UNITING FAITH AND IMAGE: THE COLLECTIVE VISUAL IDENTITY OF THE
CONGREGATION OF SECULAR CANONS AND ITS EXPRESSION IN THE
ARTISTIC COMMISSIONS AT SAN GIORGIO IN BRAIDA, VERONA (1441-1668)

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Uniting Faith and Image: The Collective Visual Identity of the Congregation of Secular Canons and its Expression in the Artistic Commissions at San Giorgio in Braida, Verona (1441-1668)

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This dissertation examines the art and architecture commissioned for the religious complex of San Giorgio in Braida in Verona between 1441 and 1668 and demonstrates that it embodied the visual corporate identity formulated by the Congregation of Secular Canons at San Giorgio in Alga, their mother church in Venice. The Congregation was a major player in the pre-Tridentine reform movements of northern Italy and its iconographic program was part of its strategy to reform the clergy and monastic life in general. Using new archival findings and San Giorgio in Braida’s artistic patrimony as primary evidence, I unravel and explain the Secular Canons’ considered identity. I then demonstrate that the Congregation adapted it as it matured and reacted to major religious, political and artistic changes that rippled across the Veneto between the Congregation’s founding in 1402 and its suppression in 1668. This dissertation also examines the modes of patronage used by the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida, and by extension, the system of patronage used by the Congregation as a whole. Eventually every commission at all eleven of its religious houses was underpinned by this iconographic program, which had the effect of binding the Canons and their surroundings both spiritually and visually. Though some of the Canons’ churches have been the focus of specific research, this is the first to investigate the whole Congregation as a single, thoughtful commissioner of art.
DEDICATION

For Herb
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177. Bernardino India, *Martyred Saint* (Rustico(?) or Cecilia’s brother or husband(?)), 1560s, oil on canvas, right of Moretto’s *Santa Cecilia*

178. Bernardino India, *Pope Saint Gregory*, 1560s, oil on canvas, left of original cloister entrance

179. Bernardino India, *Saint Jerome*, 1560s, oil on canvas, right of original cloister entrance

180. Overview of chancel with choir stalls visible under Felice Brusasorci’s *Fall of Manna* and tabernacle from 1625 on the high altar

181. Choir stall under Paolo Farinati’s *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes*

182. Paolo Farinati, *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes*, 1603, oil on canvas

183. Felice Brusasorci (completed by Pasquale Ottino and Alessandro Turchi called l’Orbetto), *The Fall of Manna in the Desert*, begun c.1600, oil on canvas

184. Frame style A

185. Frame style B

186. Progression of the altar frames in the chapels on the nave’s right side

187. Domenico Brusasorci, *Cristo Portacroce and Saints*, 1547, oil on canvas, Santo Stefano, Verona. Painted for the high altar, now over the main entrance on the retrofaçade.

188. Francesco Montemezzano, *Noli me tangere*, 1578/80, oil on canvas
189. Felice Brusasorci, *Virgin Assunta with the Three Archangels*, post-1577, oil on canvas
191. Sandro Botticelli, *Three Archangels*, c.1470, oil on canvas, Uffizi, Florence (ex-Santo Spirito, Florence)
192. Filippino Lippi, *Three Archangels*, c.1485, oil on canvas, Galleria Sabauda, Turin
193. Marco d’Oggiono, *Three Archangels*, 1516, oil on canvas, Brera, Mila (ex-Santa Marta, Milan)
194. Giulio Romano, *Regina Angelorum*, c.1570, engraving
196. Titian, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1530-32, oil on canvas, Cartolari-Nichesola Chapel, Duomo, Verona
197. Domenico Tintoretto, *Pentecost*, 1619, oil on canvas
198. Carlo Ridolfi, *Saint George*, 1622, oil on canvas, Santi Fermo e Rustico, Lonigo
199. Carlo Ridolfi, *Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani*, 1622, oil on canvas, Santi Fermo e Rustico, Lonigo
200. Pasquale Ottino, *Virgin Assunta and Benedictine Saints: Benedetto, Mauro, Bernardo, and Anthony Abbot*, 1625, oil on canvas
201. Pasquale Ottino, *Assumption of the Virgin with Saints*, c.1619, oil on canvas, left lateral wall of the chancel, Santa Maria in Vanzo, Padua
203. Giuseppe Levi and Angelo De Rossi, *Saint George*, bronze, 1625, left holy water font
204. Giuseppe Levi, *Saint John the Baptist*, 1625, bronze, right holy water font
206. Angelo Rossi, a: *Saints Mark* and b: *John the Evangelist*, 1625, bronze, right balustrade
Introduction

In 1668, the religious complex of San Giorgio in Braida in Verona (Fig. 1) was suppressed and sold, leaving Michele Sanmicheli’s towering dome (Fig. 2) and campanile (Fig. 3) and Paolo Veronese’s Martyrdom of Saint George (Fig. 4 & 163) on the high altar and other paintings and sculptures inside the church by Venetian, Veronese and Brescian artists as reminders of the complex’s artistic golden age. Over time the renown of these masterpieces and their considerable aesthetic merits have eclipsed the fame of their patrons. The men who commissioned this art for their church between 1441 and 1668 were members of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga in Venice and major players in the pre-Tridentine reform movements of northern Italy. The Congregation was an extremely pious and tight-knit organization that was one of the Church’s effective efforts at ridding itself of ecclesiastical abuses and corruption prior to the Counter-Reformation. Their strict orthodoxy centered on the fundamental ideals and teachings of the Church and aimed to counter the lax standards that were the root of the Church’s pervasive religious crisis. As part of their strategy to reform the clergy and monastic life in general, the Canons formulated an artistic program that reinforced their spirituality, and came to embody the visual identity of the nascent religious organization. This multivalent iconographic program underpinned every commission at all eleven of their religious houses; it bound the reforming canons and their surroundings both spiritually and visually, yet it has gone virtually unrecognized.

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1 Goethe described the church as a “gallery of wonderful pictures.” (Johann Jacob Volkmann and Joseph Jérôme Le François de Lalande, Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Verlegts Caspar Fritsch, 1770). Scipione Maffei believed the church was “a picture gallery without parallel.” (Scipione Maffei, Verona illustrata, 5 vols. (Verona: J. Vallarsi, e P. Berno, 1731), vol. IV, 267.) Other observations in the eighteenth century were made by Giambatista Biancolini, Notizie Storiche delle Chiese di Verona, IX vols. (Verona: Per Alessandro Scolari, 1749) and Giuseppe Marini, Notizie delle cose più osservabili della città di Verona (Verona1795).
and unstudied. Though some of the eleven separate churches in the Congregation’s network in the Veneto have been the focus of specific research, very little investigation has been done on the whole Congregation as a thoughtful, unified commissioner of art.

