they invented a second floor by incorporating into the suite of state rooms a preexistent attic, low in height, originally destined for servants and services, and lit, perhaps, by windows at the building's back.⁸²

The description of 1486—an official delimitation of the main suite on the eastern wing's *piano nobile*—although obscure in many particulars, lists a series of clearly original features.⁸³ On the exterior was cresting. A *sottoportego* passed through the fabric, connecting the quay on the Grand Canal with campo di S. Silvestro. A colonnaded two-storey porch straddled the *sottoportego*'s entrance from the Grand Canal quay;

82. In one paragraph Dorigo flatly asserts that the first floor was divided into two floors; in another he postulates a full attic; see “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,” 42 and 40–41, respectively. (Ca' Barozzi and the Fondaco dei Turchi are cited as having possessed comparable, full attics, expressed on the exterior by bull's-eye windows, whereas in truth they possessed disconnected attic rooms and the roundels appearing on early views are *patere*. For Ca' Barozzi, see Appendix II, note 104, and for the Fondaco, Appendix III, note 148.)

83. See (A), no. 15.

84. So described in (A), no. 16.

85. So states (A), no. 15. The phrasing suggests that the wall with its door could be reached from the hall, not that the hall itself had a door to the chapel. Perhaps a passage led from the hall to the wall and door, and thence into the chapel, not unlike the arrangement in the Ducal Palace, where a private passage from the Sala dei Filosofi in the doge's apartment leads to the chapel of S. Nicolò on the floor beneath.

86. Thus, in dimensions and proportions the hall resembled the Sala del Collegio in the Ducal Palace. Its main entrance would have been at its west end, from a corridor (mentioned in later descriptions) that led in from the porch; at its east end was a passage to the *rio*-side tract; on its north side a passage led to the chapel. The dimensions given above are derived from those of the wing between the porch and the *rio*-side tract as measured on the ground, as reported in the contract of 1653 for the “fabrica nova” ([A], no. 20), and as calculated

the porch's upper level, reached by an exterior stair that stood away from the building, gave entrance to the suite. At the back (toward S. Silvestro) the suite had use of an above-ground courtyard with a wellhead by which to raise water from a cistern beneath. Two state rooms on the first floor are explicitly mentioned: a *sala magna* and a *saletta*, also termed *albergo magno*. The former overlooked the Grand Canal⁸⁴ and was in some way close to the patriarchal chapel of All Saints, located between the palace and S. Silvestro, for a party wall shared by the two buildings had in it a “door that [led] via the great hall to the chapel.”⁸⁵ The *albergo*, in the building's arm facing rio del Fontego, had in it a large window that overlooked roofs. The great hall filled the fabric between the *rio* arm's end toward the Grand Canal and the porch over the *sottoportego*, encompassing a space little short of seventeen meters long and upwards of eight meters wide.⁸⁶

Some of the listed exterior features can be seen in the views by Carpaccio and Jacopo de' Barbari; others

from the two somewhat discrepant editions of the aerial photographs of 1984 (*Venezia forma urbis*, 1, and *Atlante*, pls. 29, 87). Some, but not all, axes of the wing can also be measured on the cadastral plan of 1808–11 ([B], no. 6) and from the dimensioned plan of 1625 ([B], no. 3). Only the plan of 1625 and contract of 1653 pertain to the original Ca' del Papa; the other sources regard the building put up in its place by Longhena, which presumably follows the outline of the medieval fabric. Dorigo's reconstruction of the building's layout is quite different; see “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,” 42 and fig. 11. It positions the *albergo* at the western end of the Ca' del Papa, next to a tower seen at the palace's left in Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut (plat no. 9496 in the Napoleonic cadastre; cf. Fig. 120). It assigns to the hall the entire remaining zone between the *albergo* on the west and the beginning of the *rio*-side tract on the east (which is misleadingly termed a tower). The first of these hypotheses can be excluded, since a description of 1486 places the *albergo* at the palace's east end; see (A), no. 15. As for the hall, Dorigo's reconstruction postulates a room measuring 35.5 × 8.9 meters, with the unlikely proportions, that is, of 4:1. Still more disabling, Jacopo's print shows different fenestration on the left and right of the porch, that is, shorter and taller windows, respectively, attesting different rooms and, possibly, different floor levels within; see Fig. 117. A room located and as vast as Dorigo imagined may hence be excluded. (For the earlier *aula* of the palace, used for the Congress of 1177, see note 99 below.)

are identifiable in later plans (Figs. 118–19).⁸⁷ Cresting is visible in both views; the *sottoportego* is marked on the plans; the porch and stairs are present in the views; the stairs alone in the first of the plans; the elevated court in the second. The church of S. Silvestro and the protruding apse of the patriarchal chapel are noted on the plans but are invisible in the views. In Carpaccio's painting, the palace stands in the way; in Jacopo's bird's-eye view, the two buildings are simply missing.

The absent churches warn us that Jacopo's print is not a perfectly accurate record. Indeed, the view greatly distorts the size of the Ca' del Papa as a whole as well as the relative sizes of its divisions. Whereas the entire building took up 40 percent of the canal's shoreline between the rio dei Meloni and the former rio di S. Silvestro, in the woodcut it takes up only 28 percent, and whereas the fabric west (left) of the porch was some three meters longer than that on the east, in the print it is greatly shorter.⁸⁸

Taken as a whole, Jacopo's view exhibits an extraordinary degree of fidelity to the complex geography and topography of Venice. In a great many spots, however, Jacopo had difficulty fitting a given topographical detail into its proper geographical site: the plots of land offered by his image were persistently smaller, or otherwise formed, than the buildings that were supposed to stand there. His solution was to squeeze buildings into conformity with the available plot, lop off parts of buildings, or drop a nonconforming building altogether. Furthermore, converting the master drawing into raised lines on woodblocks—a labor

performed by a professional cutter or cutters—led to further departures from accuracy. The cutter might misread Jacopo's lines or accidentally cut an errant line and then try to modify the view's topography in order to accommodate the mistake.

It was presumably Jacopo who decided to eliminate S. Silvestro and the chapel, as well as a campanile mentioned in at least one text, all of which should have appeared in the woodcut directly above the roof of Ca' del Papa, on the side toward, but not on, the *rio*.⁸⁹ However, the cutter may have had some responsibility too, for he blundered in this very zone. Namely, he started out by laying in a nonexistent roof at this spot, cutting a comb of short hatching strokes on a line behind, but at an angle to, the palace, to signify shading on a roof ridge, and cutting two chimneys that rise from the ridge. Then, realizing his mistake, he recouped by creating a fictitious building that absorbs the chimneys and makes them read as doors; the area of the phantom roof he left vacant, as if it were a *campiello*, although no *campiello* ever existed on this spot. Perhaps Jacopo had left confusing lines in place of the eliminated S. Silvestro, or perhaps he gave conflicting instructions. He certainly left the cutter at sea in two other spots: the junctions between the palace's canal-side and *rio*-side tracts (in place of which one sees a patch of flat, meaningless shading) and between the porch and its stairs (represented by a jumble of quite unconstruable lines). Nor is it clear what exactly the artist meant by the four mysterious excrescences atop the palace's main roof.⁹⁰

87. See (B), nos. 1–3, 5.

88. In the print, the western fabric is barely a third as long as that on the east. Buildings to the west (left) of the Ca' del Papa, notably the palace fronting on *fondamenta della Pasina*, are also compressed. Noticing the malproportioning of Ca' del Papa, Dorigo called it “una inesattezza [of the print's] del tutto insolita”; see “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,” 51 n. 54. In fact, inaccuracies are found throughout the view; see Schulz, “Jacopo de' Barbari's View,” 438–39 (trans., 21–22), and the accounts of the other buildings treated in these appendixes.

89. For the campanile, see (A), no. 18. For the chapel, see also below.

90. Dorigo believed these to represent four of a total of five domes atop the chapel; cf. his “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,” 43. Yet, the structures have flat faces and gables. If domes, they are enclosed in boxlike cases with pitched roofs, like the domes of some of the byzantinizing churches of Apulia; cf. Ognissanti in Valenzano, S. Margherita in Bisceglie, and S. Maria in Agro di Trani, the first two of which are illustrated by Belli d'Elia, *La Puglia*, 99–105, 347–52. More likely they are bell cotes, which are extremely common in Venice.

Carpaccio's painting takes an oblique view of the building, leaving half of its elevation outside the field of vision and hiding much of the rest behind overlapping forms. Its perspective construction is inexact: orthogonals lead toward a broad vanishing area, not a vanishing point, and the figures are overscale in relation to the architecture. Many features depicted by Jacopo reappear in Carpaccio's composition, but with slight differences. Thus, the canalward end of the *rio*-side tract is noticeably higher than the tract between the former and the porch; in Jacopo's print the two are of equal height. Furthermore, the end wall of the *rio*-side tract has four windows on the attic, four on the first floor,⁹¹ and two arches on the ground floor; in Jacopo's view the openings number, respectively, four, three, and one-half. Carpaccio shows between the porch and the *rio*-side tract's end wall five windows on the first floor and two arches on the ground floor (a further, incomplete window and arch peep out next to the porch); Jacopo's print exhibits instead ten windows and two and a half arches, respectively. Carpaccio's porch, finally, has twice as many arches and columns as Jacopo's.

Where the two artists differ, which one is right? Carpaccio worked many more small particulars into his painting than did Jacopo into his print. To be sure, the painter had a larger field on which to paint a more restricted subject; yet, he could easily have filled his canvas without discriminating so many small differences of form, differences that were ultimately irrelevant to the subject of the picture. They include not only grosser irregularities, like those in the count of arches and windows and heights of roofs, but also

details like the exact placement, form, and material of architectural members. We are shown, for instance, that the arches on the ground floor spring from two different heights; that the windows on the first floor of the canal-side tract form a continuous suite of openings, framed by orders of red Veronese *broccatello*, of which some are paired colonnettes and some piers; and that the windows of the *rio*-side tract are isolated openings framed by piers of limestone. We are shown, furthermore, that changes from one type of arch or window to another all lie on the same axis, which coincides with the boundary between the *rio*-side end wall and the canalward façade. Such minutiae are unlikely to have been invented by the artist; rather, they must have been presented to his eyes by the real building, and he, obsessive observer that he was, set them down in paint.

Carpaccio's porch, on the other hand, is unconvincing. Its late Gothic beams and early Renaissance columns, bases, and moldings, while painted with the same finicky exactitude, are not consistent with the medieval style of the rest of the palace. Instead they display an architectural vocabulary fashionable in the late Quattrocento. Yet, by that time the building had become mere rental property. It does not seem likely that the patriarchal administrators opened their purse to build an opulent new porch for what was now a rooming house. Thus, Carpaccio must have invented his porch, presumably to provide an appropriately magnificent stage for the miracle that is his main subject. The meaner, one-bay porch depicted by Jacopo probably corresponds more closely to the reality of Carpaccio's day.⁹²

91. Carpaccio's painting is worn, especially in the area above and right of the porch; see note 34 above. Thus, an early restorer saw remains of, and inpainted, an extra first-floor window on the end wall of the *rio* tract, making a total of five. It was removed in the restoration of 1959–60, correctly, for there is not sufficient space for it. (It continues to appear in publications that use old Alinari, Anderson, and Böhm photographs.)

92. Jacopo's porch, on the other hand, is unbelievably low—lower than the first-floor windows to the left and right. The artist must have observed the palace from a high vantage point across the Grand Canal, perhaps the campanile of S. Luca, from which the porch's front face would indeed have looked lower than the palace's main block. My reconstruction (Fig. 110) therefore adopts the height represented by Carpaccio, as does Dorigo's. With regard to width, on

Still another anachronistic feature that must have been invented by the painter is the elaborate surface decoration of the façade. Walls above and below windows, the frieze, attic, and crests are all brightly colored with bands, fields, discs, and triangles in what may be meant to depict fresco or stone veneer. Low-relief pinnacles crown the round-headed (i.e., pre-Gothic) windows of the *rio* tract. Such decorations were a later Gothic fashion, and although the medieval Ca' del Papa might have been embellished in this manner under a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century patriarch, it is more likely that Carpaccio, in the same spirit that moved him to invent a fancy porch, invented this finery as well.

Generally, between the larger scale on which he worked and the keen observation with which he registered small variations in form, Carpaccio created an image whose authority is equal to, if not greater than, that of Jacopo's. Combining the two artists'

testimony with the known plans and the surviving architectural fragments, one can create a hypothetical reconstruction of the vanished façade along the Grand Canal (Fig. 110). The approximate lengths of its several parts—western tract, porch, eastern tract, and end wall of the *rio* tract—can still be established at something over, respectively, 25, 4, 16, and 6 meters. The arch against the porch of the western tract and its supporting columns still stand and can be measured; west of the porch there was room for a nine-bay arcade of such arches, east of the porch for six bays. Carpaccio's painting teaches that the end wall of the *rio*-side tract had a slightly lower arcade of two bays; the width of the wall would have allowed for two bays of the same span as the others.⁹³

Not even scraps remain from the building's first floor, attic, and cresting. Here, Jacopo, Carpaccio, and the known pre-Gothic elevations in Venice are our only guides for a reconstruction. Both artists depicted

the other hand, I follow Jacopo's representation of a single arch beneath the porch. Two arches, as in Carpaccio's painting and Dorigo's reconstruction ("Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 42, fig. 10), would have had to have been impossibly narrow if the porch was no wider than the *sottoportego* beneath it, which is how the plan of 1625 shows it ([B], no. 3; Fig. 118). Carpaccio was exaggerating.

93. I have averaged dimensions taken from the same sources used for measurement of the great hall in note 86 above. Some of my figures agree, some do not, with those reported by Dorigo, "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," esp. 42. In Figures 109–10 the length of the palace's tracts is, respectively, 25.3 m (western tract), 4.15 m (porch, including both columns), 16.3 m (eastern tract, including the eastern column of the *sottoportego* arch a second time), and 6.3 m (*rio*-side-tract end wall). These lengths include the western tract's arch against the porch, which has a clear width of 2.29 m (Dorigo reported 2.78 m, whereas his fig. 10 depicts 1.75 m) and whose columns are .51 m thick. They also include the arch over the *sottoportego*, which has a clear width of 3.07 m (Dorigo reported 3.54 m, which is the width of the *sottoportego*'s modern, flaring mouth, whereas his fig. 10 depicts 2.7 m) and whose column is .48 m thick. The capitals on the columns supporting the *sottoportego*'s arch are unlike. Namely, the bell of the one on the west side of the *sottoportego* is a conventional beveled-block capital with a torus at the collar. Its mate on the east side (located inside a hair dresser's shop bearing street number S. Polo 1098A; briefly exposed during the shop's renovation, it has since been plastered over

again) balloons out from a collar composed of a plain, sunken fillet above a torus (Fig. 113-B). Capital and column on the *sottoportego*'s west side are but a half capital and column. Their other halves emerge in the garden of Casa Ravà-Errera, where they support the still extant first arch of the palace's western arcade. I assume that the rest of the building's western arcade exhibited columns, capitals, and intercolumniations identical with those of this first arch. The eastern capital must in turn have supported the beginning of the eastern arcade, which, I assume, must have repeated this column and capital but used intercolumniations like those on the west. (An identical column and capital, reerected in an air shaft between the hair dresser's shop and the church of S. Silvestro, must be an erratic survivor of this arcade.) As is his practice, Dorigo has tried to supply equivalents in Roman and Venetian feet for all dimensions. Measuring old buildings yields approximate, rather than precise, results under the best of circumstances. Beyond that, the original fabric of the Ca' del Papa has disappeared, leaving new structures that follow other and discontinuous baselines, while the ground upon which it stood has been severely deformed by differential settling. One or another or all of these constraints set limits to precision in measurement of any of Venice's pre-Gothic structures, so that altogether the procedure of taking measurements of battered buildings down to the centimeter and fraction thereof, and then calculating their Roman or Venetian equivalents, seems a quixotic and meaningless enterprise to me.

a *piano nobile* with a serried row of floor-length windows on the east (a common design of the period); Jacopo recorded a row of shorter windows on the west. The upstairs windows are quicker in rhythm than the arcades below. For my drawing I have chosen a rhythm just short of twice that of the ground-floor arcades. The windows on the east are divided in Carpaccio's painting by paired colonnettes and piers, which I have imitated but rearranged.⁹⁴ I have shown only paired colonnettes between the windows of the western tract. As for the cresting, I have modeled it on that of the Fondaco dei Turchi, which the Ca' del Papa's resembled.

The heights of the several floors are unknown. Surviving columns on the ground floor are deeply interred, so deeply, in fact, that there must have been an unusual amount of settling and deposition on this particular stretch of the Grand Canal's banks since the thirteenth century. There has been no excavation to determine the original length of the interred shafts; I have extended them conservatively to a total length of 1.75 meters.⁹⁵ This yields a total height of ca. 4.2 meters for the ground floor.⁹⁶ There is no evidence for the height of the upper two floors; I have allowed another 4.2 meters for the first, and 2.6 meters for the attic, plus small additional amounts for the intermediate floor beams and the beams of the roof truss.⁹⁷

94. In the present state of Carpaccio's painting the window frames are supported alternately by piers and paired colonnettes. His canvas is much abraded in this area; see note 34 above. Radiographs suggest that the highlights and outlines defining the shafts and capitals of these orders are, in fact, the work of an early restorer. Apparently, lacking legible remains of Carpaccio's own rendering, the repaints were retained when the painting was cleaned in 1959–60. There is no instance, however, of a regular alternation of orders in a row of Venetian Romanesque windows. If both piers and columns appear, the row begins with two or three piers in succession, followed by columns; see, for instance, the *balconade* of Ca' Donà della Madonetta or Ca' da Mosto; illus., Figs. 36, 38. I have reconstructed the Ca' del Papa windows on their model.

Reviewing the differences depicted by Carpaccio between the tract on the *rio* and the two tracts facing the Grand Canal, one realizes that the former and the latter were not built at the same time. Indeed, the plain style of the former's stone trim bespeaks a less developed phase of the Romanesque vocabulary than the richer detail of the latter. Furthermore, the lower springing level of the *rio* tract's arches seems to reflect some subsidence (a figure standing beneath the arch in Carpaccio's scene suggests that by the latter's day the arches sprang only slightly above head height), and in Venice subsidence is an index of the passage of time.

Some 6¼ meters wide and 17½ meters long, the *rio*-side tract contained the full complement of rooms appropriate to a palace. Its attic provided space for services and servants; its first floor had a modest hall—the later *saletta* or *albergo magno*—and enough room for a chamber or two; and its undercroft contained spaces that could have been intended as service rooms but that from 1182 served as commercial space to be rented out by S. Silvestro. The chapel was just as close to the *saletta* as to the *sala grande* in the canal-side tract, so that it would have been equally accessible from the *saletta* by way of a private passage like that serving the *sala grande* in later times. Finally, the *rio*-side tract seems to have had its own, separate stair at the north end, either on the short wall toward S. Silvestro's portico or between the tract's rear and the

95. The shafts emerge above the ground, from west to east, by .45, .68, and .55 m. On the west, the ground is a modern garden; in the *sottoportego*, it is a modern pavement; and on the east, a modern floor. According to the owner, Giuseppe Ravà, when his neo-Gothic fantasy on the west was built, in 1906, the base of the sixteenth-century buildings standing there and a nearby brick pavement lay .80 m below the ground level of his day, whose exact elevation is not recorded; see Bullo, "Lento e progressivo abbassamento," 187.

96. Above the shafts there lay capital and necking (.53 m actual), an arch (1.5 m est.), a short stretch of wall bisected by a string course (.45 m est.).

97. One meter for the two.

church.⁹⁸ It was probably this small tract that contained the *aula* and was the *palacium* of patriarch Enrico Dandolo, that was built sometime before 1154 and used by Alexander III during the Congress of Venice in 1177.⁹⁹

If the *rio*-side tract was indeed the building's nucleus; the eastern canal-side tract with its *sala grande* must have been an early addition. The ballooning bell of this tract's ground-floor capitals first appears in the 1240s.¹⁰⁰ The early form of the arcade and upper fenestration, with their stilted but otherwise plain half-round arches, suggests that this tract cannot have been built much later.

A further addition, built soon after, must have been the western tract and the archway that bridges the *sottoportego*. That the capital on the west side of the archway differs from that on the east but is identical with that on the neighboring first arch of the western arcade is an indication that the eastern and western tracts were not built at the same moment. That the stairs leading to the porch over the archway stood away from the palace, to afford access to the eastern ground-floor arches (Fig. 118),¹⁰¹ is a sign that the porch and its stairs were conceived after completion of the eastern

arcade; had they been contemporaneous with the arcade, they would have been better integrated with it. Still, the distance in time between the eastern arcade on the one hand and the archway and western arcade on the other cannot have been great. The western arches were also of the plain half-round type, suggesting they were built before the end of the thirteenth century and the advent of the Gothic style.

Beyond these remains, the west side is known only from Jacopo's woodcut, the outline plan of 1625, and some brief entries in the management records. It was this part of the palace that was let to members of the Goro family from the 1450s into the beginning of the sixteenth century,¹⁰² and repeatedly thereafter to textile workers, especially weavers, deteriorating so rapidly that between 1584 and 1590 it needed to be totally rebuilt.¹⁰³ Reborn as a utilitarian four-storey block, the rebuilt wing remained standing until shortly before World War I and appears in an early-nineteenth-century lithograph of façades along the Grand Canal (Fig. 121).¹⁰⁴

As explained above, Jacopo's woodcut severely abridges the palace's west side. The three or four ground-floor arches and five windows shown in the

98. No stair appears on the plan of 1625 or in the description of 1486, but previously, from 1457 through 1460, the patriarchal administration had rented out a small flat on this end, "posto sopra la scala"; see ASVe, MensPat, b^a 58, *vacchetta* no. 1, fol. 5A.

99. Rooms somewhere by S. Silvestro, first recorded in 1070, may have provided further space for the pope's party; cf. (A), no. 1. Outside dimensions for the *rio*-side tract are calculated from the sources listed in note 86 above. The *piano nobile* was large enough to contain an *aula* of over 100 m², or, if one end of the tract contained two small chambers, 85 m². It must be in this *aula* that the parties to the Congress of Venice met on 1 August 1177 and swore to uphold their negotiated truce. Dorigo argued instead that the meeting was held in a huge *aula* of some 315 m² extending over most of the palace's two tracts along the Grand Canal. In his view, so large a room was needed to accommodate a complement of four hundred congress members—a hundred seated and three hundred standing—and to account for its description by Archbishop Romualdus (one of those present; cf. [A], no. 4) as "suitably long and large"; see Dorigo, "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 36, 42, and nn. 18, 19, 56. Unfortunately, Dorigo's tally of attendees is mistaken. It is based on a seventeenth-century savant's list of notables and their attendants who had come to Venice during the

congress, not of those present in the room on that August day. Nor does Romualdus, who tended to overstatement, make a good witness; cf. Simonsfeld, "Historisch-diplomatische Forschungen," 176. A better witness is another attendee and writer, Cardinal Boso, who drew up a full list of those present. They numbered fifty-one; see *Liber pontificalis*, II, 440–42. (For further details concerning Dorigo's reconstruction of the hall, see note 86 above.)

100. See Chapter 4, esp. note 89.

101. In this plan ([B], no. 3) the space between the stairs and the palace is labeled "Corte serado di tolle."

102. See notes 60–61 above.

103. *Ibid.* (tenants) and (A), no. 19 (rebuilding). Dorigo misconstrues the records of this renovation; "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 40. He reports that it involved division of the palace's "sala grande" into two floors. Yet, the west wing had two upper floors already in 1547; cf. note 79 above. Moreover, since in his view the "sala grande" extended across both the east and west wings (cf. note 86 above), his interpretation implies that both wings were rebuilt, whereas the documents make clear that it was just the west wing.

104. See (B), no. 7. For this wing's demolition, see (C).

print were probably nine and seventeen respectively. Even so, the view transmits several important details. The sill of the western windows is seen to have lain on a higher level than that of the eastern ones. On the other hand, the roof that extends behind the cresting is lower on the west side than on the east. Together with the previously mentioned notice in the rental record of a corridor that led from the porch straight into the building, the various differences in exterior articulation imply at the very least that the spaces on the *piano nobile* to the left and the right of the porch were separate and distinct.¹⁰⁵ Floor levels and ceiling heights may have differed on the two sides of the porch as well.

The function of the west side is unknown. If the *piano nobile* of the *rio* tract contained a hall, later used as a secondary state room, perhaps an audience room, and the canal-side tract on the east contained the “great hall,” the tract on the west may have provided living quarters for the patriarch and his household, allowing more extensive and elaborate accommodations than small chambers in the *rio* tract and the rooms mentioned in 1070 as near S. Silvestro.

As the plans of 1625 and 1808–11 attest, the western half of the patriarchate’s property at S. Silvestro extended a considerable distance into the campo. Today there are three nondescript houses wedged into this zone (Fig. 112), and it seems to have been occupied by ordinary houses already in the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁶ They communicated neither with one another nor with the palace, making it likely that they were originally privately owned and had been acquired *en bloc*—

perhaps along with still other houses facing the Grand Canal—at the time the last extension of the palace was planned. While those on the site of the extension were razed to make way for it, the rest were left as a cordon that insulated the palace from the everyday neighborhood and yielded rental income to boot.

Although the foregoing considerations cannot be translated into an exact floor plan, one can make a site plan from them, in which only the exact depth of the tract along the canal-side quay must remain uncertain (Fig. 109).¹⁰⁷ The building turns out to have been an assemblage of palaces. The first two, that alongside *rio del Fontego* and that bridging the space between it and the *sottoportego* were examples of the standard “palatine” type described in Chapter 1. Like the palatine residences of the high civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the first and second units had direct access to a private chapel. Normally, such palace chapels had two floors: a ground floor for worship by the owner’s household, and a first floor, more elaborate in its architectural articulation and interior decoration, for use by the owner and directly accessible from the *bel étage*.¹⁰⁸ In the case of the Ca’ del Papa, only a handsomely decorated upper chapel existed.¹⁰⁹ A lower chapel seems to have been lacking; in its place were spaces that had been part of the gift of 1182 to S. Silvestro.¹¹⁰ Given the poverty of the patriarchate during the central Middle Ages, as asserted repeatedly in acts of the time, the omission of a lower chapel was probably deliberate, manifesting the small size of the patriarchal household and the limitation of its means.

105. They are treated as such from the mid-fifteenth century forward and explicitly described as such in 1547 and later; see above and note 61 above.

106. They appear in all the patriarchate’s rental accounts, of which the earliest are from the Quattrocento; see also note 62 above.

107. In Figure 109 the topography of the area is taken from the plan accompanying the city’s property cadastre of 1808–11, for which, see (B), no. 6. The length of the Ca’ del Papa along the Grand Canal and the width and length of its *rio*-side tract are calculated as set forth in note 86 above and stated there, in the text, and in note 93 above. The depth of the west and east tracts facing the Grand Canal is not

stated anywhere, and the area has been so much altered in the past that there is no basis for calculating it. Accordingly, the rear of these tracts is shown as a wavy line.

108. For a more detailed account, see Streich, *Burg und Kirche*.

109. Dorigo cited a sixteenth-century document that calls the chapel a “capella de musaico”; “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,” 44.

110. See (A), nos. 5–6. The act locates the donated rooms “under our palace and church,” meaning, presumably, the palace and its chapel. It may be, of course, that a lower chapel did exist originally, but had been converted to profane uses by 1182.

APPENDIX II: CA' BAROZZI

(A) WRITTEN SOURCES

- I 1279 (19 June) Tomasino Barozzi q. Giovanni of the ward of S. Moisè and his three nephews, Jacopo, Filippo, and Pancrazio Barozzi q. Marino, by private treaty divide into halves their palace, in the same ward, that previously they had owned in common. The property and the respective shares are described as follows:

“[. . .] quendam nostram proprietatem terre et casarum coopertam et discoopertam in dicto confinio [scil., confinio Sancti Moisis] positam, quam habebamus insimul indivisam. Que proprietates est quedam magna domus magna [*sic*] in sollario laborata cum duabus casellis sibi coniunctis, una supra canale et alia supra curia. Et duo cassi domorum de segentibus.

“Secundum quod tota ipsa proprietates firmat ab uno suo capite in canale, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Et ab alio suo capite firmat in heredibus quondam Marini Gisi. Ab uno suo latere firmat in rivo Minutulo, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Et ab alio suo latere firmat in quodam calli communi huic proprietati et proprietati Marci de Helia, unde habet introitum et exitum.

“Advenit autem vobis suprascriptis Jacobo, Philippo et Pancratio Baroci, nepotibus meis, in

vostra parte et divisione, pro vostra medietate, illa medietas de predicta domo magna que est posita versus proprietatem predicti Marci de Helia, cum suprascriptis duabus casellis sibi coniunctis, una videlicet supra canale et alia supra curia, et unus suprascriptorum duorum cassorum domorum de segentibus, scilicet ille, que est positus versus proprietatem heredum quondam Marini Gisi.

“Secundum quod ipsa vostra pars et divisio firmat ab uno suo capite in canale, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Salvo quod pecia de terra vacua posita supra canale, et salla de supra canale posita per transversum domus magne tam superius quam inferius vobis et mihi communes et disocupate ut modo sunt perpetuo debent esse.

“Et ab alio suo capite firmat in heredibus quondam Marini Gisi. Salvo quod salla domus magne posita supra curiam per transversum, et scalla domus magne, atque curia cum putheo, et ripa de supra rivum Minutululum, cum accessu et egressu sue, communes et disocupate ut modo sunt, vobis et mihi perpetuo debent esse. Salvo etiam, quod potestis extendere predictum vestrum cassum domorum de segentibus super dictam curiam communem per totam suam longitudinem usque ad caput infrascripti mei cassi domorum de segentibus positum super viam que

vadit ad ripam de super rivum Minutulum, laborando in columpnis, sive in arcubus, et omnem vostram utilitatem supra ipsis arcubus facere, sive columpnis et in sollario laborare.

“Item, sciendum est, quod casellam vostram coniunctam domui magne et positam iuxta suprascriptam scallam non potestis extollere, seu levare, nisi usque ad listam domus magne que est subtus balchiones, et hoc etiam in illo capite ipsius caselle quod firmat in domo magna. Ita tamen, quod in altero capite non possit levari taliter, quod impediatur vel transcendatur scalinos suprascripte scalle.

“Ab uno suo latere firmat in calli communi huic proprietati et proprietati Marci de Helia, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem.

“Et ab alio suo latere firmat partim in suprascripta pecia de terra vacua communi de supra canale; et partim in predictae salla per transversum de supra canale communi similiter ut predictum est; et partim in porticu per longitudinem que est in medio domus magne, que tam superius quam inferius vobis et mihi communis et disoccupata ut modo apparet perpetuo debet esse; et partim in salla communi posita super curiam per transversum; et partim in dicta curia communi; et partim in quantum tenet unum caput suprascripti vestri cassi domorum de segentibus firmat in rivo Minutolo, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem.

“In super, est sciendum quod hec vestra pars debet dare viam apertam usque ad celum, latam pedibus quinque pro intus vestrum predictum cassum domorum de segentibus, a predicta curia usque ad murum de Ca’ Gisi recto tramite, et ab ipso muro da Ca’ Gisi revolvendo versus rivum usque ad pontem, debet dare viam coopertam,

latam pedibus quatuor, pro eundo et reddeundo ad pontem, seu per pontem predictum, qui pons cum dicta via communis et disoccupatus utriusque parti nostrum perpetuo debet esse. Et si dictam viam exinde dare volueritis, licet vobis eam dare de supra rivum Minutulum in capite predicti vestri cassi domorum de segentibus, retrohendo murum ipsius cassi domorum tantum intus quantum dicta via sit lata, ut predictum est, et si volueritis dictum vestrum cassum domorum de segentibus in sollario laborare, licitum est vobis laborare supra dicta via de super rivum in arcubus et omnem vostram utilitatem supra ipsis arcubus facere. [. . .]”

“Michi autem suprascripto Thomasino Baroci in mea parte et divisione pro mea medietate advenit illa medietas de domo magna, que est posita supra rivum Minutulum, et cassum domorum de segentibus eidem mee medietati coniunctum. Secundum quod ipsa mea pars firmat ab uno suo capite in canali, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem, salvo eo quod dictum est supra de pecia terre vacue posita supra canale cum ripa, et salla de supra canale posita per transversum, que vobis et mihi communis et disocupata esse debet [*sic*], ut predictum est.

“Et ab alio suo capite firmat cum predicto meo casso domorum de segentibus partim in via comuni vobis et michi, que discurrit ad suprascriptam ripam de super rivum Minutulum, et partim in suprascripta curia comuni, ut predictum est.

“Ab uno suo latere firmat in rivo Minutolo, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Et ab alio suo latere firmat partim in suprascripta pecia de terra vacua de supra canale; et partim, in quantum tenet domus magna, in salla per transversum de supra canale;

et partim in porticu de medio per longitudinem; et partim in salla per transversum de supra curiam; et partim in curia. Que pecia de terra vacua, cum ripa ibidem posita, et ambe salle atque porticus de medio superius et inferius, et curia cum putheo, et scalla lapidea domus magne, et pons cum via qua itur ad ipsum, communes et disocupate debent esse perpetuis temporibus, ut supra dictum est. Salvo, quod si predicte mee domus de segentibus voluerint in sollario laborari, potuerint extendi supra dictam curiam communem per sex pedes per totam suam longitudinem in arcus sive in columpnas, et super ipsas columpnas sive arcus laborari et omnis utilitas fieri, que huic mee parti videbitur expedire.”¹

- 2 1312 (11 February) In conformity with a sentence of the ducal court, Filippa, widow of Jacopo Barozzi q. Marino of the ward of S. Moisè, invests *ad proprium* a portion of Ca' Barozzi's western half, which half was lately owned by her husband, so executing a warrant for restitution of her dowry, awarded to her by

1. ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, *Misti*, *Miscellanea Pergamene*, b^a 6 (formerly *Misti*, b^a 281), loose deed, under date (erroneously marked 12 July 1279 on the outside). Noticed but not construed by Dorigo, “Exigentes,” n. 27, and idem, “Caratteri tipologici,” 25–26.

2. “Investitures” were interlocutory claims to ownership granted to an acquirer by the ducal court. There were two kinds: *investitio sine proprio* and *ad proprium* (without and with exclusive possession, respectively). They were granted after a hearing at which the acquirer had demonstrated his rights to ownership by virtue of purchase, inheritance, or some other agency. The record of the hearing, reciting all the evidence presented in court, was ordered posted on the property itself, in plain view of passersby, and cried publicly at Rialto and San Marco. Although the act of posting was carried out by a marshall of the court and the crier was a public officer, it was conventionally said that the acquirer had now “invested” the property. Each of the two investitures allowed a waiting period during which third parties might claim rights of their own, leading to further court hearings. If there were no protests, or none prevailed, the property became the acquirer's free and clear. A reform in the early thirteenth century added a third and final

the ducal court on 9 March 1310 and valued at £1,012½.² Her late husband's western half is bounded as follows:

“[. . .] firmante tota [*sic*] unum suum caput in canale, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iagliacionem. Salvo quod pecia de terra vacua posita supra canale et sala posita supra canale per transverssum domus magne, tam superius quam inferius, dicte proprietatis et proprietatis Thomasini Baroçi, patruo dicti Jacobi, comunes et disoccupate ut nunc sunt perpetuo debent esse, et proprietatis Pancracii Baroçi, tam raçioni proprietatis fraterne quam etiam proprietati quam dicti Jacobus et Pangracius Baroçi <?acquisiverunt>³ a Furlano da Ca' Gisi, cum curia et putheo, et cum rippis tam de supra canalem quam de supra rivo, et cum latrina et pecie terre vacue de supra canalem et cum porticibus de suptus domum magnam et cum ponte.

“Et aliud suum caput firmante in predicta curia comuni. Salvo quod sala posita in predicta curia per transversum, et scala lapidea cum dicta curia, putheo et rippis cum accessu et egressu

step: issuance by the court of a *noticia possessionis*. See further Besta and Predelli, “Statuti civili,” pt. 1, 63–65. In the present case, Filippa had invested the entire west side of Ca' Barozzi *sine proprio* upon receipt of her dowry warrant, moving Marino Barozzi q. Tomasino of the parish of S. Moisè to lodge four protests before the Giudici del Esaminador, one on behalf of himself, the others on behalf of his deceased father's, mother's, and brother's estates (in the case of his brother Angelo's estate, Marino's protest was joined by the former's widow, Richelda). Filippa's deed of investiture *sine proprio* seems to be lost, but the first part of it—describing the palace as a whole—is repeated in the court's sentences for the multiple protests. Three sentences survive; ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, *Misti*, b^a 148 (Tomasino Barozzi), loose charters of 17 January (two) and 4 February 1312. The court countenanced Marino's protests, reducing the invested property to the rooms described below.

3. Both the deed transcribed above and the parallel sentences (see the previous note) are missing a word here. It must have been a verb such as “bought,” “received,” or “acquired.”

suo, et cum latrina de supra canalem, et portibus inferioribus, et ponte comunes et disoccupate debent esse ut superius est expressum.

“Ab uno suo latere firmante in calli comuni predictis proprietatibus et proprietati d<a Ca’>⁴ de ‘lia, unde habet introitum et exitum.

“Et ab alio suo latere firmante partim in suprascripta pecia de terra vacua comuni de super canalem, et partim in predicta sala per transverssum de super canalem, que comunes similiter debent esse, ut predictum est, et partim <in> porticu per longitudinem, qui in medio domus magne [?],⁵ et partim in sala comuni posita supra curiam per transverssum, et partim in predicta curia comuni, ut predictum est.”

The rooms invested *ad proprium* by Filippa are “Illam videlicet partem, que est duo hospicia posita in solarario, a capite versus canalem, a latere proprietatis dicti . . . ,⁶ in quantum ipsa hospicia comprehendunt sub se et supra se, ab infimis usque ad summum, cum quadam domuncula posita ad pedem planum, iuxta canalem ab eodem latere.

“Et est etiam unum hospicium positum suptus voltam ad pedem planum. Et aliud hospicium iuxta ipsum, suptus salam de super curiam, et quedam casela de lignamine iuxta ipsum posita super eandem curiam, que quidem casela possit circundari de petra si hec pars voluerit et fieri modo et forma ut nunc est, nec tamen possit altius <fieri> quantus sicut est nunc.

“Secundum quod dicta duo hospicia posita in sollario, cum dicta domuncula ad pedem planum eis coniuncta, firmat unum suum

capitem in muro comuni, posito tam inferius quam superius inter unum dictorum hospiciorum de sollario et quiddam hospicius de reliquo dicte proprietatis. Et aliud suum caput firmat cum predicta domuncula ad pedem planum partim in canale, unde hec pars et dictum reliquum suprascripte proprietatis habent introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iagliacionem, et partim firmat in la<trina>, et partim suptus salam et partim superius in ipsa sala.

“Unum suum latus firmat per totum in calli communi, tam huic parti quam toti reliquo suprascripto predictis proprietatibus, et proprietati da Ca’ de ‘lia, unde habet introitum et exitum. Et aliud suum latus firmat partim in suprascripta latrina, et partim in predicta pecia terre vacue posita supra canalem. Partimque firmat in predicta sala inferius et superius, et partim firmat in porticu per longitudinem que est in medio domus magne.

“Suprascriptum vero hospicium positum suptus voltam <ad> pedem planum, et aliud predictum hospicium positum iuxta ipsum suptus salam de super curiam, et casela de lignamine suprascripta posita supra ipsam curiam, hec omnia simul coniuncta firmant unum suum caput in muro comuni posito inter dictum hospicium huius partis et reliquum dicte proprietatis, in quo et supra quem hec pars et ipsum reliquum potestatem habent laborandi, trabes et modiliones ponendi quot e quantos voluerint, itaque ipse murus perpetuo maneat undique clausus. Et aliud suum caput firmat per totum in curia predicta.

4. Thus the sentences cited in note 2 above.

5. At this point—that is, after “domus magne” and before “et partim”—the text offers unpunctuated phrases, one after the other: “que tam superius quam inferius proprietati dicti thomasini et predictae proprietatis communes et disoccupate ut modo sunt perpetuo debent esse,” followed by “predicto Pangratio communes debent esse,”

followed by “parte inferiori, ut premissum est.” The scribe seems to have gotten thoroughly lost and wandered about a while before finding his place again.

6. The charter’s right margin, where the missing name was written, is destroyed, and the sentences of 1312 do not describe the portion of the building that was left to Filippa to possess.

“Unum suum latus firmat partim in dicto calli comuni huius partis et dicti reliqui atque proprietatum predictarum et proprietatis da Ca' de 'lia, ut predictum est. Partimque firmat in scala lapidea iste proprietatis. Et aliud suum latus firmat partim in suprascripto porticu comuni inferiori et partim suptus salam predictam positam per transverssum supra dictam curiam. Partimque firmat in ipsa curia.

“Et est sciendum quod tam predicta pecia de terra de supra canalem quam suprascripta curia dicte proprietatis, et ambe latrine dictarum pecie terre, et curie et puteus positus in ipsa curia de ante, et gradata ipsius curie atque alia gradata dicte pecie terre de supra canalem, et via qua itur ad pontem, et ipse pons: hec omnia debent esse comunia huic parti et ipsi reliquo, nec non omnibus aliis partibus et proprietatibus quibus ea vel eorum singula pertinent, seu spectant de iure. Et ipsa sepedicta curia, et suprascripta pecia de terra vacua, et predicta via qua itur ad pontem, et ipse pons permanere debent perpetuo, aperte, discooperte et disoccupate. Et predictae gradate, et suprascripte latrine, et ipse pons debent conservari perpetuo in statu in quo nunc sunt et reparari si necesse fuerit ad comunes expensas, tam huius partis, quam dicti reliqui et omnium aliorum quibus ea pertinent. Ambe vero sale superiores et porticus de medio domus magne predictae, tam superius quam inferius, hec omnia debent esse communia tam huic parti, quam dicto reliquo, nec non et dictis partibus et proprietatibus, secundum formam

investicionis, ut dictum est, et perpetuo permanere debent disoccupate in statu in quo sunt nunc. Scala vero lapidea similiter predictis omnibus debet esse comunis. Et si reparacione indiguerit aliqua, eorum predictorum que sunt comunia, ad comunes expensas eorum quibus hec pertinuerint debeant reparari in statu in quo nunc sunt, sive ad meliorem factum deduci si procedent de proprio voluntate. In supra, autem est sciendum quod predicto Pancracio ea que superius dicta sunt, seu quod superius dictum est, debent esse comunia seu comune inferius tantum secundum formam investicionis, ut dictum est.”⁷

- 3 1332 (27 February) Sentence of the ducal court on the protest by Marino Barozzi of Candia, son of Tomasino of the ward of S. Moisè, against the investiture of a portion of Ca' Barozzi by Filippa, widow of Jacopo Barozzi of the same ward. Namely, possessed of a lien on her late husband's estate,⁸ Filippa had sought to redeem it on 6 November 1314 by investing *sine proprio* the following rooms of the palace: “unum hospicium silicet canippam unam ad pedem planum, et quodam [*sic*] alia hospicia in solario.

“Secundum quod hec proprietas firmat ab uno suo capite in salla communi huius proprietatis et proprietatis, sive partis, Philippe, relicte Jacobi Baroçi, quam aquisivit per nanciam, et proprietatum sive partium Marini Baroçi et condam Angeli Baroçi, que nunc est [*sic*] heredum eius. Unde habet introitum et exitum hec

7. ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, de Citra, b^a 251 (Giacomo Barozzi q. Marco da S. Moisè), loose charter, damaged by holes here and there and loss of ca. 1 cm of the right-hand border.

8. As explained in another part of this act, Filippa had obtained the lien by repaying a debt of her deceased husband's (viz., a two-year loan of £200, granted him in April 1292 by the late Filippo Trevisan of the ward of S. Angelo, and repaid by Filippa on 23 January 1313 to

Trevisan's widow, Maria, together with applicatory penalties, viz., an amount equal to the principal plus interest for the moratory period at the rate of 20 percent per annum). Presenting receipt of the repayment to the Giudici del Proprio, she had on 3 March 1313 obtained from them an award of goods from Jacopo's estate worth the amount paid to Maria Trevisan. For the process of “investiture,” see note 2 above.

proprietas per dictam sallam, que est super curiam, et per scallam lapideam, et per curia communem, et per pontem communem huius proprietatis et partis dicte Philippe et proprietatum sive partium Marini Baroçi et condam Angeli Baroçi, et proprietatis condam Pangracii Baroçi, discurrentem per viam communem ad ecclesiam Sancti Moisis et ad Sanctum Marcum.

“Et ab alio suo capite tam inferius quam superius firmat in muro communi huius proprietatis et proprietatis dicte Philippe Baroçi.

“Ab uno suo latere firmat in quodam calle posito inter hanc proprietatem et proprietatem condam da Cha’ de ‘lia, unde habet introitum et exitum.

“Et ab alio suo latere ex parte superiori firmat in porticu communi huius proprietatis et proprietatis dicte Philippe, et proprietatum sive partium dictorum Marini Baroçi et heredum Angeli Baroçi. Et ex parte inferiori firmat in alia [*sic*] porticu communi huius proprietatis et partis dicte Philippe et partium dictorum Marini Baroçi et heredum Angeli Baroçi. Unde hec proprietas habet introitum et exitum per porticum superiorem, et per sallam superiorem que est super curiam, et per⁹ scallam lapideam, et per curiam communem, et per porticum inferiorem usque ad canallem.

“Sciendum tunc est, quod porticus superior et salla que est super curiam, et alia salla que est super canallem, et scalla lapidea, et curia et putheus, et gradata que est super rivum, et porticus inferior cum gradata que est super canallem, et latrina similiter super dictum canallem, sunt

omnes communes proprietati condam Pangracii Baroçi.

“Item investivit duo hospicia parva subtus scallam lapideam posita, que fuit [*sic*] dicti Jacobi Baroçi secundum quod continetur¹⁰ in divisionem factam inter Thomasinum Baroçi, et Jacobum, et Philippum, et Pangracium Baroçi, fratres.”

Having protested this investiture on 17 February 1332 on behalf of Marino Barozzi q. Tomasino of the parish of S. Moisé, cousin of Filippa’s late husband, Marino’s attorney now introduced a patrimonial division of 5 April 1323, wherein Andrea Barozzi, Marino’s son, divided with his cousins, Tomasino and Marco, sons of Marino’s deceased brother, Angelo Barozzi q. Tomasino of the same parish, the share of Ca’ Barozzi that belonged to their branch of the family.¹¹

Andrea’s share in this division had been as follows: “Secunda vero pars est reliquum dicti brachii domus maioris, videlicet duo hospicia <in quantum ipsa>¹² comprehendunt tam sub se quam supra se, ab abissum usque ad cellum. Quorum hospiciorum unum est quod respicit super dictam porticum communem eiusdem domus maioris, et aliud quod respicit super sallam communem anteriorem. Et illa ruga domorum de segentibus, que est in curia domorum, continua cum dictis duobus hospiciis ad pedem inferiorem. Et sunt quatuor domus de segentibus.

“Secundum quod hec pars, videlicet, tam duo hospicia domus maioris quam dicta ruga

9. The phrase “alia sala que est supra canallem” is written between “et” and “per” and struck out.

10. The phrase “firmat ab uno suo capite” is written between “quod” and “continetur” and struck out.

11. Marino Barozzi, then in Crete, was represented at the hearing by Marino Venier. Although the applicable deadline for protests

against Filippa’s investiture had expired, all parties to the action had agreed to waive the deadline. The division of 5 April 1323 was based on a private agreement between the parties, concluded on 17 March.

12. Damage to the parchment has swallowed some words here of the tenor of those supplied above.

domorum de segentibus, continua cum ipsis hospiciis, firmat ab uno suo capite, tam inferius quam superius, in muro communi huic parti et suprascripte prime parti. In quo e super quem murum communem quelibet pars habet potestatem laborandi trabes et modillions ponendi quot et quantas voluerit, mappas et conductos et omnes suas utilitates faciendi, alterius parti a terram non nocendi, et ipso muro undique clauso manente.

“Et aliud suo capite firmat in quadam via que discurrit ad rippam de super rivum Minutulum, eo salvo, quod dictum est in¹³ vetere divisione suprascripta¹⁴ de cassu domorum de segentibus predictorum Jacobi, et Philippi, et Pangracii Barocio, fratrum, ut in ea legitur.

“Ab uno suo latere firmat per totum in dictum [*sic*] rivo Minutulo, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Et ab alio suo latere firmat in dicta curia communi, ubi est putheus communis. Eo salvo, quod continetur in dicta divisione vetere, silicet quod hec ruga potest in suprascripta curia in columpnis laborari, prout in ipsa divisione vetere continetur et legitur.” At the conclusion of the hearing, the court upheld Marino’s protest insofar as it was based upon the division above, and quashed it in other respects.¹⁵

- 4 1415 (14 January) Testating, Stefano [I] Barozzi q. Giovanni of the ward of S. Moisè orders as follows: “anchor lasso al ditto mio fio Antonio

13. The word “de,” written between “est” and “in,” is struck out.

14. Elsewhere in the present document the “old division” is described recognizably as that of no. 1 above, of 1279: “facta inter condam nobiles viros Jacobum, Philippum et Pangracium Barocio, filios condam Marini Barocio olim filii Johannis Barocio, ex una parte, de confinio Sancti Moysis, et Thomasinum Barocio, condam filium Johannis Barocio de eodem confinio, ex altera parte.”

15. ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, *Misti*, b^a 148 (Tomasino Barozzi), loose charter.

et a suo heredi mascoli legittimi la mia caxa grande cum tute le altre caxe ho in San Moise. Cum condition, che non le possa vender, ne impegnar, ne per algun altro modo alienar, cum tute le altre streture in zo et infinite condition se pol meter, si che per algun modo le dicte possession non possa esser vendude, impegnade, transferide, ne alienade ni insin del dicto mio fio, ni de suo heriedi et descendenti mascoli legittimi imperpetuo, ma vada de heriedi et descendent in heredi et descendent mascoli legittimi imperpetuo.”¹⁶

- 5 1513 (4 April) The Giudici del Procurator determine that, given the death of Benedetto Barozzi q. Stefano [II] of the ward of S. Moisè, late great-great-grandson of Stefano [I] Barozzi q. Giovanni of the same parish and late beneficiary of a portion of the entailed property left by the latter to his male descendants, the other great-great-grandson, Francesco Barozzi q. Benedetto, shall succeed to that portion.¹⁷
- 6 1513 (9 May) The Giudici del Proprio award to Chiara Barozzi, sister of the late Benedetto Barozzi q. Stefano [II] of the ward of S. Moisè, all movable and immovable property from the latter’s estate and from the estate of the latter’s daughter, Regina, inasmuch as Chiara’s husband, Jacopo Pizamano, has sworn under oath that neither of them left a testament.¹⁸

16. Quoted from Stefano’s testament of 14 January 1415 (not. Gasparo De Manis) in actions of the procuratorial court of 1501 and 1513; ASVe, GiudProc, *Sentenze a legge*, respectively, b^a 18, fol. 99r, and b^a 26, fols. 143r–v. I have not been able to find the testament itself.

17. ASVe, GiudProc, *Sentenze a legge*, b^a 26, fols. 143r–144r.

18. ASVe, GiudP, *Successioni*, b^a 1, fol. 55r. The record of the action does not explain the reasoning of the court, but no. 7 below does.

7 1513 (30 May) Francesco Barozzi q. Benedetto of the ward of S. Moisè having sued in the procuratorial court to overturn the investiture of a portion of Ca' Barozzi in the name of Chiara Barozzi q. Stefano [II], performed by her husband, Jacopo Pizamano, on the basis of a decision of 9 May 1513 by the Giudici del Proprio, the Giudici del Procurator hear depositions by both parties. Francesco adduces the testamentary entail laid upon the property by Stefano Barozzi [I] q. Giovanni. Jacopo adduces the rights of his wife to the dowry of Dorotea Colleoni, late wife of Benedetto Barozzi q. Stefano [II]. Finding that, according to statute, dotal rights precede other rights when the estates of individuals who died intestate are distributed, the court denies Francesco's suit and sentences him to the payment of court costs.¹⁹

8 1514 (25 September) Chiara Barozzi q. Stefano [II] lists the following item among her taxable property:
 "Item meza chaxa da stazio ruinada sopra el Canal Grando, la qual aquistò per la morte del condan messer Benedetto mio fratello."²⁰

9 1518 (31 May) The diarist Marino Sanudo reports as follows:
 "In questi zorni sier Jacomo Pizamano quondam sier Fantin, qual per la moglie fo Baroza ha auto le case a San Moisè sul canal grande, e volendo fabricar e riconzarle, è fabrica vechia, trovoe ducati 1800 d'oro; tamen lui dinegoe etc."²¹

19. ASVe, GiudProc, *Sentenze a legge*, b^a 26, fols. 148r–150r. The disputants' depositions are quoted verbatim, and the applicable statute is cited as article 11 in book IV of the statutory corpus. For the process of "investiture," see note 2 above.

10 1542 (28 June) The Giudici del Procurator condemn the Ospedali della Pietà, degli Incurabili, and di SS. Giovanni e Paolo to pay 200 ducats to Giovanni, Antonio, and Benedetto Barozzi of the parish of S. Moisè, sons of the late Francesco Barozzi q. Benedetto of the same parish, in reimbursement of usufruct from the brothers' entailed property in that parish, undeservedly enjoyed by the above hospitals, to whom the late Jacopo Pizamano, husband of the plaintiffs' second cousin twice removed, Chiara Barozzi, wrongfully bequeathed the same property.

From depositions entered in evidence the following facts emerge. Jacopo Pizamano and his wife, Chiara Barozzi, died some years ago. Their son, Sebastiano Pizamano, died in 1540 and in his testament revealed that Chiara's brother, Benedetto, had not died intestate but had left a *cedola* that Chiara's husband had concealed, falsely swearing that no last will had come to light. Hence, on 12 August 1540 the Quarantia annulled the Giudici del Proprio's sentence of May 1513, by which entailed Barozzi property had been awarded to Chiara. On 21 August 1541 the Giudici del Procurator repudiated their own sentence, also of May 1513, upholding that of the Giudici del Proprio. On 12 January 1542 Giovanni, Antonio, and Benedetto Barozzi were given a deed of *possessio* for the property.

Depositions now before the procuratorial court, summarizing the events above, mention in passing that during the years of the Pizamano's usurpation, the latter had "melgiolato omnibus

20. ASVe, SavDec, b^a 54 ("Decima del 1514; notifiche di S. Moisè"), item no. 27.

21. Sanudo, *Diarii*, xxv, col. 436.

nela casa conditionata sopra el Canal Grando,” indeed, “non solum meliorati ma etiam fabricati a fundamentis.”²²

- II** 1542 (25 September) The Giudici del Procurator condemn the estate of the late Sebastiano Pizamano q. Jacopo to pay 2,148 ducats to Giovanni, Antonio, and Benedetto Barozzi of the ward of S. Moisè, sons of the late Francesco Barozzi q. Benedetto of the same ward, in reimbursement of usufruct from the brothers' entailed property in that ward undeservedly collected by Sebastiano and his father during twenty-eight years and nine months of wrongful enjoyment of that property. From depositions entered in evidence one learns that “essi Pizamani [hanno] ruinato el soler de sora” of the property.²³
- I2** 1544 (5 December) A surveyor of the magistrature “del Piovego” records the width of public rights-of-way in corte Barozzi and the *calle* that runs thence to the Grand Canal, “dove intende fabricar da nuovo uno stabelle de messer Iacomo, e Andrea de Raini.”²⁴
- I3** 1566 (17 September) The brothers Antonio and Benedetto Barozzi q. Francesco divide a large part of Ca' Barozzi, a portion bounded by properties of Jacopo Raini and Jacopo Diedo on the north, the Grand Canal on the south,

22. ASVe, GiudProc, *Sentenze a legge*, b^a 40, fols. 143r–150r. Although Jacopo Pizamano is not named as maker of the bequest to the three hospitals, it is clear that the latter were already in possession of the properties when the son, Sebastiano, testated in 1540. Giovanni, Antonio, and Benedetto Barozzi state that they entered on their inheritance in 1519; Francesco must therefore have died shortly before. I have not been able to find the various acts of the 1540s cited in this sentence. For deeds of *possessio*, see note 2 above.