When the Veronese contingent of Canons started to rebuild San Giorgio in Braida in the mid-1400s, the Congregation of Secular Canons was very young with a still-mutable visual identity. It was during these years that artists such as the Vivarini, Giovanni Bellini and Cima da Conegliano began the interior decorations of the Canons’ mother church of San Giorgio in Alga in Venice (Fig. 5). Above all, the program of imagery fashioned there promoted the orthodoxy of the Canons and aided their ritual practice. But these earliest commissions also established the visual identity for the nascent, reform-minded—and distinctly Venetian—organization. As the Congregation grew beyond the lagoon, it deployed this imagery as a way of linking its peripheral churches to

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2 The following scholars have used methodological approaches that differ from mine, but their research is fundamental for my own because they have helped me to decipher the unified iconographic strategy formulated by the Canons. Gabriele Neher, in her work on Brescian image building following the city’s subjugation to the Venetian Republic in 1426, examined Moretto da Brescia’s and Romanino’s commissions from San Pietro in Oliveto, the Congregation’s Brescian house after 1437, but without considering the church’s entire decorative program. (Gabriele Neher, “Moretto and Romanino: religious painting in Brescia 1510-1550; identity in the shadow of La Serenissima” (Ph.D. diss., University of Warwick, 1999) and Gabriele Neher, “Moretto and the Congregation of S. Giorgio in Alga 1540-1550: fashioning a visual identity of a religious Congregation,” in Fashioning Identities in Renaissance art, ed. Mary Rogers (Aldershot, Hants; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 2000).) Michael Douglas-Scott, in his meticulously documented study of the Madonna dell’Orto, the Congregation’s second house in Venice, and in his related research analyzed the interrelationship of the church’s assemblage of art and architecture, and the religious beliefs and identity of the Canons at that church. (Michael Douglas-Scott, “Pordenone’s Altarpiece of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani for the Madonna dell’Orto,” Burlington Magazine 130, no. 1026 (1988); Michael Douglas-Scott, “Art Patronage and the Function of Images at the Madonna dell’Orto in Venice under the Secular Canons of S. Giorgio in Alga circa 1462-1668” (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1995) and Michael Douglas-Scott, “Jacopo Tintoretto’s Altarpiece of St. Agnes at the Madonna dell’Orto in Venice and the Memorialisation of Cardinal Contarini,” Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 60, no. 1026 (1997)). See also Renato Cevese, La chiesa e il monastero di San Rocco in Vicenza: storia e arte, vol. 8, I quaderni di San Rocco (Vicenza: La serenissima, 1996); Pierantonio Gios, “Santa Maria in Vanzo: Da priorato benedettino a seminario diocesano,” in Il Seminario di Gregorio Barbarigo: trecento anni di arte, cultura e fede, ed. Pierantonio Gios and Anna Maria Spiazz (Padova: Seminario vescovile di Padova, 1997); Giovanni Lorenzoni, “Santa Maria in Vanzo, chiesa dei canonici secolari di San Giorgio in Alga,” in Il Seminario di Gregorio Barbarigo: trecento anni di arte, cultura e fede, ed. Pierantonio Gios and Anna Maria Spiazz (Padova: Seminario vescovile di Padova, 1997) and Maria Cristina Zanardi, La biblioteca del Convento di S. Giacomo in Monselice, Padova: manoscritti, incunaboli, cinquecentine, seicentine, Franciscalia Venetica; 1 (Vicenza: LIEF, 2003).
the mother church. Consequently, the art and architecture of San Giorgio in Braida exemplified the collective identity of the larger religious organization. However, the Congregation also used the imagery as a tool to assimilate into their new surroundings in towns on the terraferma by employing local talent and incorporating local idioms and traditions into the artwork. The result was the creation of an individual identity for the Veronese delegation. As the religious organization matured the collective and individual identities transformed in the sacred objects at San Giorgio in Braida as a result of several key factors. Chief among them were establishing a presence in Verona, legitimizing their religious organization as their most important former members ascended to greater levels of importance within the church, reconciling their relationship with the papacy, adequately expressing their expanding devotional concerns and responding to the decrees of the Council of Trent.

**Choice of San Giorgio in Braida**

Though it was one of the wealthiest of the eleven churches in the Congregation’s network, San Giorgio in Braida serves as an exemplary case study for the visual language of the larger movement. Its art and architecture embodied the visual identity first formulated by the Secular Canons at San Giorgio in Alga, the mother church in Venice, knowledge of which is unfortunately limited due to the church’s destruction in a fire in 1716. The Congregation’s other houses in the Veneto, Bologna, Rimini and Rome have either been destroyed or altered by natural causes or later occupants.³ Surviving

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³ San Giovanni Decollato in Padua (1406), the Congregation’s first house on the terraferma, was destroyed in 1513 to make way for the new walls of Padua. Sant’Agostino in Vicenza (1407) was heavily damaged in World War II. SS. Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo (1407) was reconfigured in the eighteenth century. Sant’Angiolo in Monte in Verona (1419) was altered after 1668 and its paintings dispursed. It is now a private home. San Gregorio fuori Porta San Vitale in Bologna (1419) was abandoned by the Canons in 1527 when they acquired San Siro in Bologna (1527) and reconsecrated it to both Saints Siro and
inventories and contemporary descriptions permit a partial re-creation of many of the churches’ original appearances and contents, but only San Giorgio in Braida remains intact. This leaves San Giorgio in Braida’s famous patrimony as the earliest, most unchanged manifestation of the collective visual identity formulated by the Venetian Congregation of Secular Canons, and it therefore serves as the ideal site for the study and reconstruction of the lost history of the larger religious organization’s collective self-image.

Using San Giorgio in Braida’s art and architecture and new archival findings as the primary evidence, this dissertation explains and unravels the Secular Canons’ considered visual identity and patronage system and demonstrates that the Congregation adapted its iconographic program as it matured and reacted to major religious, political

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4 The general appearance of the art and architecture commissioned by the Congregation of Secular Canons can be reconstructed using information gleaned from archival sources, contemporary written descriptions and prints. The most comprehensive records of the churches’ contents are inventories completed between 1668 and 1669. After the Congregation’s suppression in 1668, the Papal Nuncio ordered his deputies to make inventories of all ten of the organization’s remaining churches and convents. The Gesuati and Gironimini of Fiesole were suppressed at the same time as the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga. Inventories of all three religious organizations’ churches are preserved in ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1-4. Pertinent inventories are transcribed in Appendix VIII of this dissertation.