23. ASVe, GiudProc, *Sentenze a legge*, b^a 40, fols. 159r–169r. Following this judgment, the Barozzi brothers invested *sine proprio* (15 October 1542) and then *ad proprium* (17 November 1542) property in

rio Menuo on the east, and a neighborhood *calle* linking corte Barozzi and the Grand Canal on the west.²⁵

- I4** 1580 (29 November) Cecilia, widow of Benedetto Barozzi q. Francesco, and Michele Sumachi [q. Giorgio] make formal record of an agreement arrived at on 26 August, by which Cecilia grants Sumachi an easement against payment of 140 ducats. Sumachi, wishing to “fabricar la sua casa in San Moisè,” which at present “si ritrova [. . .] in stato ruinoso, che non provedendossi con muri maestri porta pericolo,” is permitted under this agreement to build a new supporting wall on a line with his upstairs *portego*. The wall shall extend from the storage rooms of the Raini (at the north end of the site) “fin sopra canal grando” and be one and a half bricks wide up to the first floor and one brick wide thereafter. Cecilia and future owners of her property shall permit Sumachi and future owners of his property to maintain the new wall.²⁶
- I5** 1582 (6 March) Michele Sumachi sells to Gerolamo Corner q. Andrea the following property:
- “Il solaro di sotto, sicome al presente quello si attrova, della casa da statio del detto signor venditore, posta et giacente nel confin di San Moise in bocca del rio Menuo, nel qual solaro di sotto s'intende compreso primo tutto il sotto

the ward of S. Moisè owned by the *commissaria* of the late Sebastiano Pizamano—namely, six contiguous “domuncule a segentibus” having ground and first floors and a court with cistern. See ASVe, GiudEs, *Investizioni*, b^a 18, fols. 288r–v. For “investitures,” see note 2 above.

24. ASVe, GiudPiov, b^a 21 (“Misure e Licenze”), fasc. 1 (1539–60), fol. 28r. Other documents show that Jacopo and Andrea were brothers.

25. ASVe, GiudP, *Divisioni*, b^a 9, fols. 101–10.

26. ASVe, ArchNot, Atti, b^a 7847 (not. Girolamo Luran), *protocollo* for 1580, fols. 347v–348v.

portego dalla intrada della porta maestra per retta linea fino alla riva che guarda sopra Canal Grande et similmente la detta riva, et l'altra che guarda sopra il rio con la crozzola ovvero sottoportego, che camina fino al sottoportego sopradetto, in modo che il restante della fabrica di detta crozola verso Cha' Baroci restar debbi à commodo del soler de sopra [. . .]

“Item tre magazeni et la sottoscala de mezadi, quatro mezadi, suo portego, cinque camere, tenelo, et sua cucena con altre camerete mezade sopra le dette, cosi che tutto quello che si attrova in detto primo soler sotto el suolo del soler di sopra s'intendi compreso nella presente venditione, ac etiam la parte della soffita discorrente sopra il portego maestro, et che guarda sopra Canal Grande con la metà, et parte de lumenal che guarda dalla parte de ponente sopra chà Baroci et chà Raines.”²⁷

- 16** 1582 (27 August) Michele Sumachi lists the following item among his taxable property:

“Una casa da statio, il soler di sopra nella contrà di San Moisè, in corte da Cha' Barozzi, non finita per fabricarla.”²⁸

- 17** 1582 (30 August) Francesco Barozzi q. Benedetto [q. Francesco], resident in the ward of S. Agostino, lists the following item among his

27. ASVe, ArchNot, Atti, b^a 7850 (not. Girolamo Luran), fols. 382v–384v. The sale price was 500 barrels of muscat, held in Candia by Corner and to be transported at his expense to Gravesend in England and sold there for Sumachi's account at the rate of 300 barrels in 1582 and 200 barrels in 1583. On 14 February 1583, when the first year's shipment remained partly unsold, the parties agreed to settle the balance due in cash, at the rate of 8 duc. 32 s. per barrel. At that rate, the price of the “primo soler” had been just over 6,500 duc.; see *ibid.*, fols. 382v–383v.

28. ASVe, SavDec, b^a 157 *bis* (“Redecima del 1581; notifiche di S. Marco”), no. 742.

29. ASVe, SavDec, b^a 166 (“Redecima 1581; notifiche di S. Polo”), no. 407. Parallel lists of taxable property presented by Francesco's

own taxable property and that of his widowed mother, Cecilia Contarini [widow of Benedetto Barozzi q. Francesco]:

“Una casa di statio con mezadi sul canal grando posta in contrà di S. Moisè in corte da Cha' Barozzi, qualle casa e in doi parte con il magnifico messer Andrea, mio fratello, et mai non è stata fittata, et galdemo ani sei per uno, e al presente è in decima ducati n^o diese, et in parte ducati n^o 5.”²⁹

- 18** 1587 (12 September) Michele Sumachi sells the following property to Marco Corner q. Andrea, guardian of his late brother Gerolamo's children:

“Il solaro di sopra della casa da statio del detto magnifico signor Michiel [Sumachi], fatta fabricar per lui istesso magnifico Sumachi, posta nel contra di San Moisè, sopra il Canal Grande. Et il solaro di sotto è di raggione della detta governason [. . .]. Et per il quale solaro di sopra si paga annualmente di livello perpetuo alli clarissimi messer Andrea et Francesco Baroci ducato uno.”³⁰

- 19** 1827 (5 March) Isacco and Jacopo Treves dei Bonfilii purchase Ca' Barozzi in its altered state.³¹

brother, Andrea, make no mention of the property's other half, presumably because it was not rented; *ibid.*, b^a 166 (“Redecima 1581; Aggiunte”), no. 1548, and b^a 177, no. 1730.

30. ASVe, ArchNot, Atti, b^a 7859 (not. Girolamo Luran), fols. 273v–275v. The contract specifies that the quay (*riva*) pertaining to the *soler di sopra* will remain available to the Raini family and their tenants. The sale price is fixed at 13,600 duc. Marco acted with the consent of his fellow guardians, Gerolamo's widow, Marieta, and sister-in-law, Cornelia, widow of Giorgio Corner.

31. *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, I: *Palazzi*, no. 69 (Fontana, *Cento palazzi*, 200; reprt., 130; *Venezia monumentale*, ed. Moretti, 290); Fapanni, “Palazzi,” fol. 13; Francesco Zanotto, in *Venezia e le sue lagune*, II, ii, 459. For the Treves brothers, see note 82 below.

(B) VISUAL SOURCES

- 1 1500 Ca' Barozzi seen from the southeast (i.e., the Grand Canal), being a detail of block C of Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut bird's-eye view of Venice.³² Fig. 126
- 2 1686 Ca' Barozzi seen from the southeast, as it appeared after rebuilding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, being a detail in the fourth plate (labeled "5") of an engraving in nine plates by Aniello Portio and Alessandro della Via, representing the regatta put on in 1685 for the visiting duke of Brunswick.³³ Fig. 127
- 3 1700 (26 March) Plans of the ground floor, first mezzanine, first floor, and attic of the eastern half of Ca' Barozzi, now owned by the Emo, as laid out since its rebuilding in the sixteenth century.³⁴ Four sheets assembled into a fascicule of superposed plans that show the successive floors from the ground floor up to the roof. The top and bottom sheets measure 303 × 212; those

in between, which have flaps glued here and there to show rooms that have been divided in two vertically, measure 303 × 198 and 303 × 156; pen and gray ink, some rooms washed in yellow. Titled on the top sheet "Ca' Emo." Unsigned and undated, but accompanied by a statement signed by Paolo Rossi and Antonio Bettinelli, "periti publici," and dated.³⁵ Fig. 128 (ground floor)

- 4 ca. 1709 Anonymous view of Ca' Barozzi as seen from rio Menuo, titled "Palazzo Barozzi Sul Rio di S. Mose'," published by Vincenzo Coronelli, *Singularità di Venezia*, II: *Palazzi di Venezia*, n.p. or d., but Venice, ca. 1709, unnumbered plate in the section "Sestiere di S. Marco." Etching and engraving.³⁶ Fig. 129
- 5 1730s Ca' Barozzi seen from the northeast, as it appeared after rebuilding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, being a detail in three paintings by Canaletto: (1) *Entrance to the Grand Canal: Looking West* (delivered 1730; Houston, Museum of Fine Arts); (2) *Entrance to the Grand*

32. Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View." This detail reappears, often much simplified, on the numerous views of Venice that are copies of Jacopo's, down to and including Giovanni Merlo's of 1660; cf. Schulz, "Printed Plans and Panoramic Views." None of them has evidentiary value for the history of the building.

33. The engraving as a whole (345 × 4250) shows Ca' Giustinian and Ca' Foscari on the south side of the Grand Canal, and all the buildings along the north side from Ca' Liberi at the Volta del Canal to rio di Castello. The building that was Ca' Barozzi is labeled "Palazzo di Ca' Emo." Published by Alberti, *Giuochi festivi e militari* (1686), unnumbered plate at the end of the volume (letters and numbers printed on the view refer to the text's description of the regatta); reissued separately by Vincenzo Coronelli, with successive dedications to various cardinals (Giacomo Boncompagno, Pietro Ottobon), and also with the dedication cartouche left blank in expectation of the next dedicatee. These later states survive both separately and as unnumbered plates bound into Coronelli's *Teatro delle città* (ca. 1697) and

Singularità di Venezia (ca. 1709). See further Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia*, nos. 1644, 4562; Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli*, nos. 54, 89; Cassini, *Piante e vedute*, no. 50 (illustrating an impression in which Ca' Barozzi is partially overlaid by the scene's next frame); *Venezia: Piante e vedute*, no. 51 (misdescribed as comprising eight plates).

34. For its rebuilding and initial sale to the Corner, see (A), nos. 14–16, 18. For its later acquisition by the Emo, see (C) below.

35. BMCVe, ms P.D. C-2663/iv, fols. 95 (the statement) and 96–99 (the drawings). As per their statement, the "periti" were submitting a scheme for division of this half of the building, requested by procurator Federigo Corner. As other documents in the manuscript above and in related manuscripts explain, for most of the seventeenth century the Corner had been (fruitlessly) pressing the Emo to return some part of the fabric's eastern half; see note 81 below.

36. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia*, no. 4539; Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli*, 176–77, no. 89.

Canal: Looking West (early 1730s; whereabouts unknown); and (3) *Entrance to the Grand Canal: Looking East* (dated 1744, but ca. 1738; Windsor Castle).³⁷ Figs. 130–31 (no. 1)

- 6 1740s Ca' Barozzi seen from the Grand Canal, as it appeared after rebuilding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, being a detail on the recto of a view, continuous over recto and verso, drawn by Canaletto: *Grand Canal: Buildings Opposite the Salute* (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia). Inscribed (recto), top, “fabriche entranti nela veduta della bocca del Canal della Salute in faccia detta chiesa / con altra che si trova da dietro questa carta come pure / si vedra dal scarabotto di deto sito,” and lower left, “Caseta che si attacca con quella che sono / a drio detto disegno” and “scuero”; (verso) from left to right, “Magazen S. Moisè,” “Casin bianco tregeto di S. / Moisè un remer,” and “caseta che e nel / disegno da dietro.” 110 × 194; pen and brown ink.³⁸ Fig. 132

- 7 1808–11 Site plan of Ca' Barozzi, being a detail of the plan of Venice at the scale 1:1,000,

37. Constable, *Canaletto*, II, cat. nos. 166, 167, and 174, respectively. A studio version of no. 167 is listed under no. 165; see also Links, *Supplement*, nos. 165 and 174. Michele Marieschi's elaboration of no. 174, *Entrance to the Grand Canal: Looking East* (ca. 1736–37; Paris, Louvre), formerly attributed to Canaletto, reproduces the buildings on the site of Ca' Barozzi at too small a scale to distinguish their exact features; cf. Constable, *Canaletto*, II, cat. no. 169; Toledano, *Michele Marieschi*, no. v.17, ²1995, no. v.23.

38. Constable, *Canaletto*, II, cat. no. 582, being a page from a disassembled sketchbook formerly owned by A. Viggiani. Ca' Barozzi is numbered “2” in a modern hand (recto, top right) and “6” by the draftsman (verso, center). Most of the depicted houses have been replaced: those on the recto, to the left of the site of Ca' Barozzi, by the Hotel Europa; those on the verso by the Hotel Regina.

39. ASVe, CatNap, Venezia, plate xx, plats 834, 835, 836. Reproduced in a reduced tracing by Pavanello, in *Catasti storici*, [38]. For the Napoleonic cadastre generally, see *Guida generale*, IV, 1070–73.

prepared for the so-called Napoleonic cadastre of Venice.³⁹

- 8 1828 Ca' Barozzi seen from the Grand Canal, as it appeared after a further rebuilding in the nineteenth century. Lithograph by Dionisio Moretti, being a detail of a continuous elevation of the building fronts along the Grand Canal.⁴⁰

(C) THE OWNERS

The Barozzi name does not appear on the lists of founding families compiled by early chroniclers of Venice, nor does it figure among the members and advisers of the government named in the earliest medieval acts.⁴¹ It is only encountered in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when various Barozzi begin to appear among the cosignatories of ducal acts. After institution of the *Communis Veneciarum*, sometime shortly before 1141, the name recurs regularly among the new government's officeholders, council members, and signatories of decrees.⁴² By the next century, the Duecento, family members are found in the ranks of the church.⁴³ At the same time, they now appear

40. Quadri and Moretti, *Canal Grande*, pl. 36 (from Palazzo Manolesso-Ferro to Ca' Emo ora Treves).

41. The acts and lists are analyzed by Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 17–39. During the central Middle Ages the name appears in three primary variants, each with subvariants: Bonusroçi, Bonusroci, Boniroçi, Bonroci, Bonroçi; Baroçio, Barocio, Barotio; Baroçi, Baroci, Barozzi. (For a possible fourth variant, see note 44 below.) Rösch regarded the first of these variants an error for Barozzi, while Monticolo called it the name of a distinct family that soon died out; see, respectively, Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 85, and Sanudo, *Vite dei dogi*, ed. Monticolo, 242 n. 2, and 249. Instead, it was but a primitive form of the name Barozzi; see the case of Vitale Barozzi illustrated in note 47 below.

42. Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 42 (n. 43), 67 (ducal era); 85, 92, 98, 99, 100, 103, 119 (n. 50), 122, 127 (communal era).

43. Two different individuals, both named Angelo, are recorded in the first half of the century; one as patriarch of Grado, the other as *plebanus* of S. Giovanni di Rialto. See, respectively, Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, v, cols. 1135–37, and Rigon, “Vescovi veneziani,” 48 n. 27.

repeatedly among the traders plying between Venice and the eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁴

Thus, whereas the Barozzi had not been part of the state's founding families, the tribunal or apostolic families as later chroniclers called them, by the central Middle Ages they had become partners in the ruling class and active participants in the enormously profitable import-export trade of Venice. It is now that the clan first appears in the ward of S. Moisè.⁴⁵ Two brothers, Domenico and Piero Barozzi, sons of Vitale Barozzi of Torcello, leased land there in 1164, on the eastern side of rio Menuo, proposing to build. The brothers had newly arrived from Torcello themselves,⁴⁶ and the whole clan may in fact have originated there.⁴⁷

In the second half of the twelfth century the given names of these various persons occur repeatedly among council members and officeholders of the commune.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the record is too fragmentary, and the contemporary homonymous individuals

are far too many, for one to reconstruct the relationships of these men. Bonds of some sort there must have been, since Ca' Barozzi, on the western side of rio Menuo, and the two settlements established by Piero and Domenico Barozzi were linked by a private bridge.

This fact is noticed in the earliest surviving description of the palace, a treaty of division of 1279.⁴⁹ Its actors were Tomasino Barozzi q. Giovanni and the sons of his late brother, Marino. Their progenitor, Giovanni, whose descent is not reported, may have been living in the parish of S. Moisè already in 1242, the date of a transaction conducted by a certain Giovanni Barozzi and his son Marino, both of S. Moisè. It is likely that the pair are the same persons as the individuals mentioned in the division of 1279.⁵⁰

Descendants of Giovanni's two sons held on to their halves of Ca' Barozzi into the 1330s, at which point the documentary record lapses for some eighty years. Tomasino's family seems to have acquired

44. Fifteen twelfth-century commercial contracts, executed by various Barozzi in Venice, Constantinople, and Corinth, are published in the collections of Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio* and *Nuovi documenti del commercio*, index, s.v. If Baruço is still another variant of the name, as the two editors seemed to believe, one can add two further charters, of 1072 and 1170, involving trades at Halmyros and Thebes in Greece.

45. A certain Tribuno Bonus Roci witnessed a deed there in 1158; see Coleti, *Monumenta*, 51.

46. For the leases (which specify the lessors' father), see Coleti, *Monumenta*, 53–55, 59–61. For the move to Venice, see Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio*, I, doc. no. 209 of 1168, whose actor, Guidoto Gradenigo, was the brothers' maternal uncle. From study of the history of the brothers' properties, which occupied the site of the modern Hotel Bauer-Grunwald, it emerges that this particular family was closely related to, but not identical with, the Barozzi of Crete, who for a time held dominion in the Dodecanese Islands. The latter's origins remain unknown, despite a study of their genealogy by Hopf, "Veneto-byzantinische Analekten," 383–97 (separately, 19–33). Hopf's genealogies, however, have in general been shown to be a stew of facts, errors, and fabrications; cf. Loenertz, *Ghisi*, especially the corrections to Hopf's account of the Ghisi in chapter 1, aptly titled "Exposé historique." It is unfortunate, therefore, that Hopf's account serves as the basis for the entries on the Barozzi of Crete in *DBI*, VI (1964).

47. A namesake of the brothers' father, one Vitale Barozzi, son of a Domenico and resident in Torcello, is named three times between 1121 and 1152 (each time with a different form to his last name—Baroci, Barocio, and Bonusroci—although manifestly the same individual is meant); see *Famiglia Zusto*, nos. 8, 17, 21. A Tribuno Baroçi of Torcello is recorded as deceased in 1154; ASVe, MensPat, b^a 19, item H-6. A Radoan Baroci of Torcello is recorded in 1168 as a business partner of Guidoto Gradenigo (for whom, see the previous note); Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio*, I, doc. no. 192.

48. One Tribuno Barozi lent 95⁷/₈ marks of silver to the commune in 1164; a certain Piero and a Domenego cosigned, in 1163, the appointment of a new duke of Veglia; a Domenego twice signed himself "iudex" in 1168 (with a Piero present on one occasion as witness); a Vidal functioned as communal treasurer in 1178 and 1188. See, respectively, Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, no. 1; *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, I, 241, no. 7; *S. Giovanni Ev[angelista]*, no. 53; *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, III, doc. no. 318; and Rösche, *Venezianische Adel*, 98–99.

49. See (A), no. 1.

50. See Schulz, "Ca' da Mosto," 72. Fontana offered a hopelessly muddled account of the family, mixing together several strains of Barozzi that were all domiciled in the ward of S. Moisè; *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, I: *Palazzi*, no. 69 (Fontana, *Cento palazzi*, 199–200; reprt. 129–30; *Venezia monumentale*, ed. Moretti, 289–90). For the individuals mentioned in the division and their issue, so far as it can be traced, see Genealogical Table A.

interests in Crete; a son and a grandson of his are recorded several times in Candia (modern Heraklion), although they continued to declare themselves domiciled in the ward of S. Moisè⁵¹ and were still owners of portions of Ca' Barozzi.

Marino's family foundered calamitously in its third generation. Of his three sons, actors in the division, Filippo died childless in a Genoese prison during the second Genoese War.⁵² Pancrazio and Jacopo raised families and followed the typical twin careers of Venetian patricians, dividing their time between business and government service.⁵³ The more successful seems to have been Jacopo, who acquired a certain status in Padua—presumably as a landowner in the province—marrying a daughter to a cousin of the lord of Padua, obtaining a canonry at the cathedral there

51. Tomasino's son Angelo indited his testament in Candia in 1305, but described himself as domiciled in S. Moisè. Thus the sentence of 4 February 1312 on behalf of his estate and against the widow Filippa Barozzi, cited in note 2 above. Tomasino's son Marino declared himself domiciled in S. Moisè, but acted in Candia, when he nominated an attorney in 1330 to represent him in new litigation with Filippa, and was called a resident of Candia when the matter came to trial in 1332; see (A), no. 3, and notes 11 and 15 above.

52. So fellow prisoners deposed on 26 September 1299, in a proceeding concerning a debt; ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, *Misti*, b^a 148 (Tomasino Barozzi), loose charter.

53. Pancrazio Barozzi is named frequently during the 1290s and the first decade of the new century as member of the *Maggior Consiglio* for the *sestiere* of S. Marco, *iudex examinatum* and *vicedominus* of Ferrara. Although there may have been more than one individual of that name, some of the references no doubt concern Marino's son. See *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, I, 337, 357; III, 305, 453; *Libri commemoriali*, I, 28. By November 1314 he had died; see (A), no. 3. Similarly, Jacopo's name is repeatedly found among those of members of the *Consiglio Maggiore*, also for the *sestiere* of S. Marco, between 1275 and 1295, while his private papers attest two business trips in 1285. See *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, I, 257, 301, 308, 312, 319, 337, 353; ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, de Citra, b^a 251 (Giacomo Barozzi q. Marco da S. Moysè [sic]), fasc. 2, fols. 1r–v; and *ibid.*, *Misti*, b^a 315, loose charter of 25 June 1311.

54. There is no basis for the notion that the Barozzi originated in Padua, for which, see Tassini, *Curiosità*, 60. Jacopo's daughter, Cecilia, married as her second husband Nicolò da Carrara, cousin and sometime rival of the ruler Marsilio da Carrara; see ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, *Misti*, b^a 141 (Cecilia Barozzi), loose charter of 19 October

for one of his sons, and maintaining a residence in the cathedral ward.⁵⁴

It was these sons who were the ruin of Jacopo's line. There were four of them: Nicolò, Cataldo, Marino, and Jacobino (called in Venetian *Giacomino*).⁵⁵ Nicolò may have been the man by that name who in 1310 joined in the so-called Conspiracy of Baiamonte Tiepolo to overthrow the government of doge Pietro Gradenigo.⁵⁶ If so, he was one of those conspirators who were banished after the conspiracy failed, of whom many continued to intrigue against the government from afar. Some years later, in 1328, one Nicolò, certainly a son of Jacopo, his three brothers, and three members of the Querini family were accused of fomenting a new rebellion.⁵⁷ Nicolò's brothers were seized immediately, interrogated under

1341. For the canon (*Giacomino*), see Commie, de Citra, b^a 251 (*Giacomo Barozzi q. Marco [sic] da S. Moysè*), loose charter of 2 March 1307, and fasc. 2, fol. 2r (*Giacomino* later married and must have resigned his office). From the act it is clear that the father, Jacopo, owned his Paduan residence; indeed, it is where he indited his testament that same year, a copy of which, dated 18 August 1309, survives as a loose charter, *ibid.*

55. Nicolò's nickname is given by some sources as *Magnus*, and others as *Magrus*.

56. Although named for Tiepolo, the rebellion was in fact instigated by the Querini "de domo maiori." Among the rebels was a certain Nicolò Barozzi, named without patronymic in the description of the affair that the doge sent on 27 May 1311 to the *baillò* of Ayas and the castellans of Coron and Modon; see Dandolo, *Chronica*, 380–81. (The report also names a certain Thodesco Barozzi q. Marco, otherwise unknown, who was conflated by later chroniclers with the Nicolò Barozzi named by the doge, becoming Nicolò Barozzi Todesco, banished to Rimini for four years for his treason; cf. Benintendi de' Ravegnani, as quoted in Barbaro, "Famiglie nobili venete," I, fol. 51r, and Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, 278.) The surviving Barozzi papers attest minor contacts between the Barozzi and the Querini "de domo maiori." Jacopo Querini "de domo maiori" had been a fellow prisoner in Genoa with Jacopo Barozzi's brother Filippo, according to depositions of 1299, for which, see note 52 above. Jacopo Barozzi himself recognized a debt of 30 s. *grossorum* to Giovannino Querini "de domo maiori" in his testament of 1307, for which, see note 54 above. In short, it is likely that the Nicolò who conspired in 1310 is the same as the Nicolò whose story is about to be told.

57. First taken up on 25 November 1328, this new conspiracy occupied the Council of Ten through the summer of 1329; *Consiglio*

torture by the Council of Ten, and deprived of their property. Within days, Giacomino and Marino were executed.⁵⁸ Cataldo was imprisoned for life because he had known of the conspiracy and not warned the authorities. However, his property, which had also been seized, was returned.⁵⁹ Nicolò, who could not be found, was hunted, with a price upon his head, and after 1329 is not heard of again.⁶⁰ Of the four

brothers, only Giacomino seems to have had sons, for a special decree was issued ordering his male issue banished in perpetuity.⁶¹

In the aftermath of the Conspiracy of Baiamonte Tiepolo, the republic had executed symbolic vengeance against the palaces of the leading conspirators. That of Baiamonte Tiepolo was razed.⁶² Two thirds of the Querini palace at Rialto, which had belonged to

dei Dieci: Deliberazioni miste, II, reg^o III, nos. 261–511, passim. The suspected Querini were Maffeo q. Piero (called Nani), Andriolo, and Giacomino. No patronymics are given for them, or for the accused Barozzi brothers, but the latter were clearly identified in 1349, when the Ten spoke of them as sons of the late Jacopo Barozzi; cf. Fulin, “Inquisitori,” 30 n. 2.

58. Although beheaded as traitors, they seem nonetheless to have been buried in hallowed ground. Testating in Venice on 1 May 1361, their sister Cecilia ordered that she be buried “apud locum Sancti Iohannis et Pauli fratrum predicatorum, ubi sepeliti fuerunt fratres, soror et filii mei”; ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, *Misti*, b^a 141 (Cecilia Barozzi), loose charter under date. Only one of her brothers escaped the vengeance of the Ten, so if brothers in the plural were buried in the chapel, they must have included one or more of those condemned. On the other hand, the only chapel in the church patronized by the Barozzi (to the right of the high altar, called the chapel of the Magdalen today) contains but one tomb, for a Marino Barozzi of unknown descent (ob. 1340), plus a cenotaph for his son Giovannino (ob. 1362), residents during their lifetimes of the ward of S. Moisè. (The inscriptions, now almost totally effaced, are preserved among the papers of Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna; BMCVe, MS Cicogna 2011, fol. 12r, no. 128.) No other Barozzi inscriptions within SS. Giovanni e Paolo were found by Cicogna or the sixteenth-century collector of the church’s inscriptions, Marc’Antonio Luciani (his sylloge is at BMCVe, MS Cicogna 1976). Thus, Cecilia’s brothers’ tombs may have been left unmarked.

59. For his punishment, see Benintendi de’ Ravagnani and Lorenzo, as cited in note 56 above. For his property, see *Consiglio dei Dieci: Deliberazioni miste*, II, reg^o III, no. 473. A proposal to order a month’s solitary confinement on bread and water was not brought to a vote; *ibid.*, no. 511.

60. The council offered a reward of £200 for his capture or £100 for his assassination; *Consiglio dei Dieci: Deliberazioni miste*, II, reg^o III, nos. 339, 360, 361, 402, 403. Nicolò continued to conspire in the summer of 1329, albeit from a distance; *ibid.*, nos. 482, 483. The fact that his name thereafter disappears from the record suggests that the council’s reward had its desired effect and that he was either killed or forced to eclipse himself. The Ten still dogged the Barozzi’s footsteps for another twenty years. Thus, in 1349 they declared forfeit to the state property (undescribed) then in possession of the sister, Cecilia.

She had claimed right to it by virtue of the testament of her late uncle, Filippo, brother of the conspirators’ father, Jacopo. The council held this to be unacceptable, sentencing that “que quidem bona applicata sunt comuni venetiarum, occasione heredum condam Iacobi Barocio supradicti, qui damnati fuerunt per istud Consilium”; Fulin, “Inquisitori,” 30 n. 2. Although seldom mentioned in chronicles, the Barozzi conspiracy was long remembered by the city’s common folk. Thus, in 1350, during the third Genoese War, the hapless wife of a husband impressed into the Venetian militia was summoned before the Ten for having wished that those who had caused the impressment might end like “illi de cha barocio”; cited in Ruggiero, *Violence*, 97 (in the translation, *Patrizi e malfattori*, 208). In the nineteenth century the affair was rediscovered and became the subject of a turgid three-decker romance; Giulio Pullé, *Alba Barozzi ovvero una congiura sotto il doge Piero Gradenigo*, Venice, 1846.

61. *Consiglio dei Dieci: Deliberazioni miste*, II, reg^o III, no. 395. His sons’ names are unknown. The fate of his widow, whose name is given once as Beruça, but mostly as Betha, is extremely interesting. By an order of 8 March 1320, the Ten ordered her dowry restored; *ibid.*, reg^o III, no. 413. Soon after that, she laid claim to a minor portion of the “Ca’ Grande,” part of her late father-in-law’s estate, doing so presumably in execution of her restored dowry rights. Filippa, her former mother-in-law, protested the claim in June 1329; the spaces claimed had been previously invested, in fact, by Filippa, in 1314 (cf. [A], no. 3, which concerns the very same spaces, described in the exact same language). The case was heard in early 1332; ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, *Misti, Miscellanea pergamene*, b^a 6, loose charter under date 3 February 1331 *m. V*. From the court’s judgment we learn that Betha had already remarried in 1329. Having been married to a patrician, she was presumably of patrician descent herself, but her new husband was a baker: “Petrus pistor de confinio Sancti Hieremie.” The litigation testifies to her *déclassement* in still another way. Namely, she made no effort to defend her claim against Filippa’s protest, whether in person or through an attorney, and lost the case by default. No doubt her dowry was made good in the end, but she will have had to content herself with some rental property, bonds, or cash, rather than an interest in the ancestral seat of the Barozzi.

62. Lazzarini, “La casa e la colonna,” 34–35. In 1364 a marker was set on the site (not 1310, as believed by Stussi, *Epigrafe veneziana*).

the two Querini leaders of that rebellion, were wasted. Later the state bought up the remaining third and converted the whole into the city's principal slaughterhouse and meat market.⁶³ Ca' Barozzi might have suffered wasting too, at least in part, except that proprietary interests in the building were so intermingled as to make it impossible to isolate the rebellious brothers' part from the rest.⁶⁴ The palace survived their misdeeds unscathed and appears in Jacopo de' Barbari's view of 1500 as manifestly the same building described in the documents of 1279–1332 (Fig. 126).

Whether through the ruin of Jacopo's family or

63. Fulin, "Casa Grande." See also Cessi and Alberti, *Rialto*, 37, 40. The importance attached to this symbolically pregnant conversion may be gathered from the fact that, when lacking ready cash to pay for the purchase, the government raised the needed sum by pawning its ceremonial silver trumpets.

64. The building's eastern half had been awarded to Tomasino in 1279 and parceled out between his three great-grandsons in 1323. The western half, awarded jointly to the conspirator's father and the latter's two brothers, was now owned by the conspirator's widowed mother, Filippa, their imprisoned brother, Cataldo, and the two sons of their father's brother Pancrazio. (Any interest in the building held by Filippo, another of the father's brothers, must have reverted to the latter's siblings when he died without heirs; cf. note 52 above.) A mistaken tradition that a Barozzi house on the east corner of rio Menuo and the Grand Canal was razed in punishment for the family's participation in the Tiepolo conspiracy has led to confused claims that the Barozzi palace on the west corner, the subject of this appendix, was the building wasted; see Gallicciolli, *Memorie venete antiche*, 1, 195, § 218 (allegedly from an unidentified chronicle), corrected by Tassini, *Curiosità*, 60.

65. I shall call him Stefano [I], to distinguish him from a later namesake. He was son of a certain Giovanni. Many Barozzi and their properties are attested in the ward of S. Moisè during the later fourteenth century, but I have not been able to identify among them individuals who unequivocally link Stefano with the Barozzi of the Duecento and early Trecento, or to spot a building that is clearly Ca' Barozzi. Litigation that engulfed the palace much later, in the Cinquecento, makes clear, however, that in his day Stefano il Vecchio was sole owner of the entire palace. Otherwise, little is known of him. He may be the Stefano Barozzi, resident in the parish of S. Moisè, whose worth was rated at £2,000 "d'estimo" (equal to ducats) in the property assessment (*estimo*) of 1379; Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, doc. no. 165 (p. 153). For the value of the £ "d'estimo," see Mueller, *Venetian Money Market*, 610–17. This would mark him as a man of middling wealth, since roughly a third of the assessments exceed £3,000 and roughly a third fall short of £1,000; see Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, cxliv. He may also have been

through some other means, the divided title to Ca' Barozzi was eventually made whole again. Throughout the fifteenth century the building was the common property of one family, descended from a certain Stefano Barozzi q. Giovanni—"Stefano il Vecchio," as the sources style him.⁶⁵ Stefano had placed a strict entail on the complex in his testament of 1415, leaving it to his son Antonio and the latter's male descendants.⁶⁶ This earned Antonio in later genealogical compilations the sobriquet "Antonio della Ca' Grande."⁶⁷ First Antonio, then his two sons, Alvise and Benedetto, then their offspring,⁶⁸ enjoyed use of

the Stefano Barozzi who endowed an altar in S. Moisè in 1390; Coleti, *Monumenta*, 132.

66. See (A), no. 4. For Stefano, Antonio, and their issue, see Genealogical Table B.

67. Priuli, "Preziosi frutti," 1, fol. 79v, and Cappellari Vivaro, "Campidoglio veneto," 1, fol. 119v. Modern authors have accordingly styled the palace "Ca' Grande dei Barozzi." However, *ca' grande* and its Latin equivalents, *domus maior* and *domus magna*, are generic terms, used routinely for a family seat, of which there were many dozens in Venice. The seeming distinctiveness of the title conventionally given to the present building is bogus.

68. Each son begat a family line of his own. However, I have not found any fifteenth-century papers from Alvise's line of the family. In 1513, this was represented by a solitary male, Francesco q. Benedetto Barozzi, who, as emerges from the tale that follows, had use of the property's western half. The other line, descended from Antonio's son Benedetto (not the same man as he who begat Francesco), can be traced generation by generation. Benedetto q. Antonio was succeeded by his son Piero, the latter by his son Matteo, and the last by a cousin, confusingly named Benedetto too, but descended from a brother of Piero's (namely, Stefano q. Benedetto q. Antonio). These men enjoyed use of the property's eastern half. Their order of succession can be reconstructed from testaments, court orders, writings by Sanudo, and the litigation that engulfed the building in 1513. For the testaments, see ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, de Citra, b^a 152 (Benedetto Barozzi di Antonio), the first Benedetto's testament of 29 April 1425; *ibid.*, CanInf, Notai, b^a 175 (not. Iohannes Rizo), *protocollo*, fols. 16r–v, his son Piero's testament of 27 October 1461, published 26 January 1463. Succession to the childless Matteo's interest by Benedetto Barozzi q. Stefano q. Benedetto q. Antonio was ordered in 1501; ASVe, GiudP, *Sentenze a legge*, b^a 18, fols. 99r–100r. Sanudo contributes to the record by noting important guests of the palace when Matteo Barozzi owned it: Philippe de Commines in 1495, a Turkish ambassador to the emperor in 1497, and Nicolò da Correggio in 1499; see Sanudo, *Spedizione*, 651; *idem*, *Diarii*, 1, col. 641; II, col. 389.

the palace. At the end of 1512 or beginning of 1513, however, Benedetto's last male descendant died and the latter's only child too. By the terms of Stefano Barozzi's entail, the rights of the deceased were now to revert to the senior male in the line descending from Antonio's other son, Alvise. He was Francesco q. Benedetto q. Alvise, resident in the building's western half. In early April 1513 Francesco did obtain official recognition of his succession to the deceased individuals' rights in the opposite half of Ca' Barozzi.⁶⁹ Yet, he enjoyed possession of the entire building no more than six weeks. On 30 May 1513 he was defrauded of the newly inherited eastern half by a resourceful and unscrupulous relation, Jacopo Pizamano.

Pizamano had married, one after the other, Francesco's second cousins, Anna and Chiara Barozzi.⁷⁰ As part of her marriage portion, Anna had brought some outlying part of the Barozzi complex.⁷¹ In 1504, when Pizamano was newly married to Chiara, the wife of the cousins' brother Benedetto died. Pizamano now moved, in Chiara's name, to obtain succession to the deceased woman's dowry and took over some more Barozzi property in execution of the award.⁷² And when, in 1513, Benedetto himself, together with his only child, died, Pizamano obtained succession for

Chiara to both of their estates, including the brother's rights in Ca' Barozzi, by falsely swearing that the two had died intestate.⁷³

Francesco Barozzi promptly sued, adducing the entail of Stefano "il Vecchio." He lost.⁷⁴ For almost thirty years the Pizamano were left in possession of Ca' Barozzi's eastern half, until, in 1540, the truth came out.⁷⁵ By now all the actors in the affair were dead, but Francesco Barozzi's three sons were immediately ordered reinstated in enjoyment of the property. They also successfully sued the pious institutions to whom the Pizamano had left some of their ill-gotten properties, as well as the Pizamano themselves, seeking repayment of their patrimony's illegally diverted usufruct.⁷⁶

Yet, what the Barozzi got back was not what they had lost, for the Pizamano had begun rebuilding the portion of Ca' Barozzi they controlled.⁷⁷ Francesco's sons Benedetto and Antonio divided a large part of the reintegrated property between themselves in 1566, in this way splitting it anew into two properties,⁷⁸ but they did not hold on to it for long: in 1580 the owner of the repossessed and partially rebuilt eastern half was a speculator from Zante, Michele Sumachi, and he was making arrangements to complete repairs.⁷⁹ Two years

69. See (A), no. 5. Francesco had been residing in the building from at least 1508; see ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, de Citra, b^a 152 (Benedetto Barozzi di Antonio), *quaderno*, fol. 1v.

70. The sisters were descendants in the line of Benedetto q. Antonio "della Ca' Grande." Pizamano married Anna in 1497; Barbaro, "Arbori dei patrizi veneti," vi, fol. 149 (s.v. Giacomo Pizamano q. Fantin). Pizamano's second marriage, to Chiara, escaped the notice of Barbaro and other genealogists but is abundantly proved by the papers cited here. Its date is unrecorded, but it must have taken place between 1502, when Anna was still alive, and 1504, when he was already wedded to Chiara; see the next two notes.

71. When another party was invested with some tenements in what is now ramo di calle dela Greca, on 14 January 1502, they were described as bounded on one side by a "proprietas data in solutum donne Anne Barozio, consorte <di> ser Jacobi Pizimano, que fuit de Cha' Barozzi"; ASVe, GiudEs, *Investizioni*, b^a 10, fols. 7v–9r.

72. The deceased wife was Dorothea Colleoni, illegitimate daughter of the *condottiere* Bartolomeo Colleoni. On 19 July 1504

Dorothea's dowry was awarded to Chiara Barozzi, wife of Jacopo Pizamano, who thereupon invested property of her family in satisfaction of the award, as noted in a sentence of 1513, for which, see (A), no. 6. (Investitures of 1504 are largely lost, and I have not been able to determine what part of the Barozzi patrimony Pizamano now appropriated.)

73. The child was a daughter, Regina; see (A), no. 6.

74. See (A), no. 7.

75. See (A), no. 10.

76. See (A), nos. 10–11.

77. The palace was apparently in poor condition, and an impending renovation by Jacopo Pizamano was bruited as early as 1518. Cf. (A), nos. 8–9.

78. See (A), no. 13.

79. See (A), no. 14. This act and no. 15 (see notes 26 and 27 above) identify Sumachi as son of "ser Zorzi nobile del Zante." The fact that he quickly repaired and resold the property suggests that he had bought it on speculation. In fact, somewhat later he was investing

later Sumachi sold the now finished ground and first floors to Gerolamo Corner q. Andrea, and in 1587, when Corner had already died, Sumachi sold the newly completed second floor to Gerolamo's estate.⁸⁰

Again separated from the western half, the east side soon passed to the two daughters of Gerolamo Corner q. Andrea, each of whom brought into marriage her portion of it as part of her dowry. In the seventeenth century one of the women bequeathed her portion to the other, and the two parts were reunited in the ownership of the inheriting survivor, who was married to an Emo.⁸¹ Refaced to assume the Baroque appearance it exhibits still today, the entire eastern half remained an Emo property until its sale in 1827. It was bought by the Treves dei Bonfili of Padua, a family of wealthy investors in the new industries of northeast Italy.⁸²

in even riskier ventures. During 1592–95 Sumachi appears on the Venetian insurance market thirty-eight times as an underwriter; Tenenti, *Naufraques*, 7–9. According to Gigi Corazzol of the University of Venice (oral communication), Sumachi also took on numerous *livelli* during these same years. How it happened that ownership passed to such a person from Antonio Barozzi, and how the latter made good to the estate of Stefano [I] the alienation of half of the entailed palace, I do not know.

80. See (A), nos. 16 and 18.

81. The sisters had divided the building in 1599, but in 1632 one of them, Marietta Corner, widow of Francesco Michiel, bequeathed her half to the other, Cornelia, wife of Giorgio Emo. Although repeatedly challenged by the Corner, the Emo continued to hang on to Marietta's half, and thus all of the eastern half, until its sale to the Treves dei Bonfili, for which, see (A), no. 19. For the Emo years, see BMCVe, MSS P.D., ser. C, 2206/II, IV, VI; 2660/VII, VIII; 2661/II, IV, V; 2662/I, III, VI, VIII, X; 2663/III, IV, VI, VII; 2664/II, III, IV; and 2743/I. Floor plans of the building's eastern half in the days of the Emo (i.e., in 1700) are catalogued above, (B), no. 3.

82. The buyers were Baron Jacopo Treves and his brother Isacco; see *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, I: *Palazzi*, no. 69 (Fontana, *Cento palazzi*, 200–201; reprint., 129–32; *Venezia monumentale*, ed. Moretti, 289–91). Founder of the family fortune and baronetcy was their father, Giuseppe, who received his title from Napoleon in 1812. See Coen, *Omaggio*; Crollanza, *Dizionario*, III, 42–43; Rigobon, *Eletti*, 232–33; Spreti, *Enciclopedia*, IV, 705–6; Zorzi, *Venezia austriaca*; and (for the identity of the buyers' father) ASVe, CatAust, *Estratti catastali*, "Venezia, San Marco," b^a 2 (letters H–Z), s.v. "T."

As for the western half, as far back as 1544 a piece of land adjacent to, but set back from, Ca' Barozzi on the west had been acquired by two brothers of the Raini family, recently arrived in Venice from Faenza. They are recorded that year as preparing to erect on their plot a separate habitation,⁸³ while around the same time the Barozzi themselves added a second small building in front of the Raini plot, on the Grand Canal.⁸⁴

Owners of the west side at the time were the sons and grandsons of Francesco Barozzi q. Benedetto—the individual who had lost control of the palace's eastern side in 1513. It may be they who oversaw this reshaping of the site, or it may have been their children. The fact is, there were so many Barozzi living in the area, owning so many properties that are so poorly described, that I have been unable to trace the

83. The land had become available as a result of relocation westward of the *calle* previously adjacent to the palace; cf. (D) below. For the construction, see (A), no. 12. The two intending builders, Andrea and Jacopo Raini, were brothers, as stated in the latter's testament of 1556; see ASVe, ArchNot, Testamenti, b^a 939 (not. Bonifazio Soliano). Jacopo ordered that his children live in the "soler di sopra," and his brother (appointed one of the *commissari*) "da basso nel primo soler." Thus, their building had two residential floors. Testaments of other members of the family show that they came from Faenza, where relations continued to live; cf. *ibid.*, b^a 125 (not. Francesco Bianco), no. 318 (Francesco Maria da Faenza; 31 January 1531), and b^a 164 (not. Giovanni Battista Bazon), no. 498 (Zuanne di Raynis da faenza; 1 December 1566). By 1566 the "soler di sopra" had passed into the possession of a certain Jacopo Diedo, while the "primo soler" remained Jacopo Raini's; see the Barozzi division of 1566, (A), no. 13. This document's description of the palace's boundaries places the Raini/Diedo house along the lateral *calle* on the west. It shows up as a separate plot on the Napoleonic cadastre; cf. (B), no. 5, and—for the pertinent register—ASVe, CatNap, *Sommazioni*, "Venezia," reg^o 1 ("Sestiere di S. Marco"), plat 835 (here listed as owned by the Tiepolo next door). The Raini later also had title to a magazine fronting on the Grand Canal, which they must have acquired after building their house; see (A), no. 13.

84. Both buildings appear on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century views; see (B), nos. 2, 5–6, and Figs. 127, 130–32. Further particulars are given in (D) below.

transmission of ownership, let alone find documents of construction. What I have determined is that the two parcels that henceforth constituted this half of the site were also acquired in the nineteenth century by the Treves dei Bonfili, those who had bought the eastern half from the Emo.⁸⁵ By so doing they re-created a unitary property, albeit one in which only fragments of the medieval Ca' Barozzi survived, hidden from view among and beneath the pile of new construction that they and previous owners added.

(D) THE BUILDING

Although no early plans of Ca' Barozzi are known, its eastern and southern elevations and its roofs are depicted in great detail by Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice (Fig. 126),⁸⁶ while descriptions in early charters record many particulars of the internal layout. Taken together, the sources are sufficient to understand the arrangement of floors and rooms, to visualize the

Grand Canal façade, and to distinguish two phases of construction.

As defined in the patrimonial division of 1279, the entire property was bounded on the north (at the top in Jacopo's view) by a property of the estate of Marino Ghisi, on the west by a *calle* shared with a property of Marco de Lia, on the south by the Grand Canal, and on the east by rio Menuo.⁸⁷ Waterways have not moved, so that the southern and eastern boundaries are easily found. The other boundaries have to be reconstructed. That with the Ghisi estate lay at the edge of a *via* leading to rio Menuo and a family-owned bridge across the latter, both mentioned by the division. Only the bridge is visible on Jacopo de' Barbari's view, but the alley that led to the bridge still survives today under the name *calle al Ponte Barozzi*.⁸⁸ It marks the northern edge of the palace's court. Existence of a *calle* on the western side, shared by the de Lia, is confirmed by a description of the de Lia property.⁸⁹ Thus, the dimensions of the property as a whole were 25.6 meters at the southern end,

85. Baron Jacopo and his brother Isaaco Treves are named owners of this side of the site in the property cadastre of 1838–42; ASVe, CatAust, *Sommarioni*, “Venezia,” reg^o 1 (“Sestiere di S. Marco”), 239, plat nos. 3107–3108–3109, owned by “T” (signifying Treves; see the *Estratti catastali* cited note 82 above). Nineteenth-century antiquarians wrote of the Treves palace as if it had been bought, restructured and renovated, and redeccorated in its entirety in 1827, which seems implausibly quick and simple; see *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, 1: *Palazzi*, as cited note 82 above, and Tassini, *Curiosità*, s.v. “Barozzi.”

86. See (B), no. 1.

87. See (A), no. 1.

88. Two property deeds confirm the boundary with the Ghisi—namely, the sale in 1290 of two *domus de segentibus* to Jacopo and Pancrazio Barozzi of S. Moisè by their paternal aunt, Fontana Barozzi of the same ward, and transfer of the Ghisi's palace in 1325 from the *commissaria* of the late Geremia Ghisi q. Marino to his brother, Bartolomeo, nicknamed Furlano; see, respectively, ASVe, Monastero di S. Maria della Carità, *Appendice*, b^a 3, loose charter of 16 June 1295, and *ibid.*, ProcSMco, *Commie*, de Citra, b^a 167 (“Heremia Ghisi”), loose charter of 12 September 1325. (The named brothers are nos. 22 and 28 respectively in the genealogy of the Ghisi of S. Geremia reconstructed by Leonertz, *Les Ghisi*, 362–71 and 469.) Their *domus magna* must have been the strikingly handsome Romanesque palace (demolished in

1843 to make way for the *calle larga xxii Marzo*) whose roof and exterior stairs appear just above Ca' Barozzi in Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice (see Fig. 126). Often called Ca' Giustinian, after its eighteenth-century owners, it is mistakenly called Ca' Barozzi by Rizzi, *Scultura esterna*, 611, no. 41. As for the *ponte Barozzi*, lazy map makers continue to show it on plans of Venice, but it was demolished during the 1940s, when the Hotel Bauer-Grunwald was extended across the bridge's eastern abutment and leg of the *calle*.

89. See the award of 20 October 1386 of tenements in the “curia Da Lia” to Beria, widow of Martino Morosini, a complex of tenements whose eastern boundary is an alley shared with Ca' Barozzi; ASVe, ProcSMco, *Commie*, *Misti*, b^a 311, loose charter under date. In Jacopo's woodcut, the alley is hidden amidst a jumble of buildings and its access to the Grand Canal is blocked by two sheds, one behind the other. It must have been an extension of the present-day *calle de la Grega* and made a dogleg turn around the westward extension of Ca' Barozzi's courtyard (marked in the woodcut by tree tops) to continue alongside Ca' Barozzi. It still exists, but has recently been closed with gates by the owners of Albergo Europa, which stands on the site of the De Lia court. In the foregoing account I have chosen to spell the ancient owners' name “De Lia,” but the documents offer a bewildering variety of spellings—Da Lia, Dalia, De Lia, Delia, and de 'lia—and since the family is long extinct, there is no telling which form is best.

a little wider at the northern end, and ca. 82.35 meters deep (from the Grand Canal to the calle al Ponte Barozzi). Ca' Barozzi itself, that is, the palace, must have been ca. 25½ meters wide and equally deep, for a total area of just over 650 square meters.⁹⁰ It was a relatively small building, despite its impressive bulk in Jacopo's view.

Appurtenances of this property included a tract of undeveloped land and a boat landing on the Grand Canal, another boat landing on rio Menuo, and the already mentioned bridge across the rio, which was common to the several Barozzi families that lived on the two sides of rio Menuo.⁹¹ On the north lay a courtyard containing a well (and, necessarily, a cistern). Two blocks of tenements stood in the court, alongside the *rio*.⁹² One stood by the palace, the other further north, ending on calle al Ponte Barozzi. Both were in the process of being developed: one was shorter than the other, but had license to be made equally long; both had license to be raised by construction of an overhanging upper floor on arches

90. These dimensions are the average of dimensions read off modern, measured plans of the Treves dei Bonfili palace and the two editions of the aerial photographs of Venice taken in 1984 (*Venezia forma urbis* and *Atlante*, pl. 125). The map accompanying the Napoleonic property cadastre of 1808–11 understates the depth of the site by some twenty meters. I have assumed that the vacant land shown in Jacopo's view between the palace and the Grand Canal extended for about a third of the total distance from the canal to corte Barozzi (39.25 m), as shown in his view.

91. Two other families of the clan lived across the *rio*, where the Hotel Bauer-Grunwald stands today. All of the features listed in my account are mentioned in (A), nos. 2 and 3.

92. The fourteenth-century charters call them "cassi domorum de segentibus." Whereas on the mainland the term *cassus* seems to have meant just a room or section of a housing block, here it is a synonym for a whole row, or *nuga*, of tenements. For the mainland, see Gloria, *Della agricoltura*, I, cix (a document of 1100); Lo Mastro, *Spazio urbano*, 37–38 (1262); and, clearest of all, Zorzi, *Ville*, 206, col. 1 (1554). For Ca' Barozzi see (A), no. 3, where the terms *cassus* and *nuga* are interchangeable. The *cassi* of Ca' Barozzi are cited (albeit with a mistaken location), and further examples of the locution adduced, by Dorigo, "Exigentes, sigentes, sezentas, sergentes," 36 n. 27.

93. In 1376, these stairs had a *coopertura*; ASVe, Monastero di S. Maria della Carità, *Appendice*, b^a 3, loose charter of 12 January 1376.

or columns stood in the courtyard. (By 1500, when depicted by Jacopo, both had an upper floor.)

Other of the palace's appurtenances included an exterior masonry stairway on the west side of the courtyard, from which one could enter the building's first floor.⁹³ Leant up against the stairs and the palace was a small wooden house.⁹⁴ Another one-storey house stood on the shelf of land toward the Grand Canal, butted against the left corner of the main building's façade.⁹⁵ By 1500, the date of Jacopo's print, that house had been heightened by one and a half storeys and given Gothic windows. It was manifestly an addition to the original palace, as was another feature visible in the woodcut, the penthouse atop the roof on the side toward rio Menuo.⁹⁶

Inside the palace proper there was a multiplicity of halls, extending both north-south, down the middle of the building, and east-west, across its width. Halls down the middle existed downstairs and upstairs.⁹⁷ Halls across the width were located on the first floor at both ends of the building⁹⁸—one overlooking

The word suggests a roof like that over the stairs of Ca' Ghisi (visible just above Ca' Barozzi in Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut; Fig. 126), whether original or added the document does not say.

94. That it was wooden emerges from (A), no. 2, where license is given to rebuild it in masonry, provided it not be raised in height.

95. For its height, see (A), no. 2. A direct link between it and the palace's first floor is nevertheless implied when no. 2 defines the house's boundaries; for an explanation of this paradox, see note 106 below.

96. The penthouse already existed in 1370, when, testating, Felicitas Barozzi ordered it to be sold for the benefit of an acquaintance's daughter upon the latter's marriage; see the document cited in note 93 above.

97. They are termed *portici per longum* or *per longitudinem*. In an act of 1321—an attempt to attach part of the palace in order to collect on a pledge made by Giacomo Barozzi in 1304—the longitudinal hall downstairs is called an *anditus*; cf. ASVe, ProcSMco, *Misti*, b^a 303, loose charter of 3 December 1321. This is the common term for a ground-floor *portego* in postmedieval times.

98. They are called *sale per transversum*. In the later fourteenth century, the one toward the Grand Canal was also called a *liagò*; see the document cited in note 93 above.

the Grand Canal, the other overlooking the court—and on the ground floor at the end toward the Grand Canal.⁹⁹ The upstairs transverse hall that overlooked the court was lit by monumentally articulated windows.¹⁰⁰ The downstairs transverse hall toward the Grand Canal was presumably identical with the arcaded portico seen in Jacopo's view. Both upstairs and downstairs, the halls extending down the middle of the building debouched into the transverse halls.¹⁰¹ Thus, taken together, the systems of transverse and longitudinal halls on the first and ground floors resembled an **H** in plan upstairs and a **T** downstairs.

Records of fourteenth-century litigation indicate what kinds of rooms were tucked into the hollows left by the **H** and the **T**, how the palace was organized vertically, and which end was considered the front and which the back. To take the last point first, in the hearing of 1312 on efforts by Giacomo Barozzi's widow to attach the western half of the palace, the large courtyard was said to lie at the building's "front," and in a patrimonial division of 1323, quoted in a hearing of 1332 on the widow's attempt to obtain further rooms in the palace, the court-end transverse hall on the *piano nobile* was called the "front hall."¹⁰² Thus, the elevation facing the viewer in Jacopo's woodcut was, in fact, Ca' Barozzi's rear, while the invisible end on the court was its front.

99. It is termed a *sala* in (A), no. 1. In the hearing of 1312 it is once called a *porticus* and another time a *sala*; cf. (A), no. 2.

100. Thus the strictures of 1279 regarding a small wooden house by the stairs, whose height was not to be extended past the string course or drip molding (*lista*) beneath the monumental windows (*balchones*) on that end of the palace; see (A), no. 1.

101. This is implicit in (A), no. 1, and explicit in nos. 2 and 3.

102. The words used are, respectively, *curia de ante* and *sala anterior*; see (A), nos. 2 and 3, respectively.

103. Termed, respectively, *ad pedem planum* and *in solario*.

104. In Jacopo's view, other, scattered windows are seen above the second mezzanine on the *rio* side; they must have been part of the apartments mentioned in 1370, which continued into the penthouse just above; see the document cited in note 93 above. Dorigo identified the circles at the top of the Grand Canal façade as the windows of an attic; "Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi," 42, and "Caratteri

As for the vertical distribution, the documents generally distinguish only between floors at and above ground level.¹⁰³ However, in Jacopo's woodcut the windows visible above the eastern half of the façade arcade and on the east side (overlooking rio Menuo) imply four storeys: a ground floor, a first mezzanine, a first floor, and a second mezzanine (Fig. 126).¹⁰⁴ Mezzanine rooms on the west side are mentioned in a division of the building in 1566.¹⁰⁵ No mezzanine windows are visible in Jacopo's woodcut on that side of the façade, but had there been any, they would have been recessed inside the arcade and invisible to the artist.

At the hearings of 1312 and 1332, Jacopo Barozzi's widow was awarded six bed-sitting-rooms on the west side of the palace as well as the houses butted against that side's front and back. The rooms are described in pairs. One pair was located on the *piano nobile* at the end toward the Grand Canal, forming a single suite with the house butted against the façade.¹⁰⁶ Another pair lay on the ground floor: a room beneath the transverse hall at the courtyard end and an adjoining vaulted room—very likely the lowest floor of the tower on that side. This latter pair connected and formed a suite with the wooden house enfolded by the courtyard stairs. On the side toward the Grand Canal the first-floor suite abutted a third room, which

tipologici," 23 n. 47, citing the act of 1376. Yet, that act speaks only of a *sophita* above the upper of the building's central *porteghi*, which is hardly proof of a developed attic having porthole windows across the entire front. The circles are more likely to have been *patere*. See also Appendix I, note 82, and Appendix III, note 148.