5 Several additions were made to San Giorgio in Braida after the Congregation’s suppression in 1668. The statues of Saint George and Lorenzo Giustiniani on the façade were added, possibly after earlier plans, in the eighteenth century. The stucco statues of San Giorgio, San Zeno and Lorenzo Giustiniani above the high altar were later additions as was the present organ which replaced the Canons’ in eighteenth century. Several funerary inscriptions, the oratory off the left aisle on the north side of the church, the architecture on the side of the convent near the river was modified in 1930s and the refectory was removed, the garden was off the back destroyed as was the cemetery to the north of the church, the houses on either side were later additions, land in the possession of the Canons was also sold off, façade was completed, and the houses attached to the northern and southern sides of the façade were added.
and artistic changes that rippled across the Veneto from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

**Catalysts for reform**

The Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga was founded in Venice in 1402 in response to crises that had been plaguing the Church for more than two centuries. The Investiture Conflict of the eleventh century, the Avignon Papacy in the early fourteenth century and the Great Schism later in that century all severely compromised the Church’s power by challenging the pope’s power in the temporal and sacred worlds. Not only the upper echelons of the Church hierarchy felt the repercussions of these conflicts—the chaos and instability seeped beyond Rome’s borders to dioceses and local parishes throughout Italy and beyond. Monasteries founded as centers of piety and salvation became centers of profit for the men who ran them and destitution for their residents and the buildings that housed them. How did the epicenters of spiritual stability and religious reform in the eleventh century lose their way and become hallmarks of the Church’s impotence and decay by the thirteenth?

Although the problems of monastic centers were diverse, many of their troubles stemmed from the practice of holding a church *in commendam*, a tradition dating back to the fourth century that referred to “the provisional collation and occupation of an ecclesiastical benefice which was temporarily without an actual occupant.” The pope made such temporary appointments to safeguard property or to house a priest displaced

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from his see or whose parish was too impoverished to support him. By the eleventh century, secular rulers, such as the Holy Roman Emperor in Italy, had almost completely co-opted the pope’s authority and bestowed commendatory benefices upon men loyal to them and more interested in personal aggrandizement and fame. As the spoils system became more pervasive throughout Europe, the occupant of a lucrative position would give (or sell for further personal gain) his *commendam* to friends, family or allies, even though the designation of a replacement for the position was still the right of the pope. Often relatives of the ruling party or other influential families were installed as priors and bishops into other prominent ecclesiastical positions in order to ensure continuity and political supremacy. Many of them had entered into the religious life expressly with dynastic security in mind. Consequently, Europe became filled with churches, monasteries and convents held *in commendam* that were deprived of the incomes necessary to maintain their pious population. They were beholden to secular governments or other private interests rather than to the Church. This practice eventually eviscerated the stability of the Church and its ability to guide Europe’s religious communities. Abuse of the *commendam* system flourished when the Papacy was out of Rome or when its power was in jeopardy. Two such events, the Avignon Papacy (1309-1378) and the Western Schism (1378-1417), immediately preceded the founding of the Congregation of Secular Canons, whose main objective was monastic and clerical reform.

The Canons were considered strangers and mistrusted in most towns they entered. This was partly because the *commenda* system had been used historically to award benefits to individuals without making them accountable, and the population lost faith in the clergy’s ability to minister. The appointed men were usually physically absent from
their office and the church’s daily religious and administrative functions. They did find time, however, to collect its incomes from a more comfortable distant location such as Venice or Padua, usually with the help of a local agent. The Canons quickly regained their trust and devotion by eliminating the corrupt system. The ruined appearance of many of the religious houses held in commendam reflected the Church’s damaged condition. The commendatory abbot deprived the priests of funds to pay for repairs or improvements of their churches, so they had no choice but to let the structures fall into near ruin. The state of these churches, which had suffered being held in commendam for much of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was summarized by Giorgio Vasari when he described the Friulian Abbey of Rosazzo as “left in an unholy state, as almost all of these [churches] are found to be, by those who had previously held them in commendam, and who had thought nothing but drawing a revenue from them, without having the heart to spend the smallest coin thereof in the service of God and the Church.” The fate that befell the Abbey of Rosazzo also befell the church and canonry of San Giorgio in Braida and most of the other churches that were part of the Congregation of Secular Canons.

It was against this backdrop of corruption and decay that the Congregation of Secular Canons was founded and flourished. The reason the organization was so successful and so vital to Church reform in the years before the onset of the Reformation was because it was able to return the administration of the many monasteries and convents held in commendam to pious, trustworthy men. Additionally, the Canons were

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able to inspire young men with the fundamental ideals and teachings of the Church, and to repopulate the near-empty institutions with these devout priests. They also invented an innovative administrative system for their organization that did away with the corrupt _commenda_ system that had previously allowed secular men to retain individual power for indefinite periods of time. The Canons’ strong ties to the pope meant that these reform efforts had the full support of Rome. Their religious beliefs returned to the teachings of the Church and practices of previous successful reforms, which attracted new clerics to their Congregation and refreshed the dwindling pious communities that were a part of their network. By means of their iconographic program and collective visual identity they reinforced their devotions, allegiances and pious goals, which had the effect of further stabilizing the churches’ congregations.

*Venice’s “Trojan Horse”*

Important as the above function was, the Canons were more than just the Church’s weapon against corruption in the north—they were also agents of the Venetian Republic. The Canons’ initial association with Verona occurred as a consequence of Venice’s subjugation of the city in 1405. In 1406, under the guidance of their charismatic leader, Lorenzo Giustiniani (Fig. 6), and the guiding hand of the Venetian Pope Gregory XII (Angelo Correr; Fig. 7), the Congregation of Secular Canons began to expand their network of religious houses in tandem with Venice’s expansion on the _terraferma_.

Venice ushered in the Quattrocento by more aggressively enlarging its empire onto the _terraferma_. By the turn of the century, Venice already had Treviso and Conegliano under its control, having captured them in 1339 and 1344 respectively. The greatest acquisitions occurred between 1404 and 1406 when Vicenza, Asiago, Feltre and
Belluno (1404); Verona and Padua (1405); and Rovigo (1406) were added to the Venetian domain. Later conquests in Friuli and Carnia (1420), Brescia (1426), Bergamo (1428), and Crema (1449) extended Venice’s borders to their farthest limits. This geographic expansion resulted in dramatic changes to Venice’s governing structure. Doge Tommaso Mocenigo likened these newly incorporated terraferma holdings to a garden that needed to be cultivated, and the Venetians quickly exploited this fresh land and planted men loyal to the Venetian Senate in important offices and governmental seats and in the pious and charitable institutions of her newly acquired towns. These seeds spread by the Venetians quickly grew and established a network of roots that bound the religious, political and economic entities of the city of Venice to those in her territories.

The broader historical developments in Venice during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries paralleled the evolution of the new reforming Congregation of Secular Canons. As Venice was better able to secure its territories with the help of the Congregation, it quickly became Venice’s secret weapon in securing hegemony in its growing mainland domain, prompting the Venetian Senate to call it the city’s “Trojan

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10 Marino Sanudo and Giovanni Monticolo, Le vite dei dogi, Rerum Italiarum scriptores: raccolta degli storici Italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento (Città di Castello: Tipi dell’editore S. Lapi, 1900), 22, cols. 949-958.