105. See (A), no. 13.

106. See (A), no. 2. The two rooms are described twice. They are said, rather enigmatically, to extend "ab infimis usque ad summum." Most likely this means that ownership of rooms at the southwest corner of the *piano nobile* brought with it responsibility for those zones of the ground floor and the roof that lay beneath and above. Although not listed in so many words, there must have been a stairway to tie together the two levels of the suite. Perhaps that accounts for the odd definition of the boundary between the little house and the palace as lying both beneath and inside the palace's upper transverse hall. If there had been a stairway at this spot, the definition would be accurate.

was retained by one of the other owners of the palace.¹⁰⁷ Still a third pair, awarded later than the first two pairs, comprised a ground-floor room or store-room and an upstairs room.¹⁰⁸ In each case, the rooms were bounded on the west by the *calle* shared with the de Lia and on the east by the palace's central, longitudinal halls. Apparently, in this, the western half of the building, there was a file of four rooms flanking the downstairs central *portego*, and one of three flanking the upstairs *portego*.

One entered the palace's *piano nobile* via the courtyard stairs, which stood on the side toward the de Lia neighbors, where the court protruded a certain distance toward the west.¹⁰⁹ Having reached the top of the stairs, the visitor was ushered directly into the upper transverse hall that overlooked the court. That hall, in turn, led directly into the upstairs longitudinal hall, which led just as directly into the transverse hall overlooking the Grand Canal. On the ground floor one could move unimpeded from corte Barozzi to the open ground on the Grand Canal via the lower longitudinal hall.¹¹⁰

By 1323, the date of a division quoted in a later hearing, the housing blocks in the courtyard had been finished.¹¹¹ Later changes can be partly grasped from texts and partly read off the fabric in its various depictions. In 1544 the alley flanking the west side of Ca' Barozzi was surveyed in preparation for construction by the brothers Raini, as already mentioned.¹¹² Around the same time, the house butted against the

Grand Canal façade was rebuilt and turned into two narrower houses of unequal height, both of them marked by High Renaissance windows, as can be seen in several eighteenth-century views (Figs. 130–32).¹¹³

A Seicento print shows the medieval palace still rising immediately in back of the older of these *palazzetti* (Fig. 127);¹¹⁴ very likely, significant parts of the former survived down to the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the entire site.

When divided the second and final time in 1566, Ca' Barozzi had already been much restructured on the inside.¹¹⁵ The medieval halls on the first floor are recognizably described in the deed of division but had been cut up into smaller spaces by partitions, while the vertical division of the building remained that of the medieval fabric, at least on the west side, with two main floors and two mezzanines.¹¹⁶ On the east side, toward rio Menuo, there were only two main floors and the lower mezzanine. The upper mezzanine on that side had been spoilt in some way by the Pizamano and rendered unusable.¹¹⁷ Above the first floor on this side, however, were two vaulted rooms, one above the other—vestiges, presumably, of the eastern tower.

Still graver insults to the ancient fabric are recorded at the end of the century. The east side, as incompletely rebuilt by the Pizamano, passed from the Barozzi into a speculator's hands sometime after 1566 and was completed by the latter between 1580 and 1587.¹¹⁸ The new owner had the original fourth floor (the second mezzanine) repaired and made serviceable

107. Ibid.

108. See (A), no. 3.

109. One side of the wooden house that nestled within the courtyard stairs is said to abut on the *calle* shared by the Barozzi and de Lia; see (A), no. 2. For the course of the *calle*, see note 89 above.

110. Routes of movement through the building are most fully described in (A), no. 3.

111. See (A), no. 3. Both are spoken of as if completed. The one nearer the palace is said to contain four habitations.

112. See (C) above and (A), no. 12.

113. See (B), nos. 5–6. The artist's meticulous rendering of both

houses shows thinly framed round-headed windows and classical balconies of an early High Renaissance style, suggesting a date close in time to the preconstruction survey of 1544.

114. See (B), no. 2.

115. See (A), no. 13.

116. The latter are now termed *mezada*, *mezado*, and *mezaeto*.

117. So states the award of reimbursement to the Barozzi of 1542: "hanno [the Pizamano] rovinato il soler de sopra"; see (A), no. 11. The term *soler* was applied also to mezzanines if they were being used as residential apartments.

118. See (A), nos. 14–16 and 18.

again. More important, he extended the building—or his half of the building—all the way to the banks of the Grand Canal, giving it what must have been a plain classical façade.¹¹⁹ Eventually the renovated east side came into the possession of the Emo, and plans of it were drawn during their tenure, in 1700.¹²⁰ The drawings show no trace of the medieval palace, but one of them, that of the ground floor (Fig. 128), does show a supporting wall down the central axis of the building, erected by its late-sixteenth-century owner in connection with his restructuring program and the subject of an easement he obtained from his Barozzi neighbors in 1580. The new wall lies seventy centimeters (two Venetian feet) west of an earlier one standing on the building's central axis that was built by the Pizamano to separate their portion of the palace from the rest.¹²¹ Only a short limb of the easement wall (at the end toward the Grand Canal) survived the nineteenth century rebuilding of the site.

By far the most radical alterations were those inflicted on the west side, on the north end of which, as mentioned above, some of the medieval palace may have survived until the early nineteenth century. All structures on this side, comprising whatever remained of the original palace, the house of the Raini, and

the two late-sixteenth-century *palazzetti* on the Grand Canal, were then acquired by the Treves dei Bonfili and totally rebuilt.¹²² Old rooms were destroyed and altogether new rooms created, among them a new entrance and grand staircase off the *calle* that formed the site's western border, and a two-storey gallery for the *pièces de résistance* of the Treves's collection, Canova's colossal figures of *Hector* and *Ajax*. On the end toward the Grand Canal a plain façade was drawn across the rebuilt *palazzetti*, flush with and as high as the Emo block and provided with windows that as much as possible continued the latter's ranges of windows. (On the Emo's east side, the Treves left the façade unchanged and practiced only minor alterations in the floor plans, but redecorated the principal rooms in a handsome, late Empire style.)

Despite the sweeping character of all these works, the resultant ground plan of the building suggests that vestiges of the medieval palace are preserved in many parts of the repeatedly remodeled fabric (Fig. 122).¹²³ The building's exterior wall on rio Menuo, following a course that has remained unchanged from the earliest times until today, must stand on medieval foundations in its northern portion and sixteenth-century foundations in its southern portion; much of the

119. See (A), no. 14. Sumachi's building is usually attributed to Bartolomeo Manopola and dated to the seventeenth century; cf. Lorenzetti, *Venezia*, 1587 (2615), and Bassi, *Palazzi di Venezia*, 82. Although its façades on the Grand Canal and rio Menuo undeniably exhibit Baroque features (Figs. 123–24), these may be the fruit of a seventeenth-century makeover. Their basic compositions and some of their details are late Renaissance in character: for example, the Palladian windows on the front and side, which sport Ionic and Tuscan orders; the Renaissance balconies on the first floor, with their simple moldings and classical, symmetrically turned balusters. Reflecting the taste of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, they were probably part of Sumachi's renovation. Other details seem Baroque, like the curious socles resembling elongated capitals between the second mezzanine and second-floor windows, and the plastic corbels and volutes inserted between the first mezzanine and ground-floor windows and under the eaves. In a print of 1686, the façade still lacks all enrichments, but the engraving is execrably drawn and shows equally nude elevations for most of the other depicted palaces, so that the

former Ca' Barozzi's plainness may be meaningless (cf. [B], no. 2; Fig. 127). Its Baroque features are first discernible in a view of 1709 of the rio-side elevation; see (B), no. 3 (Fig. 129).

120. See (B), no. 3. For the Emo's ownership in general, see note 81 above.

121. For the easement, see (A), no. 14. The Pizamano's wall is already mentioned in the division of 1566; see (A), no. 13.

122. For these works, see Rubin de Cervin Albrizzi, "Un palais romantique." Conversion of the structures on the west into a unified pendant of the east side, dated 1827 by modern writers (see note 85 above), was already finished when the plates were prepared for Quadri and Moretti's *Canal Grande* of 1828 ([B], no. 8).

123. The plan is redrawn from a set of modern plans by the firm Alfieri Costruzioni, kindly made available to me by the marchesa Barbara Berlingieri. I have taken from it only structural walls, omitting those elements that are easily added, subtracted, or moved, such as insubstantial partitions, doors, windows, and stairs.

rising masonry in the northern portion may be medieval as well. On the interior, the eastern wall of the ground-floor *portego*, specifically the section between the fabric's end on corte Barozzi and the entrance from the *rio*, exhibits a medieval massiveness.

On the west side, a boxlike quadrilateral of extremely heavy walls, near the end toward the court, must be a vestige of Ca' Barozzi's western tower. (The latter appears to have been oblong in plan, not square as depicted in Jacopo de' Barbari's view.) Massive exterior walls along the *calle* on the west side, bordering the first, second, and fourth of the spaces on the interior, seem to be reused medieval walls (the thin wall bordering the third space must be of the nineteenth century). Still another heavy wall extends transversely across the western half and has, exceptionally, a continuation on the east side (otherwise there is no continuity of transverse walls from one side to the other). Very likely the medieval building's arcade toward the Grand Canal stood on this line, beyond which lay the open ground visible in Jacopo's view.¹²⁴ Indeed, none of the fabric beyond the transverse wall exhibits walls of medieval proportions, as is consistent with the late-sixteenth-century date of the palace's extension into that vacant area.

Jacopo's woodcut gives reason to believe that Ca' Barozzi, like other Venetian pre-Gothic palaces, grew to its final form by stages, for the print shows a roof that was manifestly built in two installments. Toward the far end there is a common gable roof, bordered on three sides by narrow trowel-shaped and slitted

cresting standing atop tall false attics. Toward the near end is half of a hipped roof, lower than the gable roof and framed by broad gable-shaped cresting seated directly on the eaves. (The near end lacks cresting on the side of *rio Menuo*; it must have been destroyed to make way for the later penthouse shown on Jacopo's print.) Captured in the middle of this two-part roof system are the palace's towers, their southern faces exactly aligned with the break between one roof and the other.

A pieced roof generally bespeaks a pieced fabric, and towers were commonly placed on the outer corners or faces of buildings, where they might be seen in their entirety by anyone approaching. In fact, the west side of the modern Palazzo Treves is marked by a change of axis immediately after the oblong room that seems to be a remnant of the tower. Whereas the transverse walls of the oblong lie parallel to the façade toward the court, those south of it lie parallel to the bank of the Grand Canal.

In all likelihood, Ca' Barozzi as it appeared in 1500 consisted of two parts, built one after the other. Which was the older one? No doubt the northern one, toward the court. It is this end that is designated the building's "front," and its courtyard façade is topped by a form of cresting earlier than that on the façade toward the Grand Canal; the blades are mounted, furthermore, atop a false attic—a system seen otherwise only in the façade of the *Ospedale di S. Marco* on the medieval piazza di S. Marco, erected around 1200.¹²⁵ As first begun, the Barozzi palace must have presented

124. In the view, the open ground occupies approximately one-third of the distance between the canal and the court, now fully occupied by Palazzo Treves. It is possible that the heavy leg of the transverse wall encloses within it remains of the palace's façade arcade.

125. See Schulz, "Piazza medievale," 139. I take the *ospedale* to have stood exactly where a contemporary witness (Martino da Canal) places it: immediately adjacent to the campanile, on the east end of the buildings that extended along the southern side of the medieval square. A suggestion that it stood instead between the campanile and the fabric on the site of the present-day Libreria di S. Marco, first put

forward in the nineteenth century by Giovanni Saccardo and taken up recently by Michela Agazzi, remains without any supporting evidence; cf. Saccardo, "Le prime fabbriche," and Agazzi, *Platea*, 112–16. (The latter illustrates in support of this thesis a plan of unidentified foundations excavated on the site in question, plus a detail from a sixteenth-century painting that gives a glimpse of this site from the east [on pp. 112 and 116 respectively]. There are no forms or inscriptions in either image from which to identify the represented structures, so that their illustration proves nothing.)

its main façade to the court and only a secondary façade with towers to the open ground (deeper yet than in Jacopo's print) overlooking the Grand Canal.

It is likely, furthermore, that the major room on the first floor of the original "front" block was a simple hall, the *sala per transversum* toward the court mentioned in the documents, set before a row of simple chambers and illuminated by fine windows (*balchones*) that looked out upon the court. This is a plan typical of upper-hall houses, such as the buildings of the twelfth century that have left the remains of arcades in several parts of Venice.

As for the extension, its chief purpose may have been to gain more space for a growing family, but at the same time it turned the palace around. The middle chamber of the older fabric was broken through and extended into the addition, creating a *porticus per longitudinem*. A new hall was drawn across the outer end of the extension—the second *sala per transversum*—and expressed on the exterior by a new front façade on the Grand Canal. If this was the sequence of construction, it would explain the oddity of the palace's final plan, with halls and façades in front and back.

Still other disunities are visible in Jacopo's woodcut, betraying changes in design of the Grand Canal façade itself that help to date the construction of

the palace's extension. The right-hand arches of the ground-floor arcade are lower and less stilted than those on the left. Had the entire arcade been built to this height, it would have looked less unified, parted decisively into two ranks of arches around a very high, wide entrance portal. It is possible that the first-floor windows differed on the left and the right too; those on the left seem very slightly wider than those on the right, but the difference is so slight that it may be no more than an accident of drawing or cutting in Jacopo's view. Be that as it may, on the ground floor the right side tended toward smaller and more variegated forms, the left toward more monumental and unified ones, suggesting that the former was slightly earlier than the latter. Ca' Farsetti, built between 1200 and ca. 1209, is the earliest datable example of a palace façade with stilted arches. The façade drawn by Jacopo de' Barbari (and, with it, Ca' Barozzi's extension) was probably begun in the same years as Ca' Farsetti and completed in the second or third decade of that century. The date of the earlier courtyard façade must remain uncertain, but given the building history of the palace itself and the likely date of Venetian upper-hall houses, the landward unit of the building probably dated from the twelfth century.

APPENDIX III: FONDACO DEI TURCHI

(A) WRITTEN SOURCES

- 1 1309 (15 June) Angelo Pesaro indites his testament, in which he orders numerous bequests to individuals and religious institutions, concluding as follows:

“Cetera mea bona mobillia et inbillia inordinata, et proprietates terrarum et cassarum ubicunque sint posite, dimitto Nicolao da Pesaro filio meo [. . .]. Et eidem Nicolao filio meo talem condicionem impono de parte, sive de medietate, michi contingente de cuncta et supra tota proprietate posita in suprascripto confinio Sancti Jacobi de Luprio in quo nunc habito, quod ipse predictus Nicolaus filius meus numquam possit neque debeat dictam meam partem sive medietatem predictae proprietatis maioris vendere, alienare, comutare, donare, obligare, nec inpignorare, neque per collegantias, nec per cartas, necque per aliquem alium modum vel

1. ASVe, ArchGrad, Fondo Pesaro, b^a 1, no. 1 (copy of 6 March 1560 by notary Albertus Marionus). Another copy, undated, by notary Bartolomeus, *presbiter* and *plebanus* of S. Giacomo dall’Orio, survives in ASVe, ProcSMco, Miscellanea testamenti, de Ultra, b^a 2, no. 58 (transcribed in full by Sagredo and Berchet, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, 36–39, doc. no. ii). It was probably prepared in 1361 when administration of Angelus’s bequest endowing a hospital for the poor and infirm passed to the Procurators of St. Mark. Although older than the deed in the Pesaro archive, it lacks phrases found in the latter and seems to have been the less careful copy.

formam, sed volo, quod tota ipsa mea pars de dicta proprietate, mortuo ipso predicto Nicolao, in eius heredes masculos legitimos debeat devignir.”¹

- 2 1377 (15 July) The brothers Andrea, Caroso, Maffeo, and Marco Pesaro, sons of the late Fantin Pesaro, enter into a division of their patrimony, exempting their residence from its provisions, namely, “rimaniente vero pro indiviso inter nos [. . .] tota domo maioris posita in confinio Sancti Jacobi de Luprio, quam nos presencialiter habitamus, cum omnibus domibus de sergentibus et voltis sive magaçenis, subtus ipsam positis.”²
- 3 1381 (15 February) Upon order of the Signoria, Andrea Donato, Giovanni Storlato, and Alvise Falier, “Savii sovra le raxion de le spese de la guera,” conclude a preliminary purchase

2. ASVe, CanInf, MiscNotDiv, b^a 166 (not. Fantin Rizzo), *protocollo* titled “L: I;” fol. 16v. Dennis Romano kindly brought this act to my attention, for which I give him warm thanks. The properties that the brothers did divide were not related to the Fondaco. Seven were in other wards (S. Eufemia on the Giudecca, S. Felice, S. Geminiano, S. Lio, and S. Zulian), and the eighth, although, like the Fondaco, in the ward of S. Giacomo dall’Orio, lay at some distance from the Fondaco and had been acquired recently from a certain Tomà Amiço.

agreement with Andrea Pesaro and brothers, whereby the latter will sell for 10,000 ducats to the procurators of St. Mark Michele Morosini and Pietro Corner, agents for the Commune of Venice, the following property: “la soa possession granda, messa in lo confin de San Jacomo³ de Lorio, cum la soa corte da inanzi e muri e raxion a quela pertinenti, fin sopra canal, da un ladi al altro, cum tute suo case, volte e magazinii, e mazadi de soto et de sopra, cum letiere, chebe e paramenti, banchi, e tute altre cosse <che> ala dicta possessione pertegnisse, cum tute suo raxion o pertinentie.”⁴

- 4 1381 (13 March) Stating that the agreement shall be valid, irrespective of any testamentary prescriptions, and that the property shall be given to the Marquis of Ferrara in fulfillment of a resolution adopted long ago to award him a residence, the agents of the Commune of Venice (procurator Michele Morosini and council member of the Quarantia Federigo Giustinian, acting for procurator Pietro Corner) complete purchase of the Fondaco. Andrea and his brothers acknowledge receipt in full of the agreed purchase price. The property is described as follows:

“Una domus magna a stacio cum sua terra vacua, fundamento et rippa, sive gradata, posita a parte anteriori dicte domus a stacio posita supra canalem; et cum suis pluribus domibus a sergentibus et mezatis positus a prima trabatura dicte domus a stacio; et cum sua curia et putheis et scallis de petra a parte posteriori ipsius domus positus; et cum suis archivoltis positus a parte superiori super dictam curiam; et cum suis

banchis sive scagnis petrineis in ipsa curia positus. Tota hec proprietas cum omnibus superscriptis insimul coniunctis posita est in predicto confinio Sancti Jacobi de Luprio.

“Secundum quod ipsa proprietas firmat ab uno suo capite per totum in canali, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et ianglacionem [*sic*]. Et ab alio suo capite firmat partim in una proprietate da Cha’ Navalgario, et partim, cum sua terra vacua lata viginti duobus pedibus, firmat in muro ipsius proprietatis da Cha’ Navalgario. Verum <est, quod> hec proprietas non debet, nec potest, occupare dictam terram vacuum quantum sunt pedes novem mensurando a dicto muro ipsius proprietatis da Cha’ Navalgario infra ipsam terram vacuum, et per longitudinem pedes viginti duos. Partimque etiam firmat in uno muro communi posito inter hanc proprietatem et quandam proprietatem da Cha’ Navalgario, in quo et super quem murum communem hec proprietas et predicta proprietates da Cha’ Navalgario [*sic*] habent potestatem laborandi trabes et modiliones ponendi quot <et quantas> voluerint. Ita quod idem murus permaneat semper undique clausus. Qui quidem murus extenditur a pissina recto tramite usque ad murum ubi est mappa camini, et exinde per transversum, obliqua linea mensurando usque ad angulum maius proprietatis da Cha’ Navalgario.”⁵

Ab uno suo latere firmat per totum in via comuni, sive pissina, unde habet introitum et exitum. Et ab alio suo latere firmat per totum in via communi discurrente iuxta rivum usque ad canalem, unde hec proprietas habet introitum et exitum.”⁶

3. The name “yeremia,” written first, is struck out.

4. Quoted in a resolution of the Collegio of 3 January 1383 exempting this *mercatum* (as the agreement is termed) from a resolution of the Maggior Consiglio to defer payment of state debts until the end of the war with Genoa; ASVe, CollNot, reg. no. 1 (1327–83), fols. 112r–v, formerly 76r–v and 97r–v (published in full by Sagredo

and Berchet, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, 39–40, where the word *mercatum* is erroneously transcribed throughout as *incantum*; the *mercatum* alone published in Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, doc. no. 178).

5. No measurement is stated.

6. BMCVe, MS P.D. C-740/1, parchment deed no. 1 (not. canon Lazarus de Ripa of Castello). A copy of 10 July 1602 made for

5 1434–98 A succession of embellishments and repairs at the Fondaco are booked in the accounts of the Este, for work in the “casa dello illustrissimo nostro signor, messer lo marchese in Vinesia,” the most significant of which are as follows:

30 June 1434: payment of £180 to “magistro Nicolo dal Ferro marangone [. . .], per lui et per uno suo compagno,” for making “lo suffita di la sala grande, et lo suffita de la camera del cimero, et lo suffita de la camera drito quella del signore. Et per fare lo coperto de la torresella de la camera de madona. Et per fare la capsa per fundare la scala, sta so el canale, et per palificare quella. Et per fare ussi, fenestre et piu altri servitii opportuni in la detta casa. Dati da die 25 febraio, 1433, per fino ad die ultimo de octobrio del detto anno.”

Same date: payment of 27 *ducati d'oro* to the same for “pacto facto con lui a die 30 de novembre, 1433, per suo magisterio de fare uno solaro in la guardacamera de la camera delo imperadore, e per fare in quella una scala et armari. Et per fare una scala, una lectiera, asse da

dextra, in la guardacamera del crucifixo, et per fare ussi, fenestre, solari, scale et altri repezamenti in le case di pesonetti, et per fare le ponte, fenestre et balconade in la sala grande, et per fare le ponte et per conzare lo solaro del magazzino tolto per Andavino, et piu altri servicii.”⁷

1450–54: the entire roof is renewed.⁸

15 December 1455: payment of £1 to Girardo da Vicenza for having “depicto uno cimero como larma del prefato nostro signore in su uno sfolio de charta, e la quale mando <per> li faturi a Venezia, a la taiare in marmoro, per metere in la faca dinanci a la chaxa del prefato nostro signore in Venexia.”⁹

2 June 1453: payments totaling £274 s 5 for “fare reformar le scalle de preda viva, le porte, li ponti, ussi, fenestre et pozolli, la cusina, et piu.”¹⁰

1 March 1473: payment of £43 s 13 for “refermar le collonelle de le scale del palazzo e de quelle de la sala sopra el canale grande.”¹¹

31 December 1485: £27.4 spent for “finestre quatro de vedro tra grande e pizole, comprate e poste nela camera dove sta messer Alberto,” and for “una finestra de marmoro per dita camara.”¹²

Antonio Priuli (not. Lucillo Bezian) appears on deed no. 5. Another, made for Priuli on 25 July 1602 (not. Johannes Baptista Padavino), is at ASMo, CanMarch, Documenti riguardanti la casa e lo stato, Serie generale, Membranacei, cas. 20, no. 16. The Fondaco is described in the same words on the act of investiture *sine proprio*, done for Morosini and Giustinian the same day; BMCVe, MS PD C-740/1, parchment deed 2 (not. Lazarus de Ripa of Castello). Priuli's copies of the act of purchase contain copies of this investiture as well. The original resolution to give the Marquis a residence was adopted by the Senate on 17 August 1364; ASVe, SenMis, reg^o 31, fol. 73r (75r in the numeration at the bottom of the page).

7. ASMo, CamDucEst, Mandati in volume, reg^o III (“Mandati 1434–1435, Marchese Nicolò III e suo figliolo Leonello”), fols. 100a–b. The record informs, further, that master Nicolò worked for 211 days and his assistant for 159.

8. ASMo, CamDucEst, Computisteria, Memoriali, III (1450), fol. 75a, and *ibid.*, v (1453–54), fol. 90a.

9. ASMo, CamDucEst, Libri Diversi, reg^o xv (“Zornale de Ussita BB”), under date. I thank Charles Rosenberg for passing this notice to me.

10. ASMo, CamDucEst, Computisteria, Memoriali, v (1453–54), fol. 90a.

11. ASMo, CamDucEst, Mandati in volume, reg^o xvii (1473), fols. 25b and 95b.

12. ASMo, CamDucEst, Munizioni e fabbriche, xx (1485), fol. 169b. Further expenditures on the Fondaco, regarding simple maintenance or works too vaguely described to be construable, are booked in ASMo, CamDucEst, Mandati in volume, reg^o III (“Mandati 1434–1435, Marchese Nicolò III e suo figliolo Leonello”), fol. 75a (repair of cistern, 2 February 1435); *ibid.*, Computisteria, Memoriali, iv, fol. 356b (transport to Venice of bricks and lime, 1452); *ibid.*, Munizioni e fabbriche, xx, fols. 3b, 49b, 53a, and 169a (travel expenses to Venice for a mason and a carpenter sent to work in the Fondaco, their pay, building supplies, rental of a boat and equipment, 21 January, 2 May, 21 May, 31 December 1485); *ibid.*, Munizioni e fabbriche, xxiv, fol. 35a, and xxxi, fols. 41b and 69b (travel to Venice for a roofer sent to work on the Fondaco in, respectively, 1489 and 1496); *ibid.*, Munizioni e fabbriche, xxxiv, fol. 52a (repairs at the Fondaco, 28 November 1498). I owe the citations from the series “Munizioni e fabbriche” to the kindness of Dr. Thomas Tuohy.

23 March 1488: Nicolò Roberti, Ferrarese agent in Venice, reports to Duke Ercole I that a fireplace flue has been installed in one of the Fondaco's towers, requiring the builders to "taliare il muro de la torea da tera fina in cima e dicto camino mena fra le mure de epsa torea." He urges that the architect, Biagio Rossetti, who had returned to Ferrara, come back to complete "queste stantie ha comenzato" and to repair "doe fazate che vengono a tera [. . .], le quale, quando ruinasseno, [. . .] tirarebena el palazzo a tera."¹³

- 6 1482–84 Venice repossesses the Fondaco in March 1482, shortly before outbreak of war with Ferrara, and returns it to the marquis Ercole I d'Este soon after the end of hostilities on 3 August 1484.¹⁴
- 7 1509–12 Venice repossesses the Fondaco after being attacked by Ferrara, the papacy, and major Continental states, banded together in the League of Cambrai (1509). Upon a change of sides by Pope Julius II, now allied with Venice in a new "Holy League" against Ferrara and

his other erstwhile partners, Venice gives the Fondaco to him (1512).¹⁵

- 8 1520 (26 January) The Venetian diarist Marino Sanudo the Younger reports that the pope (Leo X) has given the Fondaco to his legate in Venice. Later that year Sanudo notes that the Collegio has approved:

"E' da saper, in questi zorni, a di 15 [luglio], per Colegio [. . .], deteno il possesso di la caxa fo dil ducha di Ferara posta in questa terra, qual fo data a Papa Julio al tempo di la guerra, perchè la volse e fe' tuor zoso le arme di Ferara, de la qual l'oficio de le Raxon vecchie trazeva di fitti a l'anno de la caxa ducati 80. Hor vi abitava il legato dil Papa, et noviter, zoè questo anno, papa Leon pontefice la donò a domino Altobelo Averoldo, episcopo di Puola, legato in questa terra. Et cussì ditto legato domandava il possesso, et la fece conzar, e in quella abita. Et cussì el ge fo dato come cossa dil Papa."¹⁶

- 9 1527 (14 November) Adhering to the League of Cognac, formed by France, England, and Venice

13. Zevi, *Biagio Rossetti*, 568 (said to be from ASMo, ArchSegEst, Dispacci degli oratori di Venezia, b^a 6, under date; where Zevi reads *ruinasseno* and *tirarebena*, the words are probably *ruinassero* and *tirarebbero*). Two years later, in June 1490, Rossetti was paid from the ducal treasury for expenses he incurred in Venice "in reparare la casa del . . . nostro signore"; Zevi, *Biagio Rossetti*, 574 (cited from ASMo, Cam-DucEst, Memoriali, reg^o 4788/95, fol. 64r).

14. Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese*, 102, lines 3–7; Sanudo, *Commentarii della guerra di Ferrara*, 23, 141.

15. Julius having asked for the gift, the Venetian legate in Rome, Francesco Foscari, is instructed on 19 December 1511 to assent. The instructions mention that the building had been assigned to several religious foundations and private individuals of Venice, owners of Ferrarese properties confiscated by Duke Alfonso I d'Este. Foscari is to suggest that the pope might compensate these owners for their losses; ASVe, SenSec, reg^o 44 (1511–12), fols. 101r–102r. The gift is publicly announced at the beginning of 1512; ASMo, SezEst, Documenti

riguardanti la casa e lo stato, serie generale, Membranacci, cas. xxvii, no. 19, under 17 January 1512.

16. Sanudo, *Diarii*, xxviii, col. 207 (26 January 1520), and xxix, col. 56 (19 July 1520). Later reports by Sanudo provide further details about Averoldo's restoration, but muddy its chronology. Thus, on 26 December 1522, when the prelate was leaving to become papal governor of Bologna, the diarist wrote: "A questo [scil., Averoldo] il papa Leon passato li donoe la caxa fo dil ducha di Ferara, et ivi habitava et scodeva li fiti de le caxe di soto; la qual la faceva reconzar, maxime la fazà davanti di marmore, che tutta ruinava"; *Diarii*, xxxiii, col. 553. On 21 November 1523, describing fireworks and decorations at the building, he called it "cha' dil marchexe di Ferara, over [. . .] la cha' di lo episcopo di Puola e governador a Bologna, e fo legato di qui. E lui l'ha fata conzar la fazà in questo anno, zoè Nicolò Pasqualigo suo comesso"; *Diarii*, xxxv, col. 213. (Another report, on 15 August 1523, adds nothing new; *Diarii*, xxxiv, col. 365.)

to succor the papacy, Duke Alfonso I of Ferrara is promised return of the Fondaco.¹⁷

- IO** 1531 (2 November) Jacopo Tebaldi, Ferrarese ambassador to Venice, who for four years has tried vainly to dislodge Bishop Altobello Averoldo from the Fondaco, in order to obtain physical possession of it for his master, succeeds in entering and seizing the building upon the prelate's death.¹⁸
- II** 1531–36 Ambassador Tebaldi renders an account for innumerable repairs and replacements of broken, worn, or missing items. These include hardware, doors, fireplaces, and windows of cloth, glass, or bars, some unspecified structural work that required delivery of 37,200 bricks and 4,000 roof tiles, and installation of “marmorì a le porte del Pallazo, che se son alzate tutte, perche l'aqua deli Canali non entri piu nel cortile, et guasti li pozi.”¹⁹
- 12** 1562 (13 April) Arrival of Duke Alfonso II d'Este in Venice at the beginning of a state visit, described as follows:
- “[. . .] Ora smontò il duca alla riva del suo palagio: alla quale si trovò un ponte di longhezza di cinquanta piedi, e di larghezza di venti. E le porte e le fenestre del palagio erano tutte superbamente ornate di festoni con le arme di San Marco, e della casa pur di Este. Questo

parimente s'era fatto a sei altri palagi [. . .], di maniera, che pareva che l'un palagio garreggiasse con l'altro di apparecchio e di ornamento [. . .].

“Ma per tornare al palaggio del Duca, nell'entrata sotto la loggia, la qual è di diece assai gran volti su colonne di marmi finissimi, v'erano al d'intorno bellissimi razzi, fatti di seta e d'oro, ne' quali si vedeva con grandissimo artificio ritratta Ferrara, Modona, Reggio, Carpi e Bressello, città e luoghi principali del medesimo duca, ove si scoprivano interamente con bellissima arte di prospettiva le contrade e i palagi.

“Col medesimo ordine di razzi di altre sorti era adorno tuto il portico fino alla piazza, in cui v'ha due grandi scale di marmo, per le quali commodamente alla gran sala si ascende. Al capo della quale v'era un catapalco insino al tetto, di altezza di quaranta piedi e di lunghezza di ventidue, carico a meraviglia di vasi di argento e d'oro. Fra quelli si discernevano quattro bellissime fontane, che maestrevolmente gettavano acqua. La sala era vestita di razzi dal tetto insino a terra, ne' quali sono con ben formato disegno espresse le effigie di molti cavalli ritratti dal naturale, così bene, che paion vivi. Et erano da per tutto tramezati fra di loro d'Aquiloni bianchi di grandezza de' medesimi cavalli, insegna antica della casa di Este.

“Passosi di questa sala per un'altro corridore, addobbato riccamente di razzi d'oro e di seta, ne'quali, oltre che si vedevano tutte le sorti de

17. Thus Gasparo Contarini's report of the negotiations leading to the duke's adherence; Sanudo, *Diarii*, XLVI, col. 302 (15 November 1527); Guicciardini, *Storia*, v, 169–70. Averoldo's failure to vacate the building caused unremitting complaints from Ferrara; Sanudo, *Diarii*, XLVI, cols. 322, 583; XLVII, cols. 63, 123, 281, 312, 398–99, 424, 479, 501; XLVIII, col. 470.

18. Sanudo, *Diarii*, IV, cols. 88, 97–98, 100, and 122 (respectively 27 October, 2 November [twice], and 8 November 1531). There followed months of protests from Clement VII; cf. Sanudo, *Diarii*, LVI–LVII, passim.

19. ASMo, CamDucEst, Fabbriche e villeggiature, b^a 72, item no. 10 (“1531/Computo di tuti li dinar' havuti per far fabbricare nel palazo posto in Venetia [. . .]”; expenditures run from 8 November 1531 to 30 January 1532), passim; *ibid.*, Munizioni e fabbriche, LXXVI, fol. 16v (unspecified expenses, 4–30 February 1532), fol. 29r (bricks and tiles, 17 and 28 June and 7 September 1532); *ibid.*, Cassa segreta vecchia, b^a 5, fasc. 214 (“1536—Spexa de messer Jacopo di Thebaldi nel palazo di Venetia”), passim, esp. fol. 1v (raising thresholds, 23 November 1536).

gli animali creati dalla natura, vi erano anco i dodici mesi dell'anno: lavoro non meno superbo, che vago a vedere.

“Da così fatto luogo adunque entrò il duca nella gran loggia che guarda sopra il canal maggiore, la quale s'appoggia à diciotto colonne di finissimo marmo. Questa loggia era vestita al d'intorno di ricchissimi e superbissimi panni d'oro, i quali si addimandano la pastorella. E dicesi che nella tes<sit>ura di essi, vi furono consumati cinquant'anni di tempo con grandissima & eccessiva spesa. Di che non è perciò da maravigliarsi, essendo eglino tutti lavorati con l'ago da maestrevole mano eccellentissimamente. La onde fermossi quivi il serenissimo²⁰ una gran pezza a riguardar con molta attenzione i paesi, la varietà de gli animali e la forma de gli habiti di diversi huomini, che porgevano invidia a molti di questi nostri pittori.

“D'indi s'entrò in una sala guernita di finissimi razzi alla grottesca, tessuti sottilmente di seta, di argento, e d'oro. E dall'un capo della sala v'era l'alloggiamento dell'illustrissimo signor don Francesco,²¹ addobbato di altri razzi pure alla grottesca, e dall'altro capo una gran stanza accommodata à uso di capella, con panni di broccato al d'intorno. Si passò di questa sala in un camerone, dentro il quale erano in superbissimi razzi con oro, argento e seta ritratte le forze d'Hercole. E di quindi si andò nella camera

in cui haveva à dormire la persona del Duca, la qual camera era pomposamente fornita di broccato d'oro e d'argento con i corni della dovitia. Et al dirimpetto di questa ve n'era un'altra adorna di razzi, ne' quali si vedeva la favola de' Giganti, quando entrò loro nell'animo la folle arroganza di mover guerra a gli dei.”²²

- 13** 1582–91 Annibale Ariosti, Ferrarese Ambassador to Venice, reports needed repairs and renders an account for executed repairs to the Fondaco, the most significant of which are as follows:

23 June 1585: 10 ducats and 12 soldi expended “per far aggiuntar una colonella della galleria caduta et spezzata per vecchiezza et far assetar l'altre.”²³

22 February–30 March 1589: the crenellated wall on the Grand Canal quay having in part collapsed, piles for its replacement are driven, and it is raised anew.²⁴

- 14** 1598 (21 October) The Fondaco is listed in the inventory of Alfonso II's estate.²⁵

- 15** 1602 (8 March) Cesare d'Este, heir of the late Alfonso II d'Este, resigns to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini his rights to ownership of the Fondaco, in satisfaction of a lien against Alfonso's estate granted to Aldobrandini by Cesare's cousin, Anna.²⁶

20. The doge had accompanied Duke Alfonso into the building.

21. Duke Alfonso's paternal uncle.

22. Excerpted from *La entrata* (1562), fols. 3r–v. The text is dated 6 May 1562 and records the entirety of the visit, from the departure from Ferrara on 10 April until the departure from Venice on 20 April. A parallel edition, with only minimal variations, was printed the same year by Francesco Rampazetto in Venice; its text is reprinted in entirety by Sagredo and Berchet, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, 41–45. A briefer report came out in Bologna: *La solennissima entrata* (1562), and a still briefer manuscript description is at ASMo, CanDuc, Ambasciatori, Venezia, b^a 51, fasc. 95.

23. ASMo, CamDucEst, Ufficio del Mese, b^a 11B, fasc. 174, containing expenses from 4 January to 16 December 1585. The quoted expenditure is dated 23 June. I have not been able to identify the particular column that was replaced.

24. ASMo, CanDuc, Ambasciatori, Venezia, b^a 68, letters no. 99-xxxii/18 and 30. Other needed or executed repairs are mentioned in b^a 61, letters no. 99-vii/64 and 65; b^a 67, letter no. 99-xxix/2; b^a 68, letters no. 99-xxxii/25 and 30, 99-xxxiii/7, 99-xxxiv/7; and b^a 70, letter no. 99-xxxix/59.

25. ASVat, Armad. 46, vol. 16. Published by Sella, “Inventario,” 361, no. 3650.

26. A copy in BMCVe, ms P.D. C-740/1, fasc. 1, loose sheet.

- 16** 1602 (13 May) On the basis of a preliminary agreement entered into by the two parties on 8 March 1602, Cardinal Aldobrandini sells the Fondaco to Senator Antonio Priuli for 24,000 ducats.²⁷
- 17** 1608 (21 June) An agent of Antonio Priuli, procurator of St. Mark, inventories the fixtures of the Fondaco's main apartment, preliminary to entry therein of its new tenant, the imperial ambassador to Venice, Georg Fugger.²⁸
- “1608 21 zugno
- “Consegna fatta per me, Andrea Sassina, interveniente per nome del illustrissimo signor Antonio di Priulli, procurator et senator, de tute le chiave, seradure, cadinazi, scuri, balconi et veri che <si> atrovano nella casa affittata al illustrissimo signor Zorzi Fuchari, ambasciator della sacra cesarea maestà, qual consegna è statta fatta al illustre signor Bernardino di Rossi, segretario <dell'ambasciatore> della sopradetta sacra cesarea maestà, il qual de propria mano si sotto scrivara—
- “In portico quatro fenestre grande delli pergoli, con sui feri, li balconi de vero tutti acconci, et li suoi scuri.
- “Due fenestre sopra le do pozzi, et li sui veri tutti conzi.
- “Le due porte, con sue seradure, chiave, cadenazi, che servono le scalte.
- “Tre camere sul porticho, con sue porte, cadenazi, chiave, seradure. Due de quali sono li balconi, con sui scuri et cadenaze et veri, sopra tutti li balconi; et l'altra camera, con sue chiave, cadenazi et seradura.

“Nel istesso portico tre altre porte. Una va alla galleria, con chiave, seradura et cadenazo. Una va ne le camere che sono tutte una dietro l'altra, con chiave, cadenazo et seradura. L'altra va alla scalla che va in caneva, con chiave, cadenazo, seradura.

“In la camera sopra la salizada che varda sopra la scalla, tutti balconi con sui scuri, cadenazi, veri tutti conzi.

“De sopra il soraletto de ditta camera, 3. balconi con sui scuri de legno, cadenazi.²⁹ Il balcon appresso la scalla che va nel sopradetto soraletto, li sui scuri de legno, con il suo cadenazo. A meza scalla, la sua porta con la sua chiave, con seradura.

“La porta che va in la camera appresso la cusina, il suo cadenazo.

“In cusina do fenestre grande et due pizolle, tutte con li suoi veri acconci. Le due fenestre grande, con li suoi scuri de legno et sui cadenazi.³⁰ Et due porte, con li suoi cadenazi. Et uno armer, con sua seradura et chiave.

“Nella camera appresso la cusina che va sopra li soraletti, due fenestre, una con li suoi veri conzi et suoi scuri, et l'altra con li suoi scuri. Et tutti dua con suoi cadenazi. La sua porta, con chiave, seradura et cadenazo. Et la porta in dita camera che va in cusina con suo cadenazo.

“A meza scalte de detta camera che va nela tore del tragetto, una porta con sue bertoelle.

“In le due camere a meza scalla che va in la ditta tore, una porta con il suo cadenazo, et l'altra con il suo cadenazo. Et in la prima delle

27. BMCVe, ms P.D. C-740/1, loose parchment deed no. 3 (not. Antonio Callegani). Ibid., deed no. 4, contains copies of the publicly cried announcement of the sale on 14 August 1602 and Aldobrandini's quittance of 30 August 1602 for payment received.

28. I have introduced paragraph breaks and punctuation. (The

original document is one unparagraphed and minimally punctuated block of writing.)

29. There follows the phrase “et scuri, con li suoi veri acconci,” which is crossed out.

30. There follows the word “nella,” which is struck.

camere, la porta con sue chiave et seradura, doi balconi con scuri de tolle con sui cadenazi.

“Nella tore verso il tragetto, tre mezi balconi con suoi scuri et cadenazi, et porta con sue chiave et cadenazo.

“In la torre verso li magazeni de San Marco sopra il canal, dui balconi in libreto, con sue stangete de ferro, un altro balcon in dita camera con scuri de legno et suo cadenazo.

“Nelle due camere che guarda sopra la requie et la gallaria, quatro fenestre de vero tutti contii: doi d’esse con li suoi scuri de legno et cadenazi; et due altri balconi che guarda sopra la gallaria, li sui veri tutti conzi et sui scuri de legno in libreto, con sue stangete de ferro da serar. In dette camere tre porte che sono una nel altra, con sue chiave, seradure et cadenazi.

“Nel camerin che guarda sopra il trageto dalla gallaria, tre fenestre con li suoi veri tutti concii, et dui de essi balconi con suoi scuri con suo sagiador da serar.

“Nele sete camere che tutte vano una dentro l’altra vi sono tutte le sue fenestre, con li suoi veri acontii tutti, et tute le sue porte con tutte sue chiave, cadenazi, seradure et li suoi scuri con suoi tressi de legno et cadenazi.

“In dette sette camere, vi sono tre studiulli qualli hano li suoi veri tutti li balconi acontii, con sue porte, chiave, seradure et cadenazi, et in un de essi li è concio li suoi scuri de legno con suo cadenazi, in li dui altri li son le sue feriate ali balconi.

“Nel camerin de sopra la scalla che guarda sopra il rio, li suoi balconi con sui feri, scuri de legno et cadenazi.

“In camera le sue porte cadenazi, seradure, et cosi in tutti li suoi magazeni et mezadi da basso et riva, con tutti sue chiave come sopra.

“Etiam le due porte delle strade, con sue chiave, seradure, cadenazi et chiave de sagiador, la pergolla accontia de legname.

“Le qual tutte robe furno consegnate al sopradetto magnifico signor secretario sopradetto alla presentia di maestro Bortollo protto al sal per me Andrea sopradetto—

“Io Bernardino Rossi affermo ut supra.”³¹

18 1621 (11 March) Upon a recommendation of 11 December 1620 by the Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, the Collegio approves installation in the former palace of the dukes of Ferrara of the hospice and merchandise mart for traders from Ottoman lands presently at Rialto, charging the Savi to prescribe the necessary physical alterations to the building, and rules of operation for the institution in its new site.³²

19 1621 (28 May) The Collegio approves a schedule of structural alterations and rules of operation for the *fondaco*, devised by the Savi alla Mercanzia in response to the Collegio’s charge of 11 March. There are thirty-three paragraphs, of which those regarding alterations to the building are as follows:

“2. Che siano stroppate con muri tutte le porte di essa casa da parte da terra, così quelle che vanno sopra la salizada, come quelle che vanno sopra il rio dal Megio, e siano lasciate solamente la porta maestra grande che guarda sopra la salizada, e quella de mezadi sopra il rio

31. BMCVe, ms P.D. C-740, item 1, fasc. 3, loose sheet under date.

32. ASVe, SenTer, filza 1917, under date 30 July 1740. Copies in ASVe, SavMerc, b^a N.N. 187, fasc. 1, items 21–22, and fasc. 2, items “z” and “aa.”

del Megio, che dovrà servir all'introito della sol habitatione del custode.

“3. Che sopra canal grande resti la riva, che è al presente, e ne siano aggiunte due altre, una per banda, acciò i turchi possino più commodamente scaricar le mercantie loro, quali due rive, che saranno aggiunte per l'ordinario, stiano serrate, ne siano aperte, se non per bisogno di scaricar mercantie.

“4. Che nella corte di essa casa da terra siano levati tutti gli aspetti che guardano sopra essa corte, ò con far allevare un muro che li chiudano, ò con stroppar tutte le finestre e fori de ogni sorte che sopra essa corte guardano, così che essi turchi non possino esser veduti da quei vicini, e che sià per il medesimo sudetto rispetto rialzato il muro vecchio, ch'è in mezzo delle due case che guardano essa corte, fino alla gorna della casa più bassa.

“5. Che il muro sopra canal grande sopra la riva sià alzato di più di quello, ch'è al presente piedi quattro. [. . .]

“10. Che le camere, stanze e sopra camere siano divise nell'infrascritto modo, cioè la sala grande sopra la corte sià divisa per traverso con muro che continui quello che si ritrova al presente di sotto, et la banda verso il rio sià de turchi asiatici e costantinopolitani, e quella verso salizada sià de turchi bossinesi et albanesi.

“11. Similmente sià diviso per traverso la loggia che guarda sopra canal grande, e la banda verso il rio sià de turchi asiatici e costantinopolitani, e quella verso salizada sià de turchi bossinesi et albanesi. [. . .]

33. ASVe, CollNot, reg^o 81 (1621), fols. 42r–45v. (A marginal note, written in a secretary's hand, adds: “Noi Antonio Priuli doge di Venetia proprietario del sudetto stabile consentiamo quanto di sopra è scritto, et approbòmo quanto è stato fatto et stabilito delli sudetti illustrissimi deputati v. Savij alla Mercantia, et quello aspetta à tutti li

“14. Siano stroppate le colonelle della loggia con muro avalido, un piede superior al pozo con il ligamento di sopra via della sua piana di piera viva.

“15. Tutti i balconi de tutte le camere e sopra camere che guardano, così sopra il rio, come sopra la salizada siano fatti à luce, alti piedi sei da terra, ponendoli le trombe di larese di fuori via.

“16. Tutti i balconi di detto solaro che guardano sopra canal grande, così da una banda, come dall'altra, siano serrati di muro alto piedi sette da terra.

“17. Le due torreselle, così da una banda, come dall'altra, siano stroppate ò distrutte.”³³

20 1648 (15 April) By the marriage contract of Leonardo Pesaro, son of Francesco Pesaro q. Vettor, and Marietta Priuli, daughter of Gerolamo Priuli q. doge Antonio, the Fondaco is conveyed to Leonardo as part of Marietta's dowry.³⁴

21 1670 (18 July) Residents of the Fondaco petition the doge, requesting repairs in the building, because “il nostro fontico è così vecchio e cadente, che dubitiamo, che un giorno cadi.” (2 December) The appeal is referred by the Collegio to the Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, who respond that “il deterioramento del loro [scil., the petitioners'] fontico, reso in tale stato per esser rimasto l'intiero corso d'anni 25 continui dishabitato, certo è che tiene gran bisogno di restauratione, che doverà esser comandata da vostra serenità.” (10 December) Authorization

nostri interessi con buona ventura.”) Copies: ASVe, CollNot, filza 237 (March–May 1621), under date 27 May; SavMerc, b^a N.S. 187, filza 1, loose sheets under date; *ibid.*, filza 2, loose sheets under date.

34. ASVe, ArchGrad, fondo Priuli, b^a 2, fasc. II, item 6.

to proceed is given by the Senate on 10 December.³⁵

- 22** 1700 (9 March) The Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, responding to the Senate's resolution of 2 January that ordered the Fondaco readied for use as quickly as possible, submit to that body a survey of the building's deficiencies (prepared on 20 January by Angelo Ganizai and another, unnamed expert), a copy of which was sent on 26 January to the administration of the owner, Leonardo Pesaro q. Antonio. The noted deficiencies are now being remedied by the owner. They included accumulations of debris in courtyards and many rooms, disappearance of many fixtures, like doors and windows, rot in wooden flooring everywhere, many collapsed ceilings on the first floor due to rotted beams, a ruinous balcony in the great hall, and loss of the top steps of the semicircular landing stair on the Grand Canal.³⁶
- 23** 1740 (16 March) A new survey of the Fondaco, commissioned by the owner and carried out by a builder, Lorenzo Boschetto, reports that its exterior wall on rio del Miglio is out of plumb and will fall if not braced with shoring projected across the *rio* (to replace now rotted, earlier shoring). The inner court is shored from one

wall to its opposite in a like manner. The façades to the Grand Canal and the rear court are "sconcerti nelli muri" and require "molto lavoro." Ceiling beams are rotted throughout the building because the occupants are in the habit of washing their clothes on the floor and of depositing "con indiscretezza in più luoghi [. . .] ogni sorte d'imondicia." The survey is forwarded to the Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia on 21 March.³⁷

- 24** 1740 (April) The Savi petition the Signoria for guidance. Decay of the Fondaco has led to complaints by the resident Turks, two of whom, in fact, were injured not long before when floors gave way beneath their feet. However, the owner, having expended notable sums over the years on maintenance and received little return, is unwilling to make further repairs. He asks that other quarters be found for the Turks and that the building revert to him free and clear.³⁸
- 25** 1751 (4 February) Leonardo Pesaro q. Antonio, the Fondaco's owner, submits (through an agent) to the Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia a description and four drawings of proposed repairs and improvements of the building. The description specifies: "sarà conservata l'antica facciata sopra il Canal Grande, e questa nella sua presente

35. ASVe, SenTer, filza 1917, under date 30 July 1740. A copy in SavMerc, b^a N.S. 187, fasc. 3, item 5.

36. ASVe, SenTer, filza 1917, under date 30 July 1740. Copies in SavMerc, b^a N.S. 187, fascs. 5 and 6, under date.

37. ASVe, SavMerc, b^a N.S. 187, fasc. 9, under date.

38. ASVe, SenTer, filza 1917, under date 30 July 1740. Copy in SavMerc, b^a N.S. 187, fasc. 9, under date. Papers charting the outcome of the Savi's petition are kept with it, in the same Senate file. Thus, on 7 April the Senate orders from the Savi a review of past agreements between the building's owners and lessors, and a recommendation for action. On 10 June the Savi supply a ten-page history of the Fondaco, accompanied by still another survey (by Giovanni Pastori, *proto* of

the Magistrato al Sal), estimating the cost of needed repairs at 14,000 ducats. On 28 July they forward to the Senate an opinion of the Avogadori Fiscali, that similar cases in the past had ended with proprietors' being required to meet their obligations. Noting that temporary lodgings for the resident Turks are available in the Fondaco's *salizada* side, which, contrary to past agreements, the owners have been renting out to non-Turks, the Savi implicitly recommend a restoration at the owners' expense. On 30 July the Senate adopts this course of action, and on 11 August Leonardo Pesaro q. Antonio accepts. On 15 September the Senate notes with satisfaction that the resident Turks had been moved into the western side of the building, allowing work to begin.

architettura,” and “sarà pure alzato il fondo al Fontico per un piede incirca, onde da tal alzamento restino guardati li magazeni e pozzo dall’escrescenze delle canali.” Two identical drawings shall be made as record of the restored Fondaco, one for the Savi, the other for Pesaro. He asks that the portion of the building along the *salizada* revert to him, so that he may maintain small apartments there. This proposal is submitted to the Senate and approved (9 and 11 February, respectively).³⁹

- 26** 1755 (4 January) The Venetian diarist Pietro Gradenigo reports: “Fu ristaurato ed ampliato il Fontico de Turchi a S Giacomo dell’Orto, di ragione della Famiglia Pesaro.”⁴⁰
- 27** 1768 An agent for the Pesaro reports to the Savi (6 June) completion of the Fondaco’s restoration and submits a drawn record, noting that what was done differs in many respects from what was proposed in the project plans. Given these changes, he asks that the Savi revise the previously adopted schedule of room rents. The Savi adopt (7 June) a new schedule of rents. The architect, Bernardino Maccaruzzi, having

been charged by the Savi on 27 November 1767 to inspect the restored Fondaco and verify that all the work approved by the Savi on 15 April 1751 and by the Senate on 15 May 1751 was duly executed, submits drawings and a written report (2 August). He notes omissions and changes from the project plans, rectified or introduced at Maccaruzzi’s behest.⁴¹

- 28** 1830 (28 February) Pietro Pesaro, the last male descendant of Leonardo Pesaro, dies in London, leaving the Fondaco to his nephew, Leonardo Manin.⁴²
- 29** 1838 (18 July) Leonardo Manin sells the Fondaco to the contractor Antonio Busetto, called Petich.⁴³
- 30** 1841 Busetto demolishes two-thirds of the building and builds in its place two storage sheds.⁴⁴
- 31** 1860–61 The city of Venice acquires use and then possession of the Fondaco’s remains, that is, the tract facing the Grand Canal.⁴⁵

39. ASVe, SenTer, filza 2128, under date 11 February 1750 *m. V*. A few months later, on 30 April 1751, the Savi adopted a new schedule of room rents, for use upon completion of the building’s renovation. On 5 May they submitted the schedule to the Senate, along with two sets of drawings of the intended restoration. They advised the Senate, furthermore, that upon its completion Pesaro wished to set room rents himself. On 15 May their report was approved by the Senate, and Pesaro’s request denied; *ibid.*, filza 2134, under date 15 May 1751. I have not been able to find the drawings submitted in February and in May.

40. Gradenigo, *Notizie d’arte*, 14.

41. ASVe, SavMerc, Diversorum, b^a 372, filza 131, item 3. Whereas I have not been able to find the drawings that accompanied the Pesaro’s report of 6 June, Maccaruzzi’s record drawings still exist; see (B), no. 9.

42. Sagredo and Berchet, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, 20–21. The proofs of parentage and lawful inheritance presented by Manin to obtain his bequest survive in BMCVe, ms P.D. C-740/1, fasc. 7. Pietro Pesaro’s testament of 30 May 1829 was unsuccessfully challenged by other nephews, Leonardo and Pietro Gradenigo; see BNMVe, ms Ital. Cl. VII, 1764 (7759), fols. 24r–26r (copies in BMCVe, ms P.D. C-799, fols. 26r–27v).

43. BMCVe, ms P.D. C-740/1, fasc. 7; see also Sagredo and Berchet, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, 21 and doc. vi.

44. BMCVe, ms P.D. C-740/1, fasc. 9. See further Schulz, “Restoration,” 19–20.

45. AMVe, Cont, ser. I^a, no. 277. First the city leased the property in perpetuity from Busetto (21 July 1860). Later Giovanni Conti bought up the lease (29 December) and presented it to the city (31 January 1861); Schulz, “Restoration,” 22. The deeds are accompanied by floor plans, for which, see (B), no. 15, and note 74 below.