11 One example of the swiftness of the Venetian’s actions is the filling of the Bishopric of Verona. Soon after acquiring Verona, on 2 September 1406, the Venetians replaced the Bishop of Verona, Jacopo Rossi with one of Angelo Correr’s nephews, the Venetian Angelo Barbarigo. This was done without protest from the Veronese Angelo Correr became Pope on 30 November of that year. See Pierpaolo Brugnoli, “Il primo vescovo veneziano sulla cattedra di S. Zeno (Angelo Barbarigo),” Atti e memorie dell’Accademia d’Agricoltura, Scienze, Lettere, Arti e Commercio di Verona VI, no. XX (1968-69): 25 and Guglielmo Ederle and Dario Cervato, eds., Vescovi di Verona: dizionario storico e cenni sulla chiesa veronese (Verona: Della Scala Edizioni, 2002), 83.
Horse”.12 In return, the Congregation was able to grow because of the political conditions in the newly-acquired towns. The result was such that in the first decade of the fifteenth century young men in search of an alternative to the rigid and often corrupt monastic communities began to be attracted to the new Congregation of Secular Canons for “…the freshness and sanity of their religious ideal” and for their “powerful centers of reform;” the Canons gained renown and the Congregation “…spread throughout the Veneto and other regions with great speed, establishing themselves in various towns and cities.”13 By the seventeenth century, eleven monastic complexes comprised the Congregation’s holdings in the territories of the Venetian Republic. But the Canons’ reform ideologies appealed to a wider audience, and by the late fifteenth century, the Canons had already established themselves outside the borders of the Venetian Republic with houses in Bologna, Rimini, Rome, and as far away as Sicily and Portugal.14

Venice and the Papacy

Venetian progress towards hegemony on the terraferma and the Congregation’s expansion onto the mainland were aided by a fortuitous intersection of events. In 1406, just as Venice was adding Verona, Padua and Rovigo to its dominion, the College of Cardinals elected the Venetian Angelo Correr as Pope Gregory XII. From this position of power, Correr collaborated with the Venetian Senate, which claimed jurisdiction over the

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13 “…la freschezza e la santità del loro ideale religioso, altrettanti centri potenti di irradiazione riformistica…”; “…perciò si diffusero nel Veneto e in altre regioni con rapidità veramente prodigiosa, costituendo nelle varie città in cui si stabilirono…” (Giorgio Cracco, “La Fondazione dei Canonici Secolari di San Giorgio in Alga,” Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia xiii (1959): 71.)
mainland’s ecclesiastical institutions for all of the fifteenth century, and granted numerous benefices in Venice and the *terraferma* to Venetian clerics.\textsuperscript{15} Yet even though Venice at this time sustained seventy active parishes within its confines, it simply did not have enough ordained clergy to fill the many open posts within the dioceses and ecclesiastical institutions of its ever-expanding *terraferma* empire.\textsuperscript{16} So Venice resorted to using the same *commenda* system that previous rulers had abused, in order to remedy the problem. The Venetian secular nobility had a voracious appetite for territorial benefices and its members were installed on the *terraferma* as bishops and abbots. In time, these men became prominent and influential members of the Church, and the number of reforming orders in Venice and the Veneto increased dramatically. So effective were the campaigns of Pope Gregory XII and his Venetian successors Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431-47; Correr’s nephew Gabriele Condulmer; Fig. 8) and Pope Paolo II (r. 1464-71; Condulmer’s nephew Pietro Barbo) to install their fellow Venetians in *terraferma* benefices that in 1488 the Senate proclaimed that Venetian nobles held all of them,\textsuperscript{17} and by 1527 all the bishoprics, too.\textsuperscript{18}

Three of the men who assumed control of houses on the *terraferma* during this period were Pope Gregory XII’s nephews, two of whom were among the first members


\textsuperscript{17} Cenci (1968): 325 and Prodi (1973): 417, n. 448.

\textsuperscript{18} Adriano Prosperi, *Tra Evangelismo e Controriforma: G. M. Giberti (1495-1543)*, Uomini e dottrine, 16 (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1969), 130-133.
of the Congregation of Secular Canons. The houses they held *in commendam* later became permanent possessions of the Congregation. But even as the Canons benefited from this practice they recognized its insidious nature. Part of their innovative strategy for monastic reform was to revoke a particular church’s *commendam* (i.e. consign its incomes and administration to the Secular Canons) once the Congregation officially took possession of it, and to require that only a member of the Congregation could govern it.19

Relations between Venice and the Papacy were friendly and mutually beneficial at times, as their cooperative effort to gain political traction on the mainland illustrates. Yet secularism and political commitment often prevailed over pious thought and ecclesiastical authority in the Venetian state and when affairs of state were concerned, these two major players in Italian politics during the Renaissance were often at odds, even when the pope was a Venetian native.20

The case of Bishop Michiel demonstrates this point. The Great Council, the main governing body of Verona, had to seek approval from the pope of its nomination for Bishop. In 1470, their candidate was the Venetian Archbishop of Spalato, Lorenzo Zane, yet Pope Paul II (the Venetian Pietro Barbo, nephew of Pope Eugene IV, the Venetian Gabriele Condulmer) elected his own nephew, Giovanni Michiel (1471-1503) to be

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20 Foreigners often observed, with great surprise, that all Venetians were quite comfortable with the slippage between the two realms, especially the Doge. (Prodi (1973): 414 esp. n. 423 and 424 and David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: the Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).)
Bishop in 1471.\textsuperscript{21} The Venetian Council decided to oppose this nomination, even though Michiel was Venetian, and sided with their Veronese counterpart.

This sort of disagreement between Venice and the Papacy often escalated into more vitriolic confrontations that lead to treachery, or worse, war. One example directly affected the Congregation of Secular Canons because they shared a bond with one of the popes that went beyond a mutual Venetian heritage. Angelo Correr (Pope Gregory XII) was vital to the founding and expansion of the organization. As previously stated, he appointed several of the Canons to powerful positions in the church and numerous members of his family were among its first members. Because of this powerful connection, the Canons considered the Pope one of its luminaries and an indelible part of their history. However, Correr, as Pope Gregory XII, was at odds with Venice over his handling of the Great Schism’s resolution. Tensions between the two rose to a boiling point in 1409 when the Venetians definitively severed ties with the Pope after they recognized Alexander V, not their native son Angelo Correr, as the rightful claimant to the papal throne.

The War of the League of Cambrai (1508-16) was another occasion when Venice pitted herself against the Papacy over matters of state, although with significantly more devastating effect upon the city since it affected her claim to fiscally and politically lucrative mainland territories. The League of Cambrai was comprised of an ever-changing cast of characters, but at its heart was the manifestation of the growing distrust that players on the Italian and world stage had for the \textit{Serenissima} and her political ambitions. The Venetians’ defeat at the hand of the League of Cambrai at Agnadello in

1509 dealt a serious blow to the powerful Republic and terminated her power to appoint benefits. Pope Julius II was already agitated by Venice’s drive to obtain territory then under papal control in the Marches. He considered his papal authority compromised by Venetian nobles who continued to retain all the *terraferma* benefices for themselves without seeking his approval. The conflict was ultimately resolved, with the Venetians placing statecraft before pride by maneuvering to regain their lands in July of 1509 at the expense of relinquished control of the appointments. They also had to surrender their claim to the Pope’s territory, thereby appeasing the pontiff and, most importantly, dividing him from his anti-Venetian alliance.\(^\text{22}\)

**Changes in the religious currents**

The Counter-Reformation and the decrees of the Council of Trent presented new sets of challenges to Venice and to the Congregation of Secular Canons, which were reflected in their artistic commissions during this period. The outcome of the Council perhaps compelled the Doge to review his sacral role in Venetian society.\(^\text{23}\) Also, some of the Council’s decrees outlined new and specific requirements for works of art. They demanded art be clear and accessible, renewed the veneration of saints and asserted their effectiveness as intercessors, and emphasized the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist.\(^\text{24}\) But even before the convocation of the Council of Trent, the great champion of Church Reform, Gian Matteo Giberti, arrived in Verona as Bishop of the city in 1528. He immediately set out to change the Church in Verona and at San Giorgio in Braida; this


\(^{23}\) Prodi (1973): 414, esp. n. 430.

meant rethinking the design of the church and its art. By 1568 Church reform transformed more than the art and architecture of the church: the Canons too were forced to change when on 17 November of that year Pius V issued a bull obligating the Canons to take monastic vows and to become Regular Canons.25

The men who resided at San Giorgio in Braida between 1441 and 1668 believed in reforming the clergy and monastic governance, and they shared these beliefs with the other members of the Congregation of Secular Canons from San Giorgio in Alga. The visual identity developed by the Congregation and implemented in each of their churches was one of the instruments they used to achieve these goals.

**Outline of Chapters**

The first two of my six chapters sets the stage for the Secular Canons’ renovation and decoration of San Giorgio in Braida. I begin my study by outlining the histories of Verona and San Giorgio in Braida. I conclude Chapter One in 1441 because this was the year Pope Eugene IV granted San Giorgio in Braida to the Congregation and is thus the *terminus post quem* of the Canons’ renovation project. Section One examines the histories of the city and church before the arrival of the Venetians in 1405. Emphasis is placed upon several specific aspects, including Verona’s genuine Roman origins in contrast to Venice’s spurious ones, the previous successful reforms of San Giorgio in Braida and the church’s earlier connections to the papacy because the iconographic program developed by the Secular Canons alluded to these events as part of their strategy to establish their Veronese bona fides. The Congregation of Secular Canons was able to

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flourish in Verona due in large part to the provisions of the founding of San Giorgio in Braida as a Benedictine monastery in the eleventh century, so this section also pays special attention to these conditions. It also relies greatly upon the comprehensive research undertaken by two social historians, Sue Brotherton and Maureen Miller, regarding the economic, social and religious changes that took place at San Giorgio in Braida during the High Middle Ages.  

Section Two of Chapter One addresses the condition of Verona and San Giorgio in Braida after 1405, when Verona capitulated to Venice, and the physical appearance of the church at the time the Canons took possession of it in 1441. San Giorgio in Braida had been a thriving and disciplined religious community during the communal period in the twelfth century. By the mid-thirteenth century, however, control of the church had passed to a series of secular priors who held the churches in commendam. These men were either members of despotic, secular regimes or were appointed by them. Consequently, San Giorgio in Braida became a symbol of dominion for the conquerors of Verona. After 1405, Venice seized upon this symbolic association and, by means of the Congregation of Secular Canons, transformed the dilapidated complex into one of Verona’s preeminent religious complexes. At San Giorgio in Braida, as at major religious institutions across the Veneto, amalgamation into the Venetian Empire had a profound effect. I discuss the nature of this transformation and the Canons’ participation in it in this section. I then

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26 Sue Brotherton analyzed how economic, political and social changes effects first the Benedictine monks from 1070 to 1127 and the Augustinian canons from 1127 to 1200. She also examined the relationships between both groups and the Veronese government as well as the larger lay community from the foundation of the church until the early thirteenth century. (Sue Brotherton, “San Giorgio in Braida in the Changing World of Verona, 1050-1200” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992).) Maureen Miller, in her study of the formation of the medieval church in Verona between 950 and 1150, did not include an analysis of the art and architecture of San Giorgio in Braida in her publication. (Maureen Catherine Miller, The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150 (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1993).)
review the building projects completed at the complex between its founding in 1046 and the Canons’ arrival in 1441 and describe the physical appearance of the church, monastery, gardens, and surrounding urban landscape at that time. I do this in order to establish what structures were extant when the Canons began their improvements. I have discovered new archival and physical evidence that supports a re-dating of sections of the architecture, so in this section I present a revised chronology of the Canons’ construction of the architecture for San Giorgio in Braida.

With the early histories of Verona and San Giorgio in Braida outlined and the stage set for the commencement of the artistic projects at San Giorgio in Braida, I then turn to the protagonist of this study: the Venetian Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, whose members occupied San Giorgio in Braida after 1441, and the key individuals associated with its genesis and expansion. I begin Chapter Two by outlining the early history of the Congregation as told by one of its members, Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, in 1642. The Congregation’s birth predated by more than a century the reform begun by Martin Luther when he tacked his ninety-five theses to the door of Castle Church and set the stage for the Protestant Reformation. Studies of the origins and history of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga have alternately credited Antonio Correr, his cousin Gabriele Condulmer, and Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381-1456) with founding the religious organization," and all relied to some extent upon the first and

only chronicle of the Congregation written in 1642 by Tomasini.\footnote{28 Tomasini, Giacomo Filippo. \textit{Annales Canonicorum Secularium Sancti Georgii in Alga}. Udine: typis N. Schiratti, 1642.} I re-evaluate Tomasini’s account by investigating the lives and accomplishments of the men I consider to be the Congregation’s founding fathers, in particular Angelo Correr (c.1335/45-1417) and Lorenzo Giustiniani, who most profoundly and directly influenced Church history.