- 32 1860–69 The Fondaco’s façade tract is restored and inaugurated as home to a civic museum of art, history, and natural sciences.⁴⁶
- 33 1871–91 The city expands the new museum, integrating in it the collections and library of Teodoro Correr and acquiring from Busetto’s heirs the sheds built on the site of the Fondaco’s demolished portions. It has the sheds razed and three new tracts around an open courtyard built on their site to accommodate the enlarged museum.⁴⁷

(B) VISUAL SOURCES

- I 1500 The Fondaco seen from the southeast (i.e., rear) and above, being a detail of block A of Jacopo de’ Barbari’s woodcut bird’s-eye view of Venice.⁴⁸ Fig. 147
- 2 1600–1602 (Undated) Plans of the Fondaco’s lower three floors, at the approximate scale of 1:300. Titled “pian de li luochi tereni,” “pian dei mezadi,” and “piano del solaro primo.” 310 × 233, pen and brown ink over a stylus-and-compass preparation. Signed on the ground-floor plan by Cesare Torello, called Franco. Prepared

46. See Schulz, “Restoration,” where the restoration papers that survive at AMVe are calendared in an appendix. See also (B), nos. 18–20 and 22.

47. Negotiations for moving the Correr collection were successfully concluded with the collection’s trustees on 20 March 1871; see AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza IX-7-21, fasc. “1871,” under date. (For a history of the collection itself, see Lazzarini, *Notizia*, iii–ix.) Purchase of the sheds from Antonio Busetto’s widow was completed on 28 September 1871; AMVe, Cont, ser. I, no. 190. Plans to build wings for the museum in their place, alongside the rio del Miglio and the salizada del Fontego, were prepared by Federigo Berchet in 1872–73; see AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza IX-7-1, fasc. “1872,” under date 31 August 1872, and BMCVe, ms P.D. C-715, under date March 1873. Meanwhile the city had decided to proceed first with the *salizada* tract; see *Deliberazioni*

in connection with attempts by Duke Cesare d’Este to sell the building.⁴⁹ Figs. 149, 151, 153

- 3 1602 (Undated) Anonymous sketch plan of the rear of the Fondaco. 210 × 312 (being half of a folded quarto sheet, 418 × 312 overall, the other half of which is blank), pen and brown ink. Annotated by an unidentified writer (Antonio Priuli?), who has entered instructions bearing on an instrument (of sale?) to be executed. He distinguishes between parts of the property he wants for himself and parts that are to be retained by a cardinal (Aldobrandini?).

(top left): “SALONE / Vorrei che nell’Instrumento mettessero questa parte per noi.”

(top right): “Vorrei che quest’altra parte fusse deto nell’Instrumento che’l Serenissimo cardinale la riserba per se con quelle stanze di sotto solamente che serua al nostro intento solamente che nella nostra parte non si tochi confine altro con l’orefice, et mazor stanze che si dissino lassiar nella parte riserbata dal Serenissimo cardinale credo al mio parer che sarà meglio.”

(upper center): “Pozuolo” and “Pozuolo”

(center): “Vorrei che nel cortile prendessero per noi quella parte, et tanta che non toccasse

del Consiglio Comunale for 1873, under 24 January and 28 April. Bids on the project were submitted on 10 December 1874; AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza IX-7-26, fasc. “1874,” under date. Construction was completed in 1878; see the city’s *Rendiconto* for 1878–1879–1880, 165. In 1886 the *rio* tract was built; see Berchet, “Sui restauri,” 5–6; *Guida del Museo Civico*, iii; and the city’s *Rendiconto* for 1883–86, 941–42. The rear tract, finally, was built in 1890–91; see *Museo Civico e Raccolta Correr*, v–vi. At the removal in 1922 of the sections on art and history to the Procuratie Nuove on piazza di S. Marco, the Fondaco and its extensions became the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale, which they are still today. For further details, see Barizza, “Sedi del Museo.”

48. Schulz, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View.”

49. Schulz, “Early Plans,” with transcriptions of the numerous legends.

punto per *confine* quel che può esser posseduto dal stella orefice, anco che del posseduto dal gentil' *huomo* Venitiano lasciano più tosto un punto di *confine* nella parte che diremo del *serenissimo* cardinale ritenga per se, et che fusse detto nell'Instrumento che'l Serenissimo Cardinale riserba per se la scalla dalla banda del Rio (che è *quella* per mezzo l'orefice) con le stanze nel salone da *quella* parte del Rio (che saranno di sopra 3 cioè *quella* dell'ingresso nella salla et le due che hò dette per mio dormire) restando nella *nostra* parte tutte le stanze sopra la requie, et che la scalla dalla parte della strada che uà al tragheto (che è *quella* per mezzo il gentil'*huomo* Venitiano) si dicesse uenduta à noi con tute le altre stanze e tutta la facciata sopra il canal grande, alle *quali* potremo far ingresso per l'andito scuro, et per la loggia, et se fusse possibile che in *questa* parte del cortille cadesse l'andito di andar sin alla riuà”

(bottom left): “casa del gentil'*huomo* Venitiano.”

(bottom center): “Corte con *quella* mostra di camino in fuora che si deue chiarir bene se sia del gentil'*huomo* Venitiano ò dell'orefice.”

(bottom right): “Casa del stella oreuese.”⁵⁰
Fig. 157

- 4 1703 A distant view of the Fondaco, being part of an etching by Luca Carlevarijs of the right side of the Grand Canal looking west-northwest toward S. Geremia, titled “PALAZZO BATTAGIA / SOPRA CANAL GRANDE.” 208 × 293 (plate), 184 × 290 (image); etching.⁵¹

- 5 ca. 1709 Anonymous view of the Fondaco, titled “PALAZZO, O FONDACO DE TURCHI / Sopra L' Canal Grande,” published by Vincenzo Coronelli, *Singolarità di Venezia*, II: *Palazzi di Venezia*, n. p. or d., but Venice, ca. 1709, unnumbered plate in the section “Sestiere di S. Croce.” 186 × 259 (plate), 182 × 255 (image); etching and engraving.⁵²
- 6 1715–17 Anonymous view of the Fondaco from campo di S. Marcuola, titled “Veduta del Fondaco de Turchi.” 355/367 × 478 (plate), 321/324 × 463/467 (image); etching and engraving. Unnumbered plate in the first (ca. 1717) and later editions of Domenico Lovisa's *Gran Teatro di Venezia: Prospettive*.⁵³ Fig. 148
- 7 bef. 1730 Distant view of the Fondaco, being a detail of the painting by Canaletto (and the etching after it by Antonio Visentini) of *The Grand Canal: Looking Northwest from Palazzo Vendramin-Caleggi to S. Geremia and Palazzo Flangini*.⁵⁴
- 8 ca. 1751–55 Views of the Fondaco, being details from the popular view of the *Grand Canal from Campo di S. Marcuola: Looking East*, known in thirteen versions. One is attributed to Francesco Guardi (1712–93) and supposedly follows, but probably precedes, the others. The rest have been attributed variously to Bernardo Bellotto (1720–80; active in Venice until 1747), Michele Marieschi (1710–42), unknown followers of the latter, and the man who married Marieschi's

50. BMCVe, ms P.D. C-740/1, fasc. 4, unnumbered, loose sheet.

51. Carlevarijs, *Fabrice, e vedute*, pl. 78. Cf. Rizzi, *Carlevarijs*, 102 and fig. 142; Carlevarijs, *Luca Carlevarijs: Le fabrice*, 127, pl. 78.

52. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia*, no. 4539; Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli*, no. 89.

53. Cf. Schulz, “*Gran Teatro*” (with further bibliography).

54. Windsor Castle, Royal Collection. See Constable, *Canaletto*, II, cat. nos. 250 (for the painting) and 161 (for the dating), as well as II, 604–9, for Visentini's print (it is *Prospectus*, pt. I, pl. IX; illus., *Prospective di Venezia*, [30], no. 13).

widow and took over his shop, Francesco Albotto (1721–57).⁵⁵ Paintings range in size from 41 × 57 cm to 63 × 97.5 cm, differ slightly in staffage (ships and people) and show the Fondaco in a variety of states. (1) The Guardi shows a low wall in front of the Fondaco, and a house of uneven height (the first four bays are two storeys high, the rest one storey) butted against the palace on the left.⁵⁶ (2–3) Two of the Marieschian pictures show the same scene, except that the wall here has a jagged edge.⁵⁷ Eight others (4–11) repeat the subject, but place a scaffold in front of the Fondaco. There are certain differences between them, however. In three (4–6), the scaffold is on the left, and campo di S. Marcuola is littered with worked and unworked stones.⁵⁸ Another (7) also depicts stones on the *campo*, but puts the scaffold on the right.⁵⁹ Four more (8–11) keep the scaffold on the left, but show the *campo* clear of stones.⁶⁰ The two last of the Marieschian group (12–13), while repeating a cleared campo, represent the Fondaco free of its scaffold, the house on its left

as two storeys high in entirety, and the wall on the water as very high and smooth-edged.⁶¹ The thirteen pictures can be arranged, as in this list, in a sequence recording the Fondaco before (numbers 1–3), during (4–11), and after (12–13) renovation of its waterside elevation. A complete restoration of the palace was proposed in 1740, impending in 1751, substantially completed by 1755, and certified in 1768.⁶² A more precise date could be fixed if one knew when the stones on campo di S. Marcuola were removed. They were intended for a new façade for S. Marcuola—designed in 1728 by Giorgio Massari, begun by the early 1730s, and then left unfinished.⁶³ I have not found when exactly the façade was given up or when the stone for it was removed. The three subgroups of the composition can therefore be dated no more closely than before 1751, 1751–55, and after 1755, respectively.⁶⁴ Figs. 158, 159 (nos. 8 and 12)

9 1768 (2 August) Record plans by Bernardino Maccaruzzi of the Fondaco's ground floor,

55. The Guardi and the name of Francesco Albotto were introduced to the literature by Martini, *Pittura*, n. 273, pl. 283, and 83 n. 286, respectively. The Marieschian pictures, on the other hand, were until recently attributed to Canaletto or his school. The name of Marieschi was first proposed for them by Morassi, in *Michele Marieschi*, nos. 8, 18.

56. Sold as lot 9, Christie's, London, 12 December 1980. Previously collection Palitz, New York; see Morassi, *Guardi*, I, 416, no. 568, and II, fig. 541.

57. Private collections, London and Milan, respectively; Manzelli, *Michele Marieschi*, nos. A.42.6 and A.42.8; illus., Toledano, *Michele Marieschi*, 1988, nos. V.33.1 and V.33.2; ²1995, nos. V.39.a and V.39.b; Montecuccoli degli Erri and Pedrocco, *Michele Marieschi*, nos. 30 and 32.

58. All three have been on the market in London: namely, (4) at the Spielman Gallery in 1988 (illus., Toledano, *Michele Marieschi*, ²1995, 31, fig. 19); (5) at the Walpole Gallery in 1995 (illus. in *Treasures of Italian Art*, no. 31); and (6) at the Sotheby's sale of 4 July 1990, lot 6 (illus.).

59. Unidentified private collection; Manzelli, *Michele Marieschi*, no. A.42.9 (illus.).

60. (8) Galleria Sabauda, Turin, inv. no. 592 B (Manzelli, *Michele Marieschi*, no. A.42.1); (9) formerly (1914) Galerie Charles Brunner, Paris (ibid., no. A.42.5; illus., Kozakiewicz, *Bellotto*, II, no. Z-219); (10) formerly (1971) Galleria Sacerdoti, Milan (Manzelli, *Michele Marieschi*, no. A.42.4; illus., *Arte veneta*, XXV, 1971, xii); (11) private collection, Milan (Manzelli, *Michele Marieschi*, no. A.42.10; illus., *Marieschi tra Canaletto e Guardi*, 171, fig. 200 [the text, 170, gives the wrong figure number]).

61. (12) Pinacoteca Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (missing since World War II; illus., Manzelli, no. A.42.2); (13) formerly collection Cerruti, Milan (ibid., no. A.42.3, and illustrated by V.A.T., "Alcuni aspetti pittorici del Settecento veneziano," *Arte figurativa e moderna*, IV, 1956, II, 42–43).

62. For the progress of the Fondaco's restoration from 1751 to 1767/68, see (A), nos. 25–27.

63. The last record of work at the church is dated 1735, when the high altar was completed; see Massari, *Giorgio Massari*, 51–54.

64. Dario Succi has argued that the building stones on campo S. Marcuola in (5) above date the renovation of the Fondaco and the painting to the mid-1730s; *Treasures of Italian Art*, no. 31. This is clearly wrong with respect to both Fondaco and painting.

mezzanine, first floor, attic, and roof after restoration, to an approximate scale of 1:1,000.⁶⁵ Five sheets assembled into a fascicule, of which the bottom sheet (representing the ground floor) measures 760 × 525. The four sheets fastened to it are each trimmed to the exact outline of the represented floor, and the whole set is assembled one sheet on top of the other, like the floors of the building itself. Titled (on the verso of the bottom sheet) “Pianta del Fontico di Turchi in Venezia.” Pen and brown ink over faint pencil preparation, washed in gray, rose, light rose, and light yellow. Signed by Maccaruzzi at the bottom right of the ground-floor plan, and prepared to accompany his report on the building’s restoration.⁶⁶ Figs. 150, 152, 154, 155, 156

- 10** 1808–11 Site plan of the Fondaco, being a detail of the plan of Venice at the scale 1:1,000 prepared for the so-called Napoleonic cadastre of Venice.⁶⁷ Fig. 160
- 11** 1828 The Fondaco’s waterfront elevation, being a detail of a plate from a lithographed continuous elevation by Dionisio Moretti of the building fronts along the Grand Canal.⁶⁸
- 12** 1844 (20 June) View of the Fondaco’s waterfront elevation and plan of its whole site,

by, respectively, Marco Moro and Giuseppe Salvadori (then director of the municipal office of works). They are designated (top right) “(A)” and “(C).” Presumably they accompanied a report on the Fondaco’s state, but I have not managed to find it.

Plate (A): titled bottom center in brown ink “Esistenza del Fabbricato detto Fondaco dei Turchi.” 305/312 × 412/414; pencil. Signed on the bottom left of the image, “M. Moro dis. dal vero.” Signed and dated bottom right in brown ink by Giuseppe Salvadori, director of the Ufficia Tecnico Municipale.⁶⁹

Plate (C): titled upper right in brown ink “Planimetria del Fabbricato dello Fondaco dei Turchi in Venezia.” 322 × 407; pen and black ink, washed in light and dark gray, pink, and blue. Signed and dated 22 June 1844 at the upper right by Salvadori.⁷⁰ Fig. 161 (pl. A)

- 13** 1849–52 Details of the Fondaco’s waterfront elevation, by John Ruskin. (1) Top floor of the right-hand tower; untitled, 343 × 470, watercolor. (2) The same (preparation for [1]); untitled, 177 × 248, pen and ink and watercolor. (3) Two capitals, being the eighth and ninth from the left of the ground-floor arcade and the intervening arch; untitled, 216 × 254, pencil. (4) A capital, being the seventh from the left of

65. A scale of 60 *piedi veneti* at the bottom of the ground-floor plan measures 222 mm, and 1 *pie* measures typically 3.7 mm.

66. ASVe, MiscMap, no. 571; cited by Tiepolo, *Fonti*, 18. For Maccaruzzi’s report of 2 August 1768, see (A), no. 27. An exact copy of his plans, dated 1 February 1805, signed by the draughtsman, Matteo Zonta, *primo perito* (he does not name the agency in which he served), and identified as from the original by Bernardino Maccaruzzi, is preserved in ASVe, SavMerc, Registri dei dazi di entrata e uscita, reg° 155.

67. ASVe, CatNap, Venezia, pl. VII, plat 11057; illus., Schulz, “Restoration,” fig. 2. For a reduced tracing of the plate as a whole, see *Catasti storici*, [47]. For the “Napoleonic cadastre” generally, see also *Guida generale*, IV, 1070–76.

68. Quadri and Moretti, *Canal Grande*, pl. 13 (from Palazzo Duodo [Balbi-Valier] to rio di S. Giovanni Decollato). The individual plates measure 143 × 341 (plate), 82 × 334 (image).

69. BMCVe, inv. no. 6533. Salvadori’s signature is accompanied by file number 2890.

70. AMVe, AUff, 1880–84, filza VII-8-6, *pezza* B, fol. 4. Salvadori’s signature is accompanied by file number 2898. A scale of 40 m at the bottom measures 179 mm, suggesting a ratio of 1:224. However, comparing drawn with actual dimensions, the ratio is 1:255. A reduced copy in Sagredo and Berchet, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, 68. See further Schulz, “Restoration,” 20, 30 (app., no. 1), and 33 n. 7.

the upper arcade; untitled, 191 × 171, pencil and watercolor.⁷¹

- 14** 1853–55 Jakob August Lorent, photograph of the Fondaco's waterfront elevation after demolition of the rest of the house in front of the façade's left-hand corner.⁷² Fig. 138
- 15** 1858 (15 January) Plans of the four floors of the front tract of the Fondaco by Federico Berchet, to a scale of 1:100.⁷³ Numbered "Tav:^{la} I through "Tav:^{la} IV." Titled "Icnografia dello stato attuale del pian terreno ["piano Ammezzati," "Piano Primo," "Piano Soffitta"] della sussistente porzione dell'Antico Palazzo dei Duchi di Ferrara a S. Giacomo dall'Orio altrimenti detto Fondaco dei Turchi." Respectively 345 × 465, 345 × 474, 335 × 425, and 344 × 474; pen and black and red ink, with pencil corrections, washed in red and yellow, on buff tracing paper (heavily mildewed and foxed). Dated and signed by Berchet and Giuseppe Bianco (then director of the municipal office of works). Submitted by them to the city council on 21 December 1858

71. (1) Ruskin, *Works*, xxxviii, 296, no. 1892 (illus., x, frontispiece); whereabouts unknown. (2) *Ibid.*, xxxviii, 296, no. 1893 (illus., *Ruskin and His Circle*, 43, no. 168); Coniston, Brantwood Trust. (3) Ruskin, *Works*, xxxviii, 296, no. 1895; Birmingham, City Art Gallery, inv. no. 149.107. (4) Illus., Walton, *Drawings of John Ruskin*, no. 12; New York, Salander and O'Reilly Gallery (1996). A watercolor of the Fondaco, without identification of owner or exact subject and unillustrated in the catalogue, was shown as no. 12 in *Ruskin and the English Watercolour* (1989). Ruskin made two field trips to Venice to study its architecture, in November 1849–April 1850 and September 1851–June 1852.

72. Copenhagen, Kunstakademiets Bibliotek; illus., Schulz, "Restoration," 23, fig. 2. For a list of six early photographs that show the façade in more or less the same state, see *ibid.*, 33 n. 10. The date is that of Lorent's trip to Venice; see Waller, "Wahren Wert," 102.

73. Although no scale is indicated or drawn, the scale can be established by comparing dimensions on plan with actual dimensions and those inscribed on plates I and II.

as part of a preliminary report of the state and possible uses of the ruined Fondaco.⁷⁴ Figs.

164–67

- 16** ca. 1859 Plans to the scale of 1:100 of the four floors of the Fondaco's front tract and elevation at 1:100 of its façade by Federico Berchet, showing how the building might be restored. The plans are inscribed, in succession, (top right) "II/1," "II/2," "II/3," "II/4," and "TAVOLA I," "TAVOLA II," "TAVOLA III," "TAVOLA IIII"; (bottom left) "La scala del presente disegno è di un centimetro per metro e va ridotta di un quarto."; (bottom center) "ICONOGRAFIA DEL PIAN TERRENO" ["DEL MEZZANINO," "DEL PIANO PRIMO," "DEL PIANO A TETTO"]. The elevation is inscribed (top right) "TAVOLA IV," (bottom left) "La scala del presente disegno è di un centimetro al metro e va ridotta alla metà," (bottom center) "PROGETTO DI RIDUZIONE DELLA FACCIATA." 335 × 550 (plans), 291 × 495 (elevation); pen and black ink over pencil preparation (erased), plate numbers and titles in pen and brown ink, the elevation washed in light blue,

74. AMVe, AUff, 1880–84, filza VII–8–6, *pezza* no. 2, pls. I through IV. For the circumstances under which the drawings were prepared and their reuse for a later project, see Schulz, "Restoration," 22 and app., no. 1. Two sets of similar drawings accompany the deed of purchase by which the city acquired full title to the ruin in 1861; cf. (A), no. 31. One comprises four sheets, 488 × 607, showing ground, mezzanine, and first floors and roof, drawn to the scale of 1:100 in pen and red and black ink over pencil preparation, and washed in gray, ochre, pink, and red. A fifth sheet, 469 × 669, shows the former Fondaco's site in entirety, in gray ink over pencil preparation, washed in light beige, light and dark blue, light and dark and red brown, green, pink, and yellow. Dated 7 December 1858, these sheets bear three signatures, one illegible, the others those of Giuseppe Bianco and "Antonio bueto deto pechechié" [*sic*]. A second set of two sheets, 276 × 406, shows the same four floors, two to a sheet, drawn to a scale of 1:400 in pen and black ink over pencil preparation. This set is dated 21 July 1860 and signed by Giuseppe Bianco, Federico Berchet, and Angelo Busetto (signing for his father, Antonio). Neither set provides more or better information than the plans catalogued above as no. 15.

- green, violet gray, pink, and light yellow. Numerous dimensions, notes, and trial changes of plan are entered in pencil over the inked lines. Signed by Berchet in black ink (bottom right) “Fed. Berchet Ing^{re}.” Prepared as illustrations to Berchet’s part of his and Agostino Sagredo’s monograph of 1860.⁷⁵ Reused by Berchet to study restoration problems and trial solutions.⁷⁶
- 17** bef. 1861 The Fondaco’s waterfront, or north, elevation, seen in strong foreshortening from the end of the quay on rio del Miglio. Untitled, unsigned etching (attributed to Luca Beltrami), 352 × 256.⁷⁷
- 18** ca. 1861 Elevations to a scale of 2:100 of the forward end of Fondaco’s west side and of the right half of its waterfront elevation, attributed to Annibale Marini. 570 × 360 (side), 443 × 568 (elevation), pen and brush and gray ink over a faint pencil preparation, washed in blue, brown, gray, pink, and yellow. Titled (top) “Fondaco dei Turchi,” inscribed (bottom) “Scala del 2/100” and (the side elevation) “canal grande” and “Salizzada Fondaco dei Turchi.” Unsigned, but the style of drawing and lettering are similar to that seen on sheets signed by Annibale Marini, *assistente tecnico* in the municipal office of works during the years of the Fondaco’s restoration. The date is fixed by the presence of shoring throughout the building and of the little house, butted against the façade on the right.⁷⁸ Figs. 162–63
- 19** 1861 Two sets—preparatory drawings and clean copies—of selectively dimensioned plans, elevations, and cross sections of the existing back wall of the Fondaco’s ground- and first-floor arcades, and of the new wall to be built in its place. Pen and black and red ink; light and dark gray wash (pl. O only); pencil annotations (preparatory sheets only); scaled at 1:100. Preparatory drawings are anonymous, but their titles are written in Federico Berchet’s hand; copies are signed by the delineator, Gaetano Combatti. Preparatory drawings:
 Tav. H (elevation of the two arcades superimposed on the elevation of the new wall), 355 × 383, titled “Tipo dimostrante il progetto di ricostruzione del muro principale che divide le loggie dai locali interni nel Fondaco dei Turchi.” Dated 31 October 1861; signed by G[iuseppe] Bianco, director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale.
 Tav. N (elevation, plan, and cross section of the existing wall), 333 × 631, titled “Tipo dimostrante lo stato attuale del muro principale che divide le gallerie dai locali interni nel senso longitudinale del Fondaco dei Turchi.” Dated 31 October 1861; signed by G[iuseppe] Bianco.
 Tav. O (elevation of the existing wall), 320 × 217. Untitled, unsigned.
 Tipo 5 (cross section of all three transverse walls of the existing fabric), 342 × 185, titled “Spaccato principale dello stato attuale del Fondaco dei Turchi.” Undated, unsigned.

75. Sagredo and Berchet, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, pls. II–IV.

76. AMVe, AUff, 1880–84, filza VII-8-6, *pezza* no. 6, pls. 1–IV (plans); BMCVe, ms P.D. C-715 (elevation). See also Schulz, “Restoration,” n. 18 and app., no. 5.

77. Baldrighi, *Luca Beltrami*, 49, 217 (identified both times as in an unidentified private collection). The print shows the added house that stood at the west corner of the façade and was torn down in 1861, when Beltrami was a scant seven years old. If the attribution

is correct, he must have been copying a photograph or a drawing by an older artist. (I am most grateful to Antonio Foscari for bringing this print to my attention.)

78. Work on securing the ruin began in May 1861, and the house was torn down soon after. See Schulz, “Restoration,” 22–23; signed drawings by Marini are illustrated there, figs. 6–7. For others, see no. 22 below.

Clean copies:

Copy of Tav. N, 432 × 556, tax stamp affixed and canceled, titled, as on Tav. N, but with added file number, “N° 4896.” Dated 19 November 1861; signed by G[iuseppe] Bianco, [Federico] Berchet, Sebastiano Cadel (the contractor), and G[aetano] Combatti.

Copy, on one sheet, of Tav. H and Tipo 5, 432 × 559, tax stamp affixed and canceled, titled as on Tav. H and Tipo 5. Dated and signed as the previous sheet.⁷⁹ Fig. 168 (tipo 5)

- 20 1862 (27 June) Exterior and interior elevations and a cross section, selectively dimensioned, without scale, but scaled at 1:100, of the existing rear wall of the Fondaco’s canal-side tract (facing the building’s former interior court) and the new wall to be built in its place. Pen and black ink; 232 × 335 (existing wall), 231 × 234 (new wall); delineated by Gaetano Combatti. Inscribed as follows:

Existing wall (across top): “*Tavola I.^a / Tipo dimostrante lo stato attuale del muro sulla corte interna del Fondaco dei Turchi.*”

New wall (across top): “*Tavola II.^a / Tipo dimostrante la progettata ricostruzione del muro sulla / corte interna ed alcune tramezze nel Fondaco dei Turchi.*”

Both drawings are dated 27 June 1862 and signed by the same individuals who signed

79. Preparatory drawings: AMVe, AUff, 1880–84, filza VII-8-6, *pezza* no. 6, tavv. H, N, O, and tipo 5. See Schulz, “Restoration,” 25, fig. 8 (= tav. N) and, for organization of this complex file of papers and drawings, app., no. 5. Clean copies: AMVe, Cont, ser. II, no. 178 (an omnibus gathering of several contracts for the Fondaco’s restoration and loose related papers and drawings), last of five wrappers in the folder titled “Contratto No. 158” [*sic*]; illus., Ferro and Parmagnani, “Cronache,” 148, figs. 18–19 (cropped).

80. AMVe, Cont, ser. II, no. 178 (for the character of this file, see the previous note), at end of the folder titled “Contratto no. 158” [*sic*]; illus., Ferro and Parmagnani, “Cronache,” 149, figs. 20–21 (cropped). Preparatory drawings for both sheets in AMVe, AUff, 1880–84, filza

the copies in no. 19 above, Bianco, Berchet, Combatti, and Cadel.⁸⁰

- 21 1846–63 View of the Fondaco’s Grand Canal elevation after demolition of the two added houses, with an ideal reconstruction of its cresting. Lithograph by Marco Moro, titled “PALAZZO DEI DUCHI DI FERRARA poi Fondaco dei Turchi ★ PALAIS DES DUCS DE FERRARE après entrepôt des Turcs.” 192 × 309 to ruled border.⁸¹
- 22 (7 August) Dimensioned elevations, plans, and masonry details, variously scaled from 1:5 to 1:25, delineated by Annibale Marini, recording all stonework completed by the subcontracting masons’ firm of Giacomo Spiera. (Tav. A) 1278 × 760, (B) 376 × 546, (C) 980 × 1816, (D) 627 × 898, (E) 1204 × 704, (F) 868 × 620, (G) 870 × 616, (H) 465 × 2750, (J) 1238 × 760, (L) 293 × 465, (M) 1270 × 615, (N) 657 × 483, and (O) 1820 × 502; pen and black and red ink over pencil preparation, washed beige, light and dark blue, buff, green, orange, pink, red, turquoise, and yellow, on heavy drafting paper (D, E, F, G, M, N), tracing paper (O), and waxed cloth (A, B, C, H, L). All inscriptions identify the subject as the Fondaco. Scales and inscriptions are as follows:

Tav. A, scaled at 1:20, titled (top right) “[. . .] Torretta destra al lato della Salizzada.”⁸²

VII-8-6, Allegato E, tav. I, and *pezza* no. 6, tipo M, of which tav. I is illustrated by Schulz, “Restoration,” 25, fig. 9 (the corresponding figure caption appears on p. 26 with the erroneous figure number 10; for the organization of this file, see no. 5 in the article’s appendix).

81. *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, 1: *Palazzi*, pl. 80; Fontana, *Venezia monumentale*, ed. Moretti, pl. 82. The latter of the two added houses was demolished in ca. 1861, but the plate was published after 1863 (because it is not listed in the table of contents for that year’s edition of *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*) and before 1869 (because it shows the building without the tower tops that were completed by then).

82. Illus., Ferro, “Appunti,” 652, fig. 6.

Tav. B, scaled at ca. 1:13, titled (top) “Torretta destra [. . .] / Parapetto riattato Parapetti nuovi di madino I° Piano Parapetto riattato,” (center) “Parapetto nuovo Parapetto nuovo Parapetto nuovo.”⁸³

Tav. C, scaled at 1:20 except details of *patere* and cresting at the right, which are scaled 1:10, titled (top) “Prospetto del corpo centrale fra le due laterali torrette del palazzo Fondaco dei Turchi radicalmente restaurato. / Il color carmino indica le parti con materiale nuovo somministrato all’Impresa. / Il color azzurro indica le parti con materiale dell’Amministrazione.”⁸⁴

Tav. D, without scale, titled (bottom) “Tasselli eseguiti nei Capitelli della Galleria Piano=Terra.”⁸⁵

Tav. E, scaled at 1:5 (bases) and 1:10 (soffits, archivolt), titled (bottom) “Dettagli che dimostrano la riduzione delle Sottobasi, Basi, Soffitti, Fregi e dentelli esterni di coronamento coi relativi tasselli indicati in rosso [. . .].”⁸⁶

Tav. F, scaled at 1:10, titled (top) “Tipo rappresentante li nuovi e vecchi Soffitti e dentelli intagliati ed applicati [. . .] nella Galleria Piano=Terra [. . .].”

Tav. G, scaled at 1:10, titled (top) “Tipo dimostrante li nuovi e vecchi Soffitti a dentelli intagliati ed applicati [. . .] nella Galleria I° Piano [. . .]. / La tinta rossa indica le parti nuove. / La tinta azzurra indica il materiale vecchio ridotto.”

Tav. H, scaled at 1:5, titled (center) “Dettagli che dimostrano le N° 17 Basi di marmo greco modonate, delle quali N° 5 nuove e le altre ridotte ed intassellate, li N° 17 Capitelli [. . .]

tutti rientrati ed intassellati, li N° 14 nuovi Soprabachi con dentelli, guscia, e listelli, e le superiori N° 17 Patere [. . .] pure rientrate, intassellate coronate a doppi dentelli [. . .], il tutto applicato . . . nella Facciata centrale in I. Piano [. . .].”

Tav. J, scaled at 1:20, except *patere* and *formelle*, which are scaled 1:10, titled (top left) “[. . .] / Torretta sinistra al lato Rivo del Megio.”⁸⁷

Tav. L, scaled at ca. 1:13, titled (top) “Torretta sinistra [. . .]”; (upper center) “Parapetti nuovi di marmo I. Piano”; (lower center) “Piano Terra”; and (bottom) “Parapetto nuovo,” “Parapetto ridotto,” “Parapetto nuovo.”⁸⁸

Tav. M, scaled at 1:10, titled (bottom left) “Dettagli dimostranti le N° 12 arcate, le n° 8 patere con fregi marmorei [. . .].”⁸⁹

Tav. N, scaled at 1:10, titled (right center) “Tipo rappresentante li N° 12 interdossi di marmo, le N° 8 patere con fregi [. . .] della Torretta sinistra [. . .] NB. La tinta rossa indica il materiale nuovo. La tinta azzurra indica il materiale dell’Amministrazione ridotto.”

Tav. O, scaled at 1:25, titled (top) “Tratti di Piante che dimostrano i soli lavori d’Ornatista Scarpellino e Lucidatore eseguiti [. . .] nella Facciata centrale e laterali Torrette con voltatesta [. . .]. NB La tinta rossa indica le nuove parti. La tinta azzurra indica le parti rinnovate con materiale dell’Amministrazione.”

All drawings are dated as above and signed by the draftsman, Marini, the general contractor, Sebastiano Cadell, and the subcontracting mason, Giacomo Spiera. They are the record drawings

83. Illus., Schulz, “Restoration,” fig. 15.

84. Illus., Ferro, “Appunti,” 653, fig. 9 (misidentified as tav. M).

85. Illus., Schulz, “Restoration,” fig. 12.

86. Illus., Ferro, “Appunti,” 657, fig. 20 (cut at bottom and misidentified as tav. M).

87. Illus., Ferro, “Appunti,” 652, fig. 7.

88. Illus., Ferro, “Appunti,” 654, fig. 15; Schulz, “Restoration,” fig. 14.

89. The upper half illustrated on the cover of *Recupero*, XII, 1993, no. 8 (the issue in which Ferro’s “Appunti” appears).

of the completed restoration of the building's stone members, prepared for the certifying inspection report of 19 August 1873 by Giovanni Battista Meduna.⁹⁰

- 23 1874 Anonymous plans to the scale 1:100 of the four floors of the Fondaco's restored front tract. 313 × 489, pen and black, blue, buff, red, and yellow ink over pencil preparation. Inscribed (top center) "PLANIMETRIA / del piano terreno ["del piano ammezzati," "del piano nobile," "dell'ultimo piano"] del Fondaco dei Turchi"; and (bottom left): "Tinta nera parti rimaste in piedi / azzurra nuove costruzioni / rossa parti contemplate nel nuovo progetto generale che non fanno parte del presente lavoro / gialla parti demolite / terra-siena le assicurazioni." All are countersigned by Berchet. They are undated, but tax stamps in the top left corner are canceled with the date 22 January 1874. The plans lie with Giovanni Battista Meduna's report of 20 April 1874 of his certifying inspection of all restoration and renovation works completed before February 1866.⁹¹

90. AMVe, AUff, 1870-74, filza 1x-7-26; cf. Schulz, "Restoration," app., no. 4.

91. AMVe, AUff, 1880-84, filza VII-8-6, tavole planimetriche. For the circumstances of this certification and the character of the file containing its papers, see Schulz, "Restoration," 22-23 and app., no. 5. Unfinished drafts for all four plans, of identical dimensions and the same technique, except for the absence of buff ink, are preserved among Berchet's personal papers at BMCVe, MS P.D. C-715.

92. See Barbaro, "Famiglie nobili venete," II, fol. 321r, who obtained his information on the family's early history from Bishop Jacopo Pesaro (1466-1547). Later genealogists built on the foundation of Barbaro's account: Priuli, "Preziosi frutti"; Cappellari Vivaro, "Campidoglio veneto"; Crasso, *Pisaura gens*; and Zabarella, *Il Carosio*. The last two enrich Barbaro's spare notices with fanciful and fulsome additions; Crasso calls the builder of the Fondaco Jacopo Palmerius (p. 5). The names Palmiero and Palmieri do crop up several times in notices of medieval Pesaro, but only in the thirteenth century. See *Inventari dei manoscritti*, xxxv (*Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro*, III), 153-54, no. 376 ("Spogli d'archivio"), vol. 3, item 31 (1229: Giacomo Palmieri);

(C) THE OWNERS

When first heard of, in 1309, the Fondaco dei Turchi was part owned by a member of the Pesaro family. According to Venetian tradition, the family's progenitor came to Venice in the eleventh century from the town of Pesaro (on the Adriatic coast, a little over a hundred miles south of Venice). He was supposedly called Palmiero, and was credited with building the palace now known as the Fondaco dei Turchi.⁹² A man by the name of Palmierus de Pesaro is, in fact, recorded in Venetian deeds of 1248 and 1250, preserved in the estate trust of another member of the family. He was resident, however, in the ward of S. Fosca, where his son and many other Pesaro also resided, not the ward of S. Giacomo dall'Orio, where the palace stands.⁹³ A further difficulty with the tradition is that the building must have been begun before the historical Palmiero's day but later than the supposed arrival of the family in Venice.⁹⁴

The palace itself is first mentioned in the testament indited in 1309 by Angelo [I] Pesaro of S. Giacomo dall'Orio, wherein he leaves a "part" of the building, namely "the half due to" him, to his son, Nicolò

ibid., xxxvii (*Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro*, IV), 83, no. 376 ("Spogli d'archivio," etc.), vol. 6, fasc. viii, item 2 (1247: Giacomo Palmieri, *iudex*); and *Historica Pisauensis*, II, 37 (1234: Giacomo di mastro Palmiero, *consul*). A notice identical to the last, but dated 1224 (a typographical error?), appears in Crasso, *Pisaura gens*, 20. The name crops up elsewhere in northeastern Italy too. In 1218 one Wilielmus Palmerii and his brother Wido witnessed a contract in Padua; Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio*, II, doc. no. 518. A certain Palmerio was considered a leading citizen of Fano during the later thirteenth century; Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon*, 259.

93. See ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, *Misti*, b' 6, *commissaria* of Bellelo de Pesaro, items B through F. Palmiero's son's name was Giovanni. Father and son were buried in a now-destroyed tomb, whose undated inscription is transcribed by Barbaro, "Famiglie nobili venete," II, fol. 321r. Bellelo, whose trust preserves the cited items, was related to the Pesaro of S. Giacomo, but he too lived in the parish of S. Fosca.

94. See (D) for the structure's date.

[I].⁹⁵ Angelo's phrasing suggests that the palace had been parceled out between several owners some time before, whether by agency of a patrimonial division, a testamentary provision of some earlier owner, a court action, or still another measure one cannot say.

Angelo seems to have been living there already in 1298 and 1299.⁹⁶ By that time the Pesaro of Venice were well established as traders and members of government councils and had intermarried with some of the city's leading families.⁹⁷

At its next mention, in 1377, the building was explicitly exempted from a patrimonial division by four great-grandsons of Angelo's, who were determined to keep the entire structure in common ownership.⁹⁸ Not quite four years later, however, the four men sold it to the state.⁹⁹ This was shortly before the end of the last and most harrowing of Venice's wars with Genoa, the War of Chioggia, so named because the enemy had actually entered the lagoon and seized Chioggia, threatening the city of Venice itself. Expelling them and forcing them to the negotiating table had cost not

only many lives but enormous treasure. An unremitting succession of forced loans between 1377 and 1381 had appropriated 41 percent of the assessed worth of those on the tax rolls. Many wealthy Venetians, including even doge Andrea Contarini, were stripped of assets and had to seek discounts or deferments on payments due. Renitent delinquents had their properties seized by an especially constituted authority, to be sold at auction in order that the state might obtain the assessed contribution. Clearly, the Pesaro had exhausted their ready money too, for their entailed family home was now being traded with the sanction of the state against a credit for their tax liens and state bonds.¹⁰⁰

Making good use of the purchase, the commune gave the palace to the marquis of Ferrara, Nicolò II d'Este. Many years before, in 1364, Nicolò had asked the government's leave to buy two houses for himself, one in Venice and one in Treviso. With prudently hedged courtesy, the Venetians had voted to make him the gift of just one house, in Venice, but had not appropriated funds for implementing the gift. Yet

95. See (A), no. 1. The testament omits Angelo [I]'s patronymic. He was the paternal uncle of Angelo [II] Pesaro q. Matteo of S. Fosca. Uncle and nephew had already died by 13 May 1310 (the uncle having predeceased the nephew), when an omission of appropriate language in the nephew's will was rectified by the Great Council (the will's date and Matteo's patronymic are not specified); ASVe, MaggCons, reg^o 10 ("Presbiter"), fol. 20r (pencil numeration). For these interrelationships, see Genealogical Table C.

96. See the will of Bellelo Pesaro of 1331, in the *commissaria* cited in note 93 above, item A.

97. Trading activities of an Angelo Pesaro in Liguria, Constantinople, Lagosta (Sicily), and Tripoli are recorded during the years 1303–7 in *grazie* of the Maggior Consiglio. See *Cassiere della bolla ducale*, nos. 423 and 553, of, respectively, 26 October 1303 and 1–15 March 1305, and ASVe, MaggCons, reg^o 8 ("Magnus" and "Capricornus"), under dates 3 July 1305, 24 March 1306, 15 September 1306, and 17 March 1307. A document of 1294 that lists the families who undertook to arm galleys for the navy gives a relative measure of the Pesaro's wealth at this time. Some subscribed for three galleys, some for two, some for one, and some for a share of one; the Pesaro subscribed for one. See Romanin, *Storia*, II, 332 n. 2; summarized by Röscher, *Venezianische Adel*, 165–66. Surviving membership rolls of the Maggior Consiglio list one Pesaro, sometimes two, in every year between 1279/80 and 1296/97 (within this time span, rolls for 1284/85–1292/93

are lost); cf. *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, I, 313–61. They represented the *sestiere* of Cannaregio, where Palmiero and Giovanni Pesaro and Angelo [II]'s father resided, and that of S. Croce, where Angelo [I] resided. The latter's sister married a Caravello, his three daughters a Gradenigo, a Morosini, and a Querini; cf. his cited testament.

98. They agreed to retain the family residence as common property, while dividing the rest of their patrimony; see (A), no. 2. The act names the four men's father as Fantin Pesaro. An agreement of 1338 between Fantin and Angelo [I]'s widowed daughter, Isabetta, identifies Fantin as the son of Angelo [I]'s son, Nicolò [I]; see *Felice de Merlis*, II, no. 1201.

99. See (A), nos. 3–4.

100. The terms of the sale as set forth in (A), no. 4, can be found in Luzzatto's or Sagredo and Berchet's publications, as cited in note 4. For the financial torments of the war years, see Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, cxxxii–clxxv, esp. cxxxii–cxxxv, and also Mueller, "Effetti della Guerra di Chioggia." More recently Mueller has recalculated the wartime levies, arriving at the percentage reported above; see Mueller, *Venetian Money Market*, 610–17, esp. 616. Although the purchaser of the palace was the commune, represented in the transaction by the Procurators of St. Mark (often used by the state as trustees for documents or valuables), the Wardens of War Finances (*Savi sopra la raxion de le spese de la guerra*) had negotiated the initial sales agreement.

Nicolò had stood by the commune during the war, and it was neither seemly nor useful to continue to temporize. Buying the palace of the Pesaro enabled Venice to meet a long-standing obligation to the marquis.

In this way, the building became the Venetian residence of the marquises (later dukes) of Ferrara. It was used regularly by the Este for both business and pleasure. They would lodge there on state visits, coming by ship from Ferrara and traveling in the company of legions of courtiers and retainers. Upon entering the lagoon, they would be met by the boats of the doge, senators, other dignitaries, and the curious, to be escorted up the Grand Canal to the former Pesaro palace amidst displays of banners, flourishes of trumpets, and myriad other courtesies. Private visits by the Este and their relations or clients, during carnival and other festive seasons, also took them to the former Pesaro residence, but did so without public ceremonial. Ferrarese envoys to the commune stayed in the building, and when, in the fifteenth century, the Este began to keep a resident agent in Venice, the palace became his seat.¹⁰¹

The Este did not have exclusive use of it. Its ground-floor and mezzanine apartments were rented

out by the Venetian government for the latter's own account,¹⁰² while the state apartment on the *piano nobile* was often borrowed by the government to lodge important visitors. Thus, the two Byzantine emperors who came to Venice in search of Western aid for their beleaguered state, Manuel II Palaeologus (in 1400 and 1403) and John VIII Palaeologus (in 1423 and 1438), were both put up there.¹⁰³ Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, stayed there (in 1452 and 1469), as did the infamous Cesare Borgia (in 1499), Anne de Foix, queen of Hungary (on her way to Hungary in 1502), and countless lesser lords, princes, generals, foreign envoys, and men of note.¹⁰⁴ The earliest representation of the palace, a detail in Jacopo de' Barbari's bird's-eye view of Venice of 1500, showing the building from the landward side, dates from this golden age (Fig. 147).¹⁰⁵

Although the sale of 1381 had included all furnishings, by the Renaissance the building, or rather its state apartment, was bare and had to be furnished anew for each visitor, to be stripped again after his or her departure. When the visitor was a guest of state, the appointments were defrayed by the bureau that oversaw the accounts of government officials, the Ufficio alle Rason Vecchie.¹⁰⁶ When the visitor was

101. Payment orders against the Ferrarese exchequer of 1422 and after book innumerable trips to Venice by successive Este rulers and members of their court; ASMo, CamDucEst, Mandati in volume, 1 et seqq. The character of a state visit is described by chroniclers of the time—e.g., Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese*, 162, 193, 207, 222, 225, 227, 275–76. See also (A), no. 12. Use of the palace by Este envoys is attested in the same Modenese file of payment orders. That the resident agents were stationed there is also attested by Zambotti, who recounts how, in March 1482, just before outbreak of war between Venice and Ferrara, the Este's resident agent, Armanno de' Nobili, was unceremoniously removed from the palace and deposited at the isolated monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore; *Diario ferrarese*, 101–2.

102. In 1520 the income from rents was 80 ducats per annum; cf. (A), no. 8. For the office that collected the rent, the Rason Vecchie, see below.

103. Barker, *Manuel II*, 171, 228–31, 375–77; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, 1, 372, 379–81.

104. Sanudo flatly states, “Et sempre, quando vien qualche Signor in questa Terra [. . .] allozza alla casa del Duca di Ferrara”; *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae*, 36. For notices of visitors, cf. Sanudo's *Diarii*, I, cols. 815, 820–21, 961; II, cols. 532, 723, 754, 779, 811, 1106, 1259, 1276, 1316, 1330, 1351; III, cols. 60, 249; IV, cols. 248, 287–88, 294–96, 301, 306–7; V, col. 23. (The indexes to the *Diarii* being what they are, there must be many more such notices that have escaped me.) Cf. also the accounts of Sagredo and Berchet, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, 10–11; idem, “Giunta,” 92–96; Tassini, “Alcuni appunti storici,” 285–92; Choque, “Discours des cérémonies,” 180; Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry*, 144–46.

105. See (B), no. 1.

106. Sanudo's reports of state visitors always mention fitting out the palace by the Rason Vecchie. When Gian Paolo Baglione, scheduled to stay at the Fondaco in 1511, cancelled his visit, Sanudo noted, “la caxa fo dil marchese di Ferara, conzata per la venuta di dito Baion, tuta fo disconzata”; *Diarii*, XIII, col. 118. The diarist was scandalized in

an Este on vacation or an employee or guest of the family, furnishings were supplied by the Este.¹⁰⁷

Twice the republic repossessed the building: in 1482, when Venice and the Este began a brief war over the Polesine of Rovigo,¹⁰⁸ and again in 1509, when Ferrara joined the European coalition against Venice, the League of Cambrai.

On the second occasion, it took twenty-two years for the Este to get the palace back. At first the government used it to put up Venetians expelled from their properties in the Ferrarese.¹⁰⁹ When Venice made a separate peace with Julius II, however, and joined him in a new war against his former allies—the French and Ferrarese—the pope asked for the palace, and it was given to him in 1512.¹¹⁰ The government continued to rent out the lower floors and, after Julius's death, began once again to use the state apartment for official visitors.¹¹¹ But in 1517 Julius's successor, Leo X, installed there his legate to Venice, Altobello Averoldo, bishop of Pola, and in 1520 went a step further, issuing a brief that conferred on Averoldo lifetime enjoyment of the whole building. The bishop thereupon began to rent out its apartments for his own account.

1499 when, upon Cesare Borgia's departure, it was found that government furnishings had walked off with him: "et la caxa dil marchexe dove stete fo robato per li soi spagnoli do tapedi et lenzuoli di quelli di la Signoria nostra"; II, col. 1351. For the Rason Vecchie itself, see *Guida generale*, 933–34.

107. An account book for Alfonso II d'Este's entertainment of Archduke Maximilian of Austria at the former's Venetian palace, in 1581, lists rental expenses for beds, bedding, chairs, tables, carpets, tapestries, and other furnishings; ASMo, CamDucEst, Libri [. . .] d'amministrazione patrimoniale dei principi regnanti, b^a 123 ("Spese per il viaggio di S. A. a Venezia in compagnia dell'Arciduca Ser^{mo} Massimiliano d'Austria. 1581. Spenderia."), fols. 25r–v. At their state visits the Este's furnishings were provided by the Rason Vecchie; Sanudo, *Diarii*, II, cols. 502, 601, 603–4.

108. Sanudo, *Commentarii*, 23. After conclusion of the war, in 1484, Venice's *condottiere*, Roberto Malatesta, wanted the building for himself, but it was returned to the Este; *ibid.*, 141.

109. Sanudo, *Diarii*, IX, cols. 10, 152. See also (A), note 15.

110. See (A), no. 7. Julius used it to put up his legates to Venice; Sanudo, *Diarii*, XIII, col. 368, 370, 378, xv, col. 418. The gift brought

He also restored its Grand Canal façade.¹¹² Changing alliances yet again, in 1527, the Venetians gave the palace back to the Este, but Averoldo coolly ignored the circumstance. He stayed on through the changing fortunes of war, politics, and papal elections, dying at home, in the Fondaco, in 1531. The Ferrarese agent was instantly at the door and repossessed the building for his lord.¹¹³

In the first glow of his restored rights, Alfonso I, duke of Ferrara, entertained grand schemes for replacing the palace. It was very dilapidated, and he was said to be ready to demolish it and spend 50,000 ducats to build himself a new residence. However, in the end he and his successor, Ercole II, authorized only extensive repairs and a series of small improvements.¹¹⁴

Possession of the building now brought with it control of the ground-floor and mezzanine apartments. The Este accounts show that there were ten of these, yielding an annual income of 170 ducats.¹¹⁵ On the *piano nobile* the days of splendor returned as state and private visits of the Este and their guests resumed. Particularly lavish were Duke Alfonso II d'Este's state visit to Venice in 1562,¹¹⁶ his reception for Henry of

out of the woodwork distant descendants of Angelo Pesaro (Alvise, Gerolamo and the rev. Francesco Pesaro q. Fantin), who sued before the Procuratorial Court for possession of the building, adducing Angelo [I]'s entail; ASVe, GiudProc, *Sentenze a legge*, b^a 26, fol. 32r. They lost.

111. State visitors in the years 1515–17 are reported by Sanudo, *Diarii*, XXI, cols. 248, 262, 307, 323, 397, 399, 402, 415, XXIII, col. 21, and XXIV, cols. 57, 227.

112. Six months later Venice recognized Averoldo's ownership and gave up collecting the rents for its own account. See (A), no. 8, and Sanudo, *Diarii*, respectively, XXV, cols. 24, 27, and XXXVIII, col. 207.

113. See (A), nos. 9–10.

114. On 28 February 1532 Sanudo reported plans to rebuild, but thereafter noted only repairs; cf. *Diarii*, respectively, IV, col. 553, and XVI, cols. 65, 163. Accounts for these works extend from 1531 through 1536; see (A), no. 11.

115. ASMo, CamDucEst, Cassa segreta vecchia, B^a 30, fascs. 1823, 1824, 1825, 1864, 1900 (for the years 1584–88 inclusive), b^a 31, fasc. 1932, b^a 32, fasc. 2078 (for 1589 and 1590).

116. See (A), no. 12. It seems that the ducal quarters were now furnished, presumably at Ferrarese expense. But when the latter came

Valois in 1574 (when Henry was fêted in Venice on his way from Poland to France),¹¹⁷ and his eight-day entertainment of the archduke Maximilian of Austria in 1581.¹¹⁸ For our purposes the most notable of these occasions was the first, because Alfonso's arrival at the palace in 1562 was the subject of one manuscript and two printed descriptions that lead the reader through a tour of the building, thereby describing its interior layout.

When Alfonso II died in 1597, he left no son. Bequeathing his state and patrimony to a cousin, Cesare d'Este, he called down upon the estate a pack of jackals and furies, who seized what they could and tried to deny Cesare as much as possible of the rest. In this way, the former Pesaro palace, which Cesare believed to be his and was arranging in 1602 to sell, was transferred by his spiteful cousin, Anna d'Este, to Pietro, Cardinal Aldobrandini, who thereupon consummated the sale arranged by Cesare and pocketed the proceeds for himself.¹¹⁹

The buyer was procurator (later doge) Antonio Priuli, who wanted the palace as investment property. The lower two floors he continued to rent to simple Venetians, as the building's owners had done since the sixteenth century. The state apartment he rented

to statesmen, such as François Perrenot de Granvella and Georg Fugger, imperial ambassadors to Venice in 1604 and 1608–10.¹²⁰ The cardinal legate of France, François de Joyeuse, stayed there in 1607 while negotiating an end to the interdict of Paul V.¹²¹ Finally, in 1621, Priuli leased the entire building to the private operator of the recently established Fondaco dei Turchi.¹²²

In Venetian parlance the term *fondaco* meant a warehouse for merchandise or a place where foreign traders were obliged to reside and store their merchandise and conduct their trades.¹²³ It is in the latter sense that the term was used for the former Pesaro palace. *Turchi*, in turn, was the label Venetians applied to all who came from the Ottoman Empire. The palace was immediately rebuilt to adapt it to its new function, and the first "Turks" moved in the same year, still 1621. For the next twenty-five years the Fondaco flourished. Then, in 1645, came the Ottoman invasion of Venetian Crete and the consequent Candian War. Ottoman subjects stopped trading in Venice, and the building stood empty.¹²⁴ Upon the conclusion of peace, in 1669, exchanges resumed, but they were soon suspended again, in 1684, when Venice tried to settle scores and resumed the conflict in the so-called

on a state visit, the Venetian government, through its office of the Rason Vecchie, still supplied such extra furniture as might be needed, plus food and local transportation. See the accounts for a visit of the duchess of Ferrara in 1534; Molmenti, *Storia*, II, 493–96.

117. See de Nolhac and Solerti, *Viaggio di Enrico III*, 110, 311.

118. See the account book cited in note 107.

119. See (A), nos. 15–17. Aldobrandini briefly considered dividing the building between himself and a Venetian, as we may gather from a drawing on which the latter states his preferences in an eventual division; see (B), no. 3, Fig. 157. In the end, however, the cardinal sold it outright. For the dismemberment of the Este state and patrimony, see Schulz, "Early Plans," and, for further bibliography, Elena Fasano Guarini on Aldobrandini, and Tiziano Ascari on Cesare, in *DBI*, respectively II (1960), 107–12, and XXIV (1980), 136–41.

120. See Tassini, "Alcuni appunti storici," 292, and (A), no. 17.

121. See Cornet, *Paolo V*, 305, no. XIV. It was in a public ceremony on the upper loggia of the palace that Joyeuse ended the dispute between Venice and Rome, taking custody, on 21 April 1607, of

the two scoundrel priests whose arrest by the republic had set it off. The cardinal's quarters were furnished by the Venetian Ufficio delle Rason Vecchie; see Canaye, *Lettres*, 454, also 335. This means he was a guest of the state. Priuli, no doubt, was reimbursed for lending the state an apartment for this purpose.

122. See (A), nos. 18–19. The lessee was Giovanni Battista Littino, grandson of a Greek entrepreneur, Francesco di Dimitri Littino, who had first proposed establishment of such an institution in 1574, to be operated by him and his descendants. Francesco's son, Giorgio, actually launched the enterprise in 1579, in the Osteria dell'Angelo at Rialto, and now Giorgio's son was moving it to larger, but also more enclosed, quarters. See Preto, *Venezia*, 130–34, and, for a fuller account, Concina, *Fondaci*, 219–39.

123. The term derives from the Arabic *funduq*, a word for the same kind of institution; see Caracausi, *Arabismi*, 229–31. For the institution, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 945; Nagel, *Das mittelalterliche Kaufhaus*, 16–31, and Pegolotti, *Pratica della mercatura*, 15, 17, 162–63, 183–84.

124. See (A), no. 21.

Peloponnesian War. This was concluded only in 1699, after which trade with the Balkans and the Near and Middle East resumed.¹²⁵

In the midst of these troubles the palace changed hands. Assigned as dowry goods to the Priuli bride of a Pesaro groom, it reentered the possession of the medieval owners' family in 1648.¹²⁶ For many decades the acquisition earned them nothing, and under such conditions, maintenance was minimal. Calls for repairs were heard already before conclusion of the Ottoman wars, and they became more frequent and insistent as time passed.¹²⁷ In 1740, the Pesaro responded by trying to break the lease under which the Fondaco had been installed in the palace. This the government refused to countenance, and a ten-year standoff ensued. Finally, a compromise was found in 1751: the Pesaro might repossess roughly a third of the building (the side along the *salizada*) and rent it to Venetians at open market rates, but the remainder was to continue to be used as a *fondaco* and had to be repaired.¹²⁸ The work led to a further rebuilding of the palace, reportedly finished in 1755, certainly finished by 1767–68.¹²⁹ Exactly thirty years later, in 1797, Napoleon snuffed out the republic and in 1798 traded it away to Austria. Merchant exchanges stopped once again, and, worse still, the republic's residency laws that had compelled Ottoman traders to lodge and work at the Fondaco lapsed.