A complete understanding of the form of the Canons’ architecture and the spiritual environment in which the art at San Giorgio in Braida functioned requires knowledge of the fundamentals of the Congregation’s spirituality, orthodoxy and administration.\footnote{29 Another group of reformers, the Cassinese Congregation of Benedictines, began a similar program of physical renovations to their churches shortly after those begun by the Canons. Mary-Ann Winkelmes has concluded that the reform Benedictines of the Cassinese Congregation consciously adopted architectural and decorative elements associated with earlier monastic reforms. She argued that the monks also looked to the writings of the early Christian church fathers for additional aesthetic inspiration. (Mary-Ann Winkelmes, “Form and Reform: The Cassinese Congregation and Benedictine Reform Architecture” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard, 1995).} Thus I describe them in depth in Section Two of Chapter Two. Another weapon used by the Canons in their fight against corruption was their innovative system of administration, which inspired Ludovico Barbo’s reform of Santa Giustina and the creation of the Cassinese Congregation, the largest reforming order of the sixteenth century. This section also outlines the processes and procedures of this system.

Sections Three and Four of Chapter Two analyze at length Angelo Correr’s and Lorenzo Giustiniani’s biographies because representations of these heroes and their deeds formed the basis of the Congregation’s visual vocabulary. Contrary to other scholars’ theories about who founded the Congregation of Secular Canons, I argue that, in 1402, in answer to the growing religious crisis in the Church, the wealthy Venetian Angelo Correr launched the ambitious and ultimately successful plan for church reform. He did so by encouraging two of his nephews to found the Congregation of Secular Canons of San
Giorgio in Alga upon the dual principles of monastic and clerical reform, setting the stage for the Congregation’s pious character. By that year, Correr had already had a long and illustrious career in the Church that led him to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and, after 1406, to the papacy as Gregory XII. Angelo Correr’s small religious organization blossomed under his guidance, especially after he became Pope, and later, after he called his nephews to Rome to take up posts in the Curia, under the leadership of his hand-picked protégé, Lorenzo Giustiniani.

Angelo Correr’s decision to place his religious organization in Giustiniani’s hands had the greatest impact on the Congregation. This virtuous young man from the Venetian patriciate embodied and ultimately advanced the Pope’s reform ideologies. Although Giustiniani is considered by many to be the founder of the Congregation of Secular Canons, this is highly unlikely since he entered the organization as a simple Secular Canon only a short time before it was sanctioned on 15 March 1404. The nineteen-year-old quickly distinguished himself as a gifted cleric, exemplary ascetic and ardent reformer. His extreme self-deprivation and religious discipline were in stark contrast to the lax protocols prevalent in the monastic communities of Europe, and his rigorous existence gained him the immediate respect of Angelo Correr and of his confrères, who at once fashioned their way of life after his and obeyed the principles of his teachings.

The remainder of this dissertation is dedicated to the art and architecture of San Giorgio in Braida and is divided into four chapters that are at once chronologic and thematic. Taken together they reveal that the Canons’ iconographic program evolved over the course of the renovations at San Giorgio and that each commission expressed the Canons’ most pressing concerns at the time of its production.
The Secular Canons aimed to counter endemic corruption through a return to the Church’s fundamental ideals and teachings. These principles were paramount concerns articulated in their imagery, yet my investigation confirms that another theme coursed throughout the Canons’ commissions—namely, a conscious strengthening of the order’s identity formulated on the island of San Giorgio in Alga in Venice. This shared identity was expressed by iconography present in all the Congregation’s churches. Section One of Chapter Three looks at the origins of the Canons’ identity and its function and distinctive iconography. In Section Two, I turn to the earliest manifestations of this visual identity at San Giorgio in Braida between 1441 and 1528, when the new Bishop of Verona, Gian Matteo Giberti arrived in the city and commenced the reform of his diocese. The major artistic commissions from this period demonstrate that the Canons’ were greatly concerned with establishing themselves in their new hometown. One way they did this was to forge a Veronese identity derivative of the one formulated at their mother church in Venice, to employ local artists and their local aesthetic traditions.

Chapter Four traces the evolution of the Canons’ identity between Bishop Giberti’s arrival in 1528 and the opening of the Council of Trent in 1545. I argue that Bishop Giberti, who was an astute artistic patron and the Counter Reformation’s chief proponent in Verona, caused the original decorative scheme and architectural plan to be modified and some of the art to be adapted to suit the refashioned program. Despite some excellent studies of him, the authority of Bishop Giberti in the renovations at San Giorgio in Braida has never been explored.30 In addition to being sensitive to Giberti’s

requirements, the Canons’ commissions from this period responded to the beatification of Lorenzo Giustiniani in 1524. He was the most revered member of the Congregation of Secular Canons and his portrait became the most pervasive image in the Canons’ artistic repertoire. As the Congregation matured, Giustiniani’s persona in art transmuted from a representation of a humble priest and the Canons’ exemplar to the embodiment of the Congregation and, after his elevation to First Patriarch of Venice in 1451, of Venice herself. New iconography appeared after Giustiniani’s death in 1456 as Venice and the Congregation began their campaigns for his beatification. Among my archival discoveries are descriptions of Giustiniani’s now-destroyed sculpted burial chapel in Venice. I reconstruct the chapel for the first time, and re-examine the function and form of the two most well-known images of Giustiniani created within a decade of his death and before his beatification: the tomb’s full-length effigy sculpted in 1456 and the banner painted by Gentile Bellini in 1465. I elucidate the important interrelationship of these ur-images and the impact they had upon the order’s identity and other images of Giustiniani for the Congregation’s houses. These include Girolamo dai Libri’s 1526 altarpiece in San Giorgio in Braida and another altarpiece, Francesco Torbido’s Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani with Archangel Michael and Saint George of 1533, now in the Museo del Castelvecchio in Verona, but likely intended for San Giorgio in Braida. Giustiniani’s image became

even more multivalent in the years just prior to his canonization in 1690, but that development is beyond the scope of my study.

The altarpieces commissioned between the convocation of the Council of Trent in 1545 and when the Canons were forced to take monastic vows in 1568 are the subjects of Chapter Five. Their subject matter and iconography reflected the larger trends in Tridentine holy imagery throughout Italy, yet the Canons still adhered to their overall iconographic program. Three of the paintings, including Paolo Veronese’s *Martyrdom of Saint George*, were emblematic of the development of the narrative altarpiece and the new sense of drama that became the hallmark of later canvases, especially scenes of martyrdom that enticed the viewer to empathize with the saints’ sacrifice. This chapter also examines Veronese’s under-studied *Miracle of San Barnaba*. The Canons commissioned this painting as a very personal visual response to aggressive post-Tridentine initiatives that ultimately resulted in them losing their secular nature.