By now only a solitary exile remained of the Pesaro family, Pietro Pesaro, residing in London. When he died there in 1830, the palace passed to a collateral relation who, after realizing that the building could not even pay its carrying costs, sold it in 1838 to a

real-estate speculator, Antonio Busetto.¹³⁰ The latter purposed to demolish it and sell the salvaged bricks and stones. Resisted by the city, supported by the Austrian administration, Busetto finally managed in 1841 to demolish some two-thirds of the palace, leaving on their feet only the façade on the Grand Canal and the rooms immediately behind that supported it.¹³¹ After long negotiations, this remnant was acquired by the city in 1860, restored, and put to use as the seat of a new civic museum. It still serves today as a civic museum, the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale.¹³²

(D) THE BUILDING

The earliest description of the palace, in the documentation of 1381 for its sale to the state, gives few particulars: undeveloped ground and a private landing on the side of the Grand Canal, rooms for storage and other purposes on the ground floor and mezzanine, and a courtyard on the landward end (in which stand wellheads and masonry stairs), partially walled off from the neighbors and partially open ground. Arcuated windows of some form (*archivoltas*) overlook the rear court from the first floor.¹³³ Jacopo de' Barbari's well-known glimpse of the building in his woodcut view of Venice shows none of these features (Fig. 147).¹³⁴ Given his viewpoint, from the southeast toward the building's rear, he could not see the end on the Grand Canal. But the landward courtyard, wells, stairs, and *archivoltas* are missing too, as are two wings projecting into the courtyard and a ground-floor arcade in between, not mentioned in 1381 but

125. See Lane, *Venice*, 408–11, and Cozzi, “Dalla riscoperta,” 78–92. (A third round of fighting, during 1714–16, did not last long enough to have a serious impact on trade.)

126. See (A), no. 20.

127. See (A), nos. 21–24.

128. See (A), no. 25.

129. See (A), nos. 26–27.

130. See (A), nos. 28–29, and also Schulz, “Restoration.”

131. See (A), no. 30.

132. See (A), nos. 31–33. For details of the building's misfortunes in the nineteenth century, see Schulz, “Restoration.”

133. Thus (A), nos. 3–4.

134. See (B), no. 1.

visible on plans of 1600 or just after. Throughout his view, Jacopo struggled with a shortage of adequate space to accommodate the buildings he had observed, and often, as here, he omitted structures he could not squeeze in.¹³⁵

The just cited plans of ca. 1600, compiled by a professional recorder of buildings, Cesare Torello, called Franco, depict all the listed features (Figs. 149, 151, 153). One can see open areas at front and back, stairs and wellheads; one can also see that the courtyard toward the Grand Canal has been reduced in width by construction of a one-storey house with rooftop terrace at each corner of the building. Between the added houses extends a wall, emphasizing the private nature of the building's canal-side landing.¹³⁶ However, instead of a series of *archivoltas* on the *piano nobile* façade overlooking the landward court, the plan shows two sets of large paired windows. Among improvements at the palace defrayed by the Ferrarese treasury in 1433 were new grouped windows (*balconade*) in the great hall.¹³⁷ It must be these that Franco drew. Thus the original fenestration of the hall was lost already four hundred years ago, and we have no way of knowing what it looked like.¹³⁸

135. In still another omission, he drew but two windows on the north wall of the inner court, whereas an inventory of fixtures of 1608 states that there were four (cf. [A], no. 17). Jacopo's accuracy is discussed more generally in Appendix 1 (D).

136. See (B), no. 2, and Schulz, "Early Plans."

137. See (A), no. 5.

138. Accordingly, I have drawn in Figure 135 early-fifteenth-century windows such as Torello saw, using the fifteenth-century window on the *salizada* as my model (illus., Fig. 162). *Archivoltas* is a vague term, applicable to round-headed openings in general, whether in the form of a continuous row or a series of grouped lights. Both designs appear in the Romanesque architecture of Venice, the Veneto, and the Polesine. Continuous rows mark the *piani nobili* of, for example, Ca' Farsetti and the structure that preceded the present-day Procuratie Vecchie; see Fig. 174 and Schulz, "Piazza medievale," figs. 12–13, respectively. Several sets of grouped openings mark the Galilee of the abbey of Sesto al Reghena, numerous buildings in Padua, the Palazzo dei Trecento, Treviso, and the upper floor of the so-called Palazzo della Ragione at Pomposa; illus., respectively, *L'Abbazia di Santa Maria di Sesto*, 252–53, figs. 40–42, and 260, fig. 55; Puppi and Zuliani, *Padova*,

Franco's plans are invaluable for our understanding of the building, because they were made before alterations and demolitions savaged it. That they faithfully reproduce the palace's layout at the end of the Renaissance is confirmed by their agreement with the circumstantial description of the entry into the building by Alfonso II d'Este in 1562.¹³⁹ On the other hand, the drawings are radically simplified and regularized. Franco represented the outline of the main fabric as a perfect rectangle, whereas in actual fact it was an irregular quadrilateral: the rear was narrower than the front, the side along the *salizada* somewhat shorter than that along the *rio*; none of the exterior walls were parallel or met at right angles; in fact, the building's sides along the *rio* and the *salizada* met its façade at an acute and an obtuse angle, respectively. Franco seems to have measured only one side and one end of the building and projected their dimensions upon the other side and end.¹⁴⁰ Since he also showed all rooms as strictly rectangular, these will have come out in the drawing progressively wider and deeper from the northeast to the southwest than they were in actuality. Finally, a reentrant corner on the interior, near the southwest end of the courtyard arcade,

11–24, pls. 17, 25, 35–37; Forlati, *Palazzo dei Trecento*, 61–63; and Salmi, *Abbazia di Pomposa*, 78–85.

139. See (A), no. 12, which follows step-by-step Alfonso's progress from the Grand Canal landing into his private rooms.

140. Based on his scale of 25 *passa*, Franco's building is ca. 52 m deep on both sides and ca. 43.5 m wide on both ends. (For Franco's scale, see Schulz, "Early Plans," 156 nn. 13, 15.) The probable dimensions of the original fabric's four sides can be established by comparing Franco's plans with those of Maccaruzzi, the cadastral map of Venice of 1808–11, and the plans by Berchet of 1858, and with the scaled aerial photographs of Venice of 1984; see, respectively, (B), nos. 2, 9, 10, 15, and *Venezia forma urbis*, 1, and *Atlante*, pls. 36, 49. Averaging these data, the core of the building (i.e., without the added houses on the Grand Canal and the eighteenth-century additions to the wings projecting into the rear court) must have been ca. 42½ m wide on the Grand Canal, ca. 39 m wide on the line of its courtyard arcade, ca. 38 m wide on the line of its projecting courtyard wings, ca. 51 m deep on the *rio*, and ca. 49½ m deep on the *salizada*. Most likely Franco measured the end to the canal and the side to the *salizada*.

fell victim to the draftsman's zeal for regularity and is not shown.¹⁴¹

Franco's plans show that two rooms toward the southeast, one above the other, on the mezzanine and first floors, both labeled "camera scura," did not receive any natural light, and that the central passage through the fabric on the ground floor was composed of two branches of different widths, slightly offset with respect to one another. Jacopo's woodcut depicts a system of heterogeneous roofs: whereas the fabric's end toward the Grand Canal is covered by a high, continuous, **U**-shaped gable roof that wraps neatly around three sides of the interior court, the landward end sports a congeries of lower roofs of different shapes and heights. Blank walls rise on the line where the higher and lower roofs meet.¹⁴² The various disjunctures suggest that the palace had grown piecemeal in a succession of construction campaigns.

One can clarify the sequence by using later drawings to correct Franco's plans. Maccaruzzi's scaled plans of 1768 reflect more careful measurement, although they too get the fabric's shape wrong (Figs. 150, 152, 154–56).¹⁴³ Furthermore, they record a superfetation of partitions, inserted when the building was converted into a *fondaco*. Berchet's plans, sections, and elevations, of the mid-nineteenth century, are not only scaled, but some are annotated with dimensions (Figs. 164–68).¹⁴⁴ They show some of the new partitions, although, more important, they lack the entire portion of the fabric that lay to either side and beyond

the inner court; it had been razed in 1841. Allowing for these obvious changes, the later plans agree with Franco's and Jacopo's representations in all respects but two.

Maccaruzzi's drawings depict a roof different from that visible in Jacopo's woodcut and a courtyard arcade with smaller bays than Franco drew. In place of the many roofs seen in the view of 1500, Maccaruzzi shows one great continuous gable roof around the four sides of the building, seated on a continuous attic that extends likewise around the four sides of the building. Pervasive rot in the wooden members had been the single most important deficiency noted by all who inspected the fabric in the early eighteenth century, suggesting that Maccaruzzi's continuous roof and uninterrupted attic were built as parts of the restoration of 1751–68.¹⁴⁵ Before that time there must have been many roofs, as depicted by Jacopo, and discontinuous attic rooms, as mentioned by the descriptions.

As for the arcade facing the landward court, both draftsmen show six bays, but those of Franco are eleven and a half Venetian feet wide, whereas Maccaruzzi's measure only eight. The difference in size reflects differences in articulation of the façade's central tract, between the two wings projecting into the courtyard. In Franco's drawing, the arcade fills the whole of that tract; the exterior stairs to the first floor rise to pass over the arcade's outer arches on east and west. In Maccaruzzi's plan, there are no exterior stairs. At the tract's west end we see a new stair house containing

141. It is shown on Maccaruzzi's plans, for which, see below.

142. This detail is unequivocally rendered on the left side of Jacopo's view, but was miscut on the right side. That is, the cutter brought the eastern corner of the blank end wall too far down toward the ground, compensated by cutting a new, parallel line that rises back up again, and then was left with no way to show the short tract that lay between the foot of the blank wall and the rest of the palace on the landward side.

143. See (B), no. 9.

144. See (B), nos. 16, 19, 20.

145. For the inspections, see (A), nos. 22–23. Significantly, the

owners' final report on the restoration, submitted to the government in 1768 along with Maccaruzzi's plans, describes the attic rooms as without stairs and undeveloped, to be kept in reserve against a possible future growth in the number of Turkish visitors; see (A), no. 27. The floor had no practical use when built. It is this attic that is expressed by the topmost row of windows in Berchet's rear elevation of the canalside tract; illus., Schulz, "Restoration," 26, fig. 10 (n.b.: the positions, but not the captions, of figs. 8 and 10 were switched after the article was proofed, so that fig. 8 is now on page 26, adjoining the caption for fig. 10, while fig. 10 is now on page 25, adjoining the caption for fig. 8).

switchback stairs; at its east end, a new block containing a bath and unlabeled rooms (presumably a changing room and a room for heating the bath water).

Among the alterations ordered in 1621 by the Collegio to adapt the palace for use as a *fondaco* for “Turks” was the suppression of all vantage points in the courtyard from which the residents might see their Christian neighbors or be seen by them.¹⁴⁶ Evidently, the open stairs were therefore razed and the new, enclosed stairs built. There is no call in the decree of 1621 for a bath house, but it seems likely that the Mideastern tenants would have considered frequent bathing a necessity and that provision for it was made from the start. Addition of these structures required the arcade to be compressed; its columns must have been moved and arches recut between Franco’s day and Maccaruzzi’s, presumably in 1621 or just after.

Excluding these important changes, one can use Maccaruzzi’s and Berchet’s drawings to adjust room dimensions and wall angles in Franco’s general layout, generating in this way composite plans that must represent more closely than any single set of historical drawings the fabric standing at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Figs. 133–34).¹⁴⁷ Similarly, coordinating Berchet’s sections and elevations with the corrected plans, one can generate the contemporary elevation of the fabric’s demolished landward end (Fig. 135). Together with Jacopo’s woodcut, these reconstructions allow a better understanding of the building’s growth.

146. See Appendix III (A), no. 19, article 4.

147. I have included in these plans the doors and windows shown by Franco. They are no more than indicative: such openings were easily moved, enlarged, or blocked, and Franco may even have drawn the situation of ca. 1600 inaccurately.

148. Before the restoration of 1751–68 the canalward tract had no fourth floor, or attic, nor is any represented in Franco’s plans. (In this regard, see also note 163 below.) Dorigo, however, has twice insisted that the *patere* visible above the first-floor gallery of the Grand Canal façade in (B), nos. 6 and 8, were bull’s-eye windows for an attic; see his “Espressioni,” 847, and “Palazzo e la Cappella dei Patriarchi,”

They teach, first of all, that the fabric on the landward end must have been the oldest part. Here lay the hall, a necessary appurtenance of any medieval residential palace. Not only that, but the hall’s exterior, facing the rear court, was articulated in an older style than the exterior toward the Grand Canal. Namely, the few wide arches recorded by Franco could not have been stilted in the manner of the many narrow ones facing the canal, for in that case they would have been higher than the floor of the *piano nobile*, which was continuous throughout the building. (The early plans show no steps or changes of level between the landward and canalward portions of the building.) Jacopo’s view of the Fondaco makes clear, on the other hand, that its roofs were lower at the landward end than on the Grand Canal. Since the higher portion did not have more floors than the lower one,¹⁴⁸ and since floor levels did not change, the drop in roof heights must have been occasioned by a drop of ceiling heights on the first floor. In other words, the first floor of the landward portion was not as high as that of the canalward one. That too characterized the landward wings as older than those toward the Grand Canal, for a growth over time in the height of *piani nobili* is part of the historical development.¹⁴⁹

Since the landward end of the palace was its earliest component, it follows that the building’s principal façade originally faced away from the Grand Canal, toward the churches and *campi* further inland. Indeed, one of the descriptions of it composed for the sale

40–41. This is wrong: the circles appearing in early views above the first-floor gallery are projecting objects, *patere*, and the original brick wall appearing in nineteenth-century drawings and photographs had no portholes, whether open or walled, on the attic level; see (B), nos. 12, 14, and 18.

149. Compare the first-floor heights of the twelfth-century structure in corte del Teatro Vecchio (4.2 m) and Ca’ Barzizza (3.7 m), on the one hand, with those of the thirteenth-century Ca’ Farsetti (5.3 m) and Ca’ Loredan (5.5 m) on the other (illus., respectively, Maretto, “Edilizia gotica,” pl. vii; Scattolin, *Contributo*, pl. ix; Maretto, “Edilizia gotica,” pl. ii).

of 1381 terms the landward courtyard the “corte da inanzi.”¹⁵⁰

Whether the hall tract possessed *ab initio* the two wings projecting into the court that are seen on Franco’s plans is uncertain. The curious reentrant corner in the landward tract’s original three floors, recorded by Maccaruzzi, reflected the protrusion of the courtyard arcade past the line of the wall that divided the file of rooms along the *salizada* from the inner rooms and *sala*. It is possible that courtyard wings did not exist at first and that the arcade continued to the edge of the site on both east and west, leaving a long straight tract that resembled a hall palace of the traditional Continental type. Or again, one could imagine that the arcade was one bay longer just on the west, leaving an L-shaped building. Without some excavation there is no way of ascertaining if either or neither of these speculations is correct.

Whether the palace’s canalward portion was built all at once, as the unitary roof shown by Jacopo seems to argue, or whether it was an assemblage, as the existence of discordant wall alignments within it suggests, cannot be determined without excavation either. At all events, the canalward portion was already standing when the palace was sold in 1381. The addition created a large inner court, whose depth was greatly reduced at some later time by insertion of a three-storey block butted against the rear wall of the hall. It was this block that robbed the *camere scure* of their light; thus, it must have been built later than they. It also introduced the offset in the central north-south passage through the building shown on Maccaruzzi’s plan.¹⁵¹

150. See (A), no. 3. No. 4, on the other hand, written a month later, situates the court “a parte posteriori.”

151. Still later increments that I have ignored are the two houses butted against the Grand Canal façade, reproduced in all later drawings, prints, and paintings. They are entirely extraneous structures, first mentioned in Ferrarese accounts of the fifteenth century.

152. Palaces with carefully composed side elevations, like the late Gothic Ca’ d’Oro, late Renaissance Ca’ Grimani at S. Luca, and Baroque Ca’ Rezzonico and Ca’ Pesaro, were exceptional.

Only the two ends of the building were monumentally articulated. The sides were very plain, as were most lateral façades of Venetian palaces until the nineteenth century and the end of the local tradition.¹⁵² One can distinguish the *rio* façade in Jacopo de’ Barbari’s view; it was a plain flat wall, pierced by simple rectangular windows (Fig. 147). A sliver of the *salizada* façade, namely its end near the Grand Canal, can be seen in a popular mid-eighteenth-century composition and in an architectural drawing of the nineteenth century (Figs. 158, 159, 162).¹⁵³ It too was plain, with a series of simple rectangular apertures. But on the first floor, at the corner with the Grand Canal, it also exhibited a fine floor-length Gothic window with balcony, inserted presumably by the Ferrarese as one of their fifteenth-century improvements.¹⁵⁴

The elevation on the Grand Canal still stands but needs to be subjected to a critique. Its sweeping restoration in 1860–69, supervised by Federico Berchet, led to replacement of much of the brick core and refinishing of the stonework or outright replacement of details that had disappeared or become much worn. Thus, the cresting was built anew on the model of surviving fragments and early views, while the tower tops—not known to have been drawn or described before their demolition—had to be reinvented.¹⁵⁵ Even so, willful alterations were avoided, and misguided re-creations were few; the results were more in the nature of a comprehensive renovation than a drastic rebuilding.¹⁵⁶ The ground floor’s level was raised by ninety-one centimeters, for instance, to keep out the waters of neap tides and storm surges. But it was

153. See (B), nos. 8 (8) and (12) and 18. No. 8 (12) is unique in showing a round-headed portal on the *salizada*, very likely an invention of the artist’s.

154. The window was removed by the nineteenth-century restorers, who wanted to make the building integrally “Veneto-Byzantine.”

155. For more details, see Schulz, “Restoration.”

156. This is not the opinion of Italian specialists in architectural restoration, who have been demonizing the self-trained Berchet and savaging his results since the 1880s; see Schulz, “Restoration,” n. 1. By

done discreetly: the arcade's pavement was raised by three steps, set behind the column bases; the interior was raised by a further two steps inserted in the thresholds of the portals onto the arcade. As a result, the façade and its proportions were left unchanged.¹⁵⁷ Renaissance balusters on the gallery of the *piano nobile* were replaced with *faux* medieval ones.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, the new tower tops were proportioned and articulated rather too enthusiastically, with five windows each and containing rooms five meters high. Documents show that there were only three windows originally¹⁵⁹ and that the height of the room within was only some four to four and a half meters.¹⁶⁰

Rental rooms and storage space are attested on the building's ground floor and mezzanine as early as 1377.¹⁶¹ The function of the first-floor rooms, on the other hand, is not described before the Renaissance,

that time reconstructive restoration as introduced by Viollet-le-Duc and practiced at the Fondaco by Berchet was beginning to be supplanted by conservative, or conservationist, restoration as preached by Ruskin. Indeed, by 1880 Berchet himself was siding with the conservationists: in that year he, along with other members of a board of review, voted for a more conservationist approach in future restorations of St. Mark's than that used for the first *tranche* of work. See his remarks of 1887 in *Basilica di San Marco*, vi, 432–33. Still, this does not give us leave to condemn the young Berchet—and the elders who supervised him—for following the orthodoxy of the day rather than that of the future.

157. Schulz, "Restoration," 23 and n. 35. There I mistakenly wrote that only one step was inserted in the thresholds. The first three steps add 54 cm, the other two 37 cm. Previously, portal thresholds had been raised by an unknown amount in 1536, and ground-floor pavements by ca. 38 cm in the 1750s; see (A), nos. 11 and 25, respectively.

158. The railing was kept, under the mistaken belief that it was medieval. However, as seen on old photographs, railing and balusters were both of an early-sixteenth-century style. They were probably erected during Averoldo's restoration of the façade in the early 1520s; see (A), no. 8.

159. See (A), no. 17, where the tower room on the *salizada* side is said to have three "half windows," and that on the *rio* side three full-length ones. It may be that those on the *salizada* side had started full-length and were partly blocked up at a later time.

160. See the accounts of the visit to Venice in 1581 by Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara and Archduke Maximilian of Austria, cited in

at which time the floor was divided into two extensive suites, the larger one for the Ferrarese ruler and his guests, the other for his resident agent. The princely suite is elaborately described in the accounts of Alfonso d'Este's visit to the palace in 1562.¹⁶² The agent's apartment was traversed, along with the rest of the palace, in an inventory of all its windows, locks, hinges, doors, shutters, and other hardware, compiled in 1608 when the building was about to be rented to a third party.¹⁶³

With the demolition in 1841 of the bulk of the palace, only the tract of rooms fronting on the Grand Canal was left standing. Behind it the owner of the time, Antonio Busetto, built storage sheds for rental to the Austrian tobacco monopoly.¹⁶⁴ Twenty-five years later, when the abandoned front rooms had been acquired by the city to be restored and rebuilt as a civic

note 107 above. Among the decorations rented to fit out the palace, there was a "Fornimento de Razzi novi alti brazza quattro e mezo per la Tore"; *ibid.*, fol. 25r. If the measure was the *braccia di lana* of Venice, the tapestries were 3.07 m high; if it was the Ferrarese *braccia* or the Venetian *braccia di seta*, they were 2.85 m high. Allowing an additional 1 or 1.5 m for a bare baseboard, the walls must have been between 4 and 4½ m. high.

161. See (A), nos. 2 and 8, esp. note 16. Habitations on these floors are several times mentioned in the Renaissance; see notes 102 and 115 above, as well as the related text in (C). See also Franco's ground-floor and mezzanine plans ([B], no. 2), which show no direct link between these rooms and the quay for lading and landing persons and cargo on the Grand Canal, but indicate instead doorways for pedestrian traffic on the *salizada* and the *rio*-side quay, as well as small stairs that turned several sets of rooms into two-storey apartments.

162. See (A), no. 12.

163. See (A), no. 17. The hall is here called a *portigo*. Isolated attic rooms, called *soraleti* (Venetian dialect for *solareti*), and stairs to reach them are mentioned on the *salizada* side in the most southern room and that adjoining the most northern one, and on the *rio* side in the room adjoining the most southern one. Only the last of these stairs appears on Franco's plans. Conversely, a stairway shown by Franco, in the *camera scura* on the east side, is not mentioned in the inventory.

164. It is these that one sees in the plan of the building published as representing its state "before restoration" by Beylié, *Habitation*, 159, and republished several times since, for example, by Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, 314. Cf. Schulz, "Restoration," 20 and n. 9.

museum, the wall that bounded them on the landward side was also razed. Considered too deteriorated to be saved, it was replaced by a sturdier replica.¹⁶⁵ Eventually the city also acquired and demolished Busetto's tobacco sheds, building three entirely new wings of museum rooms with *faux* Byzantine façades to the outside and arcades toward a large inner court.¹⁶⁶ This is the complex that today's visitor sees: an elaborately restored Romanesque façade on the Grand Canal, medieval but redecorated rooms behind it, and medievalizing tracts extending back from it around a large, altogether new, arcaded court.¹⁶⁷

None of the sources, whether written or graphic, offers unequivocal testimony of the palace's date or dates. These can be established only on the basis of stylistic criteria. The conventionally Romanesque elevation toward the inland court must have been of the later twelfth century. The later façade toward the Grand Canal, with its well-developed byzantinizing features—tall proportions, lavish ornamentation, and locally made imitations of Byzantine architectural sculpture¹⁶⁸—must have been a work of the mid or later thirteenth century.

165. See (B), no. 20, and, for the restoration as a whole, Schulz, "Restoration."

166. See (A), no. 33, esp. note 47. It must be the new arcades that Dorigo had in mind when he attributed to the medieval Fondaco a "retrologgia su corte" and analyzed its dimensioning in Roman feet; see his "Espressioni," 854.

167. For dimensioned drawings of the complex in its present, rebuilt state (unfortunately, reduced so much that the dimensions are illegible), see Ferro and Parmagnani, "Cronache," 162–67, figs. 47–56.

168. For the sculpture, see Chapter 4 above.

APPENDIX IV: CA' FARSETTI

(A) WRITTEN SOURCES

1 1200 (3 April) Renier Dandolo, son of doge Enrico, purchases from Benetto Falier an empty lot in the ward of S. Luca, upon which Ca' Farsetti will be built.¹

2 1237 (October) The Giudici del Esaminador accept the protest of Marco Dandolo, son of Enrico of the ward of S. Luca, against the investiture by Nicolota Bucadomo q. Leonardo of the ward of S. Antolin, of all properties composing the estate of the late Renier Dandolo q. doge Enrico of the ward of S. Luca. Among the invested properties is the following:

“[Una] proprietas terrae et casae cooperta et discooperta in eodem confinio Sancti Luce posita, que firmat uno suo capite in canali. Ab alio suo capite firmat in calli communi, unde habet introitum et exitum. Unum suum latus firmat per totum in pissina, et aliud suum latus

firmat in calli communi, unde habet introitum et exitum.”²

3 1276 (7 September) Determination by the Giudici del Piovego that the Dandolo and the Boccasio may extend their properties, so long as they leave two feet for the street, in order that pedestrians may pass.³

4 1284 (14 June) Determination by the Provveditori sopra Canali, Rivi, Piscine e Strade Pubbliche that the *piscina* between two Dandolo properties in the ward of S. Luca belongs to the public and not the Dandolo.⁴

5 1335 (26 September) Reaffirmation by the Giudici del Piovego that the Dandolo may extend their property as far as the Boccasio have extended theirs.⁵

6 1351 (18 June) Francesco della Fontana agrees to sell to doge Andrea Dandolo two components

1. Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 413, sack II, no. 1.

2. ASPd, Archivi privati diversi, b^a 103 (Carte Dandolo), item 5. The named boundaries can be identified with, respectively, the Grand Canal, salizada di S. Luca, calle Cavalli, and calle Loredan; see Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 396. For “investiture,” see Appendix II, note 2.

3. Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 412, sack II, no. 3. Kept with documents pertaining to Ca' Farsetti, this one must have concerned that property too.

4. *Ibid.*, 410, sack II, no. 5, and 398 n. 28 (for seventeenth-century copies of the original determination, see BMCVe, MS Dolcetti 81, fols. 1 and 29–30).

5. *Ibid.*, 413, sack II, no. <8>.

of Ca' Farsetti and its precincts owned by himself and his natural daughter Maria. One is "duo cassi domorum positi in confinio Sancti Luce, in ambitu domus maioris de Cha' Dandolo de dicto confinio.

"Secundum dicta proprietates firmat ab uno suo capite in via publica discurrente ad tragetum, ubi habet introitum et exitum. Et ab alio suo capite firmat in curia communi conviciorum dicte domus magne de Cha' Dandolo.

"Ab uno suo latere firmat in uno muro, communi huic proprietati et domibus de sercentibus, que fuerunt domini Anthonij Dandolo, et nunc sunt dicti domini ducis [Andree Dandolo]. Et ab alio suo latere firmat similiter in uno alio muro communi huic proprietati et alijs domibus de sercentibus, que fuerunt dicti ser Anthonij, et nunc sunt dicti domini ducis [. . .]."

The other, whose rights and usufruct belong to Maria, is "unum hospicium ad pedem planum solummodo, positum [. . .] subtus suprascriptam domum magnam de Cha' Dandolo.

"Secundum quod ipsum hospicium firmat ab uno suo capite in via publica discurrente ad tragetum. Ab alio suo capite firmat in porticu ad pedem planum dicte domus magne de Cha' Dandolo.

"Ab uno suo latere firmat in uno muro communi huic hospicio et altero hospicio, quod fuit ser Andree Dandolo, et nunc est dicti domini ducis, posito subtus crucem porticus dicte domus magne de Cha' Dandolo. Et ab alio suo latere firmat in quadam alio muro communi huic hospicio et proprietati que fuit dicti ser

6. ASVe, CanInf, Notai, b^a 32 (not. Rafaino de Caresinis), fol. 24r. The neighboring Dandolo owners whose shares in Ca' Farsetti are mentioned, viz., Antonio [q. Gabriel] and Andrea [q. Renier], were likewise forced by doge Andrea to transfer their properties to him. See (C).

Andree Dandolo, et nunc est dicti domini ducis."⁶

- 7 1351 (15 July) Doge Andrea Dandolo invests *sine proprio* a habitation in Ca' Farsetti previously owned by Andrea Dandolo q. Renier and his son, Renuzio, and seized by the doge in satisfaction of an unpaid debt. It is "unum hospicium situm in ambitu domus magne da Cha' Dandolo, iuxta crucem porticus superioris, respiciente super calem discurrentem ad tragetum, prout dictum hospicium comprehendit, tam sub se, quam super se.

"Secundum quod ipsa proprietates, sive ipsum hospicium, firmat ab uno suo capite ex parte superiori in cruce supradicti portici superioris, et parte inferiori cum suo meçato in uno muro communi huic proprietati et cuidam hospicio dicti domini ducis [Andree Dandolo] posito sub cruce dicti portici. Et ab alio suo capite firmat per totum in uno alio muro communi huic proprietati et proprietati dicti domini ducis. "Ab uno suo latere firmat ex parte superiori in porticu superiori dicte domus, et ex parte inferiori firmat in porticu inferiori dicte domus, in quibus porticis hec proprietates habet introitum et exitum. Et ab alio suo latere firmat per totum in calli publico discurrente ad tragetum, ubi similiter habet introitum et exitum."⁷

- 8 1351 (11 December) Fantin Dandolo, son of doge Andrea, takes over Ca' Farsetti from his father in lieu of an obligation of £6,000 *ad grossos* assumed by his father upon Fantin's

7. ASVe, CanInf, Notai, b^a 114 (not. Marino *presbiter* S. Tomasi, *plebanus* S. Gervasii), *protocollo* for 1350–58, no. 31, being the ducal court's grant of possession of 17 September 1351 in which is incorporated the text of the investiture *sine proprio*. A copy formerly in the archive of Ca' Farsetti's owners is noted in Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," 414, sack II, no. 18. For "investiture," see Appendix II, note 2.

emancipation, promised for the previous December under penalty of 120 percent of the sum owed if not paid on time, which it was not.

The property is a “domus magna [que] de Cha' Dandulo nominatur, cum sua curte et domibus de sergentibus circumcirca ipsam positis. [. . .]

“Secundum quod dicta proprietas firmat ab uno suo capite partim cum sua terra vacua, fundamento et gradata in canali maiori publico. Et partim in quantum est latitudinis decem pedum firmat in terra, sive trageto publico, in quo capite habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Et ab alio suo capite firmat cum sua terra vacua, tantum lata quantum est a cantone proprietatis de Cha' Lando veniendo recto tramite usque in callim discurrentem ad ecclesiam Sancti Luce, in via seu terra publica posita inter huic [sic] proprietate et calim [sic] Sancti Paterniani, ubi habet introitum et exitum. Et partim firmat in calli publico discurente ad ecclesiam Sancti Luce, ubi similiter habet introitum et exitum.

“Ab uno suo latere firmat partim in calli publico qui dicitur piscina, ubi habet introitum et exitum, in quo calli dicta proprietas habet conductos subteraneos, et de novo etiam alios facere poterit. Et partim firmat in calli publico discurente ad ecclesiam Sancti Luce, ubi similiter habet introitum et exitum. Et ab alio suo latere firmat per totum in calli publico discurente ad tragetum, ubi habet introitum et exitum.

“Et est sciendum, quod in capite dicti callis est quoddam tragetum publicum latum pedibus triginta, videlicet pedibus decem in latitudine

calis, et pedibus decem in latitudine proprietatis nobilis viri Andree Çane, et aliis decem pedibus in latitudine suprascripte predesignate proprietatis. Hoc etiam declarato, quod commune Veneciarum omnibus suis laboribus, sumptibus et expensis teneatur facere et reficere, et in culmine tenere unam palatam de lignamine in canali a capite dicti trageti, dividente tragetum a suprascripta proprietate, ut apparet per quandam scripturam datam per dominos advocatos connunis.”⁸

9 1356 (29 March) Testating, Fantin Dandolo q. doge Andrea names his brother, the *miles* Leonardo, his universal heir.⁹

10 1365 (14 May) The *miles* Leonardo Dandolo assigns a part of Ca' Farsetti to his wife, Morosina, as surety for her dowry, and she invests it *sine proprio* the same day. It is described as follows:

“Quandam proprietatis partem, que est duo hospicia de corpore proprietatis magne, posita ad manum dextram introeundo in porticu dicte proprietatis magne, et unum aliud hospicium, quod coniu<ng>et cum dictis duobus hospiciis positum supra liago, <in quantum>¹⁰ que tria hospicia comprehendunt tam sub se quam supra se, a terra usque ad tectum. Et cum toto uno hospicio de lignamine posito supra dictum liago, et cum toto dicto liago, et cum suis columpnis de lignamine, que columpne substinent et substinere debent dictum liago. Tota hec proprietatis pars est insimul coniuncta in suprascripto confinio Sancti Luce posita.

8. ASVe, CanInf, Notai, b^a 114 (not. Marinus *presbiter* S. Tomasi, *plebanus* S. Gervasii), *protocollo* for 1350–58, no. 44, being the transcription of Fantin's investiture *sine proprio* of 11 December 1351 as it appears in his grant of possession of 13 February 1352. For “investiture,” see Appendix II, note 2.

9. Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 405 n. 61.

10. The charter omits these words, which, together with the words that follow, constitute a standard phrase in property descriptions; see, for instance, Appendix II (A), no. 2.

“Secundum quod hec proprietatis pars firmat ab uno suo capite per totum, tam inferius quam superius, a terra usque ad tectum, in muro communi huic proprietatis parti et dicte proprietati magne dicti domini Leonardi Dandullo. Et ab alio suo capite firmat partim, tam superius quam inferius, in muro communi huic proprietatis parti et proprietatis sergentibus dicti domini Leonardi Dandullo. Et partim firmat a parte superiori cum suo dicto liago et hospicio de lignamine, supra curia dicti domini Leonardi Dandullo. Et partim firmat cum suo muro proprio in scalla dicti domini Leonardi Dandullo. Et partim firmat a parte inferiori dicte scale inferius cum suo muro proprio in curia sive porticu dicti domini Leonardi Dandullo .

“Ab uno suo latere firmat per totum tam inferius quam superius cum sua proprietate in via communi que discurit ad tragetum publicum et alio, unde habet introitum et exitum. Et ab alio suo latere firmat partim a parte inferiori in porticu dicti domini Leonardi Dandullo que discurit ad canale, et partim firmat a parte superiori cum dictis suis duobus hospiciis in muro communi huic proprietatis parti et portico dicte proprietatis magne dicti domini Leonardi Dandullo. In quo muro sunt due porte que debent claudi et murari. Et partim firmat a parte superiori cum suo dicto liago et hospicio de lignamine, et cum suis columpnis que substinent et sustinere debent dictum liago et hospicium, et <potestatem habet> illas facere et refacere ad

suum beneplacitum supra dictam curiam.¹¹ Et partim firmat a parte inferiori a dicto hospicio inferius in dicta scalla et curia dicti domini Leonardi Dandullo.

“Et est sciendum, quod hec proprietatis pars habet potestatem eundam et reddeundam per infrascriptas res, scilicet per porticum, scale, sive podialum, et per curiam predictam, et per portam magnam per quam intratur in dictam curiam et ad putheum positum in dicta curia ad attenendum de aqua dicti puthei, et per dictam porticum positam de subtus dicte proprietatis magne que discurit ad rippam, et <per> dictam rippam in tantum quantum est lata dicta porticus. Per quas omnes res hec proprietatis pars habet et habere potest introitum et exitum usque ad dictam viam communem et ad dictum canale, et ibi carigare et discarigare, et alias suas utilitates facere.”¹²

II 1406 (7 January) Testating, the *miles* Leonardo Dandolo names his son Fantin his residuary legatee.¹³

II 1440–45 Procurator Federigo Contarini purchases for 7,666 ducats, invests *sine proprio* and *ad proprium*, and receives possession of Ca’ Farsetti and its rental shops and dwellings. One third of the property he has bought directly from Fantin Dandolo by exercising rights of prelation. Two thirds he has bought (as agreed in a treaty of division of the family real estate) from his

11. The sentence is corrupt. It not only lacks an enabling subject and verb for the final clause (I have inserted the words normally used in such a clause) but also fails to specify the boundary on which the *liago* and columns abut. See also the next note. For “investiture,” see Appendix II, note 2.

12. ASVe, CanInf, Notai, b³ 115 (not. Marino *plebanus* S. Gervasii, Cancelliere ducale), *protocollo* for 1364–69, no. 58, being the investiture *ad proprium* of July 1366, which quotes in full from the investiture *sine*

proprio of May 1365 the description transcribed above. A grant of possession completed the transfer on 13 March 1374; *ibid.*, b³ 115, *protocollo* for 1362 and 1370–74, no. 148. Here the description is copied out yet again, and the word in the first sentence that I have restored as *coniu<ng>et* is rendered as *continet*—which makes no sense—while the missing phrase concerning repairs to the terrace columns has not been restored. For “investiture,” see Appendix II, note 2.

13. Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 414, sack II, no. 28.

- nephews, Giulio and Tomaso Contarini, who had initially purchased this portion from Fantin Dandolo.¹⁴
- 13** 1449 (24 August, 10 December) Procurator Federigo Contarini's four children—Ambrogio, Michele, Gian Alvise, and Caterina—are awarded and invest *sine proprio* and *ad proprium* the fifth share in Ca' Farsetti of their indebted brother, Carlo.¹⁵
- 14** 1465 (26 September) The brothers Ambrogio and Gian Alvise Contarini divide Ca' Farsetti and its rental shops and dwellings.¹⁶
- 15** 1515 (28 February) Federigo Contarini q. Ambrogio lists one half of Ca' Farsetti and twenty-nine of its rental shops and dwellings on his tax declaration.¹⁷
- 16** 1515 (28 February) Paolo Contarini q. Gian Alvise (the Gian Alvise being in turn son of the late procurator Federigo), lists one half of Ca' Farsetti and twenty-three of its rental shops and dwellings on his tax declaration, being property he holds jointly with his brother Federigo.¹⁸
- 17** 1538 (29 April) Federigo Contarini q. Ambrogio [the Ambrogio being in turn son of the late procurator Federigo] lists one half of Ca' Farsetti and thirty-five of its rental shops and dwellings on his tax declaration, and states that the other half is jointly held by his cousins Paolo and Federigo Contarini q. Gian Alvise.¹⁹
- 18** 1543 Extensive renovations are reported under events of this year by the local antiquarian Stefano Magno: "il palazzo a San Lucha sul canal grando [. . .], el qual adesso e da Cha' Contarini [. . .], è sta refato, zoè tuta la faca davanti, et de meza la corte fato caxete et muda la porta che era per mezzo el frutaruol, dove è adesso l'intra nela Corte dove è fato le caxe d'afitar, varda sul campo de giexa de San Lucha."²⁰
- 19** 1546 (12 May) A surveyor of the Magistrato al Piovego records the width of calle Loredan at various points alongside Ca' Farsetti, between the riva del Carbon and the salizada di S. Luca, preparatory to construction planned by Gian Alvise Contarini [q. Paolo, this Gian Alvise being a son of the late Paolo q. Gian Alvise q. procurator Federigo] and his brothers.²¹
- 20** 1566 (28 June) Federigo Contarini q. Francesco [the Francesco being in turn son of the late Federigo Contarini q. Ambrogio], lists one-half of Ca' Farsetti and twenty-eight of its rental shops and dwellings on his tax declaration.²²

14. Ibid., 405 n. 64, and 414–15, sack II, nos. 29–<34>, 36–39, and "H." For "investiture," see Appendix II, note 2.

15. Ibid., 415, sack II, no. 41.

16. Ibid., no. 45.

17. ASVe, SavDec, Condizioni, b^a 37, no. 35.

18. Ibid., b^a 37, no. 37.

19. Ibid., b^a 92, no. 93.

20. See Magno, "Cronaca," v, fol. 68r and, for the date, fol. 85r. The writer's syntax is fractured, but he seems to be saying that the palace façade has been "redone," that houses have been "done" in the middle of the court, and that changes have been made in the door that

was opposite the fruiterer, where now stands the entrance portal for the newly "done" rental houses looking toward campiello di S. Luca. Since Jacopo de' Barbari's view of 1500 (see [B], no. 1) already shows rental houses on the side of the site that looks toward the *campiello*, the houses on this spot must have been "redone" rather than "done." In Magno's text, therefore, *fato* carries the same meaning as *rifatto*.

21. ASVe, GiudPiov, Misure e Licenze, b^a 21, fasc. no. 1, fols. 36r–v. According to the early genealogist Marco Barbaro, Paolo Contarini, one of the two cousins encountered in no. 17, had three sons: Zuan Alvise, Gerolamo, and Polo; Barbaro, "Famiglie nobili venete," I, fols. 87v–88r.

22. ASVe, SavDec, Condizioni, b^a 127, no. 787.

- 21** 1566 (15 October) Improvements made by Federigo Contarini q. Francesco in his half of Ca' Farsetti cause the tax authorities to raise its rental value from 45 ducats *per annum* to 59.²³
- 22** 1582 (3 August) Federigo Contarini q. Francesco, now procurator of St. Mark, lists the whole of Ca' Farsetti and twenty-four of its rental shops and dwellings on his tax declaration.²⁴
- 23** 1613 (22 October) Procurator Federigo Contarini dies. By terms of his testament of 8 August 1612 he has named as residuary legatees his daughters Bianca, Contarina, and Marina, married, respectively, to Carlo Ruzzini, Nicolò Bragadin, and Zaccaria Grimani.²⁵
- 24** 1670 (10 January) Marina Bragadin, wife of Barbon Morosini, contracts to sell Ca' Farsetti by itself, that is, without its annexed rental shops and dwellings, to Anton Francesco Farsetti for 22,000 ducats. The contract states that her title derives from a *fideicommissum* of Federigo Contarini q. Ambrogio, instituted by his testament of 23 January 1546 and dissolved by votes of the Maggior Consiglio on 12 January 1668 and 19 May 1669, and the testament published on 11 March 1634 of her grandfather, Gerolamo Bragadin q. Nicolò.²⁶
- 25** 1774 (22 September) Filippo Vincenzo Farsetti dies, and with him dies out the senior branch of Anton Francesco Farsetti's issue. Its patrimony is bequeathed by Filippo to a cousin in the cadet branch, Daniele Filippo Farsetti.²⁷
- 26** 1804 Daniele Filippo Farsetti's son and heir, Anton Francesco the younger, betakes himself to Russia and disappears in order to escape creditors, abandoning his wife, Elena Andriana Da Ponte.²⁸
- 27** 1826 (28 October) The Municipality of Venice purchases Ca' Farsetti for £84,000 from Andriana Da Ponte, who assumed ownership of the building some time before in restitution of her dowry.²⁹
- 28** 1832–35 The deteriorated balcony across the front of the *piano nobile* is replaced.³⁰
- 29** 1838–39 The attic windows are repositioned and increased in number from nine to eleven, so as to align vertically with the windows of the second floor.³¹

23. ASVe, SavDec, Stime di case, b^a 855, fol. 27r.

24. ASVe, SavDec, Condizioni, b^a 158, no. 954. The second half of Ca' Farsetti, but not the accompanying share of rental houses, may have come to Federigo upon the death of his cousins, Paolo and Federigo. Paolo was deceased by 28 June 1566, when his widow, Caterina, filed her tax declaration, listing thirty-two rental houses, but no part of Ca' Farsetti; cf. ASVe, SavDec, Registri, reg^o 367, no. 481.

25. ASVe, ArchNot, Testamenti, b^a 1086 (not. Francesco Zambelli), no. 165.

26. ASVe, ArchNot, Atti, b^a 11143 (not. A. M. Piccini), separate unlabeled fascicule.

27. Sforza, "Testamento di un bibliofilo," 153–95, esp. 162–71, 194–95.

28. Ibid. See further note 70 below.

29. For the purchase, see AMVe, Cont, ser. 1^a, no. 2, which also has a summary of the process by which Andriana obtained title to the building. Further papers on this may be found at AMVe, AUff, 1806–34, unnumbered *filza*, labeled "1826 Palazzo Farsetti," fascs. "1824," "1825," and "1826," and in the Archivio Patrimoniale in the city hall, partita no. 14, San Marco (Pal. Farsetti).

30. AMVe, AUff, 1806–34, gathering titled "Pal. Farsetti, II," fascs. "1832," "1834," and AUff, 1835–39, *filza* III-9-2, fasc. "1835." The contractor, Francesco Sartori, was forced to do the work twice, because the first time iron struts had been specified and installed for support, raising loud protests from the municipal Commissione al pubblico ornato. The balcony had to be rebuilt, therefore, to rest on stone corbels.

31. AMVe, AUff, 1835–39, *filza* III-9-1. All working papers from the project have been discarded, and the entire *filza* contains nothing

- 30** 1857–61 The side elevations on calli Loredan and Cavalli are refinished and their windows reshaped and repositioned, so as to agree with one another in shape and to align with one another vertically and horizontally.³²
- 31** 1871–74 The bottom register of the principal façade is restored to its “original” design, removing the balconies and street-level door introduced in the eighteenth century, and eliminating the horizontal bipartition of ground-floor windows and arcade, replacing all stone members destroyed in the past or weakened by exposure, and cladding the ground floor in marble veneer.³³
- 32** 1892–99 Ca' Farsetti's rear wings, on the south side of the Farsetti's stair house, are raised to the same height as the front block, namely, from four floors to five.³⁴

but the bidding terms for the contract (awarded 6 August 1838 to Domenico Vianello) and the *liquidatione* of the contractor's account on 14 January 1839, upon certification of his work.

32. Proposed and planned in 1844–46, the project was aborted with the revolution of 1848 and had to wait until 1855 before it was proposed anew. It began innocently enough on 12 April 1844, as a proposal to create new storage spaces in certain rooms off calle Loredan. Structural deficiencies found during development of this scheme led on 29 November 1845 to the approval of a complete renovation of both sides of the fabric. See under the respective dates in AMVe, AUff, 1840–44, filza III-9-1, fascs. “1844” and “1844–1849.” For the appearance of the project at this stage, see (B), no. 11, below. On 14 January 1846 the Austrian provincial office of works approved the final project, with one reservation, namely, that as part of the work “dovesse migliorarsi la simmetria e l'Euretmia delle facciate [laterali] medesime.” The final specifications of 22 October 1846 met this demand; see under the respective dates in *ibid.*, fasc. “1844–1849.” When finally executed in the 1850s, the work was planned and approved in discrete phases. By 1861 both elevations had been completely renovated. See AMVe, AUff, 1855–59, filza III-7-1, fascs. “1856,” “1857,” and “1858”; *ibid.*, 1860–64, filza III-6-2, fascs. “1860” and “1861.”

(B) VISUAL SOURCES

- 1** 1500 Ca' Farsetti seen from the southeast (i.e., rear) and above, being a detail of block A of Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut bird's-eye view of Venice.³⁵ Fig. 183
- 2** ca. 1709 A portion (five bays) of Ca' Farsetti's main façade, being a detail on the right of an anonymous print of Ca' Loredan titled “Palazzo Corner-Piscopia a S. Lucca Sopra Canal-Grande,” published by Vincenzo Coronelli, *Singolarità di Venezia*, II: *Palazzi di Venezia*, n. p. or d., but Venice, ca. 1709, unnumbered plate in the section, “Sestiere di S. Marco.” 183 × 257 (plate), 179 × 235 (image); etching and engraving.³⁶ Fig. 214
- 3** 1717–20 Ca' Farsetti's main façade, being a detail of the anonymous print “Veduta del Palazzo di

33. AMVe, AUff, 1885–89, filza 1-7-2, fascicule titled “Liti intentati contro il Commune”; *ibid.*, Atti presidiali, Palazzi municipali, 1869–72, filze titled “A” and “Pal. Farsetti | Carte Secondarie.” The fascicule of “Liti” has no internal subdivisions. Papers lie roughly in chronological order, beginning at the back of the file and moving to the front, but individual sheets have not always been put back in their proper place. For the drawings, see (B), nos. 14, 17–18. For the prehistory of the project and the litigation it spawned, see note 101 below.

34. Proposed and planned during the summer and autumn of 1891, work actually began on 21 January 1892. Structural work was completed 9 September 1895; finishing (chiefly exterior plastering) was contracted on 8 August 1898 and paid off on 16 March 1899. See AMVe, AUff, 1895–99, filza III-4-13, loose papers at the end of the *filza* and fascs. “1898” and “1899” (an unknown quantity of working papers from these two fascicules have been discarded); and *Deliberazioni prese dal Consiglio Comunale di Venezia nell'anno 1891*, 40; *Deliberazioni . . . 1892*, 48, 55; *Deliberazioni . . . 1895*, 49; and *Deliberazioni . . . 1898*, 34.

35. Schulz, “Jacopo de' Barbari's View.”

36. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia*, no. 4539; Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli*, 176–77, no. 89.

- Ca' Grimani in S. Luca Sopra il Canal Grande." 359 × 467 (plate), 320 × 457 (image), etching. Unnumbered plate in the second edition (1720) of Lovisa's *Gran Teatro di Venezia: Prospettive*.³⁷ Fig. 184
- 4 bef. 1730 Distant view of Ca' Farsetti on the left of Canaletto's painting *The Grand Canal: Looking Southwest from the Rialto Bridge to Palazzo Foscari*.³⁸
- 5 bef. 1754 Ca' Farsetti's main façade, anonymous print titled "Palazzo Farsetti a S. Lucca sopra Canal Grande," in the second edition of *Teatro delle fabbriche più cospicue*, II: *Fabbriche private*, bottom of fig. 52.³⁹ Fig. 185
- 6 ca. 1755–65 Distant view of Ca' Farsetti on the right of Francesco Guardi's painting *The Grand Canal Between Palazzo Grimani and the Rialto Bridge*.⁴⁰
- 7 ca. 1804–26 Ca' Farsetti's main façade, anonymous broadside titled on top "In Venezia Maestoso Albergo sul Gran Canale" and below "Facciata dell'Albergo della Gran Brettagna." The Gran Brettagna is known to have been operated by tenant of Andriana Da Ponte's, who owned Ca' Farsetti between the dates above.⁴¹ Fig. 186
- 8 1808–11 Site plan of Ca' Farsetti, being a detail of the plan of Venice at the scale 1:1,000 prepared for the so-called Napoleonic cadastre of Venice.⁴²
- 9 1828 Ca' Farsetti's façade, lithograph by Dionisio Moretti, being a detail of a continuous elevation of the building fronts along the Grand Canal.⁴³ Fig. 187
- 10 1834 Partial plan and elevation of Ca' Farsetti's first-floor balcony; 472 × 325; pen and black and red ink over pencil preparation, washed in gray and pink, black/gray signifying existing features, red/pink new construction; scaled at 2:100 (the plan and view) and 3:100 (the elevation). Prepared for certification of the balcony's completed reconstruction; signed and dated by Giuseppe Salvadori, director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, 23 April 1834.⁴⁴
- II 1845 Elevations of the exterior long sides of Ca' Farsetti, one above the other, titled, respectively, "Prospetto sopra la Calle Cavalli" and

37. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia*, no. 4540. The print is not among those listed for delivery by 1717 in Lovisa's advertisement for the first edition, but appears in the second edition of 1720 and subsequent ones; see Schulz, "Gran Teatro."

38. Houston, Museum of Fine Arts; Constable, *Canaletto*, cat. no. 220. Ca' Farsetti and the neighboring Ca' Loredan are collapsed together as one building with one continuous wall to the Grand Canal. Another version of the composition (Royal Collection, Windsor Castle; Constable, cat. no. 219) also shows the two palaces as one, but their quay is obscured by a moored vessel.

39. For the *Teatro*'s two editions, see Schulz, "Albrizzi's *Forestiere*."

40. Two versions of this painting are known: Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera, no. 243, and Zurich, Kunsthau, Koetser Collection, no. 65. See Morassi, *Guardi*, I, 407, nos. 521, 522, and II, figs. 508 and 507, respectively; and Klemm, *Gemälde der Stiftung Betty und David M. Koetser*, 150.

41. BMCVe, Raccolta Gherro, IV, no. 541. For the dating, see Tassini, *Alcuni palazzi*, 10, and Fapanni, "Palazzi," fols. 70v–71r. For Andriana Da Ponte, see (A), nos. 26–27.

42. ASVe, CatNap, Mapped, Venezia, pl. XII, plats 1298–311. A reduced tracing is reproduced in *Catasti storici*, [50]. A new cadastral survey—the so-called "catasto austriaco," ordered in 1838 and completed (the section on the city of Venice) in 1847—shows no change in Ca' Farsetti's outline; cf. *Catasti storici*, [91]–[92]. For the cadastres themselves, see *Guida generale*, IV, 1070–76.

43. Quadri and Moretti, *Canal Grande*, pl. 30 (from Palazzo Enrico Dandolo to Palazzo Martinego).

44. AMVe, AUff, 1835–39, filza III–9–2, fasc. "1835." See also (A), no. 28.

- “Prospetto sopra la Calle Loredan”; 531 × 747 (torn along a horizontal fold); pen and black and red ink over pencil preparation, black signifying existing features, red new construction. Scale unstated, but scaled at 1:100 (many parts are dimensioned as well). Prepared for an unexecuted project to restore the building’s deteriorated side elevations and regularize their fenestration; delineated by G. de Secchi, signed and dated by Giuseppe Salvadori, director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, 5 November 1845.⁴⁵ Fig. 188
- 12** 1846–63 Ca’ Farsetti’s façade, lithograph by Marco Moro titled “PALAZZO FARSETTI ora Congregazione Municipale S. Luca ★ PALAIS FARSETTI maintenant Municipalité, St. Luc.” 187 × 306 to ruled border.⁴⁶ Fig. 189
- 13** ca. 1850–65 Ca’ Farsetti’s façade, being a detail of an anonymous broadside titled “Vue du Grand Canal de l’Hôtel Royal du Lion Blanc jusques et compris l’Auberge de l’Ecu de France.” 715 × 133, lithograph.⁴⁷ Fig. 190
- 14** 1865 Elevations of the bottom register of Ca’ Farsetti’s façade before and after a proposed restoration (titled “Tav. I. Stato attuale,” “Tav. II. Prospetto [. . .] Riduzione allo stato originario”), plus a plan after restoration of the same zone (“Tav. III. Pianta”). 396 × 525 each; pen with black (and, Tav. III, red and blue) ink over pencil preparation. Scaled at 1:60. Prepared for a project to restore Ca’ Farsetti’s façade *all’antico disegno*, proposed at the city council meeting of 16 September 1865. The drawings are signed and dated by the projecting architect, Federico Berchet, *ingegnere aggiunto* of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale; the delineator, Gaetano Combatti; and the Ufficio’s director, Giuseppe Bianco.⁴⁸
- 15** bef. 1866 Anonymous photograph of Ca’ Farsetti’s front façade, before the restoration begun in 1871.⁴⁹ Fig. 191
- 16** 1867 Floor plans of all five storeys of Ca’ Farsetti, delineated by Giovanni Antonio Romano and submitted 25 May 1867 to the city’s Executive Committee by Giuseppe Bianco, director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, to illustrate an unexecuted project for heightening the rear of the building. Titled “Piano Terreno,” “Piano Ammezzati,” “Primo Piano,” “Secondo Piano,” and “Terzo Piano.” Each sheet 567 × 800; pen and black and red ink over pencil preparation, washed in gray, rose, and yellow. No color key is provided, but the drawings of 1834 and 1845 listed above use black/gray to signify existing features and red/rose for new construction. Yellow may identify parts to be demolished. Scale unstated, but scaled at 1:100. All sheets are signed by Romano and Bianco.⁵⁰ Fig. 192 (*piano terreno*)

45. AMVe, AUff, 1844–49, filza III-9-1, fasc. “1845 a 1849.” For related papers, see (A), no. 31, above.

46. *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, 1: *Palazzi*, pl. 33; Fontana, *Venezia monumentale*, ed. Moretti, pl. 35.

47. BMCVe, Raccolta Gherro, IV, no. 481. Outside dates can be fixed from the appearance of the Austrian arms on Ca’ Farsetti, bought by the city (now a division of the Austrian state) in 1826 (see [A], no. 27), and the renaming of the hotel in neighboring Ca’ Loredan “Hôtel de la Ville,” already effected in 1865 (see Appendix v, note 39).

48. AMVe, AUff, 1885–89, filza 1-7-2. For the history of the restoration projected in these drawings, see (D).

49. Taken before the accession of Venice to the Kingdom of Italy, for the Austrian Eagle is still affixed above the entrance.

50. AMVe, AUff, 1865–69, filza III-6-2, fasc. “1867,” in a separate gathering labeled “Attesochè venne fornito l’affare dell’acquisto del Palazzo Loredan per destinarlo ad uso degli uffici municipali passi il presente agli atti.”

- 17** 1871 Preparatory renderings and clean copies of four project drawings for restoration of Ca' Farsetti's lower façade. In both sets the sheets are titled identically: "Pezza A. Prospetto dello stato attuale del palazzo Farsetti Municipale"; "Pezza B. Prospetto dei piani terra e primo per la riduzione allo stato originario"; "Pezza C. Pianta e Spaccato longitudinale Piano=Terra dimostrante i lavori da eseguirsi nel Prospetto del Palazzo"; "Pezza D. Spaccati trasversali sulle linee cd. e ef. dei locali interni laterali della grande Entrata [. . .]" Preparatory sheets measure 845 × 840, 630 × 1021, 850 × 680, and 638 × 460 respectively; clean copies 920 × 802, 630 × 1021, 865 × 621, and 621 × 434; both versions are drawn in pen and black and red ink over pencil preparation, washed selectively with blue, brown, gray, pink, salmon, and yellow; A, B, and D are scaled at 3:100, C at 2:100. B and D are selectively dimensioned. All are dated 26 April 1871; the preparatory drawings are signed by the director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, Giuseppe Bianco, and the delineator, Gaetano Combatti; the clean copies are signed by Bianco alone. The copies were part of the official project specifications for the restoration of Ca' Farsetti's ground-floor façade, carried out between 1871 and 1874.⁵¹ Fig. 193 (Pezza A)
- 18** 1872 Twenty-three record drawings of various stages in the restoration of Ca' Farsetti's lower façade and reconfiguration of its front rooms, prepared during the course of 1872 at the completion of each stage, for incorporation in Pietro Saccardo's final certification report of 21 August 1885. Sheets are identified by letters,

A–H, J, L–V, X–Z. Dimensions vary from 449 to 800 × 351 to 1077; pen and colored inks and colored washes over pencil preparation. Signed by the delineator, Annibale Marini, and the director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, Giuseppe Bianco. Some are additionally signed by the certification inspector, Pietro Saccardo (pls. A–E, G–M), and the contractor, Sebastiano Cadel (pls. A–D, Q). The sheets bear various dates in 1872: 9 January (Y), 30 April (Q), 15 May (A–D, Z), 31 May (X), 15 July (E–H, J, L–M), 16 September (N–P), and 31 December (R–V). The majority are dimensioned. Seventeen are scaled 4:100 (pls. B–M, O–Q, S–T, V, Z), four 2:100 (A, U, X–Y), and two 10:100 (*sic*; N, R).

Titled as follows: "Tavola A. Planimetria dimostrante la fronte dei due Sodi Piano Terra [. . .]"; "Tavola B. Pianta dimostranti i pali larice conficcati a sostegno delle Assicurazioni, gli escavi di terra e le zatteroni doppi e singoli [. . .] eseguiti nelle nuove sottofondazioni dei due sodi [. . .]"; "Tavola C. Pianta e Sezioni del sodo destro del Piano Terra [. . .] colle parziali indicazioni dei pezzi di pietra arenaria applicata [. . .] nelle nuove sotto fondazioni"; "Tavola D. Pianta e Sezioni del sodo sinistro del Piano Terra" [etc., as in C]; "Tavola E. Tratto di Prospetto Piano Terra del Sodo sinistro [. . .] collo stato degli esistenti deperiti muri"; "Tavola F. Tratto di Prospetto Piano Terra del sodo destro" [etc., as in E]; "Tavola G. Spaccati interni in linea della Facciata principale del solo Piano Terra dimostrante lo stato attuale dei deperiti muri [. . .]"; "Tavola H. Prospetti dimostranti le Trasandiere e puntellazioni che sorreggono le travate del muro

51. AMVe, AUff, 1885–89, filza 1-7-2, bottom of the file (for the nature and organization of this file, see note 33 above). The project specifications, dated "17. vi. 1871," comprise three further *pezze*:

F "Ristretto di Perizia," G "Capitolato d'Appalto," and H "Preventivo della Spesa."

ortogonale al lato sinistro” and “Prospetti dimostranti le Trasandiere e puntellazioni che sorreggono le travate del muro ortogonale al lato destro”; “Tavola J. Tipo dimostranti le N° 4 Trasandiere colle puntellazioni che sorreggono le travate e muro ortogonale dell’Entrata al lato destro”; “Tavola L. Profilo dimostrante le due punte con traverso superiore nuovo, applicato posteriormente in assistenza della I. Trasandiera al lato del demolito muro ortogonale destro del palazzo [. . .]”; “Tavola M. Tratti di prospetto in I° Piano [. . .] con archetti continuati aventi colonnine binate di stile arabo bisantino”; “Tavola N. Tavola rappresentante la forma dei vivi modonati d’istria di una porta d’applicarsi nell’Entrata [. . .]”; “Tavola O. Tipo dimostrante il nuovo pilastro e muratura eseguita nel muro ortogonale dell’Entrata al lato destro del palazzo [. . .]”; “Tavola P. Tipo dimostrante il nuovo pilastro e muratura eseguita nel muro ortogonale dell’Entrata al lato sinistro del palazzo [. . .]”; “Tavola Q. Prospetto del palazzo Farsetti colle indicazioni marcate in tinte differenti / La tinta rossa accenna le parti nuove / detta verdastre [. . .] i restauri da farsi alle parti ornamentali / detta trachite pel rivestimento del nuovo zoccolo [. . .]”; “Tavola R. Tipo dimostrante il nuovo serramento di larice [. . .] a cadauna porta dell’Entrata [. . .]”; “Tavola S. Tipo dimostrante la Pianta e Sezione trasversale ed ortogonale della nuova Scala secondaria [. . .]”; “Tavola T. Tipo dimostrante lo Spaccato interno con li nuovi cancelli [. . .] nello stile bisantino [. . .]”; Tavola U. Planimetria dimostrante la grande

Entrata [. . .]”; “Tavola V. Sezione interna dei due locali a. c. Piano terra con superiore Ammezzato [. . .] al lato destro del palazzo [. . .]”; “Tavola X. Pianta del II. Piano [. . .] dimostrante la eseguita Orbonatura in ferro [. . .]”; “Tavola Y. Tipo dimostrante l’andamento delle travi in senso trasversale le quali portano il I° Piano [. . .] al lato del canal grande [. . .]”; “Tavola Z. Sezione interna dei due locali b. d. Piano Terra con superiore Ammezzato [. . .] al lato sinistro del palazzo [. . .].”⁵² Figs. 194, 195 (Tavv. Q, U)

(C) THE OWNERS

Ca’ Farsetti is the only one of the Romanesque palaces of which the moment of construction and the identity of the builder are known from external evidence. The lot on which it stands was bought vacant in 1200 by Renier Dandolo, son of the reigning doge, Enrico Dandolo. By 1237, when Renier was dead and his estate was being sued, the lot had already been built up. Renier had died in 1208 or 1209, by which time the building must have been standing.⁵³ The record confirms a later tradition that Ca’ Farsetti was built by Renier Dandolo.⁵⁴

Renier belonged to a branch of the Dandolo clan that had been active in government and trade for over a hundred years and had joined the inner circle of wealthy families who dominated the ecclesiastical and ducal (later communal) administrations. Thus, Renier’s paternal grandfather (Vidal Dandolo) and uncle (Andrea) had been *iudices*—high officials of the ducal court—for several decades during the middle

52. AMVe, AUff, 1885–89, filza 1–7–2, middle of the unsegregated papers in this filza (for the interior organization of the filza, see note 33 above).

53. See (A), nos. 1–2, and Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 396 n. 21 and 399 n. 35.

54. See Magno, “Cronaca,” iv, fol. 68r; Savina, Chronicle of Venice, version B, i, fol. 95; and “Memorie della famiglia Dandolo” of 1648, fol. 212.

and the second half of the twelfth century, respectively.⁵⁵ Renier's father had reached the dogeship (he reigned from 1192 to 1205). A brother of grandfather Vidal, also named Enrico, had been patriarch of Grado—metropolitan of the Venetian see—for something like sixty years.⁵⁶ There is no way of tabulating the family's wealth, but from the mid-twelfth century forward, members are recorded conducting business in Constantinople, Alexandria, Acre, and other entrepôts of Mediterranean commerce, engaged in those trading and financial ventures that brought wealth to the city's medieval elite.⁵⁷

Renier himself seemed destined for a distinguished career when he began construction of a residential palace. At his father's departure to lead the Fourth Crusade on the conquest of Zara and then Constantinople, in October 1202, Renier became the acting head of state, or vice-doge, and so continued until his father's death in Constantinople in 1205.⁵⁸ During his brief tenure in office he oversaw the compilation of a new legal code—the second, supplementing one promulgated ten years before by his father—and an expansion of the state's courts from two to three by addition of the *curia examinatum* for the proving of contracts.⁵⁹ His public service continued after doge Enrico's death. In 1206 he and Ruggero

55. For the genealogy of this branch of the Dandolo, see Barbaro's family tree, reproduced in Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," 408–9. For the offices held by early members, see the list in Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 91–96. Other Dandolo served as *iudices* more briefly in the years between 1144 and 1200 (Giovanni, Grato, Gilberto). Before then, two Dandolo served in 1131 (Bono and Domenico; Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 60).

56. Giorgio Cracco, in *DBI*, xxxii (1986), 448–50; see also Appendix 1 (C).

57. See *Famiglia Zusto*, nos. 23–24; *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, nos. 231–33; Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio*, doc. no. 80, 155, 257, 272, 350, 376; idem, *Nuovi documenti del commercio*, doc. no. 43. In 1196, returning from an expedition to the East, the captains of the Venetian fleet were forced to take up a loan from the travelers while it put in at Abydos (in modern Greece). Contributors whose loans can be deciphered numbered 178, and the sums they subscribed ranged from 3 to 207 hyperpers. The thirty-first sum in

Premarino led a fleet of thirty-one galleys into the Ionian Sea to seize Corfu for Venice. The next year the two men led a new expedition to the same area, this time capturing and overseeing the execution of a pirate who had preyed on Venetian shipping, seizing the strong points of Modon and Coron (at the southwestern tip of the Peloponnesus), and pressing the illegal occupier of Crete, Count Enrico Pescatore of Malta, to quit the island. Here, however, Renier's luck ran out. He was captured by Count Enrico's men in 1208 and died in prison soon after.⁶⁰

Renier's palace adjoined the older residences and rental properties of various cousins, forming part of the residential compound of this branch of the Dandolo clan. The building's ownership history parallels that of the rest of the compound. That is to say, divided into ever smaller shares as ever more heirs acquired interests in the various properties, the structures began to lose their connotation of a family seat.⁶¹ Eventually, all passed out of the hands of Renier's direct descendants.

No record survives of the outcome of the suit in 1237 against Renier's estate. However it was settled, it had no effect on the ownership of Ca' Farsetti and its precincts, which remained in the possession of Renier's descendants for not quite another hundred

order of magnitude, 62½ hyperpers, was subscribed by Vidal Dandolo. Although unlikely to have been the same individual as Renier's grandfather, he was no doubt a relation, since the given name was common in Renier's branch of the clan but not in others. See Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 1, doc. no. LXXVIII; reprinted by Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, doc. no. 4.

58. Roberti, *Magistrature giudiziarie*, 1, 84–85; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 1, 538–39, doc. no. CXXXV. Half a century later, Renier was deemed by da Canal to have "governed the Venetians and Venice very wisely"; see the latter's *Estoires*, bk. 1, ch. xxxviii (ed. Limentani, 46).

59. Besta and Predelli, "Statuti civili," 49–59; Roberti, *Magistrature giudiziarie*, 1, 194–99.

60. Ogorio Pane recounts Renier's death as occurring in 1208. See *Annali genovesi*, ed. Belgrano and Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, II, 109–10. See also Borsari, *Dominio veneziano*, 21–23; idem, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane*, 27–29, 96 n. 33.

61. Cf. Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," passim.

years. Between 1347 and 1351, however, the property was wrested from their hands by a distant and powerful cousin, doge Andrea Dandolo, who, using a combination of intimidation and outright seizure, acquired one by one the many shares into which it had come to be divided. A hundred years on, in the 1440s, doge Andrea's last surviving heir, the childless bishop of Padua, Fantin Dandolo, sold the property out of the family.⁶²

Its buyer was Federigo Contarini, a procurator of St. Mark, who, having use of a procuratorial residence for himself, settled the palace and its annexes upon his five children. Handed down through three further generations of his issue, the buildings eventually came under the control of a single great-great-grandson, also named Federigo and also a procurator of St. Mark.⁶³ At the latter's death in 1613 the property began to be shared out among his three daughters and the families into which they had married, the Bragadin, Contarini, and Grimani. In the process, title to the rental shops and dwellings came to be severed from that to the palace, and by the second half of the seventeenth century only the latter emerged as a unitary property, controlled by Marina Bragadin, a great-great-granddaughter of the younger procurator Federigo. In 1670 Marina sold it to the man whose name it has retained down to the present day, Anton Francesco Farsetti.⁶⁴

Farsetti (1606–80) was one of a select group of wealthy men who were allowed to buy their families

into the Venetian nobility during the long and draining war between Venice and the Ottoman Turks for the possession of Crete.⁶⁵ He was born in Massa, near Carrara on the Tuscan coast, into a family of modest circumstances, but he made his fortune in Rome, where he became banker to a succession of leading families, among them the Barbarini and Falconieri. With the election of Maffeo Barbarini to the papacy as Urban VIII, Farsetti was named private treasurer to the pope. Made a nobleman of Rome in 1645 and of Ferrara in 1659, he entered the nobility of Venice in 1664.⁶⁶

Enlarged, modernized, and redecored internally by Anton Francesco's descendants, Ca' Farsetti became a meeting place for cultivated members of Venetian high society, home to a celebrated collection of works of art, and an informal school where young artists could hone their skills and form their sensibility. The most assiduous of the Farsetti collectors and benefactors was Anton Francesco's great-grandson, the abbot Filippo Vincenzo (1703–74). Pupil in his youth of the educator and intellectual mentor of the Venetian *beau monde*, the critic and aesthete Father Carlo Lodoli, he became a widely traveled, cosmopolitan member of the international set of connoisseurs of his day. His cousin Carlo Rezzonico, later Pope Clement XIII, furnished him with excellent connections in Rome and helped him in the formation of an extensive collection of casts after antique statues. His collection of paintings emphasized Baroque works by Italian, Dutch, and Flemish masters. He was a patron of the

62. See (A), nos. 6–7 and 12, and, for more details, Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," 400–405. A new, detailed biography of Fantin Dandolo, superseding that published not so long ago in *DBI*, is offered in Girgensohn, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung*, II, 709–24.

63. For the family tree of these Contarini, see Barbaro, "Famiglie nobili venete," I, fols. 87v–88r. They are called the "Contarini dalle due Torri" by Anton Maria Tasca, editor of an eighteenth-century recension of Barbaro, perhaps in remembrance of a palace "dalle do torri" that they had owned in the ward of S. Staë; see Chapter 1, notes 36–37. The two longest-lived of the elder Federigo's sons, Ambrogio and Giovanni Alvise, divided Ca' Farsetti in 1465; Schulz, "Houses of the

Dandolo," 415, no. 45. Tax declarations of 1515, 1538, 1566, and 1582 allow one to follow the ownership down to the younger Federigo; see (A), nos. 15–17, 20, 22.

64. See (A), nos. 23–24.

65. Eighty families were admitted between 1646 and 1669 to help finance the Candian War, at a cost of up to 100,000 ducats per family. See Sabbadini, *Acquisto della tradizione*, 20–23 (a table of admittees with dates of admission on 171–73), and Davis, *Decline*, 106–17.

66. See Sforza, "Testamento di un bibliofilo," 158–61, and [Farsetti, Manni, and Morelli], *Notizie della famiglia Farsetti*, 6–10.

neoclassic critic Francesco Algarotti and the sculptor Antonio Canova.⁶⁷ Plans for rebuilding Ca' Farsetti as an art academy, prepared for Filippo by the architect Paolo Posi shortly before Filippo's death, attest to the seriousness of Vincenzo's commitment to the fine arts even though they were never implemented.⁶⁸

Childless himself, Filippo bequeathed his own estate and the family patrimony to his second cousin, Daniele Filippo Farsetti (1725–87), who in turn left it to a son (1760–bef. 1817) named after their illustrious forebear Anton Francesco. Daniele too was a devotee of the arts and maintained Ca' Farsetti and its collections,⁶⁹ but his son, after showing promise of following in his father's footsteps, turned into a wastrel and a reprobate. He sold off the collections to the czar of Russia and followed them to St. Petersburg in order to collect his reward and at the same time escape his Venetian creditors. After that he eclipsed himself.⁷⁰ His hapless wife was left to recover her dowry as best she could, which she did by suing successfully for possession of Ca' Farsetti.⁷¹

At the fall of the republic the councils and magistratures that had ruled not only the state but also the city of Venice were abolished. A "provisional municipality" was proclaimed to manage local affairs, and then made permanent by the successive occupying

powers. It was at first installed, ironically, in the Ducal Palace. Apprised in 1824 of the danger of fire this use of the palace presented, the emperor Francis I ordered the municipal administration to find other quarters. The choice fell on Ca' Farsetti, and on 28 October 1826 its sale to the city was consummated.⁷²

Dwindling availability of space during the 1860s led the city government to entertain enlarging Ca' Farsetti. Purchase in 1867 of the neighboring Ca' Loredan led to the suspension of these plans, but they were revived in the 1890s, when offices were getting cramped again. At this time not only was the building expanded (it was raised in height; see section [D] below), but the administration began systematically to acquire the former rental buildings between Ca' Farsetti and the salizada di S. Luca. By the outbreak of World War I, the city had acquired and joined to Ca' Farsetti most of the properties that had belonged to it from its foundation until the Renaissance.⁷³

(D) THE BUILDING

The lot on which Renier Dandolo built his palace in 1200–1208/1209 comprised the entire city block bounded on the north by the Grand Canal, on the

67. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 361–64; for Lodoli, see 320–22.

68. Posi, a native of Siena but active chiefly in Rome, designed Filippo's villa at Santa Maria di Sala. See Vio, *Villa Farsetti*; Bassi, *Ville*, 216–31; and (for good illus.) *The Baroque*, 298–99. However, the architect's project "per ridurre il di lui [i.e., di Filippo] palazzo di Venezia in un'Accademia di Belle Arti non ebbe effetto"; quoted from Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti*, 31781, II, 371; 41785, II, 280 (not in the original text of Milizia's book, Monaldini, *Vite*).

69. Cessi, "Aggiunte di Daniele Farsetti."

70. For the young Anton Francesco and his scrapes, see Garino, "Insidie familiari," 359–61, 369–78. He sold into Russia only the smaller, transportable originals and casts; the large casts remained in Venice and were eventually bought by its Austrian occupiers for use in the newly founded Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. See Paravia, "Lodi dell'Ab. Filippo Farsetti," 35 n. 30. The original paintings and sculpture, on the other hand, arrived safely in St. Petersburg in 1804.

See Androsov, "Kolleksionirovanii," 84–85, and *From the Sculptor's Hand*, 3–6. The scoundrel was last heard of in 1805, when, having received a pension from the czar, he charged the Neapolitan ambassador in St. Petersburg to collect still another mark of imperial favor, a ring. Thus Naples may have been his last refuge; in any case, he is not heard of again. Much later, in 1817, one of his sisters petitioned to succeed to his Russian pension, by which time he must have been dead. See Androsov, "Kolleksionirovanii."

71. See (A), no. 27, and also Fapanni, "Palazzi," fols. 70r–v.

72. See (A), no. 27. Previous to this, Anton Francesco's abandoned wife, Andriana Da Ponte, had been leasing the palace to the operator of a hotel called the Gran Bretagna. See Tassini, "Nostro Palazzo Municipale," and idem, *Alcuni palazzi*, 8–10.

73. Management records for Ca' Farsetti during the quinquennia 1900–1904 and 1905–9 have been discarded. Those of the following quinquennium survive: AMVe, AUff, 1910–14, filza III-4-19. From

south by the salizada di S. Luca, and on east and west by the calli Loredan and Cavalli, respectively. When attached in connection with the suit of 1237, the boundary on the canal was clearly identified, whereas the other three sides were generically described as *calles communes* and a *piscina*, that is, a stagnant waterway.⁷⁴ However, the fourteenth-century charter conveying possession of the property to doge Andrea Dandolo's son Fantin identifies the last three sides recognizably.⁷⁵ The alley at the south end called the "calle discorrente ad Ecclesiam Santi Luce" was the salizada. The side alley called the "via communi que discurit ad tragetum" is today's calle Loredan, from the foot of which operated one of two *traghetti*, or boat services, across the Grand Canal to S. Silvestro.⁷⁶ The *piscina* on the opposite side must be the remaining alley, calle Cavalli; it is called "calle quod dicitur pisina"—evidently the waterway had been filled in.⁷⁷

By the time of the suit of 1237, the lot had buildings on it, not further described. In 1351 they comprised a palace ("domus magna") and a series of rental dwellings grouped around the palace courtyard ("domus de sergentibus circumcirca ipsam [scil., curiam] posit[ae]"). In front of the palace there was a strip of land, embanked and provided with a landing ("terra vacua, fundamento et gradata"). However, even at this late date the southern end of the property on salizada di S. Luca was still undeveloped ("terra

vacua"). By the end of the fifteenth century, when Jacopo de' Barbari prepared his bird's-eye view of Venice, this spot had at last been built up too (Fig. 183).⁷⁸

In the palace proper the earliest recorded addition was a wooden terrace (*liagò*), propped on wooden posts above the stairs at the building's rear, on the side to calle Loredan. Mentioned in 1365–74,⁷⁹ the terrace was taken down soon after, to make way for a far more massive addition: a second residential floor, built atop the building's original ground and first floors. One sees it in Jacopo's view, where it extends most of the way across the palace's front and down the long side on calle Loredan. How far down that side it reached is unclear. In the woodcut it begins at the north (on the Grand Canal) as a second floor and ends on the south as a first floor, a manifest impossibility that must be due to the cutter's misreading of, or inattention to, Jacopo's drawing. Windows are shown as pointed, that is, as Gothic in form. The floor was therefore built before the last quarter of the fifteenth century, by which time this style was out of fashion, and after 1374, the last time the *liagò* is mentioned. (The builder may have been doge Andrea Dandolo's son, Leonardo, who had to house a large progeny.)⁸⁰

Jacopo's image allows one to infer how the façade terminated originally, before its height was raised. On the left the added floor stops short of the building's

them it appears that negotiations for purchase of the various properties began at the turn of the century. See also the Archivio Patrimoniale in the city hall, partita 14, San Marco (Pal. Farsetti).

74. For the construction dates, see (C) above and Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," 399; the lot is described in (A), no. 2.

75. See (A) no. 8.

76. An eighteenth-century list of *traghetti* names two to S. Silvestro, one operating from the foot of calle Loredan, the other from the riva del Carbon; see BMCVe, ms Donà 473, no. 75. The *traghetto* from the *riva* still functions, the other has been suspended, but its boats are seen in Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Ca' Farsetti (Fig. 183), tied up at the foot of calle Loredan.

77. It was still a *piscina* in 1284; see (A), no. 4.

78. For these appurtenances, see (A), no. 8, and for Jacopo's view, see (B), no. 1. The *fondamenta* on the Grand Canal had been closed off with a wooden partition by 1397, to keep out neighbors who were trying to make use of it; see Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," 414, sack II, nos. 26, 27, and "&."

79. See (A), no. 10. It must have been built a good time earlier, for when it was described, it had itself been altered, having had a wood-framed *hospicium* erected on it.

80. Four sons are recorded by the sixteenth-century genealogist Barbaro; see Schulz, "Houses of the Dandolo," table 1-iii. For the *liagò*, see (A), no. 10, which describes the property in terms still valid at the issuance of the grant of possession in 1374 (cf. note 12 above).

edge, leaving a brief stretch of fabric lower than, and hence not homogeneous with, the new floor. This piece must be a remainder of what was there before: a half floor containing a shallow loggia that faced toward the Grand Canal, like the loggias seen on a half dozen Romanesque palaces in Jacopo's woodcut and the one that still exists, albeit in a restored state, atop Ca' Donà della Madonetta (Fig. 37).⁸¹ (That a corner of Ca' Farsetti's loggia still stood in Jacopo's day may mean that the stairs by which one reached the loggia ended at this corner and that they were retained to serve the new second floor.)

Another early addition visible in the print is a wing that straddles the courtyard and presents a ground-floor arcade and a first-floor loggia to the beholder. Here it is the arcade arches that are pointed. The arcade's columns still exist, partially immured in the walls of what is now a ground-floor stockroom. Their capitals are of a type used in Venice throughout the later fourteenth century and into the early fifteenth (Fig. 181).⁸²

Jacopo's point of view renders the front of the building invisible, but later *vedute* show a feature not listed in the deeds, namely, walls enclosing the quay (Figs. 184, 186). They may have been built to make permanent the wooden hoarding put up in 1397.⁸³

An early Renaissance modification, not visible in

the view but datable by the style of its forms, is the recutting (and, possibly, multiplication) of the *piano nobile* windows overlooking calle Loredan. Four of the seven, belonging to the oldest block of the building, toward the Grand Canal, are of a Quattrocento form—namely, the second, third, fifth, and sixth, counting from the front façade (Fig. 178, which shows the third through sixth of the series). Very likely the first and fourth were once of the same type. Tall and round-headed in outline, they are capped by a Lombardesque archivolt: a classicizing cornice anchored at each end by a small rosette and decorated at the vertex with a rising spray of stylized lilies. Tall round-headed windows mark the *piano nobile* of the building's oldest block on the side of calle Cavalli too, but they lack Lombardesque archivolts. Whether the openings were cut at the same time as those on the side of calle Loredan or later, in imitation of them, I cannot say.

Whereas four of these windows still survive, nothing whatever remains of the Gothic fenestration on the second floor, and nothing but the immured columns of the cross-courtyard wing. Most of the wing fell victim to alterations in the eighteenth century, to be described below. Any Gothic windows at the front of the palace were presumably rebuilt as part of a renovation of the Grand Canal façade during the 1540s,

an *intercapedine* between a newly lowered ceiling and the floor above. Only the column shafts can now be seen.

83. For the hoarding, see note 78; for the walls, see (A), no. 8, and (B), nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, and 13. Of the latter, no. 2 shows only the left end of the enclosure, which is seen to begin a few paces short of the building's left-hand corner, leaving an unwallled space that connects with calle Loredan. In fact, the deed of 1351 states that ten feet of the quay is public and serves the *traghetto*, or ferry service, across the canal. The latter is known to have operated from the foot of calle Loredan; cf. note 76 above. (B), no. 4, makes a single building of Ca' Loredan and Ca' Farsetti and also runs together the enclosures on their respective quays. By the mid-eighteenth century all but the end walls of Ca' Farsetti's enclosure had been razed; by the middle of the nineteenth century those were gone too.

81. For loggias in Jacopo's view, see Figure 23. For Ca' Donà della Madonetta, see Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, 16 (where it is called Casa Donà, the name of an entirely different building) and fig. 8. Loggias in general are discussed in Chapter 1, esp. note 30.

82. The room is entered from calle Cavalli, street number 4099. In the nineteenth century one could still see the arches carried by these columns; Tassini, *Alcuni palazzi*, 7. They were destroyed when the room was divided horizontally some time later, whereas the columns and capitals remained exposed until 2001 (Fig. 181). The shafts are *spolia* of Greek marble; the capitals are of the type Ruskin called the "simplest form of the middle Gothic capital"; *Stones of Venice*, III, pl. II, no. 3, and "Final Appendix," sec. III, "Capitals" (*ed. prin.*, III, oppos. 11 and 235, respectively; *Works*, XI, oppos. 12 and 272-9, respectively). Recently, the capitals too have vanished, engulfed in

reported by a writer of the time.⁸⁴ It seems reasonable to associate with this report all the Cinquecento features of the façade. They comprise a Sansovinesque modillion cornice at the eaves, an attic with square windows,⁸⁵ and a string course and round-headed windows on the second floor; their corbels, capitals, and profiles exhibit sixteenth-century forms. Since the attic was added at this time, the roof atop it would have been built at this time too.

No description specifies the appearance and exact location of the building's rear, nor is its back visible in Jacopo's woodcut, where the rear elevation of the palace proper is obscured by the nearer structures, among them the Quattrocento cross-courtyard wing. Fugitive mentions of rental houses and stairs in the courtyard are encountered in early descriptions of the interior.

These descriptions are few and incomplete, but they do allow reconstruction of the palace's ground- and first-floor plans as of the later fourteenth century (Figs. 169–70). Documents of 1351, generated in connection with the building's appropriation by doge Andrea Dandolo, state that the first-floor *portego* had a “crux,” or transept. One speaks of a room on the first floor that adjoins the “crux,” while another speaks of a room bordering calle Loredan and located beneath the upper *portego*'s “crux.”⁸⁶ Thus, the upper *portego* had a transept extending over the full width of the building's front, exactly as Paolo Maretto reconstructed it in an article of 1960.⁸⁷ If a “crux” was lacking on the ground floor, there must nonetheless have been an entrance porch behind the central arcade, like the porch that still survives on Ca' Loredan next door.

84. See (A), no. 18.

85. There is no attic in Jacopo's woodcut. Later views reproduce different numbers of attic windows in different arrangements. The majority show eight ([B], nos. 5, 7, 9, 13, 17[A]); others show eleven (see [B], nos. 3 and 6). When restored in 1838–39, nine existed. They were to be removed, reinserted in new positions, and augmented by two more; see (A), no. 29. The eleven resultant windows followed the sequence, aa-bb-ccc-bb-aa. Sometime before 1871 the inner “b” on

The massive, presumably medieval walls traversing the building's side aisles some distance behind the façade on both the ground and first floors must have formed the rear walls of the transept and porch.

A description repeated in identical terms three times between 1365 and 1374 lists certain rooms on the first floor, on the side toward calle Loredan.⁸⁸ They were *hospicia*—private chambers—two of which adjoined the first-floor *portego*, and the third of which, built of wood, stood on the previously mentioned wooden terrace (*liagò*) suspended on posts above the palace stairs. To the north this suite abutted on the rest of the palace; to the south it bordered rental houses (owned by the main building's proprietor), the palace court, and stairs. On the east it overlooked calle Loredan, and on the west it gave directly on to the upper *portego* through two doorways. Where the terrace supports reached the ground floor, they abutted on the palace stairs and the *portego* that connected the courtyard with the canal-side quay.

The palace stairs were probably exterior stairs debouching directly into the first-floor *portego*, like those of other palaces of the time. Indeed, the description orients the reader by stating that the suite lay “to the right when entering the palace's *portego*.” How many rooms there were on the palace's other side, the texts do not say, but normally the two sides of an early palace were laid out symmetrically.

The description does not help us to fix the depth of the medieval building, but here the side elevations of 1845 come to our aid (Fig. 188).⁸⁹ They were drawn before the palace's several tracts were raised to

each side was closed; cf. (B), nos. 12 and 17[A]. They are still nine today, grouped aa-b-ccc-b-aa.

86. See (A), nos. 7 and 6, respectively.

87. “Edilizia gotica,” pl. II. Reprinted in his *Casa veneziana*, 76, pl. 4.

88. See (A), no. 10.

89. See (B), no. 11.

a uniform height, and show that the portion extending from the Grand Canal to a grandiose staircase added in the eighteenth century was previously more than one floor higher than the building's other parts, forming a compact five-storey block. Five storeys had been the height of the palace's medieval nucleus since the sixteenth century, when an attic had been added above the Gothic second floor. Comparing the drawing with the building's plan, it can be seen that the five-floor block ends on a line with the rear of the second of the two interior *hospicia* described in 1365. Thus, the back of the canalward block of 1845 must mark the back of the pre-Gothic building.

Radical changes to this building were effected in the early eighteenth century by its new owners, the Farsetti, and the palace's present-day interior and exterior elevations were much altered by them. There were three major alterations: (1) the front ends of the palace's ground- and first-floor halls were narrowed, and the façade toward the Grand Canal was rebuilt so as to conform to this interior reconfiguration; (2) the courtyard façade was razed in its entirety, and a new stair house containing two enclosed stairs was attached to the palace's back; (3) the Gothic cross-courtyard wing and the lateral tracts that linked it with the palace were razed to make way for a rearward extension of the main building, beyond the new stairs and into the area of the rental houses. (A minor improvement dating from the same time was the addition of small Baroque balconies in front of the *piano nobile* windows on calle Loredan. Perhaps the balcony on the *piano nobile* of the main façade, replaced in 1834,

90. Although reproduced in all the early views, the exact form of its balusters cannot be made out. The balcony replacing it has very plain, vaguely Renaissance, balusters.

91. Also the first and last windows of the row were closed and faced with false shutters, creating a symmetrical composition of three sets of three open arches, punctuated by four closed arches. The open ones were equipped with movable shutters of the same design as the fixed ones, which necessitated mutilation of these windows' column bases so that the movable shutters might be opened all the way. Dorigo

originally exhibited similar forms and was built at the same time.)⁹⁰

To take these alterations in sequence, exterior changes unmistakably reveal that the fronts of the medieval building's halls were rebuilt. Thus, on the ground floor the outer arches on each side of the five-bay entrance arcade were severed from it and made into tall windows, identical to the original ground-floor windows. They evince an enlargement of the ground-floor corner rooms at the expense of the entrance porch, which was narrowed. (In a restoration of 1871–74 the outer arches of the arcade were reopened, but the enlarged rooms behind them were retained; see below.) On the first floor, the fifth and sixth and the eleventh and twelfth openings in the fenestration were walled up and the side walls of the *portego's* rearward extension were extended to meet the back of the façade at the site of the walled up windows. (False wooden shutters hide the walled-up windows on the exterior.)⁹¹ In this way, the *portego's* transept was narrowed to the width of the rear part of the room, and the gained space was added to the corner rooms.

On the north side (toward calle Loredan) an earlier, almost square stair house containing a quarter-turn stairway was rebuilt as a rectangular stair house containing switchback stairs.⁹² The stair house on the south side offered a magnificent approach to the first-floor *porteghi*—both the old and a new one—via stairs on the imperial plan (Fig. 180).

Finally, the extension built at the back, beyond the new stair house, provided space for an additional

claims that the variable thickness of the façade's walls attests, on the first floor, to its rebuilding during the thirteenth century and suggests that its central windows were enlarged, reducing the number of openings from sixteen to fifteen; cf. his "Espressioni," 854. What he has noticed must be the thin walls that were built in the eighteenth century to close some of the first-floor windows, for which, see below.

92. The plan of these stairs was reshaped in 1874; AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza 11-4-1, fasc. "1874." For the previous stairs, see (B), no. 16.

first-floor *portego*, in line with and as large as the medieval one and similarly accessible from the top of the new imperial stairs. The extension also created further service and bed-sitting-rooms on the ground and upper floors, respectively, as well as a new rear *portego* on the second floor. That floor now contained two complete apartments, to which access separate from the owner's apartment on the first floor was offered by the lesser of the new stairs.

All of these works were bound together as a single system. The contracted porch downstairs supported the contracted *portego* upstairs. New stairs allowed demolition of the old ones (presumably, still the exterior ones of the medieval palace), so that the building, adding rear *porteghi*, could be extended into the rear court. The first-floor *porteghi* had equal access to one another and to the downstairs from the landing of the new stairs. Concordantly, surviving decorations in the suite are all of a piece: rococo stucco frames and moldings on the side walls of the doubled *portego*; ostentatious, classicizing portals of stone and *faux* stone on the *portego*'s and the ground-floor hall's end walls; and matching portals, window frames, column screens, and paneling in the stair hall (Figs. 179, 180, 182).⁹³

The most conspicuous exterior sign of this whole chain of changes was the transformation of the outer arches of the entrance arcade into windows. It is first depicted in an anonymous print of Ca' Farsetti from before 1754 (Fig. 185).⁹⁴ The entire campaign of construction can therefore be dated to the first half of the eighteenth century.

93. In the downstairs *portego* only the portal on the rear wall, leading to the stairs, survives. Other door frames disappeared when the ground-floor was turned into shops in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At the time of the restoration in 1871–74, new, classicizing portals were built around the doors leading to either side, while the walls themselves were scraped down to the bare brick.

94. See (B), no. 5. (Earlier views, namely [B], nos. 2–4, leave the arcade invisible.) The contracted arcade is shown again in (B), nos. 7,

Immediately afterward a further, equally damaging alteration was practiced on the ground floor. Although a few disconnected mezzanines had existed in between the ground and first floors as early as 1351,⁹⁵ sometime during the third quarter of the eighteenth century a continuous mezzanine floor was drawn across the medieval building. This required horizontal division of all the main façade's ground-floor windows and arches. Their lunette-shaped upper portions were glazed; their lower portions were walled up, except for three of the central entrance arches. A doorway leading to the stairs of the new mezzanine was broken through the lower walls of the second and third bays from the corner with calle Loredan, destroying the medieval pier between them. Tiny square windows were inserted into the lower walls of the other bays. Whether to regularize somewhat the rhythm of the lunettes or for other, unknown reasons, two (the second and seventh counting from calle Loredan) were shifted a few centimeters to the left, leaving the medieval piers and their decorations incongruously offset. None of the changes are as yet apparent in the view made before 1754, but they had already occurred by ca. 1760, when they were depicted in a painting by Francesco Guardi.⁹⁶ They were reversed in the restoration of 1871–74 (see below).

Once the city acquired the palace, in 1826, partitions began to be built or moved in many places, in order to increase the number of separate offices, improve circulation, and generally make the structure more fit for its new function. In the medieval nucleus, however, the major lines of the plan as they had been

9, 12, 13, 14 (tav. I), 15, 17 (*pezza* A), and 18 (tav. G). None of the early views reproduces the alteration of the first-floor fenestration.

95. See (A), no. 7. The *hospicium* of Andrea and Renuzio Dandolo there described had a "pars superior" and a "pars inferior cum suo meçato."

96. For Guardi's painting, see (B), no. 6. Later *vedute* and the first photograph reproduce the façade in this butchered state too; see (B), nos. 7, 9, 10, and 12–17 (Figs. 186–87, 189–93).

left by the eighteenth-century owners were not disturbed (Figs. 169–70).⁹⁷

Unfortunately, the same did not hold for the exterior. Initially, the city architects projected no more than simple repairs. But soon schemes were born to regularize the building's exterior elevations and then, in the second half of the century, restoration projects, meant to re-create medieval features lost with the passage of time, or known or believed to have been part of the medieval building, or thought to be in keeping with its style. The aim was to "return" the exterior to a more perfectly medieval state. Repairs might, and did, accompany the work, because they would secure the structure's survival—in short, they too were conceived as parts of a restoration.

Replacement in 1834 of the deteriorated Cinquecento balcony in front of the first-floor windows falls into the class of simple repairs.⁹⁸ The structure is not an exact replication of the older balcony, which itself must have been an addition to the medieval fabric, and we may ignore it in our consideration of the original elevation.

97. See (B), no. 16. Drawn in 1867, these plans were made in connection with a scheme first proposed ten years earlier, to gain space in the building by raising the height of its eighteenth-century, southern extension; see AMVe, AUff, 1855–59, filza III-7-1, fasc. "1858." Rendered moot with the city's purchase shortly thereafter of the adjoining Ca' Loredan, the scheme was revived when a shortage of office space again began to plague the city administration in 1891. A new plan for raising the building's rear was developed and executed in the years 1891–99; see (A), no. 32.

98. See (A), no. 28, (B), no. 10, and note 90 above.

99. See (A), no. 30. The illustrated drawing was prepared in 1845; see (B), no. 11.

100. As executed a decade later, the two elevations were left with a few irregularities not shown in the drawings.

101. See (A), no. 31. The restoration grew out of a project of 1864 to restucco the palace's deteriorated front on the Grand Canal. By the next year this had become a proposal to restore "all'antico disegno" the lowest register of the façade. Federico Berchet submitted sketches for a restoration; see (B), no. 14. Although these were quickly approved by the provincial authorities, the needed funds followed only in 1871. The director of the city's Ufficio Tecnico, Giuseppe Bianco, now formulated detailed plans for a full restoration, and in July 1871

A project for repairing and restuccoing the palace's sides, prepared in 1844–46 but executed only in 1857–61, is an example of maintenance that acquired elements of an improvement scheme. From a simple project to repair footings and renew the stucco on both sides, it grew to become at the same time a scheme for regularizing the fenestration.⁹⁹ A preparatory drawing of 1845 (Fig. 188) shows the Renaissance and Baroque modifications of the lateral elevations mentioned above, namely the windows (their archivolts are not shown) and balconies on the *piano nobile*. Both elevations were now to be improved by moving windows and constructing blind ones. That is, numerous openings in the attic, second floor, mezzanine, and ground floor were to be repositioned, so that all windows on all floors might align vertically and horizontally, or be mirrored in false windows that followed the overall alignment.¹⁰⁰

Finally, in the third category—that of a historicizing, reconstructive restoration—falls the rebuilding in 1871–74 of the most battered part of the Grand Canal façade, its bottom register.¹⁰¹ The progenitor of the

the job was awarded to the contractor Sebastiano Cadel; for the contract drawings, see (B), no. 17. More and more structural deficiencies came to light as the work progressed, however, and change orders multiplied as expenses climbed and oversight of the project changed (see below). Contracts to correct deficiencies were let to Cadel one by one, and completion of the restoration dragged on into 1874. Meanwhile, inspection reports and drawings for the final certification began to be prepared in 1872; see (B) no. 18. The overlapping contracts, phases of work, and inspections created great confusion in the city's and Cadel's accounts, with the former claiming to have overpaid and the latter protesting that he had been underpaid. From 1882 to 1885 the certification inspector, Pietro Saccardo, sought (unsuccessfully) to resolve the disagreement. In 1885 Cadel sued for further payments; in 1888 his suit was quashed by the Corte di Appello. In order to prepare its legal defense, the city had all papers relating to the project, no matter what their date, gathered into one omnibus file; see the first of the files cited in note 33 above. Contemporary reports of the ongoing restoration were published by Tassini, "Nostro Palazzo Municipale," and the municipal government, *Rendiconto morale della Giunta Municipale di Venezia da ottobre 1870 a tutto 1871*, 173–74; *Rendiconto del biennio 1874–1875*, 222–23, 547; *Rendiconto del triennio 1878–1879–1880*, 32–33; *Rendiconto del biennio 1881–1882*, 21; *Rendiconto del quadriennio*

scheme seems to have been Federico Berchet, who, as *ingegnere aggiunto* in the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, submitted drawings for the project on 7 October 1865.¹⁰² Start of work was delayed by the uncertainties accompanying the accession of Venice to the new Kingdom of Italy (1866), but in 1871 a contract was finally awarded to Sebastian Cadel, the lead contractor in the restoration of the Fondaco dei Turchi shortly before. Although inspired by Berchet's proposal of five and a half years earlier, the contract drawings and specifications were drawn up by the director of the Ufficio Tecnico, Giuseppe Bianco.¹⁰³ Execution of the work was Bianco's responsibility to the end of 1872, at which point he retired and was succeeded by Annibale Forcellini.¹⁰⁴

An early photograph and a contract drawing reproduce the appearance of the lower façade before work began (Figs. 191, 193).¹⁰⁵ They show details that are not visible in the small prints—namely, what parts of the original architectural sculpture had been destroyed (the entirety of the third pier from the left and the colonnettes on the third and second pier from the right), how the arches of the entrance arcade and the round-headed windows were finished (their archivolts were presumably outlined with torus moldings in stone), and what the columns of the arcade stood on (they stood on inverted Corinthian capitals rather than bases).¹⁰⁶

In the restoration, arches and windows across the arcade were reopened in their entirety, eliminating their horizontal bipartition and removing the mezzanine. On either side of the arcade, the outermost arches were also reopened, but they were nonetheless left to illumine the enlarged rooms behind, created in the days of the Farsetti. The former arches of the arcade and flanking windows were glazed with sheet glass and covered with grilles. The two openings that in the eighteenth century had been shifted toward the left were moved back to their original positions and mated once more with the articulation beneath. An architectural relief of a miniature arcade in red Veronese *broccatello* was manufactured anew to decorate the reconstructed third pier from the left, in imitation of the reliefs that decorated the third pier from the right and the corner piers.

Attic bases were invented for the columns of the porch, to correct the “barbaric” use of truncated and inverted capitals on the original elevation.¹⁰⁷ Buttresses were constructed in back of the façade's medieval columns and piers, and those in back of the outer columns were joined by an oblique spur wall to the offset side walls of the *portego*.¹⁰⁸ The forward ends of the walls on calli Loredan and Cavalli were strengthened with an inner lining of new masonry, and the ends of the *portego*'s side walls were entirely replaced. The capitals of the entrance porch were replaced

1883–1886, 222–23; *Deliberazioni prese dal Consiglio Comunale di Venezia nel triennio 1870–1871–1872*, 86; *Deliberazioni . . . nell'anno 1873*, 4; *Deliberazioni . . . nell'anno 1874*, 30.

102. See (B), no. 14.

103. See (B), no. 17.

104. See Barizza, *Comune di Venezia*, 217.

105. See (B), nos. 15 and 17 (*pezza A*).

106. Selvatico had already remarked this in 1847; *Sulla architettura*, 79.

107. This change, not called for in Bianco's plans, was urged by his successor, Annibale Forcellini, in a memorandum of 13 January 1873 in which he called the inverted capitals barbarous. He presented the memorandum to the city council on 19 February 1873; see AMVe,

AUff, 1885–89, filza 1–7–2 (it lies wrapped around two plans of Ca' Farsetti dated 26 April 1872 and a report of 15 June 1873 by Gian Antonio Romano that reiterates Forcellini's recommendations). Three of the “bases” survive; they were cut down at the neck to fit their position and are much eroded. They have recently been returned to the Museo Correr after having long been on loan to the Museo Archeologico; illus., Polacco, *Marmi*, 66–67, nos. 69–71. Another revision of Bianco's plans that is presumably attributable to Forcellini is the design of the grilles in the restored arches. As executed, they differ from the grilles depicted in Bianco's contract drawings.

108. Dorigo considered the buttresses to be a thirteenth-century feature; “Espressioni,” 861 n. 137.

by modern imitations (Fig. 176). Missing reliefs and colonnettes of the window piers were carved anew. A pier of red Veronese marble in calle Cavalli, around the corner from the façade, was replaced. Marble veneer was applied in place of the stucco finish of old—namely, bands of dark green marble around the archivolt, and beige, vertically veined marble in the spandrels between and the zone above them. Finally, relief roundels with the lion of St. Mark were inserted in the veneer over the third and eighth spandrels.¹⁰⁹

To arrive at an idea of the Grand Canal façade before the additions of earlier centuries and before this reconstructive restoration, one must subtract all that

has been added in the course of time and reinsert what one knows to have been destroyed (Fig. 171). On the one hand, this means deleting the second floor and attic in their entirety. It requires conjuring away the balcony and reopening the walled-up windows on the *piano nobile*. And it obliges us to eliminate the marble veneer, the grilles, and the Attic bases that were added to the ground floor in the 1870s. On the other hand, it means adding a roof-top loggia above the *piano nobile*, opening an entrance porch behind the ground-floor arcade, and standing the columns once more on inverted capitals.

109. Having accumulated much grime in the previous hundred years, the restored façade was cleaned in 1974–75, but not altered in any way.

APPENDIX V: CA' LOREDAN

(A) WRITTEN SOURCES

- I 1364 (17 June) The brothers Fantin, Federigo, and Marco Corner [q. Bellelo] of the parish of S. Maria Zobenigo purchase Ca' Loredan from Federigo's wife, Lucia, for the sum of £650 *grossorum* and invest the property *sine proprio* the same day. They invest it *ad proprium* on 22 June 1365 and are granted full possession on 26 January 1366. The sale contract describes it as follows:

“[. . .] una proprietas magna a stacio cum pluribus domibus a sergentibus; et cum tanto de curia posita versus viam communem, quantum est usque ad callicellum de grondalibus communem huic proprietate et proprietate ser Petri Lando per transversum dicte curie . . .¹ dicte proprietatis a sergentibus huius proprietatis; et cum suo calli proprio qui discurit in quidam calli communi de convicinis; et cum suo liago, rippa et fundamento proprio istius proprietatis positus supra canale, tota ista proprietas insimul coniuncta <est>.

“Secundum quod ista proprietate firmat ab uno suo capite per totum cum sua via, fundamento et rippa propria versus canale, unde

habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Et ab alio suo capite firmat partim cum suis domibus de sergentibus, tam inferius quam superius, in muro huius proprietatis et proprietatis ser Francisci Lando. Et partim firmat ex parte superiori cum suo liago et revetene in liago et revetene dicti ser Francisci Lando. Et partim firmat, cum dicta sua curia secundum quod dictum est, in testa curie communis huius proprietatis et proprietatis dicti ser Petri Lando, unde hec proprietate habet introitum et exitum usque ad viam communem. Et partim firmat cum sua proprietate tam inferius quam superius in callicello de grondalibus communi huic proprietati et proprietati dicti ser Petri Lando.

“Ab uno suo latere firmat per totum cum sua proprietate a stacio et de sergentibus in via que discurit ad tragetum, unde habet introitum et exitum. Et ab alio suo latere firmat partim, cum sua proprietate a stacio, et cum suo capite callis proprii, et cum sua proprietate de sergentibus, in calli communi huius proprietatis et proprietatis de convicinis, unde habet introitum et exitum usque ad viam communem et ad canale. Et partim firmat, cum sua proprietate de sergentibus ex parte inferiori a liago inferius,

1. The vellum is abraded here, and two words are illegible.

in dicta curia communi huius proprietatis et dicte proprietatis dicti ser Petri Lando et proprietatis dicti ser Francisci Lando, unde habet introitum et exitum usque ad viam communem. Et partim firmat ex parte superiori cum suo liago et revetene supra dictam curiam communem, ut superius dictum est.”²

- 2 1388 (12 November) Alberto, marquis of Este and citizen of Venice, invests *ad proprium* Ca’ Loredan, together with its furnishings and some of its rental houses. He does so as heir of his brother, the late marquis Nicolò [II] of Este, who had invested the property *sine proprio* on 17 January 1388, executing an award of 6,003 ducats against the estate of the late Federigo Corner. The award was conferred by the Giudici di Petizion on 8 January 1386, to make good an unpaid loan of 6,000 ducats by Nicolò to Federigo, and to reimburse Nicolò’s court costs of 3 ducats. The investiture describes the property as “tota una proprietate terre et case cooperta et discooperta, que est una domus magna a statio cum sua terra vacua et fundamento et rippa, sive gradata, posita a parte anteriori dicte domus a statio versus canalem; et cum sua curia et puthio et lobia et scalla petrinea in ea positus; et cum suis pluribus domibus a sezentibus positus in testa dicte domus a statio; et cum tanto de terra vacua posita a parte anteriori dictarum domorum a sezentibus, quantam comprehendunt dicte domus per testam recto tramite usque ad lastas marmoreas fixas in terra ad latus vie communis; et cum una sua corticella posita ad latus dictarum domorum a sezentibus. Tota hec proprietates insimul coniuncta posita est in confinio

2. ASVe, CanInf, Notai, b^a 115 (Marino pievano di S. Gervasio e Cancelliere ducale), *protocollo* for 1364–69, no. 45. The document is the grant of possession of 26 January 1366, in which the two investitures

Sancti Luce, que fuit nobilis viri Federici Cornario, olim eiusdem confinii Sancti Luce.

“Firmante ab uno suo capite per totum in canale, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Et ab alio suo capite firmante per totum in via communi, unde habet introitum et exitum. Ab uno suo latere firmante per totum in via communi que discurrit ad tragetum et alio, unde habet introitum et exitum. Et ab alio suo latere firmante per totum in via communi que discurrit ad canalem et alio, unde habet introitum et exitum.

“Illam videlicet partem, que est una domus magna a statio, cum sua terra vacua et fundamento et rippa, sive gradata, posita a parte anteriori dicte domus a statio versus canalem; et cum sua curia et puthio, et lobia et scalla petrinea in ea positus; et cum sua stalla posita ad manum dextram intrando curiam; et cum suis revetenis et canibus positus a parte superiori super terram vacuam, sive curiam domorum a sezentibus reliqui dicte proprietatis; et cum omnibus suis lectis, paraventis, chebis, investitiis, banchis et banchabus, que omnia sunt pro ornamento dicte domus a statio in cameris, caminatis, porticibus et hospiciis magnis et parvis, et in lobiis, salis et sofita dicte domus a statio. Tota hec pars insimul coniuncta posita est in dicto confinio Sancti Luce.

“Secundum quod hec pars firmat ab uno suo capite per totum in canalem, unde habet introitum et exitum, iunctorium et iaglacionem. Et ab alio suo capite firmat partim cum sua dicta stalla, tam inferius quam superius, in muro communi huic parti et uni domui a sezentibus reliqui dicte partis. Et partim firmat cum sua

are recalled and the sale contract and its description are quoted in full. (For “investiture” and grants of full possession, see Appendix II, note 2.)

curia et muro proprio in curia unius alterius domus a sezentibus reliqui dicte proprietatis, in quo dicto muro proprio est una janua qua³ intrabatur in curiam dicte domus a sezentibus dicti reliqui, que debet claudi et murari expensis istius partis. Et partim firmat continuando cum sua dicta curia, domo a statio et muro proprio, in curia sive calli domorum a sezentibus dicti reliqui dicte proprietatis, in quo muro proprio est una fenestra ferata pro luce latrine istius partis, cui non potest auferri lux sive luminaria modo aliquo.

“Ab uno suo latere firmat per totum in via communi discurte ad tragetum⁴ et alio, unde habet introitum et exitum. Et ab alio suo latere firmat partim in via communi que discurrit ad canalem et alio, unde habet introitum et exitum. Et partim firmat cum sua dicta stalla et muro proprio in curia domorum a sezentibus reliqui dicte proprietatis. In quo muro proprio est una janua, que debet claudi et murari expensis istius partis. Et partim firmat cum suo dicto [*sic*] revetenis et canibus super dictam curiam domorum a sezentibus dicti reliqui. Et est sciendum,

quod hec pars, sive stalla istius partis, habet et potest facere fenestras feratas ad trabatura quot et quantas voluerit, quibus fenestris per curiam dicti reliqui lumen auferri non potest modo aliquo vel ingenio.”⁵

- 3 1394 (13 February) Taddea d'Este, daughter of the late marquis Nicolò [II] d'Este, and her husband Francesco [II, called Novello] da Carrara, lord of Padua, are awarded 18,000 ducats cash plus Ca' Loredan from the Este patrimony, administered by Nicolò [III] d'Este, son and heir of Alberto d'Este.⁶ Ca' Loredan is valued at 6,000 ducats. The award, settling Taddea's unsatisfied dowry rights in her father's estate and repaying an unreimbursed loan by Francesco to Alberto, has been determined by the three parties' chosen arbitrator, doge Antonio Venier. Ca' Loredan is called the “domum et possessionem, que fuit quondam viri nobilis ser Federici Cornario Sancti Luce, positam in dicto cofinio, et quam acquisivit magnificus [. . .] dominus Albertus Estensis marchio a commissaria dicti ser Federici.”⁷

3. Of the other charters reciting this description (see note 5 below), no. 16 reads “per quam.”

4. Of the other charters reciting this description (see note 5 below), no. 45 reads “tragetum Sancti Luce.”

5. ASMo, SezEst, Documenti riguardanti la casa e lo stato, Serie generale, Membranacei, cas. XXI, no. 13. Cas. XXI contains twenty-two further charters relating to this property transfer, namely, nos. 1–3, 5–12, 14, 16–23, 27, and 43–45 of 1388–91. They include protests and renunciations of protests by Federigo Corner's heirs, appointments of attorneys by Nicolò [II] and Alberto d'Este and the latter's wife, transfers of Ca' Loredan from Alberto to his wife and back again, and the hearing on 26 March 1391 of a suit by a relative of Federigo's, who claimed financial injury from the Este's seizure of Ca' Loredan (no. 45). No. 2 mentions Nicolò [II] d'Este's investiture *sine proprio* of Ca' Loredan in January 1388, now missing. No. 14 is Alberto d'Este's grant of possession of 16 December 1388, which repeats the description of Ca' Loredan transcribed above. So does no. 45. The two repetitions offer only one significant variation from the transcribed text,

namely, that the rental houses, called property of “reliqui dicte proprietatis” in 1388 (above), are termed “commissarie dicti condam Federici Cornario” in 1391 (no. 45). For “investitures,” see Appendix II, note 2.