The final chapter of this dissertation analyzes the art produced at San Giorgio in Braida during the last 100 years of the Canons’ 227-year tenure there, from 1568 until the Congregation’s suppression and the sale of San Giorgio in Braida in 1668. Section One provides a chronology of the completion of the church and its art while the remaining three sections examine the art thematically. Section Two looks at the two massive canvases produced for the chancel. These paintings, completed in the first decade of the 1600s, were the culmination of the artistic program begun under Giberti, but conformed to the demands of the post-Conciliar Church. The decorations of the four chapels on the right side of the nave are the subject of Section Three. Their imagery was a direct reaction to the Protestants’ refutation of the Real Presence of Christ and in response to
their rejection of the cult of Mary. Accordingly, the saint or saints to whom the chapel
was dedicated are of secondary importance to Christological and Marian imagery in these
altarpieces. The final section of Chapter Six analyses the remaining sculptures created for
the church interior and the history of the large *Baptism of Christ* by Jacopo Tintoretto.
Chapter One: History of Verona and San Giorgio in Braida before its transfer to the Congregation of Secular Canons (pre-1441)

Introduction

San Giorgio in Braida stands out in the long history of Verona as one of the city’s preeminent religious complexes. From its founding in 1046 until its suppression and sale in 1668, it was an institution of change as well as ever-changing itself. Its past is complex and mirrors the political and religious currents that ebbed and flowed in Verona and the Veneto during this half millennium. The interval saw powerful leaders and regimes such as the Holy Roman Emperor, the Della Scala dynasty and the Venetian Republic seek supremacy over Verona. One way in which each regime strove to dominate the city was by controlling its religious institutions, including San Giorgio in Braida. Additionally, throughout its history the complex was occupied by the period’s predominant religious organizations; Benedictine nuns and monks, succeeded by Augustinian priests, who took up residence there before the Venetian Secular Canons formally took control of it in 1441. This chapter outlines the history of Verona and San Giorgio in Braida from their founding until the Secular Canons’ arrival because elements of the Canons’ Veronese identity and the iconography in many of the church’s paintings alluded to Verona’s and the church’s earliest history.

Kings and potentates had been fighting for command of Verona for centuries prior to the church’s founding and the vicissitudes of its many residents. The city was vital to leaders seeking hegemony in Northern Italy because it sits in a tactically and commercially advantageous position, located on a point of land in a deep bend in the Adige River at the foot of the Dolomites and the Brenner Pass and at the intersection of
several significant highways (Figs. 9 & 10).\textsuperscript{1} This strategic site permitted those encamped there to control the traffic passing along the main terrestrial and aquatic passageways between the mountains and the Adriatic Sea. To protect this valuable terrain the residents of Verona over the centuries built or expanded walls and fortifications around the city. Perhaps more than any other factor, Verona’s geographical location determined its history and character; it is what allowed it to flourish for centuries as a commercial and cultural center, and it is what made the city so desired by so many throughout its existence.

Section One: Pre-Venetian History of Verona (pre-1405)

Verona’s Roman origins (49 B.C.E - 400s)

Though no written accounts of the founding dates of the city or nationality of its settlers have come down to us, it has been supposed that Verona’s earliest natives were Germanic tribes who settled in the mountains northeast of the city about 100 B.C.E.\textsuperscript{2} Nevertheless, the Romans were the first to leave significant physical evidence of a permanent colony, and therefore can be considered Verona’s original inhabitants. They initially established Verona as a military outpost that by 49 B.C.E. was a municipum and soon grew to become one of Rome’s more important colonies in northern Italy.\textsuperscript{3}

Evidence of Roman occupation still abounds in Verona. Time has preserved Verona’s antiquities in large part because the city was consistently the residence of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] The Via Gallica from Brescia to Vicenza passed through Verona as did the roads leading to Mantua, Bologna and Bedriaco, and north to Germany via the Brenner Pass.
\end{footnotes}
powerful political figures and thus never subject to the barbaric invasions and pillaging that destroyed Roman structures in other cities. In many ways present-day Verona is a palimpsest of the ancient city, with the Romans’ architectural achievements and urban landscape incorporated into the fabric of the modern city. Verona’s urban landscape, the layout of streets in the city’s nucleus, retains the rigorous directional grid imposed by the Romans during their occupation (Fig. 10). The Romans built walls to secure Verona’s only boundary unprotected by the Adige and pierced the walls with two gates that are still visible today. The Porta Jovia, or Borsari (A in Fig. 10 & Fig. 11), lay along the Roman decumanus (formerly the Via dei Sepolcro and now the Corso Cavour) and today still allows travelers to enter the city from the west. The Porta Leoni (B in Fig. 10 & Fig. 12) admitted travelers from the south along the cardo and its remains have been incorporated into more modern buildings. The Arco dei Gavi (C in Fig. 10 & Fig. 13) was built as a funerary monument in the first century C.E., contemporary with the more famous Arch of Titus in Rome. Like the Porta Borsari, it too straddled the decumanus outside the Roman walls until it was relocated in the early nineteenth century to the small park northeast of the Castelvecchio, where today it stands incongruously parallel to the road. The modern-day commercial and social center of Verona, the Piazza Erbe (Fig. 14), grew upon the

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5 Annamaria Conforti Calcagni, Le mura di Verona: la città e le sue difese dalla fondazione romana all’unità d’Italia (Caselle di Sommacampagna (VR): Cierre Edizioni, 1999), 13-19.
6 Giovanni Caroto and Sebastiano Serlio documented the appearance of the Arco dei Gavi before its destruction by Napoleon’s troops in 1805, which accounts for its damaged state. Giovanni Caroto, Drawing of the Arco dei Gavi, 1540, Verona, Biblioteca Civica, Ms. 978 fol 88r and tav. XXVI dalle Antiquità, 1560 (reproduced in Giovanna Tosi, L’arco dei Gavi, La Fenice: collana di scienze dell’Antichità (Roma: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1983), 226) and Sebastiano Serlio, Il terzo libro di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese, nel qual si figurano, e descrivono le antichità di Roma: e le altre che sono in Italia e fuori d’Italia (Venetia: Per Francesco Marcolino, 1540). Only in the 1920s was the Arco dei Gavi reconstructed in its current, incongruous location. (Tosi (1983): 4-5 and 104-105.)
primary site of Roman commercial and social activities: the Forum (D in Fig. 10). The
great freestanding Arena (E in Fig. 10 & Fig. 15) is the most striking of Verona’s ruins
and the Piazza Brà’s main feature. It is also the largest surviving amphitheater outside of
Rome. Originally built beyond the city walls in the first century C.E., by the third century
C.E. the Romans built new walls to enclose it within the confines of the city. It still hosts
entertainment for the masses as it has for centuries, but now the spectacle takes the form
of seasonal opera performances rather than the Roman’s more grisly competitions. The
amphitheater would be mostly intact if not for the fierce earthquake in 1117 that shook
the whole of Italy and destroyed many works of art and architecture up and down the
peninsula, including the majority of the Arena’s outer ring. What remains today is
referred to as the Ala, or wing, and is one of the city’s most familiar landmarks. The Ala
appears in the background of Felice Brusasorci’s Virgin Assunta and the Three
Archangels (1578/80; Fig. 189). Its presence visually rooted the sacred scene in the local
landscape. As I describe in detail in Section Two of Chapter Three, one of the Canons
strategies for establishing their Veronese identity was to include local landmarks and
landscapes in their art.