6. Alberto, brother and heir of Nicolò II, had died on 30 July 1393.

7. ASMo, SezEst, Documenti riguardanti la casa e lo stato, Serie generale, Membranacei, cas. XXI, no. 53. Doge Venier's hearing of the case had first been scheduled for the autumn of 1393, but was postponed on 23 September 1393 to the coming January. In the event, the hearing took place in February. On 5 March 1394 all parties stipulated their acceptance of the settlement; on 29 June 1394 the first installment on the cash award was paid. See *ibid.*, nos. 52, 56, and 57. For this history, see Cittadella, *Storia della dominazione caravese*, II, 256; Frizzi, *Memorie*, III, 396; Manni, *Età minore*, 28–29, who misinterpreted the postponement of 1393 as an initial determination of the award; and Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara*, 309.

- 4 1394 (13 March) Having acquired Ca' Loredan by way of a settlement pronounced on 13 February by doge Antonio Venier, Francesco [II, called Novello] da Carrara, lord of Padua, and Taddea [d'Este], his wife, agree that they will restore the property to the possession of Giovanni Corner, his heirs, legitimate descendants, or (absent either) his collateral Corner relations whenever in the course of the ten years beginning 1 April 1394 he or they pay out to Francesco and Taddea the sum of 6,000 gold ducats—that being the value set on the property when the late marquis Alberto d'Este acquired it from the estate of Federigo Corner and when they were awarded it just recently. They note that they have been informed that the late marquis Alberto had similarly conceded to the heirs and estate trustees of Federigo Corner the right to recover Ca' Loredan against a payment of 6,000 gold ducats. Ca' Loredan is described in terms identical with those in document no. 3.⁸
- 5 1402 (4 March) Francesco [II, called Novello] da Carrara, lord of Padua, grants a power of attorney to Paolo da Lion to sell Ca' Loredan “pure et libere” against whatever form and amount of payment he can obtain.⁹
- 6 1404 (16 March) Whereas, by a public instrument formalized on 13 March 1394, Francesco [II, called Novello] da Carrara, lord of Padua, and Taddea, his wife, undertook at any time in the ten years following 1 April 1394 to transfer

to Giovanni Corner or his agent the property in the parish of S. Luca that was formerly the late Federigo Corner's, provided Giovanni so requested and paid out to Francesco and Taddea the sum of 6,000 gold ducats, and whereas Giovanni has so requested and declared himself ready to pay out said sum, now therefore Taddea, having been granted full authority in this matter by her husband, charges Bonifazio di Guari of Padua to execute all papers and acts needed for transfer of said property to Giovanni or to whomever he may name as his agent, and to receive said 6,000 ducats and give whatever quittances may be required.¹⁰

- 7 1515 (before 28 February) Fantin and Gabriele Corner q. Gerolamo, great-grandsons of Giovanni Corner q. Federigo, list Ca' Loredan and its rental shops and dwellings in their joint tax declaration.¹¹
- 8 1538 (30 April) Fantin Corner q. Gerolamo, having acquired sole custody of Ca' Loredan at the death of his brother Gabriele, lists the palace and its rental shops and dwellings on his tax declaration. He identifies the palace as “Una casa da statio tegno [*sic*] per uso mio, et dela mia famiglia; la quale e' vecchia et ha bisogno de grandissima reparation.”¹²
- 9 1566 (6 June) Francesco Corner q. Fantin, together with his nephews, the children of his three deceased brothers, submits a joint tax

8. ASPd, ArchNot, Atti, vol. 37 (not. Bandino Brazzi), fol. 438r. The *imbreviatura* notes only the year, not the day and month, of the act; its precise date is furnished by no. 6 below.

9. Ibid., vol. 9 (not. Zilio Calvi), fols. 80r–81r; abstracted by Pastorello, *Copialettere*, 54 (n. 1 to letters 85–86). A brief description notes that the building, “que appellatur Ca' Cornaro,” has a court with cistern and a masonry stable.

10. ASPd, ArchNot, Atti, vol. 9 (not. Zilio Calvi), fols. 158r–160r. I am grateful to Benjamin Kohl for having brought this act to my attention.

11. ASVe, SavDec, Condizioni, b^a 38, no. 36. The declaration is undated, but it was processed in the tax office on 28 February 1515.

12. Ibid., b^a 93, no. 95.

declaration listing the palace and its rental shops and dwellings.¹³

- IO** 1582 (15 February) Francesco Corner q. Fantin, together with his nephews, the children of his three deceased brothers, submits a joint tax declaration listing the palace and its rental shops and dwellings.¹⁴

- II** 1604 (27 April) The Giudici del Proprio order division of the palace into four equal parts, in execution of their interlocutory decree of 6 April.

Parties to the division—namely, the heirs of the four brothers Alessandro, Francesco, Gerolamo, and Giovanni Corner q. Fantin—having been unable to reach agreement, the *giudici* approve a scheme of division running to twenty-five paragraphs, submitted at the court's request by Francesco de Bernardin, *proto* of the Procuratori di S. Marco de Supra. Provisions descriptive of existing features are as follows:

[16.] “Item, che le terrazze, che si attrova al presente fatte, si quella coperta, come quella discoperta, sia obligate le ditte quatro parte acconzarle et securarle, serrandole de muro per poter slongar li porteghi verso la corte, la fazzada al dretto delle ditte doi terrazze in quel modo et ordene che si attrova al presente con li

suoi balconi nelle ditte fazzade, et questo à comune spese delle ditte parte.¹⁵

[17.] “Item, che sia levado via tutte doi le scalle che si attrova al presente, la scalla di piera con li suoi volti in corte, et quella che ascende nel sollar di sopra verso la calle del traghetto à San Silvestro, acciò che tutte le sudette parte possi restar con ogni sua comodità, come neli sudetti disegni si comprende [. . .].

[18.] “Item, che le parte che possiederà il sollar di sopra, cioè il secondo, possi [. . .] fabricar li suoi apartamenti verso la corte sopra le stantie delle doi parte del primo sollar, à livello del suo pian del portego sopra le ditte stantie [. . .], à tutte sue spese delle ditte doi parte delli solleri di sopra, et in fuori sopra la corte per suo comodo quanto à lei piacerà, et li coperti che si rittrova al presente sopra le fabriche sopra la corte, volendo le ditte parte di sopra fabricar di sopra le ditti, possi comodare di sopra li ditti coperti.”¹⁶

- I2** 1619–24 Gerolamo Corner q. Jacopo Alvisè systematically acquires or occupies shares of Ca' Loredan and its rental shops and dwellings that are in the hands of relations or outsiders.¹⁷
- I3** 1625 (3 February) Inventory of the residence of the recently deceased Gerolamo Corner q.

13. *Ibid.*, b^a 126, no. 370.

14. *Ibid.*, b^a 157, no. 55

15. It is unclear what exactly is to be done with the façade.

16. ASVe, GiudP, Divisioni, b^a 13, fols. 36v–40r (the document refers to floor plans, which have vanished; errors of grammar are the *proto*'s). Since the parties on their own had failed to propose a scheme of division, as ordered in the *giudici*'s interlocutory decree, the court had ordered one from Bernardin. The scheme the latter laid down had not yet been implemented in 1628; see no. 14 below. Nor was it carried out thereafter.

17. Only a few of his activities are known, and then chiefly at second hand, from an inventory executed in 1629 of family papers

found in the estate of Gerolamo's widow, Caterina, born Thilmans (he himself had died in 1625); see ASVe, ArchNot, Atti, b^a 10780 (not. Giovanni Piccini), fifth gathering in the unpaginated, sewn volume, fols. 13–37. Here are listed the contracts by which Gerolamo bought a house with shop on the Salizada di S. Luca from the Governadori delle Intrade on 17 May 1621; bought another house with shop from his second cousins, Antonio, Gabriele, and Gerolamo, on 27 June 1624; and leased one-half of the first floor of Ca' Loredan from the same second cousins on 13 April 1624, renewing a lease of 1619. See nos. 7, 8, and 69 of the inventory. The last two acts survive in the original: respectively, ASVe, ArchNot, Atti, b^a 614 (not. Fabrizio and Luciello Beazian), fols. 407r–410v, and BMCVe, ms P.D. C-755, no. 51.

Jacopo Alvise, who had been occupying seventeen rooms on the second floor of Ca' Loredan, five on the mezzanine, three in the attic, and another three outside the palace, presumably in one of the rental houses.¹⁸

- 14** 1628 (22 February) Division of Ca' Loredan into four parcels, as ordered in 1604 by the Giudici del Proprio, having remained unimplemented and the latter having therefore ordered from their *proto ordinario*, Gianmaria Torelli, an estimate of the expense of carrying it out, he now submits a list itemizing the needed modifications and their cost. It mentions a transept in the building's hall by listing among the modifications a "tresa de muro a la crosola del portego."¹⁹

- 15** 1663 A guidebook informs its readers that Giovanni Battista Corner, q. Gerolamo, present owner of Ca' Loredan, has recently redecorated its interior.

"Hora possede questo palazzo Giovanni Battista Cornaro Piscopia, procurator di San Marco, come discendente del medesimo Ferigo [q. Bellelo], e da lui rimodernato in alcune sue parti, abbellito, & accresciuto di nobilissime stanze, vedendosi un foro di sei di esse, ornate regalmente. Le sale sono lunghe passa 20. in circa, e larghe passa 6. Li cornicioni, che girano intorno, sono maestosi, di forma vaghissima, e d'intaglio maraviglioso."²⁰

- 16** 1690 (5 August) Testament of Giovanni Battista Corner q. Gerolamo, published 15 March 1692,

18. ASVe, GiudPet, Inventari, b^a 394/14, no. 51. For Gerolamo himself, see Renzo Derosas, in *DBI*, xxix (1983), 241–43.

19. ASVe, GiudP, Confini, b^a 2, no. 100. The division continued unimplemented even after this.

20. Part of a longer account of the building and the Corner

in which Ca' Loredan and its library are placed under strict *fideicommissum*, as follows:

"Mi trovo havere una libreria [. . .], parte della quale mi fu lasciata dal signor mio padre, [. . .] come apparisce dall'inventario fatto fare dalla [. . .] mia madre negl'atti del signor nodaro Giovanni Piccini, [. . .], che è stata da me [. . .] più del doppio moltiplicata de libri e manuscritti, come di un terzo delle casselle collonnate [. . .], il friso di sopra e il [*sic*] piedi di sotto [. . .], con molti altri ornamenti et acquisti da me fatti di teste, busti di pietra, istromenti matematici, globi, sfere, ed altro. [. . .]

"E per che ho comprato e recuperato quasi tutto il mio predetto palazzo à San Luca con il mio proprio danaro; e refabricato di dentro con grandissima spesa di ducati cinquanta mille in circa, mentre era quasi cadente, e ridoto in moderna forma, fuori che la facciata sopra il canal grande; il quale <palazzo>, dopo tanti secoli che la casa nostra lo possedeva, solo questi ultimi anni era buona parte passato in altre case e famiglie; onde, per conservar nella mia casa quanto più sia possibile questo stabile tanto antico di essa e decoroso, ho voluto anco questo sotoponerlo a strettissimo fideicomisso in perpetuo, come tutto il rimanente della mia facultà come sopra, conciliandole molto lustro per le insegne antichissime che vi si vedono scolpite dalla casa nostra, e particolarmente quelle del re di Cipro, donate dal re Piero Lusignano alla nostra casa, quando egli in essa vi alloggiò, con il cavalierato dell'ordine di Cipro in perpetuo, che per segno di ciò vi fece egli intagliare e scolpire [. . .]."²¹

family, which otherwise adds nothing new: Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, ed. Martinioni, 390.

21. ASVe, ArchNot, Testamenti, b^a 773 (not. Andrea Porti), no. 163; published in its entirety by Maschietto, *Elena Lucrezia Corner Piscopia*, 244–57. For the testator, see (C) below.

17 1740 (18 July) Dividing the patrimony of Giovanni Battista Corner, his granddaughter, Lucrezia Corner q. Gerolamo q. Giovanni Battista, wife of Giovanni Battista Loredan, and great-grandson, Francesco Foscari q. Sebastiano, son of Lucrezia's sister, Elena, agree that Lucrezia shall have all of Ca' Loredan and one half of the rest.²²

18 1808–12 (13 December 1808) The R. Corte di Giustizia Civile e Criminale dell'Adriatico grants the suit of Giuliana, born Collalto, wife of Cristoforo Antonio Loredan (himself son of Giovanni Battista Loredan and Lucrezia Corner), for reintegration of her dowry and severance of her property from his, given his excessive debts. Court-ordered seizure of Ca' Loredan is executed 1809; auction sales of it are held in 1811–12, but find few buyers.²³

19 1816 (30 May) Lucrezia Loredan, daughter of Cristoforo Antonio Loredan q. Giovanni Battista, granddaughter of Lucrezia Corner and widow of Zaccaria Valier, having bought back such parts of Ca' Loredan as were sold at auction in 1811–12, sells the entire property to Giuseppe Arizzi for Ital. £30,000.²⁴

20 1822 (18 July) A full description and an appraisal of Giuseppe Arizzi's properties,

22. AMVe, AUff, 1865–69, filza III-6-13, fascicule titled "Fasc. D: I^o. Preliminare 13 dicembre 1828 tra Giuseppe Arizzi e Marco Ferighi e II^a Copia di assenso dei creditori Arizzi per la vendita del Palazzo Loredan," item numbered in red "2," loan contract of 22 July 1742, in which Lucrezia pledges Ca' Loredan as security for a *livello* of 3,000 ducats and the source of her title to the building is described.

23. AMVe, AUff, 1865–69, filza III-6-13, fascicule titled "Fasc. A / Arizzi / per Palazzo Loredan / Documenti antichi," items 3, 5, and 12. The claims of Cristoforo Antonio's many creditors are preserved as items 13–21, 26–27, 31–34, 40, and 42. Item 5—a disorganized file of papers relating to the suit—contains *inter alia* a full description of Ca' Loredan, of 21 March 1809, titled "Uno stabile posto in Calle Loredan e Memo in Contrà di S. Luca al No. 3722."

compiled by Filippo Lavezzari and Pietro Squerardi in connection with a suit against Arizzi by Beniamino Errera and his son Benedetto, in which the building is valued at Ital. £24,252.²⁵

21 1868 (5 January) The city buys Ca' Loredan from Francesco de Gossleth of Trieste for 97,000 Austrian florins at a court-ordered auction.²⁶

22 1871–72 Excavation of the palace courtyard cisterns in connection with their rebuilding uncovers traces of the courtyard's original layout and of earlier structures. Reporting to the "Municipio" on 12 April 1871, Giuseppe Bianco, director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, writes as follows:

"Levata circa una quarta parte dell'esistente corroso pavimento di mattoni in coltello al lato fra la 2^a cisterna ed il manufatto con statua, in luogo di sabbia venne trovato un deposito di rovinaccio per la profondità di m. 1.40 e spoglio di qualsiasi recipiente, soltanto scorgonsi le vestigie di un antico cassettone. [. . .] Ispezionate le banche di creta, si scorse che queste continuano anche nell'altra vicina corte di proprietà Rondina ed Anau, ove trovasi il quarto pozzo, di modo che, si presume, che in antico sia stato questo tutto un cortile con N^o 4 Cisterne. L'esistente manufatto di stile rustico bugnato

24. *Ibid.*, item 30.

25. *Ibid.*, unnumbered item following item 42, being a fascicule of twenty-six leaves, titled "No. 18745 Actum Venetiis. Venezia li 18 Luglio 1822 Protocollo Verbale di giuramento per stima Immobiliare [. . .]," property no. 8.

26. AMVe, Cont, ser. I^a, no. 106, pt. 1, and the Archivio Patrimoniale in the city hall, partita 15, San Marco (Pal. Loredan). The peregrinations of the palace's title between 1822 and 1868, albeit without any reports of the building's appearance or state, may be followed in the cited files as well as AMVe, AUff, 1864–69, filza III-6-13, fascs. "1867," "1868," and "Fasc. D: I^o. Preliminare 13 dicembre 1828 tra Giuseppe Arizzi e Marco Ferighi . . ."

con nicchia a cappa e statua sopra piedistallo, che divide le attuali due corti [. . .], trovansi questo collocato e sorretto dalla 3^a soppressa canna di pozzo, presentemente visibile con laterale sassaia . . .”

Later the same year, on 4 August, Bianco reports further: “Compiuto la terza parte circa di lavoro, a sud del cortile, si pose mano alla seconda, che comprende la canna del pozzo. In essa si ebbero a scoprire due grossi pilastri isolati, dell’esistenza dei quali non si può rendersi altra ragione, se non supponendo che appartenessero ad una costruzione anteriore alle adiacenze del palazzo.”²⁷

- 23** 1880–82 The windows on the main façade’s bottom register, divided in two horizontally during the Renaissance, are reintegrated and their inner frames remade, following a project submitted and approved at the end of 1879. The work was contracted by Gaudenzio Guidini on 20 February 1880 and paid off on 16 December 1882.²⁸

(B) VISUAL SOURCES

- I** 1500 Ca’ Loredan seen incompletely from the southeast (i.e., rear) and above, a sliver of its western side, being a detail of block A of Jacopo

de’ Barbari’s woodcut bird’s-eye view of Venice, and a sliver of its eastern side, being a detail of block B.²⁹ Fig. 213

- 2** ca. 1709 Ca’ Loredan’s front, being an anonymous print titled “Palazzo Corner-Piscopia a S. Lucca Sopra Canal-Grande,” published by Vincenzo Coronelli, *Singolarità di Venezia*, II: *Palazzi di Venezia*, n.p. or d., but Venice, ca. 1709, unnumbered plate in the section “Sestiere di S. Marco.” 183 × 257 (plate), 179 × 235 (image); etching and engraving.³⁰ Fig. 214
- 3** 1717–20 A portion (six bays) of Ca’ Loredan’s main façade, being the detail marked “C” of the anonymous print “Veduta del Palazzo di Ca’ Grimani in S. Luca Sopra il Canal Grande.” 359 × 467 (plate), 320 × 457 (image), etching. Unnumbered plate in the second edition (1720) of Lovisa’s *Gran Teatro di Venezia: Prospettive*.³¹ Fig. 184
- 4** bef. 1730 Distant view of Ca’ Loredan on the left of Canaletto’s painting *The Grand Canal: Looking Southwest from the Rialto Bridge to Palazzo Foscari*.³²
- 5** ca. 1755–65 Distant view of Ca’ Loredan on the right in Francesco Guardi’s painting *The Grand*

27. AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza III-4-3, fasc. “1872.” For drawings related to this project, see (B), no. 14.

28. AMVe, Cont, ser. II^a, no. 1137; Venice, *Rendiconto del biennio 1876–1877*, 16; idem, *Rendiconto del triennio 1878–1879–1880*, 32–33; idem, *Deliberazioni . . . nell’anno 1880*, 14. For the contract drawings, see (B), no. 15. None of the *Atti di Ufficio* of these years contains working papers from the restoration; apparently they were discarded.

29. Schulz, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View.”

30. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia*, no. 4539; Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli*, 176–77, no. 89.

31. Cicogna, *Saggio di bibliografia*, no. 4540. The print is not among those listed for delivery by 1717 in Lovisa’s advertisement for the first edition, but appears in the second edition of 1720 and subsequent ones; cf. Schulz, “*Gran Teatro*.”

32. Houston, Museum of Fine Arts; Constable, *Canaletto*, cat. no. 220. Ca’ Loredan and the neighboring Ca’ Farsetti are collapsed together as one building with one continuous wall to the Grand Canal. Another version of the composition (Royal Collection, Windsor Castle; Constable, cat. no. 219) also shows the two palaces as one, but their quay is obscured by a moored vessel.

*Canal Between Palazzo Grimani and the Rialto Bridge.*³³

- 6 1808–11 Site plan of Ca' Loredan, being a detail of the plan of Venice at the scale of 1:1,000 prepared for the so-called Napoleonic cadastre of Venice.³⁴
- 7 1828 Ca' Loredan's façade, lithograph by Dionisio Moretti, being a detail of a continuous elevation of the building fronts on the Grand Canal.³⁵ Fig. 215
- 8 1849–52 Details of capitals, archivolts, decorative sculpture, and incrustation of the first floor of Ca' Loredan, by John Ruskin.
 (1) Sixth through eighth bays from left; titled "Casa Loredan," 342 × 296, pen and black ink over pencil, with watercolor.
 (2) The four right-hand bays; untitled but inscribed with pencil annotations, 290 × 440, pen and black ink over pencil, with watercolor.³⁶ Frontispiece (1)
- 9 1846–63 Ca' Loredan's façade, lithograph by Marco Moro titled "PALAZZO LOREDAN ora Peccana Campagna a S. Luca ★ PALAIS LOREDAN aujourd'hui Peccana Campagna à St. Luc." 192 × 302 to ruled border.³⁷ Fig. 216
- 10 1847 Site plan of Ca' Loredan's plot, being a detail of a new cadastral plan of Venice at the scale of 1:1,000, prepared for the so-called Austrian cadastre that replaced the "Napoleonic" one.³⁸
- 11 ca. 1850–65 Ca' Loredan's façade, being a detail of an anonymous broadside titled "Vue du Grand Canal de l'Hôtel Royal du Lion Blanc jusques et compris l'Auberge de l'Écu de France." 715 × 134 (image), lithograph.³⁹ Fig. 190
- 12 1870 Plans, elevations, and sections of the quay in front of Ca' Loredan in its existing state and in a proposed new form. Titled, respectively, "Pezza A. Tipo dimostrante la Pianta, Profilo e Prospetto dello stato attuale della Riva d'approdo del palazzo Loredan sul canal grande" and "Pezza B. Tipo dimostrante la Pianta, Profilo e Prospetto della nuova Riva d'approdo da eseguirsi alla romana sul canal grande del palazzo Loredan." Each sheet 485 × 665; pen and black ink over pencil preparation, washed in blue, green, gray, pink, and yellow. Scale is stated as 2:100; many parts are dimensioned. Both are dated 25 June 1870 and signed by the director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, Giuseppe

33. Two versions of this painting are known: Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera, no. 243, and Zurich, Kunsthaus, Koetser Collection, no. 65. See Morassi, *Guardi*, I, 407, nos. 521–22, and II, figs. 507–8; and Klemm, *Gemälde der Stiftung Betty und David M. Koetser*, 150.

34. ASVe, CatNap, Mappa, Venezia, straddling pls. 12 and 19, plats 1312–25. A reduced tracing is reproduced in *Catasti storici*, [50]. See also *Guida generale*, IV, 1070–76.

35. Quadri and Moretti, *Canal Grande*, pl. 30.

36. (1) Ruskin, *Works*, XXXVIII, 293, no. 1827; illus., *Ruskin's Drawings*, no. 25; see also Hewison, *Ruskin and Venice*, no. 15; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. (2) Illus., *Drawings: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, 34, no. 16; see also Hendy, *Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum: Catalogue*, 312; Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Ruskin made two field trips to Venice to study its architecture, in November

1849–April 1850 and September 1851–June 1852. See Millais, *Effie in Venice*, 64, 150, 190, 331.

37. *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, I: *Palazzi*, pl. 43; Fontana, *Venezia monumentale*, ed. Moretti, pl. 45.

38. ASVe, CatAust, Mappa, Venezia, sestiere di S. Marco, pls. 2 and 4. Reproduced from a reduced tracing in *Catasti storici*, [91] and [93].

39. BMCVe, Raccolta Gherro, IV, no. 481. The lions on the two palaces at right identify them as the Lion Blanc. In 1865, Ca' Loredan was the Hôtel de la Ville, suggesting that previously, after its sale in the mid 1850s by Countess Peccana, it may have been the Écu de France. See note 97 below. Ca' Farsetti, on the left, had been a government building since 1826.

Bianco, and the delineator, Annibale Marini.⁴⁰
Fig. 217 (Pezza A)

- 13** after 1870 Anonymous photograph of Ca' Loredan's main façade, taken after construction of the new quay.⁴¹
- 14** 1871–72 A project drawing and a record drawing of Ca' Loredan's courtyard and cisterns, showing, respectively, the existing state plus planned repairs, and the finished work of repair. The first—a plan and longitudinal section—is titled on the recto “Palazzo Loredan Municipale” and on the verso “Pianta e sezione dimostrante lo stato delle esistenti due Cisterne nel Cortile del palazzo Loredan Municipale coi nuovi lavori da eseguirsi indicati in rosso. . . .” The second—a plan—is titled “Pianta del Cortile del Palazzo Loredan, con il tracciamento dei nuovi cassettoni eseguiti per li due pozzi.” (1) 483 × 687; (2) 303 × 407; pen and black and red ink over pencil preparation, washed ([1] only) in light blue, green, light and dark gray, and pink. Scale is stated as 2:100. (1) dated 12 April 1871; (2) dated 12 May 1872. Both are signed by the director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, Giuseppe Bianco, and the delineator, Annibale Marini.⁴²
Fig. 218 (first plan and section)
- 15** 1880 Elevations before and after restoration of the bottom register of the palace's Grand Canal façade, titled, respectively, “Palazzo Loredan Municipale. Stato attuale delle ali del piano

terreno nella facciata principale,” and “Palazzo Loredan Municipale. Progetto di ripristinazione nello stato antico del piano terreno nella facciata principale.” Tracing paper, 495 × 615/620; pen and black ink; scaled at 5:100. Affixed tax stamps have been canceled with the date 19 February 1880. Signed by the contractor, Gaudenzio Guidini, and the director of the Ufficio Tecnico Municipale, Annibale Forcellini.⁴³ Fig. 219 (Stato attuale)

- 16** 1893 Plans of the mezzanine and second floor of Ca' Loredan, titled, respectively, “Palazzo Loredan Piano Ammezzati” and “Palazzo Municipale Loredan Pianta del 11° Piano.” (1) 247 × 488; (2) 210 × 432; pen and black ink, washed in salmon ([1] only), with numerous pencil annotations. Scales are stated as 1:200. Unsigned.⁴⁴

(C) THE OWNERS

I have found no record of Ca' Loredan's owners before the mid-fourteenth century, although the building is certainly much older than that. A late tradition, reported first in the Settecento and repeated several times since, claims that the palace was originally owned by the Boccasio.⁴⁵ Yet, the latter were a family rooted in the ward of S. Simeon Profeta (S. Simeon Grande), on the far side and at the landward end of the Grand Canal. During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries they did own property in the

40. AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza III-4-3, fasc. “1871.”

41. Filippi, *Vecchie immagini*, I, pl. 22.

42. AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza II-4-3, fasc. “1872.” For the rebuilding of the cisterns, see (A), no. 22.

43. AMVe, Cont, ser. II^a, b^a 2, no. 1137. For the project, see (A), no. 23.

44. AMVe, AUff, 1895–99, filza II-4-13, fasc. “Palazzo Farsetti [sic] innalzamento dei piani,” loose at the end of the fascicule.

45. Thus Temanza, *Antica pianta*, 35, citing “old chronicles.” Fontana reiterates his claim, citing the statement by Cappellari Vivaro, that after his abdication doge Giacomo Contarini went to live in the houses of the Boccasio at S. Luca. See, respectively, *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, I: *Palazzi*, 173 (Fontana, *Cento palazzi*, 132; reprt., 392; *Venezia monumentale*, ed. Moretti, 190), and Cappellari Vivaro, “Campidoglio veneto,” I, fol. 163v. Later writers have repeated the tale without noting its provenience; see, e.g., Tassini, *Alcuni palazzi*, 60;

ward of S. Luca, but they continued to own it past the moment that Ca' Loredan is already recorded in the possession of another family, the Zane.⁴⁶ Thus, whatever it was that the Boccasio owned, it was not Ca' Loredan.

An older tradition, that Ca' Loredan at one time belonged to the Zane, is correct. According to the chronicler Nicolò Trevisan, the neighboring residences of the Zane and doge Andrea Dandolo's son, in the ward of S. Luca, were much in the public eye in 1361 and 1362.⁴⁷ The Dandolo residence is Ca' Farsetti, then owned by Leonardo Dandolo q. doge Andrea. The Zane residence must be Ca' Loredan, because in a description of the Dandolo house written in 1351 one Andrea Zane is named as the owner of the property on the riva del Carbon next door to

Ca' Farsetti on the east—the exact location, that is, of Ca' Loredan.⁴⁸

Little is known of the medieval Zane. A moderately wealthy and somewhat prominent family group, they came to notice during the twelfth century. Their wealth must have been formed, like that of many another family come to prominence in this period, in the Mediterranean import-export trade.⁴⁹ Along with wealth came political status: various Zane figure among the ducal advisers of precommunal times and among the officeholders and council members of the *Communis Veneciarum*.⁵⁰ The mid-fourteenth-century Andrea, or Andreolo, as he was often called, was namesake and grandson of Andrea Zane of the ward of S. Stin.⁵¹ It was the latter who had bought the property at S. Luca, as he states in his testament of

idem, *Curiosità veneziane*, s.v. “calle Memmo o Loredan”; and Mosto, *I dogi*, 113. Although the Boccasio are attested as owners of dwellings at S. Luca (see the next note), early chronicles make no mention of Contarini's retirement there.

46. One Philippus Buccassio (also written Boccassio) said in 1261 and 1269 that he lived in the ward of S. Luca; ASVe, respectively, ProcSMco, Commie, de Ultra, b^a 48, fasc. 5 (“Pietro Boccasio”), ungathered deed under date 10 June 1261, and CanInf, MiscNotDiv, b^a 19, no. 1. In 1306 the late Marcus Boccasio q. Philippus—possibly the former's son—was called late owner of properties at S. Luca adjoining a property of the Lando; ASVe, GiudEs, Pergamene, no. 12. In 1276, and again in 1335, the Giudici del Piovego authorized the Dandolo to extend Ca' Farsetti into an unnamed public right-of-way as far as the Boccasio had extended a property of theirs; Schulz, “Houses of the Dandolo,” 413, sack II, nos. 3 and <8>, listed also in Appendix IV (A), nos. 3 and 5.

47. Trevisan, who was reporting events that took place in his lifetime (he died in 1369), wrote that the two residences were decorated to celebrate the election of doge Lorenzo Celsi (16 July 1361), that they served as lodgings for the visiting duke (Albrecht III) of Austria and his retinue (September 1361), and that they were used as lodgings again for the visiting king (Pierre I) of Cyprus and the latter's retinue (December 1362). See Trevisan's chronicle, fols. 114r–v. Trevisan did occasionally misremember: he reported mistakenly (fol. 119r) that Pierre sponsored a joust in piazza San Marco to celebrate a string of Venetian victories against rebels in Crete. This joust, however, was held in June 1364, when Pierre was long gone and five months before he returned for a new stay; cf. Sarnatoro, “La rivolta,” 149, 152–53.

48. See Appendix IV (A), no. 8 (1351).

49. Numerous Zane-family business deals in Constantinople, Crete, and Palestine are recorded during the period 1150–1233; see under their name in the indexes to Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio*, and idem, *Nuovi documenti del commercio*.

50. Zane signatories to ducal decrees are first encountered in the early twelfth century. Thereafter one hears many times of Zane *iudices*, ducal electors, and *consiliatores*. Between 1261 and 1281 one or more Zane sat in the Great Council every year. See Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 69, 95, 102, 107, and 127.

51. Four different Zane recorded in the fourteenth century bore the given name Andrea. An Andrea resident at Ca' Loredan in 1351, also called Andreolo, was son of Micheleto Zane q. Andrea of S. Luca, born after 1305 and last noticed in 1364. To reconstruct the family, see (1) the testament of Andrea Zane of S. Stin, 14 March 1316 (ASVe, ArchNot, Testamenti, b^a 54 [not. Nicolò Zulian], no. 21); (2) the testament of Michiel Zane (Micheleto) q. Andrea, 22 December 1325 (ibid. [not. Alberto Donato], no. 18); (3) the testament of Bartolomeo Zane q. Maffeo (q. Tomaso q. Andrea), 23 May 1369 (ibid., b^a 1023 [not. Giovanni de Carisinis], no. 20); (4) ASVe, ProcSMco, Commie, de Ultra, b^a 316 (Ermolao Zane q. Andrea); (5) ibid., Commie, *Misti*, b^a 84-A (Thomaso Zane q. Andrea); (6) ibid., Commie, de Ultra, b^a 318 (Madalena, widow of Tomaso Zane q. Andrea); (7) ibid. (Marin Zane q. Ermolao [q. Andrea]); (8) ASVe, CanInf, Notai, b^a 115 (not. Marino of S. Trovaso), *protocollo* marked “1364–1369,” no. 119; (9) *Felice de Merlis*, I, no. 1064, and II, no. 1170; (10) *Nicola de Boateris*, nos. 34, 247. According to Barbaro's genealogies, which lack some of the recorded names, the family of Andreolo descended from the Zane of

1316. His heirs, among them Andreolo, are repeatedly recorded residing there in the years between 1324 and 1362.⁵²

The Zane did not retain the palace long. In 1364 it was bought by the brothers Federigo, Fantin, and Marco Corner q. Bellelo.⁵³ The seller was Lucia,

the ward of S. Maria Mater Domini; “Famiglie nobili venete,” II, fol. 427v. I have not seen corroboration of this claim. There is no modern work on the Zane, and Venetian genealogists of the past frequently collapsed homonymous individuals into one, transposing generations and filiations; they also tended to confound the Zane with the like-sounding Zen and Ziani. All these faults may be found in the book *Il magnifico* by Zabarella. A professional compiler of fulsome family histories, Zabarella had the vice of according equal status to sources of the most varied reliability—family traditions, chronicles, histories, documents. He also presented his material in piebald order, or disorder. See further note 55 below.

52. Andrea granted his wife, Belleça, lifetime use of two chambers or suites there: “illa duas domus, que sunt in possessione quam emi in confinio Sancti Luce [. . .] que domus sunt a parte superiori.” His daughters were to have lifetime use of them after her, and his sons to inherit them outright upon the women’s death. See Andrea’s testament, as cited in note 51 above, (1). In fact, two of Andrea’s sons, Ermolao and Michiel (Micheleto), are recorded living there in, respectively, 1324 and 1325; see note 51, respectively (9) and (2). Andrea’s grandson, Andreolo (son of Michiel), was domiciled there in 1351, 1360, and 1361; see Appendix IV (A), no. 8, and note 51 above, (4), small *quaderno*, fol. 9v. Another grandson, Maffeo, was domiciled there in 1350, according to Barbaro, as cited in note 51. After the events of 1361–62 noticed by the chroniclers, the Zane disappear from the ward of S. Luca. Their principal home was at S. Stin, where the elder Andrea had testated. His son Ermolao returned there sometime before 1338, and the latter’s sons and grandsons all resided there through the 1380s; see note 51, (9) and (4), respectively. Andrea’s third son, Tomaso, and the latter’s family were settled in the district of S. Angelo from 1342; see note 51, (5). Nor is there mention of properties at S. Luca in the accounts for Ermolao’s estate kept by the Procurators of St. Mark; see the listing of properties dated 1356 in note 51, (4), large *quaderno*, fol. 25r.

53. See (A), no. 1.

54. In fact, Andreolo had a sister named Lucia, mentioned in the testament of their father, Michiel, of 1325; see note 51, (5), *quaderno* labeled “1,” fol. 8r.

55. The Corner briefly lost control of the building at the end of the fourteenth century; see below. Federigo’s issue grew so vast that to trace all his descendants would require a book-length study in itself. (A modern author who sought to write just such a book, cheerfully mixing fact with fiction, must be discounted: Berruti, *Patriziato veneto*.) The present table is based on documents but, given the copiousness of

Federigo’s wife. How she had acquired it is not recorded. Perhaps she was a Zane and had received the property as a dowry.⁵⁴ Be that as it may, with this transaction the palace became for some four hundred years the family seat of Federigo Corner and his descendants (see Genealogical Table D).⁵⁵

the documentation, strives for comprehensiveness only for the first four generations, after which it is restricted to just those groups or individuals who had an interest in Ca’ Loredan. I am grateful to Benjamin Arbel for sharing with me his own genealogical reconstruction (see his “Cypriot Society,” II, app. 4, 367), beyond which I have made use of the following sources: (1) Zabarella (active 1646–71), “L’Episcopia” (see the end of this note). (2) *Nicola de Boateriis*, nos. 29, 33, 70, 107, 131, 141. (3) The testament of Giovanni Corner q. Federigo, 2 June 1454; ASVe, ArchNot, Testamenti, b^a 932 (not. Angelo Lorenzi), no. 52. (4) The testament of Gerolamo Corner q. Zuanne (q. Federigo), 19 March 1498; *ibid.*, b^a 52 (not. Gerolamo de Bossis), no. 263. (5) The joint tax declaration of 1515 by Fantin and Gabriel Corner q. Gerolamo (q. Zuanne q. Federigo); see (A), no. 7. (6) The tax declaration of 1538 by Fantin Corner q. Gerolamo; see (A), no. 8. (7) The tax declaration of 1566 by Francesco Corner q. Fantin; see (A), no. 9. (8) The tax declaration of 1582 by Francesco Corner q. Fantin; see (A), no. 10. (9) Five patrimonial divisions and settlements of 1604, 1614, 1625, and 1628; see, respectively, (A), no. 11; ASVe, ArchNot, *Atti* b^a 595 (not. Fabrizio and Lucillo Beazian, 1614), vol. II, fols. 269v–270r; BMCVe, ms PD C–755, no. 51; ASVe, GiudP, Divisioni, b^a 14, fols. 180v–186v; and (A), no. 14. (10) The inventory of the papers of Caterina Thilmans, widow of Gerolamo Corner q. Jacopo Alvise, 20 September 1629; ASVe, ArchNot, *Atti*, b^a 10780 (not. Giovanni Piccini), fasc. 5. (11) The testament of Giovanni Battista Corner-Piscopia, 5 August 1590, published 15 March 1692; see (A), no. 16; published by Maschietto, *Elena Lucrezia Corner Piscopia*, 244–55. (12) The loan contract by which Lucrezia Corner-Piscopia q. Gerolamo q. Giovanni Battista, wife of Giovanni Battista Loredan, borrows 3,000 ducats, 23 July 1740; AMVe, AUff, 1865–69, filza III–6–13, fasc. “A,” item 2, first leaf. Zabarella’s “Episcopia,” (1) above, requires explanation. It may have been commissioned by Giovanni Battista Corner-Piscopia in 1680–83, when he was seeking recognition of his family’s ancient honors, for it contains the same materials adduced in his petitions; cf. note 92 below. Giovanni Battista must have let Zabarella use family papers, for the latter quotes from now lost Corner charters, giving his manuscript a documentary value despite its characteristic slovenliness. The vastness of the whole Corner clan and the remoteness of its origins defeated even the excellent Marco Barbaro. His genealogies of the Corner generally, and the Corner-Piscopia in particular, contain an unusually high number of errors; “Famiglie nobili venete,” I, fol. 69v. Later genealogists, who used Barbaro as their basis, committed new errors as they added to Barbaro’s trees. Modern writings on the Corner-Piscopia have uncritically combined notices from the genealogists with documents

Like the Zane, the new owners belonged to a family group that had grown rich in the import-export trade. However, their trading was more extensive than that of the Zane: surviving papers of Corner traders attest to their presence on the markets of northern Africa and southern Italy as well as those of Greece and the Middle East.⁵⁶ Government service by the Corner began a little earlier than that of the Zane: various members of the group figure among ducal advisers and judges as early as the eleventh century; from the mid-twelfth century onward many were communal officers and council members. Finally, and in this respect also unlike the Zane, a member of the group—albeit not an immediate relation of the three Corner brothers—reached the pinnacle of the political hierarchy: doge Marco Corner (1365–68).⁵⁷

Whereas the Zane owners of Ca' Loredan remain obscure, the Corner owners were, and still are, among the best-known businessmen of medieval Venice. In a society of newly rich and energetic traders, they

stood out for the size of their fortune and the range and scale of their activity.⁵⁸ Nothing is known of their background, but their own careers are attested by numerous contemporary notices. Indeed, they are the only private palace owners of medieval Venice of whose affairs we have some systematic knowledge, and as such they deserve a brief account of their careers.

Young Venetians of the upper classes normally gained their business experience by working for and with their elders, which is no doubt how Federigo and his brothers also started their lives. At all events, when we first hear of them, in 1357, they were living in their elders' district of S. Aponal.⁵⁹ By 1360 they had struck out for themselves. Resident now in the ward of S. Maria Zobenigo, they were trading in Cyprus for their own account, with Fantin in charge.⁶⁰ Five years on, they were operating a mega-business: during the autumn convoys of 1365 a partnership of themselves and one outsider, capitalized at 83,275 ducats, had

and inferences printed by modern historians; this includes not only the book by Berruti, *Patriziato veneto*, but also the extensive literature on Elena Lucrezia Corner-Piscopia (see note 90 below).

56. Various Corner figure in charters indited at Abydos, Acre, Alexandria, Constantinople, Crete, Messina, and several Apulian ports. See under the family name in Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio*, and idem, *Nuovi documenti del commercio*, and see similarly in Laiou, "Notaire vénitien." For the Corner's activities in Cyprus, see below.

57. See Rösch, *Venezianische Adel*, 67, 94, 102, 103, and 127. The doge came from a family domiciled in the ward of S. Felice, whereas the owners of Ca' Loredan grew up in the ward of S. Aponal, lived for a while in that of S. Maria Zobenigo, and then settled in S. Luca.

58. See the classic studies by Luzzatto, "Capitalismo coloniale" (reprt. in Luzzatto, *Studi*), passim; "Activités économiques," 33 (reprt. in *Studi*, 135–36); "Sindacati e cartelli," 64–66 (reprt. in *Studi*, 197–200); and *Storia economica*, 51. A summing-up of Luzzatto's work on the Corner was published by Lane, "Gino Luzzatto's Contributions." See also Giorgio Ravegnani, *DBI*, xxix (1983), 179–81. All three authors repeat errors long rooted in the Corner literature, misstating the amount or borrower's name for some of Federico Corner's loans and misdating the stay of King Pierre I of Cyprus at Ca' Loredan as Federigo's guest (for the loans, see note 65 below; for the visit, note

67 below). Ravegnani wrongly gives the name of Federigo's father as Nicolò; for Nicolò, see the next note.

59. In her testament of 5 July 1357, Caterina, widow of Nicolò Corner of S. Aponal, left money to her *germani*, Fantin and Federigo Corner q. Bellelo of S. Aponal; see Zabarella, "L'Episcopia," fol. 187r. Their father, Bellelo, had presumably resided in S. Aponal too, since his estate was domiciled in that ward in later years. See the fragmentary *estimo* of the early 1360s that lists the "heredi de becelli corner" as one of thirteen Corner entities at S. Aponal; "Catalogo di tutte le famiglie," fols. 21v–22v. The Corner were already active in Cyprus in 1306, when an earlier Federigo Corner witnessed a treaty newly concluded by the king of Cyprus; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 182.

60. In October 1360 Fantin, at Famagusta, Cyprus, granted a power of attorney to his brothers in Venice; he named the ward of S. Maria Zobenigo in Venice his own and their regular domicile. During 1361 he named the same domicile for them several times again, as did another Venetian businessman in March 1362; see note 55 above, (2). It has been hypothesized that the Corner brothers were trading with Cyprus already in ca. 1355, as members of a cartel of Venetian importers formed to control the island's sugar, salt, and cotton exports, but there is no proof that this was so; see, respectively, Luzzatto, "Sindacati e cartelli," 64–65 (reprt. in *Studi*, 197–98), and Lane, "Luzzatto's Contributions," 71.

moved goods valued for a total of 67,800 ducats from Cyprus and Rhodes to Venice and Genoa.⁶¹ Within another three years they were landowners in Cyprus. The Limassol tithe rolls of 1368 list Fantin—presumably the eldest of the three brothers and head of the family—as owner of plantations at Episkopi (from which Federigo’s descendants gained their distinctive name, Corner-Piscopia) and Pelendhrakia.⁶² Their lucrative crop was cane sugar, which, in a vertically integrated business, the Corner grew, refined, and exported to Syria, Venice, and elsewhere.⁶³

Fantin died in 1372, and Marco is not heard of again after the purchase of Ca’ Loredan in 1364. Ownership and direction of the family enterprises fell to Federigo.⁶⁴ Branching out into finance, and on an equally daunting scale, he borrowed 6,000 ducats from the marquis Nicolò II d’Este, lent 70,000 ducats to king Pierre I of Cyprus, advanced 5,000 gold florins *per annum* for several years to Marie de Bourbon (widow of king Pierre I’s brother, Guy de Lusignan),

61. Thus the testimony adduced in 1394 when unpaid Corner debts were being litigated. It is summarized by Luzzatto in “Activités économiques,” 33 n. 18 (reprt. in *Studi*, 135 n. 18). The collocation of the acts (not given by Luzzatto) is ASVe, GiudPet, Sentenze a Giustizia, b^a 5, fols. 73v–74r, 92v–94v, 98r–99r, 103r–106v.

62. Richard, *Documents chypriotes*, 84. Both places are near Limassol (on the south coast of the island); Episkopi still exists; Pelendhrakia is now abandoned. In 1378 the Corner also had land in Kyrenia (on the north coast); Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 373, 435 (cf. also 363). After that there is mention of only Episkopi, which the family retained until the fall of Cyprus to the Turks in 1571. Fantin’s senior status is implied in his being named before Federigo in Caterina’s bequest of 1357 (see note 59 above) and being signer of the brothers’ business contracts of the 1360s. His name follows Federigo’s, however, in the purchase contract for Ca’ Loredan; cf. (A) above, no. 1. In this case, it may be that Federigo was named first because he was present and Fantin was not. (Marco may have been the youngest of the three; he is not named in Caterina’s bequest, possibly because he was not yet of an age to inherit.)

63. See Luzzatto, “Capitalismo coloniale,” and Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 423. For the medieval sugar trade on Cyprus in general, see Lippmann, *Geschichte*, II, 325–30, and Galloway, “Mediterranean Sugar,” 190.

64. Fantin’s date of death is given by Barbaro, “Famiglie nobili venete,” I, fol. 69v.

and lent 10,346 ducats to count Amadeo VI of Savoy.⁶⁵ When the wealth of all Venetians of some substance was assessed in 1379, Federigo was determined to be the richest man in Venice, his assets rated at 60,000 ducats.⁶⁶

Federigo’s wealth procured him the friendship of needy princes, such as the kings of Cyprus. Pierre I was his guest at Ca’ Loredan in 1368, during the king’s third visit to Venice.⁶⁷ In 1376 Federigo stood proxy in Milan for the young Pierre II, at the latter’s marriage to Valentina Visconti. Afterward, in 1378, he was the new queen’s host at Ca’ Loredan, when she passed through Venice on her way to Cyprus.⁶⁸

Federigo’s wealth and connections procured elevated marriages for his sons and brought political responsibilities and honors to both him and them. His eldest son, Piero, married Marie d’Enghien, a descendant of the counts of Brienne. Her dowry was the towns of Argos and Nauplia in the Peloponnese, once part of the Brienne principalities of Greece, and

65. For Federigo’s debt to Nicolò d’Este, see below. The loan to Amadeo VI was made in 1367; see Cox, *Green Count*, 233–36, esp. n. 98. Luzzatto briefly treats of these loans in the essays cited in note 58 above, but he gives the amount of the loan to Pierre I as 60,000 ducats, whereas the early chronicles all write 70,000. The advances to Marie de Bourbon are mentioned in “Capitalismo coloniale,” but the lady is mistakenly called Marie d’Enghien; cf. Luttrell, “Latins,” 44 n. 71. Both mistakes are tirelessly repeated in the later literature.

66. Prepared for the levies of forced loans that would accompany the War of Chioggia, the *estimo* of 1379 was published by Gallicciolli, *Memorie venete antiche*, II, 99–182, and Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, doc. no. 165. Mueller has called the unnamed unit of value used in the declarations of taxable wealth a “lira d’estimo” and equates it with the ducat; see his *Venetian Money Market*, app. D.

67. See Rüdte de Collenberg, “Héraldique,” 145–47. Pierre was in Venice from December 1362 to January 1363, from November 1364 to May or June 1365, and in August 1368; see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 239 n. 1.

68. Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 373; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 423. See also Corio, *Historia*, [193r–194r] (ed. DeMagri et al., II, 278–79). Giorgio Ravagnani believes that the notices cited by Mas Latrie and Hill apply to a homonymous relation, Federigo Corner q. Andrea of S. Aponal, but gives no reasons; *DBI*, XXIX, 180.

Piero became lord of Argos and Nauplia in 1377.⁶⁹ Another son, Giovanni, married a daughter of the noble De Bugnis family of Cremona, was elected to several Venetian legations, and became a senator. Federigo himself served on numerous legations and government committees between 1376 and 1381. His last appointment, at the height of the War of Chioggia, was as ambassador to an important friend of Venice, the marquis of Ferrara, Nicolò II d'Este, then aiding the embattled republic by allowing it to acquire foodstuffs and recruit soldiers in his domains.⁷⁰

By this time, however, Federigo's solvency was threatened. Savage raids on Cyprus by the Genoese in 1373, and an exorbitant tribute levied by them on the Cypriot crown, had put in doubt repayment of Federigo's Cypriot loan.⁷¹ Inditing his testament in 1378, Federigo was forced to make some of his bequests conditional on return of the money.⁷² In 1380 he

69. Piero died young, in 1388, see Luttrell, "Latins," 43–45 (here the parish of Ca' Loredan is misprinted as S. Lucia). In Barbaro's genealogy Piero is conflated with a homonymous relation, Piero Corner q. Giacomo of S. Samuele; see Barbaro, "Famiglie nobili venete," fol. 69v. (For this other Piero, see Renzo Derosas, in *DBI*, xxix, 261–62.)

70. Federigo's service in Ferrara is attested by the dispatches of 1380 by the Venetian ambassador to Milan, procurator Piero Corner (member of a different Corner family, domiciled in the ward of S. Samuele), many of which mention or are addressed to Federigo in Ferrara. See Cornaro, *Dispacci*, nos., 7, 9, 10, 14, 17, 19, 34, 36, 37, 42, 52, 58, 65, 100, 104, 107, and app. nos. 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16–18, 24–27, 30, 33, 42. For Federigo's other appointments, see Giorgio Ravegnani, in *DBI*, xxix, 180.

71. For the history of the period, see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 382–430, and, more briefly, Harry Luke, in *History of the Crusades*, III (1975), 362–69.

72. "Sel piäsera a dio chomo io spiero che el se schuoda i deneri che io die aver da misser lo re de Zepro o la piu parte," in that case some of the proceeds should be invested to endow masses for Federigo's and his brother Marco's souls, to be said at the family chapel that Federigo was ordering to be built in S. Maria dei Frari. See ASVe, S. Maria dei Frari, b^a 129, folder of Corner papers, *pergamene* nos. 47 and 48 (full transcriptions, albeit with errors and a misleading collocation, in *Archivio Sartori*, II, pt. 2, 1798–1800, nos. 16–17 [*pergamena* no. 47] and no. 18 [*pergamena* no. 48]). Both charters quote the provisions of Federigo's will concerning the chapel and masses, and they rehearse the will's complicated history. Federigo had deposited his draft

could no longer find the means to pay a forced loan due to the state.⁷³ Venice was now embroiled in the last and most desperate of the wars with Genoa, the War of Chioggia (1378–81), and had drawn Cyprus into it as an ally. Yet, when the exhausted combatants finally began to discuss a settlement in 1381, Cyprus was not mentioned. Federigo's appeals that Cyprus be included in any formal peace were ignored. All he gained was a clause in the final treaty that guaranteed the Corner properties on the island and the family's right to export their Cypriot produce through Famagusta, occupied by Genoa. There was not a word about Federigo's 70,000 ducats, nor any provision to moderate the Genoese exactions from Cyprus.⁷⁴ When Federigo died the following year, he left an estate that could not discharge its debts or implement its legacies and that remained embroiled in litigation with creditors for at least a dozen years.⁷⁵

testament (*cedola*) with the notary Costantino di Cison on 16 March 1378. Four years later, at Federigo's death, Costantino was no longer alive. The authorities therefore ordered another notary, Piero Zonello, to draw up the document in its final, public form, which he did on 8 November 1382. The latter's file of testaments does, in fact, list Federigo's will in its index, but it no longer contains the *imbreviatura* of the text; ASVe, ArchNot, Testamenti, b^a 1071 (P. Zonello), index, s.v. "Federigo q. Beello Corner." The text was still available in the mid-seventeenth century, when an abstract of the entire document was made by Zabarella, "L'Episcopia," fol. 122v, and when the quoted passage was cited by Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, ed. Martinioni, 390.

73. See Luzzatto, *Prestiti*, doc. no. 174.

74. Ironically, Federigo had been instrumental in procuring the mediation of the conflict by Count Amedeo VI of Savoy, another of his creditors; see Cibrario, *Storia della monarchia di Savoia*, III, 351–52, 355–56. When it appeared that Cyprus would be ignored by the principals, Federigo wrote directly to the count, in April 1381, urging that it be included. When the final treaty of that August omitted Cyprus nevertheless, Federigo traveled to Genoa, in October, to plead for consideration toward the misused Cypriots. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 378–81. When that failed, Federigo pressed the former chancellor of King Pierre I to come out of his retirement at the cloister of the Celestines in Paris and urge reason upon the Genoese; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 450. He got no response.

75. He died sometime before November 1382, when his testament was presented for probate; see note 72 above. Suits against his estate by Nicolò II d'Este, the Venetian fisc, and a group of Venetian creditors were heard, respectively, in 1386, 1388, and 1394. For Nicolò's

It was not long before one of the latter, namely Nicolò II d'Este, fastened his jaws on Ca' Loredan. Recognized as a creditor of Federigo's estate in 1386, he seized the palace, its stables, and some of its rental houses two years later, as well as most of the palace's furnishings. He did not, however, live to enter into full possession of his prize; his brother and heir, Alberto, completed the acquisition.⁷⁶ At all events, the property was but capital for the Este, whom, a few years before, the Venetian government had given a vast residence in Venice, the Fondaco dei Turchi.⁷⁷ Alberto let Federigo's family understand that he would return the buildings as soon as Federigo's debt to the Este were repaid.⁷⁸ Alberto soon died as well, however, and in 1394 the latter's son and heir, Nicolò III, easily gave up Ca' Loredan to settle claims against him by his cousin Taddea d'Este and her husband, Francesco "Novello" da Carrara, lord of Padua.⁷⁹

The new owners, like the Este, had little use for the building, other than as a gauge for the debt left unpaid by Federigo Corner. In a written agreement good for

ten years, they renewed the undertaking previously given by Alberto d'Este, to return the property to the Corner upon payment of the 6,000 ducats at which it had been valued when awarded, first to the Este, now to the Carrara.⁸⁰ Meanwhile, Francesco da Carrara seems to have been content to let the palace be used by the republic for official functions.⁸¹ In 1402 Francesco made an attempt to turn the property into cash, charging a confidante to find a buyer.⁸² It seems that no buyer was found, and a fortnight before his agreement with the Carrara was to expire, Giovanni Corner, Federigo's sole surviving son, moved formally to buy the palace back.⁸³

Giovanni worked all his life to restore the family's fortune, close relationship with the kings of Cyprus, and good name. Thus, he negotiated payments in kind from Cyprus that would extinguish the royal debt to his father's estate; and he watched zealously over the Cypriot plantation, exhorting his heirs to continue to maintain it as a profitable enterprise.⁸⁴ When Cypriot royalty came to Venice, he received them as guests in his house.⁸⁵ He saw to the construction of a family

suit, see below; for the other two, see ASMo, SezEst, Documenti riguardanti la casa e lo stato, Serie generale, Membranacei, cas. XXI, no. II, and note 61 above.

76. See (A), no. 2.

77. See Appendix III (C).

78. See (A), no. 4.

79. See (A), no. 3.

80. See (A), no. 4.

81. In 1398–99 the negotiations that led to the anti-Viscontean league of Ferrara, Florence, Mantua, Padua, and Venice were held at Ca' Loredan, Francesco Novello attending in person. See *Libri commemoriali*, II, rego ix, nos. 88–89, and Lazzarini, "Storia di un trattato," 269. In 1401 Count Ruprecht of Bavaria, visiting Venice, "desmontò a cha' Cornero, la qualle era del signor de Padoa"; Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca*, 476.

82. See (A), no. 5. The individual, Paolo Lion, often advised or acted for Francesco; see Kohl, *Padua*, index (references to pp. 200 and 250 should be corrected to 201, 251), and Mallett and Hale, *Military Organization*, 20, 30, 101.

83. See (A), no. 6.

84. In 1396 Giovanni had acquired rights to 300,000 *moggia* of the Cypriot salt harvest, certain income from a royal estate in Morphou, and a reduction of levies on the plantation in Episkopi—

all presumably toward extinguishing the Cypriot crown's debt to his father. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 433–36, and idem, "Documents concernant divers pays," 106–14, no. v. From 1400 to 1412 he battled a neighboring, royal monastery for the water rights, and thus the viability, of Episkopi; see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 455, 457, and idem, "Nouvelles preuves," doc. no. XXII. In 1412, when King Janus repossessed the Episkopi estate, Giovanni got the Venetian government to protest, apparently successfully, since the plantation remained in his family's possession; see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 503–4. Even in his testament (1454; see note 55, [3]), Giovanni was still concerned for the survival of Episkopi as an enterprise, ordering his sons to spend the enormous sum of 5,000 to 6,000 ducats per annum "a beneficio dela dita piscopia [...] per quello sostegner e governar"; quoted by Luzzatto, "Capitalismo coloniale," 64 (reprt. in *Studi*, 121), without specifying the source.

85. King Janus's brother, Henri de Lusignan, was a guest at Ca' Loredan in 1416. See Sanudo, "Vite dei duchi," cols. 896, 900 (he does not give the visitor's name); Mas Latrie, "Généalogie," 339; and Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 472 n. 2. In 1440, Medea Paleologa, newly married to King Jean II, stayed at Ca' Loredan when passing through Venice on her way to Cyprus; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, III, 57 n. 4; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 79–80; idem, "Nouvelles preuves," 127–29; and Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, 526.

chapel in S. Maria dei Frari, with tombs for Federigo and the latter's brother Marco—a bequest of his father's that had gone unfulfilled for want of funds.⁸⁶ Ransoming Ca' Loredan was another step toward restoration of the family's patrimony and status. Whether Giovanni actually consummated the agreement of mid-March 1404 with Francesco Novello we do not know. It was a moment when tension between Francesco and Venice was rising swiftly. Two weeks after signing the agreement, Francesco stepped out to challenge Venice on the mainland, embarking on a campaign that brought outright war with Venice, confiscation of his properties, loss of his state, and execution in the prisons of the Ducal Palace. Giovanni may have succeeded in completing the transaction before the Venetian declaration of war (June 1404), or he may have reacquired ownership of Ca' Loredan after Francesco's execution, at the auction sales of the latter's confiscated properties. One way or the other, Giovanni got the building back and gratefully affixed to its façade and side portal armorial bearings and figural sculpture that celebrate the justice and might of Venice, the destruction of Padua's lord, and the generosity of the kings of Cyprus.⁸⁷

86. Giovanni acquired rights to the site of the chapel in 1417, and in 1420 was preparing to begin construction; see the Corner papers from S. Maria dei Frari, cited in note 72 above. (Wolters made an attempt to connect the Corner chapel with a testator named Federigo Corner, who in 1380 left money to the Frari; *Scultura veneziana gotica*, cat. no. 234. However, this testator is unambiguously identified in his will as Federigo Corner q. Andrea of S. Aponal; ASVe, Proc-SMco, Commie, de Ultra, b^a 121. The patrons of the still extant Cappella Corner, on the other hand, are identified in all sources as Federigo Corner q. Bellelo and his son Giovanni of the ward of S. Luca.)

87. For the undertaking, see (A), no. 6. For Francesco Novello and his end, see Kohl, *Padua*, 329–35, and, more amply, Raulich, *Caduta*. Only the registers of sales of Francesco's Paduan properties survive; cf. Lazzarini, "Beni carraresi." Parallel sales of his properties in Venice are mentioned in council debates, but no registers survive; cf. ASVe, MaggCons, reg^o 21 (*Leona*), fols. 154v, 167v, 203, and SenSec, reg^o 3, fols. 5, 6, 14. For the decorations on Ca' Loredan, see Schulz, "Giustizia."

At Giovanni's death, probably soon after testating in 1454, Ca' Loredan was inherited by his three sons, the eldest of whom must have been Fantin, for the palace remained in his line of the family. Fantin's issue gradually shrank in numbers, so that by the late 1530s only one grandson survived, also named Fantin. But the latter begat four sons, all of whom lived to adulthood, and they in turn produced altogether eleven sons and one or more daughters (see Genealogical Table D). The result was a series of divisions that carved the palace and shops into smaller and smaller parcels.⁸⁸ It was only in the seventeenth century that two individuals, Gerolamo Corner q. Jacopo Alvise and his grandson, Giovanni Battista, set themselves to reversing this development by buying in shares from relations and other entities.⁸⁹

Giovanni Battista is remembered chiefly as the father of Elena Lucrezia Corner-Piscopia, the first woman to earn a university degree.⁹⁰ In the case of Ca' Loredan, he completed the reintegration of its ownership, begun by his father. He also spent large sums on an interior renovation and, judging from the Baroque results, restructuring the building's courtyard façade.⁹¹ His attention to the palace was part and

88. See (A), no. 11, and the divisions at ASVe, ArchNot, Atti, b^a 595 (nots. Fabrizio and Lucillo Beazian), fols. 269v–275v (1614; the relevant holograph draft by the actors, Francesco and Gerolamo Corner di Giacomo Alvise, is bound into the *busta*, between fols. 269v and 270r); *ibid.*, b^a 10780 (not. Giovanni Piccini), fifth sewn gathering, fol. 15 (1629 inventory of the papers of the late Caterina Thilmans, widow of Gerolamo Corner q. Giacomo Alvise), no. 5 (1624; Piero Corner and *nipote* Gerolamo); and ASVe, GiudP, Divisioni, b^a 14, fols. 180v–186v (1625; Lucietta and Marietta Corner q. Giovanni).

89. See (A), nos. 12 and 16, respectively.

90. For father and daughter, see Renzo Derosas, in *DBI*, xxix (1983), 223–26 and 174–79, respectively. Elena Lucrezia has been honored with a stained-glass window in the library of Vassar College and a veritable mountain of scholarly studies; bibliographies fuller than that of Derosas are offered by Fusco, *Elena*, 49–81, and Maschietto, *Elena Lucrezia Corner Piscopia*, xxi–xli.

91. See (A), no. 16, and (D) below.

parcel of a concern for his own and his family's honor. He bought himself a procuratorship in 1649. Although united to a commoner in what seems to have been a love match, he labored from 1659 to 1665 to gain recognition of their sons' nobility. Later, from 1680 to 1683, he sought as doggedly (but this time unsuccessfully) to gain permission for his family to wear the insignia of a knighthood that, he claimed, had been granted the Corner by the kings of Cyprus in the fourteenth century.⁹²

Although Giovanni Battista, by the terms of his testament, sought to ensure that the palace would never leave the Corner family, only one of his three sons had any children at all, and he in turn sired no sons. So it was that Giovanni Battista's granddaughters, Lucrezia and Elena, inherited his patrimony and that, by agreement with a nephew, Lucrezia took possession of the palace.⁹³ Married to a Loredan, she brought it into the family that gave it the name it bears today.

The Loredan years of the building were brief and inglorious. Both Lucrezia and her son, Cristoforo Antonio (who succeeded to ownership in 1756), had the unfortunate habit of spending greatly more than they earned and covering the shortfall with loans secured by Ca' Loredan. In 1808, high in years and owing more than £100,000, Cristoforo Antonio was haled into court by his wife, whose dowry he had been using to keep himself afloat. He was declared insolvent, and Ca' Loredan was ordered sold, in part for the benefit of creditors and in part for reintegration of

his wife's dowry.⁹⁴ A final sale was consummated only after the death of his wife in 1816, when the couple's daughter sold the building to an investor in real estate.⁹⁵ When the latter went under, it was resold to still another such investor.⁹⁶

Various businesses leased space in the building: a printing firm, railway, steamship line, coach line, messenger service. During the 1840s and 1850s ownership passed to the countess Caterina Campagna Peccana, who energetically redecorated the principal rooms but seems not to have prescribed structural alterations. The next owner turned the building into a hotel, called first the Écu de France, thereafter the Hôtel de la Ville.⁹⁷ Finally, in 1867, when space was growing short inside Ca' Farsetti (Venice's city hall since 1826), the city decided to purchase Ca' Loredan next door.⁹⁸ It remains part of the city hall today.

(D) THE BUILDING

When purchased by Federigo Corner and his brothers in 1364, Ca' Loredan and its dependencies filled the width of the city block between calli Loredan and del Carbon, but did not yet extend all the way from the Grand Canal to the salizada di San Luca. Rather, at its southern end, the property abutted on a possession of the Lando. Within these boundaries, the complex consisted of a residential palace in two storeys and rental dwellings, the palace lying at the north end of

92. There were two sons, Francesco and Gerolamo, but only the second is mentioned in the father's testament of 1690 ([A], no. 16), where he is named Giovanni Battista's universal heir. It took the latter three tries to gain his sons noble status and cost him 105,000 ducats; see Hunecke, *Venezianische Adel*, 105–6. A malicious assessment of Giovanni Battista's character appears in an anonymous report on mid-seventeenth-century Venice and its leading patricians, together with a rebuttal by the memoir's editor; see "Venezia alla metà del secolo xvii," in Molmenti, *Curiosità*, 400–401 and n. 45. Autograph copies of Giovanni Battista's petitions are preserved together with their enclosures at ASVe, MiscCod, ser. 1, no. 145.

93. See (A), no. 17.

94. See (A), no. 18.

95. See (A), no. 19.

96. See (A), no. 20.

97. See (B), no. 11; *Venezia monumentale e pittoresca*, 1: *Palazzi*, 177 (Fontana, *Cento Palazzi*, 137–38 [reprt., 396–97]); Fontana, *Venezia monumentale*, ed. Moretti, 194; *Venezia e le sue lagune*, II, ii, 421; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 815.

98. The purchase was consummated in 1868; see (A), no. 21. Previously, the city had considered enlarging and rebuilding Ca' Farsetti; see Appendix IV (B), no. 16.

the plot, facing the Grand Canal with a private quay, and the rental units to the south, grouped around a courtyard.⁹⁹

Once the Corner acquired it, the property was quickly extended to the south. By 1388, when seized from the Corner estate by the marquis Nicolò II d'Este, it had grown to reach the *salizada* di San Luca, absorbing the Lando's building or buildings and whatever other properties had lain beyond them.¹⁰⁰ However, the street front along the *salizada* was not yet built up; only stone tablets fixed in the ground marked the property's boundary at this end. Inside the courtyard a stable had been built—a substantial structure, made of brick and roofed with tiles.¹⁰¹

Both the sale act of 1364 and the seizure of 1388 list a terrace (*liagò*, *lobia*) and exterior stairs of masonry at the courtyard end in back.

None of the listed features is visible in the earliest view of Ca' Loredan, a detail of Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice of 1500 (Fig. 213).¹⁰² The woodcut shows the building from the southeast, that is, from the back, where most of the listed features stood, but Jacopo's master drawing, when divided into six parts for purposes of cutting printing blocks, put Ca' Loredan precisely on the line between the first and second blocks in the top row. The cutters managed to show a pencil-thin sliver of construction along the right edge of block A and a somewhat wider slice along the left edge of block B, but left out the bulk of the building in between.

99. See (A), no. 1.

100. See (A), no. 2.

101. For the stable's materials, see (A), no. 5, of 1402. As described in 1388, it stood "on the right when entering the court," but whether this was the right of someone coming from the palace or from one of the lateral *calli* is left unsaid. (Lateral entrances to the court are mentioned in both 1364 and 1388, and substantial remains of a portal from calle Loredan are still visible at street number 4241 [formerly 3722]; see Figs. 207–8).

102. See (B), no. 1.

103. See (A), nos. 1–2, and (B), nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7. Not all representations show the full width of the palace and quay. Canaletto's

Still, the abridged representation allows a hypothesis about the elevation toward the Grand Canal. Namely, the woodcut depicts a pyramidal roof atop the building's northeast corner (where calle del Carbon meets the riva del Carbon), such as would be called for by a tower. Unfortunately, so little is seen of the opposite corner that the shape of the roof on this side remains unknown. It is just possible that Ca' Loredan possessed a twin-towered façade, like the Fondaco dei Turchi.

Vedute of the eighteenth century and later depict a feature implicit but not mentioned in the fourteenth-century deeds, namely, walls that barred public access to the Grand Canal quay from the sides or the water (Figs. 184, 187, 214, 215). According to the fourteenth-century charters, the quay was the private property of the house, which may mean that the walls were erected in the Middle Ages.¹⁰³

The fragmentariness of Jacopo's view notwithstanding, it is possible to reconstruct the essential lines of the palace's original plan and elevations, the descriptions of 1364 and 1388 being so full,¹⁰⁴ the evidence of the remaining fabric so clear, and the later alterations so readily detected.¹⁰⁵ Neither of the fourteenth-century deeds gives a count of floors, but the building must initially have had only ground and first floors. This may be inferred from the principal façade on the Grand Canal: its lateral windows rise past the height of the now existing mezzanine, with not a trace of separation into upper and lower lights.¹⁰⁶

depiction ([B], no. 4) makes one unified fabric of Ca' Farsetti and Ca' Loredan and shows a continuous wall, embracing both buildings' quays. A proposal of 1604 for a never implemented division of the palace calls for erecting further walls to subdivide the quay; see (A), no. 11. Over time the walls of Ca' Loredan were reduced from two to one to the stump of one; by the middle of the nineteenth century even the stump had disappeared.

104. See (A), nos. 1–2.

105. See below.

106. By 1709 balconies had been hung across the windows, dividing them in two horizontally and implying the existence of a (new) mezzanine; illus., Fig. 214, for which, see (B), no. 2. See further below.

Both floors are, and must always have been, divided into three aisles, of which the central one widens slightly toward the building's front on the Grand Canal to form a recessed ground-floor entrance porch. Initially there must have been a short transept on the first-floor *portego* directly above the porch, for the heavy walls enclosing the porch must have been intended to continue into the first floor and enclose a similarly shaped volume. Indeed, a seventeenth-century act reviving an unexecuted scheme for division of the building mentions a *crozola*, or transept, in the upstairs *portego*.¹⁰⁷ A stubby transept would have left room for small corner chambers.

The scheme for division, put forward in 1604, mentions a set of exterior masonry stairs in the courtyard at the building's back, with storage rooms (*volti*) beneath it.¹⁰⁸ It was recommended that the stairs be razed so that the ground-floor and first-floor *porteghi* could be extended further back, into the courtyard. Thus, the old stairs must have ended at the back of the first-floor *portego*.

The number of rooms in the side aisles is uncertain. Nor is it clear what exactly lay above the first floor in the original building. Massive walls divide the corner rooms on the ground floor from the adjoining entrance porch. If the demolished walls between the first-floor corner rooms and transept were equally massive, there would have been sufficient support for corner towers atop the façade, a possibility already broached above. Between them there might have stood ornamental cresting or an open loggia. Alternatively, in the absence of towers, the elevation may have been capped by a loggia extending for the full width of the building, as reconstructed for Ca' Farsetti. In the

end, towers, cresting, or loggia fell victim to added upper floors, and there is no way for us to choose between the alternatives.

Additions, alterations, and restorations have overlaid the building's original plan and front and rear elevations with all kinds of misleading features. The earliest changes are undocumented but can be read off the fabric itself. Thus, the decorations above the *piano nobile* on the principal façade (comprising armorial bearings of the Corner and Lusignan of Cyprus, reliefs of David overcoming Goliath—symbols of right overcoming might—and enthroned figures of Venice as Justice and Venice as Fortitude) and over the now walled portal to the courtyard from calle Loredan (a divine glory, bearings of the Lusignan, and assorted secular virtues) must be from the time of Giovanni Corner q. Federigo, that is, of the early fifteenth century (Figs. 198, 207–8).¹⁰⁹

From the same time is the block of shops and apartments that faces the salizada di San Luca, a site that in 1388 was still undeveloped, open land (Fig. 210).¹¹⁰ The block is not dated, but the moldings of its ground-floor piers (now mutilated), steep trefoils of the first- and second-floor window frames, and segmental arches of the third-floor frames are typical of the first half of the fifteenth century.

A century later, Fantin Corner q. Gerolamo, great-grandson of Giovanni, caused Ca' Loredan to be physically severed from its dependencies in the southern half of the city block and saw to an enormous enlargement of the palace proper. In the first case, he ordered a small pavilion built across the palace court, directly on top of one of the wells through which residents and tenants had been drawing water from the

107. See (A), no. 14.

108. See (A), no. 11, item 17.

109. See (C) above and more fully Schulz, "Giustizia."

110. See (A), no. 2. A plan of the building, showing six apartments, two of them conjoined with street-level shops, was published by Maretto, "Edilizia gotica," 204 (as published separately, 113–14). It is more likely, however, that flats with shops were originally more numerous and hence had fewer rooms.

courtyard cisterns.¹¹¹ Rusticated in the Sansovinesque manner and containing a statue niche, the structure bears an inscription stating that it was erected by Fantin Corner in 1538 to commemorate the fierce engagement fought off Acireale (near Catania) by a Turkish and a Corner ship (Fig. 206).¹¹²

No name appears on the works that expanded the building's floor space, but they are articulated in the same mid-sixteenth-century architectural vocabulary and were no doubt due to Fantin as well. To begin with, mezzanines were built on either side of the great entrance hall. They were expressed on the exterior by dividing the façade's tall windows in two by means of balconies, built straight across the windows. The balconies were removed in 1881, but are reproduced in several views (Figs. 187, 214–26):¹¹³ their classical forms suggest that the balconies, and perforce the mezzanines that gave access to them, were Cinquecento additions. In the entrance porch (Fig. 201), the mezzanine was expressed by a (surviving) upper register of windows, neatly framed by the rustication that continues around the porch's walls and is of the same style as the rustication of the courtyard pavilion (Fig. 206).

More important, a second residential floor and an attic were superposed on the building (Fig. 198). The seventeenth-century proposal for division allows the future owners of these two floors to extend them backward, in the direction of the courtyard, removing the roof of the first floor in this zone to do so.¹¹⁴ It follows that the addition was initially not as deep as the building's medieval core.

As pointed out above, the added features all exhibit High Renaissance forms on their exteriors and must be Cinquecento structures too. The new floors' windows are classical in membering. They continue around the building's corners for one bay on the left and the right, as do the string courses and entablatures of the main façade (Fig. 200). Classical balconies are affixed to the windows added on the sides. Not only the vocabulary of the forms in front and on the sides, but also the device of wrapping the façade articulation around a fabric's corner, is typical of the High Renaissance style. (The medieval, first-floor gallery was similarly continued around the corners by insertion of a window on the left and the right, to create agreement with the new floors.) The moldings separating the second floor from the attic compose a partial classical entablature; they may also be read as the architrave of an oversize entablature, whose frieze is the attic wall. At roof level the eaves are marked by a classical modillion cornice.

Fitting a further two floors onto the medieval building required modifications of structure and dissimulations in design on the principal façade that would between them minimize the added load, preserve the decorations on the first floor's exterior, and make the added elements seem harmoniously proportioned in relation to the medieval ones. Thus, the ceiling of the medieval *piano nobile* was lowered by something like fifty centimeters, intruding into the zone of the first-floor windows on the façade. Their lunettes were walled up and disguised with wooden louvers. Although most of the new second floor rests

111. See (A), no. 22, and (B), no. 14. The siting of the pavilion suggests that title to the southern rental houses had now passed out of the hands of the palace's owner.

112. "ACERRIMAE TVRCHARVM PVGNAE / IN CORNELIAM NAVIM AD ACIVM / PROMONTORIVM TESTIMONIA / FANTINVS CORNE . HINC AT QVE / HINC PONENDA CVRAVIT / M D XXXIIX." Beneath the date are affixed the Loredan arms, an addition by the feckless palace owners of the eighteenth century.

113. See (B), nos. 2, 5, 7 and 9. For their removal, see below.

114. See (A), no. 11, item 18: if an extension is built, the builders shall erect the roof of the extension at their own expense, since it will replace an existing roof on the first floor, owned by other participants in the division.

on the lowered ceiling beams of the first, its front rooms could not be brought down to this level; the second-floor windows would in that case have interfered with the sculptural decorations on the *piano nobile* and pressed down inelegantly upon the latter's fenestration. Hence, the front rooms of the new second floor are set four steps (71–72 cm) above the rear and main part of the floor, and their window sills set at waist, rather than floor, level. In order that they not seem stunted by Venetian standards (floor-length openings were the norm for the central ranges of windows), a false balcony was attached below the three middle windows, to suggest an interior floor level lower than it actually is. Finally, to hide the disproportion of the tall medieval windows on the first floor in relation to the shrunken Cinquecento ones on the second, three classical balconies—shallow ones at the sides, a deep one in the middle—were stretched across the first floor, hiding nearly a quarter of the *piano nobile* windows' height.¹¹⁵

The architectural members of all these new features exhibit Sansovinesque, mid-sixteenth-century forms. Given the date, and given the fact that the bulk of the changes were aimed at greatly expanding the palace's space, Fantin is the most likely person to have sponsored them. As mentioned above, the family expanded hugely during his life. He had four sons, of whom three married, begat numerous progeny, and set up households in Ca' Loredan, as the tax records show. Adding new floors to the building made room for the whole of this brood.

In the seventeenth century the principal builder was Giovanni Battista Corner. He wrote in his testament of having “modernized” the palace's interior, work that had been completed by 1663, when it was

115. At the rear, the *portego* of the new residential floor terminated in an unroofed *terrazza*, directly above a roofed *terrazza* on the *piano nobile*; see the two seventeenth-century proposals for division of the building, (A), nos. 11 and 14. The first-floor terrace may have been an adaptation of the *liagò* mentioned in this position in 1364.

noticed in a guidebook.¹¹⁶ Judging by their appearance, the ground- and first-floor *porteghi* were completely redecorated at this time and entirely new interior stairs were built to connect them. Heavy portals with *verde antico* columns frame the upper and lower entrances to the stairs; ponderous entablatures on brackets cap the surrounds of lesser doorways; a massive modillion frieze extends beneath the ceiling beams; and thick moldings delineate great compartments on the walls. Similar moldings and compartments reappear in the stairs. The style throughout accords well with a mid-seventeenth-century date.

As part of the redecoration of the main halls, the transept, or *crozola*, of the first-floor *portego*, still in existence in 1628, was eliminated. The room's sides now run straight from the back to the front, meeting the façade behind the single columns that stand between the fourth and fifth, and ninth and tenth windows from the left. The change enlarged the corner chambers and gave the hall the now standard shape of a simple rectangle.

Still more alterations can be inferred. As it is now, the building has a second floor and attic as deep as the first and ground floors, reached by further flights of the same new stairways to the first floor. The extensions end flush with the redecorated halls of the ground and first floors. One continuous façade, exhibiting the same heavy, Baroque orders as the new doorways of the lower *porteghi*, clothes all four floors toward the courtyard (Fig. 209). These features must have been part of Giovanni Battista's renovation too.

In planning his improvements, Giovanni Battista seems to have been inspired in some part by the unexecuted scheme for division of 1604 (still pending in 1628). It called for demolition of the medieval

116. See (A), nos. 15–16. Giovanni Battista also wrote of having intended to renovate the main façade, a project he exhorted his heirs to carry out. Lovers of medieval architecture are grateful that his instructions were ignored.

exterior stairs, construction of new interior stairs, and extension of the top two floors—changes that necessarily would have required rebuilding the rear façade as well.

There is no evidence of further alterations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but once the palace became simple office space, changes followed one another thick and fast. Sometime between 1822 and 1842 a three-storey block was built across the passage from calle Loredan into the palace courtyard, cutting off the courtyard from the *calle* and discomposing the early-fifteenth-century portal (Figs. 207–8).¹¹⁷ In 1870 the quay on the Grand Canal was rebuilt, necessitating serious alterations in the palace as well. Namely, the old quay had sloped down from both sides toward the center because, at the point where they debouched onto the quay, the *calli* were higher than the porch (Fig. 217). The new quay was made level all across the building's front, necessitating that the floors of the porch and the palace's entrance hall

be raised. This in turn occasioned partial interment of the columns of the porch and attachment of new, false bases to their truncated shafts. Measured at the base of the columns, the new floor lies thirty centimeters above the old.¹¹⁸

Contemporaneously, that is, in 1870–72, the courtyard cisterns were rebuilt and the court's brick paving replaced with stone (Fig. 217).¹¹⁹ Since the cisterns' wellheads were missing, two were purloined from other sites and installed in their place.¹²⁰ Bridges of iron and wood were built across calle Loredan in 1869–70 and 1884–85 in order to link Ca' Loredan and Ca' Farsetti; they were replaced and two more added in 1904–7.¹²¹ Meanwhile, in 1881–82, the façade's bottom suffered a wholesale reconstruction.¹²²

As in other restorations of the period, the aim was to re-create the “original” appearance of the fabric to be restored. Unfortunately, all related minutes and working papers, and all drawings but the two elevations that were part of the contract, were discarded

117. When Ca' Loredan was described in 1822, in an inventory of its owner's real estate, the portal to calle Loredan was still open; see (A), no. 20. By the time the maps for the Austrian cadastre of Venice were completed, in 1847, a building blocked the portal; see (B), no. 11.

118. According to Dorigo, the figure is 50 cm, which may be a misprint; the project drawings specify 27 cm; cf., respectively, Dorigo, “Espressioni,” 854, and (B), no. 12. These drawings are dated June 1870, whereas the surviving papers do not give dates for the beginning or completion of the work. They show that, except for leveling the pavement, the new quay duplicated the old. The latter had been demolished by September 1870; see AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza III-4-3, fasc. “1871.” (It is explicitly mentioned here that as part of the project the columns are to be equipped with “nuovi basi sopra il nuovo selciato, e ciò seguendo lo stile dei capitelli.”) An opening in the modern pavement allows measurement of the depth of the original floor; that the new bases are fitted around the columns is apparent to the eye. In the same year (1870) not quite £2,800 was appropriated to lay a new floor in the entrance hall; see Venice, *Deliberazioni prese dal Consiglio Comunale di Venezia nel triennio 1870–1871–1872*, 17. The amount suggests that a stone pavement was laid, like the pavement of white and red marble squares that existed when the building was described in 1822 (cf. [A], no. 20). It did not last long. In 1881 it was pulled up, a concrete base poured, and an asphalt flooring applied; AMVe, AUff, 1895–99, filza III-4-3, fasc. “1898.” In 1898 this was removed in turn,

and a new stone floor of meander patterns in white Istrian stone upon a ground of gray Euganean stone laid; *ibid.* The quay that had been replaced was relatively recent itself. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the quay had been walled on the sides and toward the Grand Canal and had lacked stairs to the water; see (A), no. 20, and (B), nos. 4, 5, and 7. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the walls were gone, masonry stairs led down to the water, and the pavement, presumably, had been relaid; see (B), no. 10.

119. Intended to be a simple repair, the project quickly expanded into total replacement of the old cisterns with a new one; see (A), no. 22, and, for the accompanying drawings, (B), no. 14.

120. One was taken in 1872 from near S. Zaccaria and installed the following year in the position nearest the palace. *Illus.*, *Raccolta di vere*, I, no. 75; Rizzi, *Vere da pozzo*, 321. The other, a pastiche of a medieval wellhead from Ca' Morosini near S. Canciano, was brought to Ca' Loredan around the same time and installed further down the court; *illus.*, *Raccolta di vere*, II, no. 198 (one-vol. ed., 1911, pl. 177), Rizzi, *Vere da pozzo*, 44–45.

121. For the nineteenth-century ones, see, respectively, AMVe, AUff, 1870–74, filza III-4-3, and Venice, *Deliberazioni . . . nell'anno 1884*, 24. For their rebuilding and multiplication, see AMVe, AUff, 1905–9, filza III-4-4, fascicule marked “2087.” A fifth bridge, on the attic level, has been added more recently.

122. See (A), no. 23, and (B), no. 15.

some time ago.¹²³ The purpose of the work was to undo the windows' horizontal division, carried out in the sixteenth century in connection with the addition of partial mezzanines, as has been explained. Upon removal of the Renaissance balconies across the middle of each window and the (much later) wrought-iron grilles over the divided windows' lower halves, much of the membering was made anew: the innermost window frames, up to the springing of their arcuated tops; the window sills (which were profiled so as to replicate and continue smoothly the molded bases beneath the adjacent colonnettes and piers); several colonnette shafts and capitals; one of the reliefs of a blind arcade; and portions of the cornice and piers.¹²⁴

In recent times the sixteenth-century attic of the palace was developed as a suite of *sottotetto* offices by

raising the rear half of the roof and projecting new dormers to the front and sides.¹²⁵

Although the palace's ownership history can be traced back no further than 1316, when it had been bought by the Zane, what we know of its original plan and façade declare it to have been considerably older. It embodies a building type of the Duecento, and its architectural sculpture, specifically its stilted round arches and its mixture of authentic and imitation Byzantine capitals, is characteristic of the earlier part of that century. Its tall proportions and the lavishness of the façade ornamentation suggest that it is not from the very first generation of such buildings, so that a date in the second quarter of the thirteenth century seems the most plausible. Who built it remains unknown.

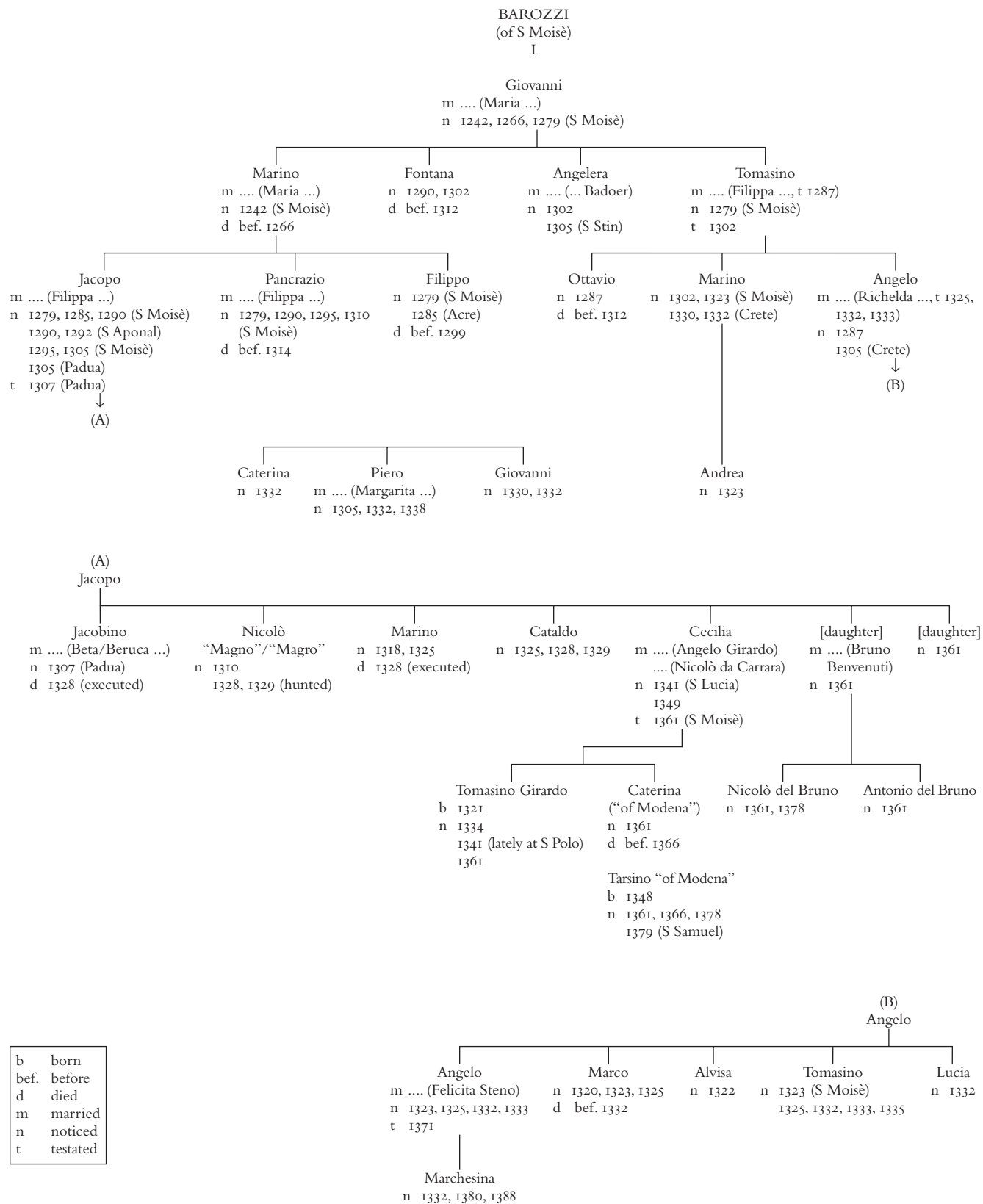
123. Periodic purges of AMVe have caused the disappearance of numerous papers. That the purpose of the restoration was reconstructive is clear from the contract and the legend on the contract drawing; see, respectively, (A), no. 23, and (B), no. 15. For representations of the façade's previous appearance, see the "existing state" drawings listed in (B), nos. 12 and 15, and the photograph, (B), no. 13.

124. On the other hand, the notion that the four capitals of the porch are "late Roman" pieces that were "repaired" by medieval masons, who turned broken leaf tips and volutes into "Byzantine foliage," is mistaken; it is put forward by Mothes, *Geschichte der Baukunst*,

1, 60. (Mothes also misdrew Ca' Loredan's elevation, showing piers on the first floor in place of the paired columns; *ibid.*, fig. 38.) The pieces in question are leatherleaf capitals of fourth- or fifth-century, Byzantine manufacture (the last on the right being a subspecies called a lyre capital); cf. Chapter 4 and Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien*, 56. They have recently been cleaned.

125. The alteration may be registered by comparing aerial photographs of 1962 and 1982; cf., respectively, Fig. 173 and *Venezia forma urbis*, 1, pls. 87–88.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

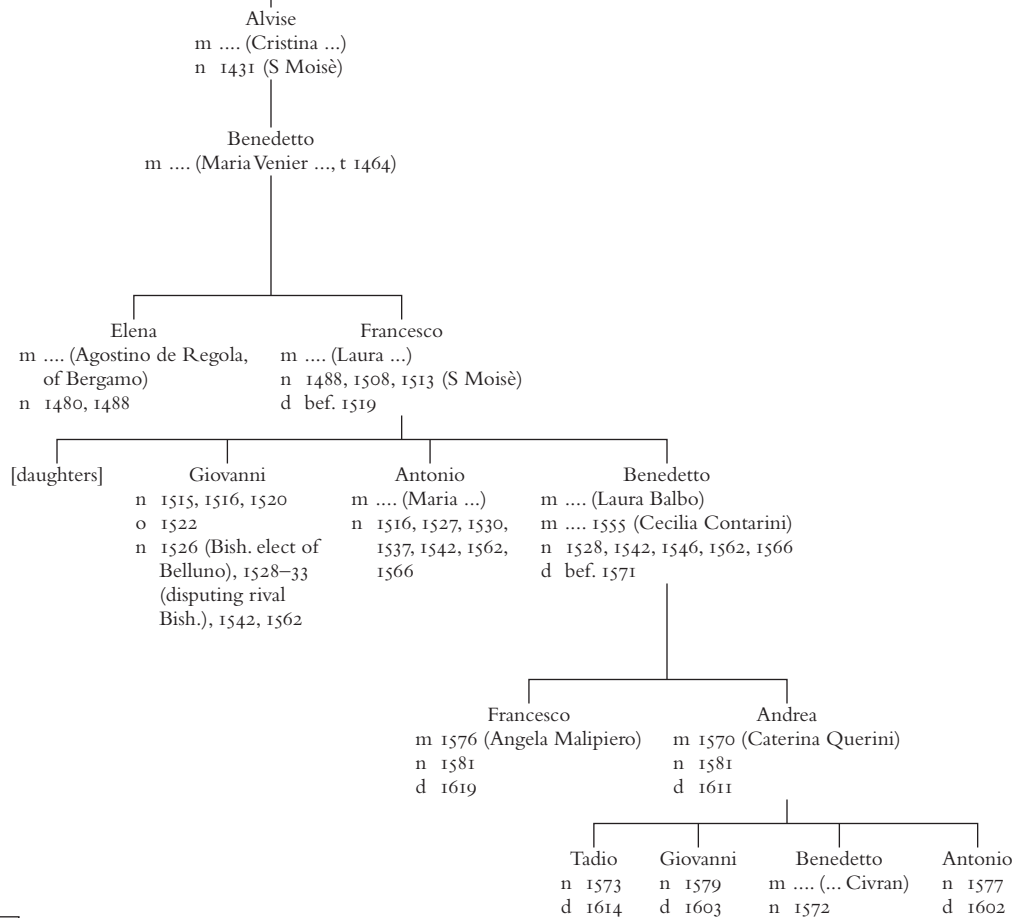


BAROZZI
(of S Moisé)
II

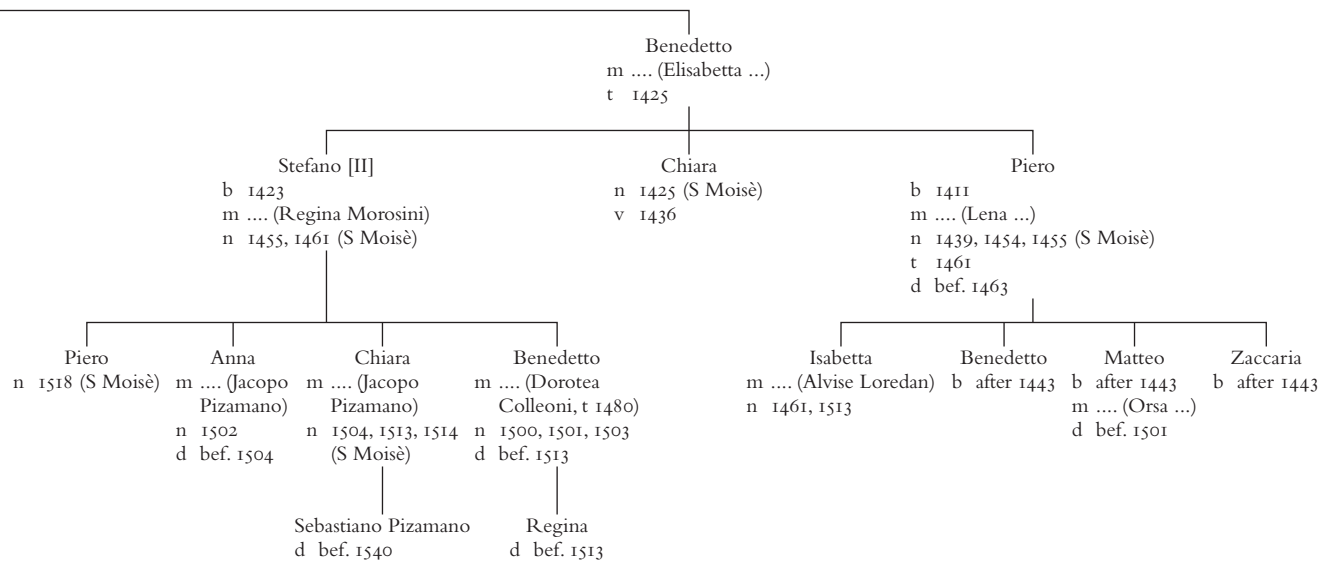
Giovanni
m (Beta Contarini,
t 1382, 1389, 1392)
n 1379 (S Moisé)

Stefano [I] ("il Vecchio")
m (Elena ...)
n 1379, 1390, 1397, 1408 (S Moisé)
t 1415

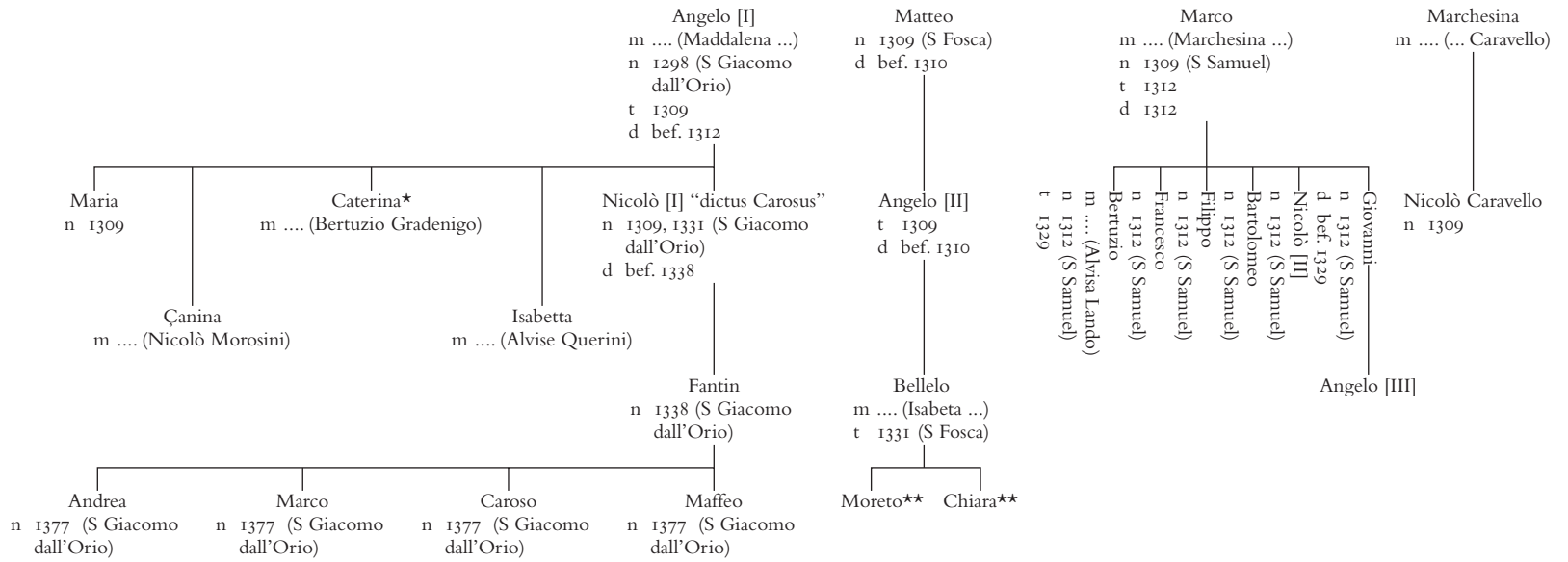
Antonio ("della Ca' Grande")
n 1425 (S Moisé)



b	born
bef.	before
d	died
m	married
n	noticed
o	took orders
t	testated
v	took vows



PESARO

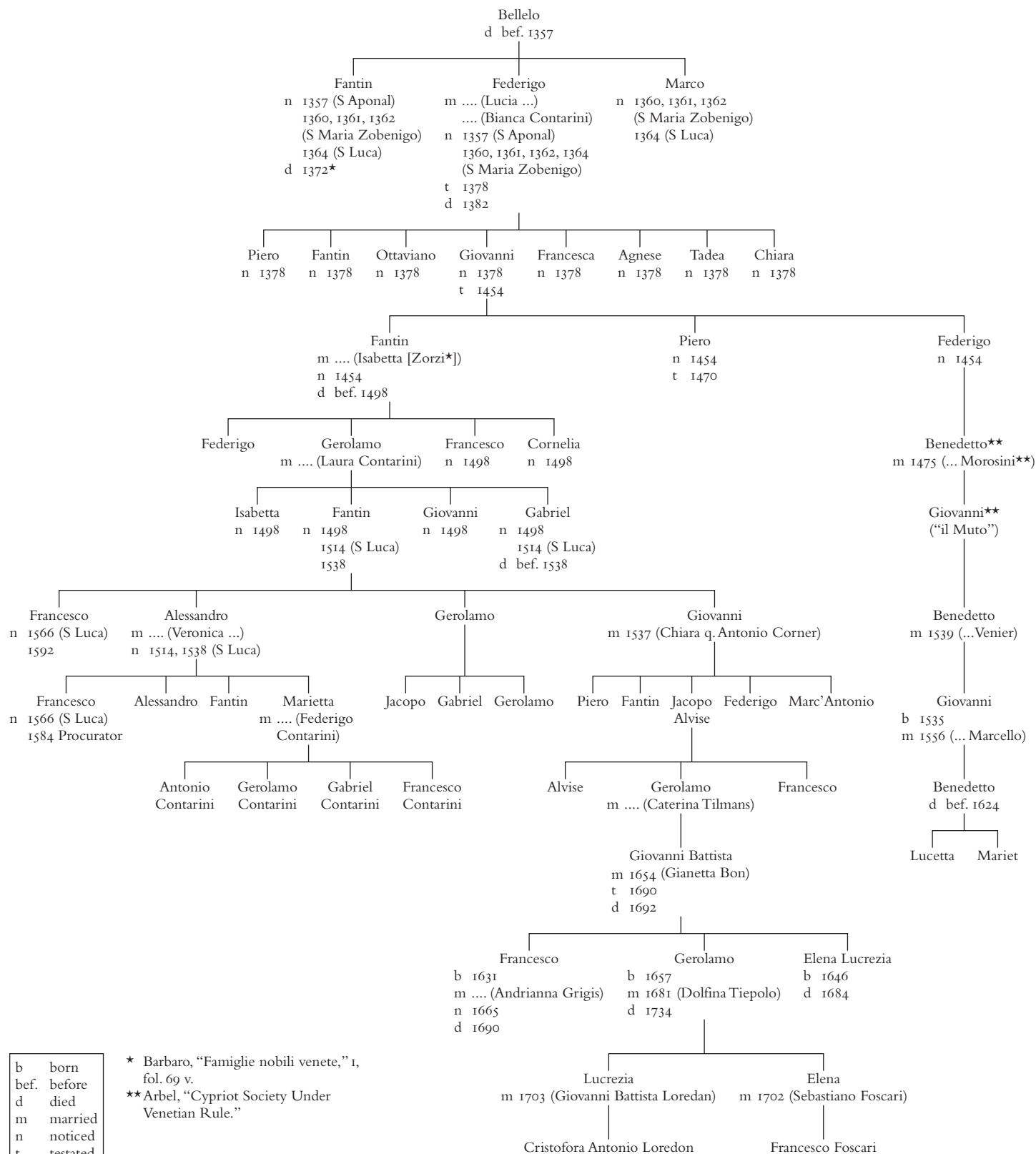


b	born
bef.	before
d	died
m	married
n	noticed
t	testated

* Angelo [I] names in his testament another Caterina and a Maruca, both natural daughters.

** Bellelo names in his testament two natural children, Galeazzo and Maria.

CORNER
(Corner-Piscopia)



GLOSSARY

Common Italian words are not listed, nor those common in everyday Venetian parlance. Latinized versions of vernacular terms and vernacular versions of Latin ones are not listed if easily recognized. Nouns and adjectives are listed in the nominative singular; Latin verbs in the first person singular of the present tense; Venetian verbs in the infinitive. Spelling follows the accepted form in dictionaries and linguistic studies. Readers should bear in mind, however, that words encountered in documents may be inflected and that premodern writers tended to double or transpose consonants, soften hard *g* or *c*, and otherwise improvise.

For Italian vocabulary in general, see Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*. For Venetian vocabulary in general, see Boerio, *Dizionario*; Folena, *Vocabolario*; and Stussi, *Testi veneziani*. For the Latin vocabulary of Venetians, see Sella, *Glossario*. For further Venetian architectural terms, see Concina, *Pietre parole*.

aconciar (Ven. v.) see *conciar*; Stussi, 191
aconcio, aconzo (Ven. adj.) in good repair; Appendix III (A), no. 17; Stussi, 185; Concina, 37
albergo (Ven. n., m.) bed-sitting-room
a libretto (Ven. adj. phrase) folding together like a book; Appendix III (A), no. 17
avalido (Ven. adj.) straight, continuous, level; Appendix III (A), no. 19; Folena, 35
balcon, balcone (Ven. n., m.) ornate window; Boerio, 58; Concina, 43
balconada (Ven. n., f.) serial row of ornate windows; Concina, 43

bartoela, bertoela (Ven. n., f.) door hinge; Boerio, 76; Concina, 45
cadenazo, caenazo (Ven. n., m.) bolt that can be locked when thrown; Appendix III (A), no. 17; Concina, 51
caneva (Ven. n., f.) storage room; Concina, 53; Stussi, 195
cane/canis (Ven./Lat. n., m.) end of a joist projecting outside a building; *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*, III, 366, no. 58; Cecchetti, “Vita dei veneziani nel 1300,” pt. i, 23–24
canipeta (Ven. n., f.) small *caneva*; Appendix I (A), no. 15
capsa (Ven./Lat. n., f.) chest, caisson; Sella, 122
casus (Lat. n., m.) a row or block of small dwellings; Appendix II (A), nos. 1, 3, and note 92; Appendix IV (A), no. 6
catapalco (Ven. n., m.) podium, tiered sideboard; Appendix III (A), no. 12
cavana (Ven. n., f.) small boat basin; Boerio, 152; Concina, 58
cedola (Ven. n., f.) an unnotarized, draft testament; Appendix II (A), no. 10
cheba (Lat. n., f.) alcove, freestanding enclosure; Appendix III (A), no. 3, Appendix V (A), no. 2; cf. Sella, 149
colmo (Ven. adj.) complete, without defect; Stussi, 200
conciar, conzar, conzier (Ven. v.) to repair; Boerio, 152; Concina, 63; Stussi, 204
concio, conzo (Ven. adj.) well maintained, repaired; Boerio, 195; Stussi, 204

- concio e colmo (Ven. adjl. phrase)** in good condition; Boerio, 195; Concina, 64
- crociola, crosola, crozola (Ven. n., f.)** transept of a T- or L-shaped hall; Sansovino, *Venetia* (1581), 141v; Boerio, 210; Concina, 67
- crux (Lat. n., f.)** see *crociola*; Appendix IV (A), nos. 6–7
- domus (Lat. n., f.)** house, dwelling unit within a house of several units; Folena, 104 (s.v. *casa*); Sella, 213
- erta (Ven. n., f.)** jamb (of a door or window); Boerio, 254; Concina, 73
- fero (Ven. n., m.)** see *vero*
- fondamenta (Ven. n., f.)** embankment, walkway beside a waterway; Boerio, 278; Concina, 78
- frontitio, frontizzo (Ven. n., m.)** exterior surround of a door or window; Boerio, 289
- fundamentum (Lat. n., neut.)** see *fondamenta*; Sella, 255
- gradata (Lat. n., f.)** boat landing; Sella, 272
- grondale (Ven. n., m.)** roof eaves or gutter; Boerio, 318; Concina, 83
- iaglacio (Lat. n., f.)** drain for liquid wastes; Sella, 286
- imbreviatura (Lat. n., f.)** notary's draft for a notarial act; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, IV, 298
- introitum (Lat. n., neut.)** entry (to a property); Sella, 297
- investio/investir (Lat./Ven. v.)** to propose acquisition of a property
- investison/investitio (Ven./Lat. n., f.)** proposal of acquisition of a property; Appendixes, passim (see Appendix II [A], note 2)
- investitura (Lat. n., f.)** cloth lining or hanging; Sella, 297
- iunctorium (Lat. n., neut.)** boat landing; Sella, 299
- lectiera/lecteria, letiera (Lat./Ven. n., f.)** bedstead; Sella, 309; Boerio, 367
- liagò (Ven. n., m.)** balcony, terrace, veranda; Appendix IV (A), no. 10; Appendix V (A), no. 1; Concina, 91; Stussi, 224
- lista (Lat. n., f.)** fillet, drip molding; Appendix II (A), no. 1
- libreto** see *a libretto*
- lobia (Lat. n., f.)** portico, terrace; Appendix V (A), no. 2
- mapa** see *napa*
- mezà, mezado/mezatus (Ven./Lat. n., m.)** mezzanine floor or room; Concina, 98
- mezo** see *per mezo*
- modilione/mutilio (Ven./Lat. n., f.)** corbel, bracket; Concina, 99; Appendix II (A), no. 2
- nancia** see *per nanciam*
- napa (Ven./Lat. n., f.)** chimney piece; Appendix I (A), no. 19; Concina, 103; Sella, 380
- palata (Ven./Lat. n., f.)** pile, a rammed timber, a row of such (Sella, 298)
- paramento (Ven. n., m.)** wall hangings; Appendix III (A), no. 3; Sella, 414
- parè (Ven. n., m.)** wooden partition, wall lining; Boerio, 472; Concina, 109
- pato (Ven. n., m.)** staircase landing; Concina, 110
- pedeplanum (Lat. n., neut.)** ground floor; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, v, 172
- pepian (Ven. n., m.)** ground floor; Boerio, 491; Concina, 110
- per mezo (Ven. adjl. phrase)** opposite; Boerio, 415; Concina, 98
- per nanciam (Lat. advl. phrase)** before; Appendix II (A), no. 3
- pergolo (Ven. n., m.)** balcony; Appendix I (A), no. 19; Appendix III (A), no. 17; Boerio, 492; Concina, 111
- piera (Ven. n., f.)** stone, brick, a block thereof; Boerio, 508; Concina, 113
- pisina/piscina (Ven./Lat. n., f.)** body or arm of stagnant water; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, v, 268; Stussi, 240
- pogiolo, poziol (Ven. n., m.)** balcony
- preda** see *piera*
- proprium (Lat. n., neut.)** ownership, property rights
- proto (Ven. n., m.)** foreman, master builder; Concina, 118
- protocollo/protocollum (Ven./Ital./Lat. n., m.)** a volume of notarial draft documents; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, VI, 512; Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*, XIV, 752; Boerio, 538
- puteus, putheus (Lat. n., m.)** cistern head
- razo (Ven. n., m.)** tapestry, cloth hanging
- requie/requina (Ven./Lat. n., f.)** small courtyard; Boerio, 568; Concina, 124
- revetene (Ven. n., m.)** projecting beams, small roof; Concina, 125

- ripa/riva (Lat./Ven. n., f.)** edge or embankment of a waterway, landing thereon; Sella, 485; Concina, 126
- rivus (Lat. n., m.)** canal
- ruga (Lat. n., f.)** street, row of buildings; Appendix II (A), no. 3; Sella, 493
- sagiador, saltarelo (Ven. n., m.)** crossbar (with or without lock) to bar a door or window; Appendix III (A), no. 17; Boerio, 591, 595
- salizada (Ven. n., f.)** paved street; Boerio, 594
- sazente, sigente (Ven. n., m.)** tenant; Concina, 130; Stussi, 253
- scuro (Ven. n., m.)** exterior window shutter; Boerio, 638; Concina, 134
- segens, sergens, -tis (Lat. n., m.)** see *sazente*
- solaro, soler, solero (Ven. n., m.)** first floor, upper floor, pavement; Boerio, 671; Concina, 137; Stussi, 254
- solareto, soraletto (Ven. n., m.)** low and/or partial upper floor; Appendix III (A), no. 17; Concina, 138
- spongia (Ven. n., f.)** sand-filled basin of a cistern; Appendix I (A), no. 15
- stangeta, stangheta (Ven. n., f.)** bar; Appendix III (A), no. 17; Boerio, 700
- statio, stazio (Lat./Ven. n., m.)** status, social standing; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, vi, 360–61; Stussi, 256
- stiesa (Ven. n., f.)** lintel (?); Appendix I (A), no. 19
- stiezza (Ven. n., m.)** a little bit; Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*, xx, 169
- stropar (Ven. v.)** to wall up (an opening); Boerio, 717
- tola (Ven. n., f.)** board; Boerio, 753; Concina, 143; Stussi, 259
- trabatura (Lat. n., f.)** beam, joist
- tragheto (Ven. n., m.)** ferry service, ferryboat
- travatura, trave (Ven. n., f.)** see *trabatura*; Concina, 148–49; Stussi, 260
- tresa, tressa, tresso (Ven. n., f.)** crossbar to bar a door or window, partition; Concina, 149
- tromba (Ven. n., m.)** casement for a door or window; Appendix III (A), no. 19 (item 15)
- vacheta (Ven. n., m.)** a small account book, narrow and tall, bound in vellum
- vardar (Ven. v.)** to look, look out; Boerio, 778
- vero (Ven. n., m.)** glass, glass window pane; Boerio, 789
- via (Ven. adv.)** and so continuously, as in *piano via, fuori via*, etc.; Boerio, 792
- volta, volto (Ven. n., both f. and m.)** shop, storeroom, vault; Boerio, 800–801; Concina, 153–54

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Essays in frequently cited collections of essays are listed under their authors’ names, and the collections are identified by abbreviated titles; the volumes’ full bibliographic descriptions are found under their titles. However, when only a single essay from a collection is cited, that volume’s full description is joined to the listing of that essay.

Editions of a book are indicated by superscript numbers set against the date of publication (e.g., ²1950, ³1980). Reprints and unaltered reissues are termed reprints, even when called an “edition” by the publisher. Unless otherwise stated, citations in the footnotes refer to the last edition properly so called.

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