The Romans also built as many as four bridges across the Adige River though
only two were within the walls of the city and served as aqueducts to bring water to the
city center, and only one was extant after the tenth century. The Ponte della Pietra (F in

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item[7] Corte (1586): vol. 1, 133. The remaining section of the outer wall is 30 meters high.
\item[8] Gian Paolo Marchini, “Verona Romana e Paleocristiana,” in Ritratto di Verona: Lineamenti di
una Storia Urbanistica, ed. Lionello Puppi, Howard Burns and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Verona:
Banca popolare di Verona, 1978), 40-41. The second larger bridge, the Ponte Postumio, which was
perfectly aligned with the Via Postumio (the Roman decumanus), was located downstream from the Ponte
della Pietra until its destruction before the tenth century. See ibid., 52, n. 275 and Giovanni Lorenzoni,
“Dall’Occupazione Longobardo al Mille,” in Ritratto di Verona: Lineamenti di una Storia Urbanistica, ed.
Lionello Puppi, Howard Burns and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Verona: Banca popolare di Verona,
1978), 148, n. 142.
\end{itemize}
Fig. 10 & Fig. 16) still spans the Adige River as it has for over 2,000 years. It has been heavily restored and is now open only to pedestrian traffic, though it was the primary route between the Roman Forum and the **contado** and the Theater (G in Fig. 10) built into the hill across the river. This bridge is another of the landmarks that the Canons’ artists included in the decorations of San Giorgio in Braida. It can be seen in the background of three paintings in San Giorgio in Braida produced over a 125 years: Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion* (1501; Fig. 81), Paolo Farinati’s *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes* (1605; Fig. 182) and Pasquale Ottino’s *Virgin Assunta and Saints* (1625; Fig. 200). All three of these paintings are on the south side of the church and when the viewer stands in front of the canvas, they are looking in the direction of the Ponte Pietra.

These and other of Verona’s abundant reminders of Roman civilization captured the imaginations of early modern artists and architects. They embraced Verona’s authentic Roman heritage and replicated or adapted the ruins they encountered around the city in their paintings, sculptures and architecture. Once Venice took Verona in 1405 and further consolidated its dominance on the **terraferma** these visual references took on additional significance: they authenticated Venice’s prior spurious claim of having bona fide Roman origins. One Veronese artist, Giovanni Caroto, who worked on several commissions for the Secular Canons, even went so far as to make an archeological survey of the city’s Roman remains (Fig. 17) that were so plentiful he rightly proclaimed his native city to be second only to Rome.10

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9 The Roman Theater and Arena are described by Corte (1586): vol. 1, 22-25. The Ponte Pietra, despite its name, was originally constructed of wood and later replaced by stone taken from the nearby Theater. (ibid., vol. 1, 156.)

10 *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae* was first printed in Verona in 1540. (Catherine King, “Margarita Pellegrini and the Pellegrini chapel at San Bernardino, Verona, 1528-1557,” *Renaissance Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996): 181.)
Verona under the rule of Theodoric (489-c.515), the Lombard Kings (reg. 569-774), and during the Carolingian Renaissance (774-800’s)

After the fall of Rome and Verona’s loss of status as a Roman city, Verona fell under the control of Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths (reg. c.455-526) who defeated Odoacer, the first Germanic barbarian ruler, and took Italy in 489. Theodoric established his capital farther down the peninsula in Ravenna, but Verona was where he preferred to reside, as it was the site of one of his triumphant battles, and it was where he built a great palace at the base of the hill of San Pietro across the Adige (Fig. 18). Additionally, Theodoric rebuilt the Romans’ defensive walls, fortress and theater that had been ruined after several earthquakes and the passage of time, and built \textit{ex novo} baths, aqueducts, and public palaces.\footnote{The palace survives only as an image on coinage from that period. (Edward Gibbon, \textit{The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire} (London: Allason, 1821), 191-192.)}

Not all of Theodoric’s interventions were so benevolent. Following the fall of Rome, Christian disciples established a nascent community in Verona, which was thriving by the fifth century.\footnote{For Theodoric’s building campaigns in Verona, especially the construction of new walls, see Alberto Belvilacqua Lazise, “La Cinta Teodoricana di Verona,” \textit{Madonna Verona} 17 (1911).} Theodoric, a practitioner of the Arian faith, had disdain for the Christians, whose belief in the Trinity and the unity of its parts was at odds with the Arian conception of the nature of God’s divinity and his inability to be incarnate in Christ. Accordingly, Theodoric is thought to have ordered the church of Santo Stefano (Fig. 19), located down the street from San Giorgio in Braida, destroyed and several bishops and prelates killed, though archival and physical evidence suggests the church’s

\footnote{It was during the fifth century that the Christians established a cathedral, the remains of which are still beneath the present-day Duomo, and its Canons founded a \textit{Scriptorium}, which would become the Biblioteca Capitolare, the oldest library in Italy still in use.}
destruction was limited to a small chapel.\textsuperscript{14} Even though legend says that Theodoric gave Verona her name, his legacy of destruction and anti-Christian beliefs are more remembered by Verona’s citizens, as illustrated in a relief on the façade of San Zeno from the twelfth century (Fig. 20). In it demons and carnivorous animals transport Theodoric, who is crowned and astride one of the conspiratorial stags, through the Gates of Hell.\textsuperscript{15}

Verona became a Gothic stronghold and center of the fight against the Byzantines following Theodoric’s death in c.515. It remained so for a half century until Alboin the King of the Lombards came to power and made Verona the seat of his kingdom in 569. Verona became one of the kingdom’s duchies following Alboin’s death at the hands of his wife, Rosamonda; the particularly gruesome legend says she murdered him at a banquet in Verona after he forced her to drink wine from a cup fashioned from her father’s skull.\textsuperscript{16} The Lombard kings moved their seat of power to Pavia before being defeated in 774 by Charlemagne, King of the Franks (reg. c.742-814) and Emperor of the Romans after 800. Verona was captured along with Pavia and thus became an Imperial see, a political affiliation that would persist for the next 300 years and would affect the conditions under which San Giorgio in Braida was founded and its religious population developed.

\textsuperscript{14} Corte (1586): vol. 1, 71-73 states the whole church of Santo Stefano was destroyed while Angelo Pasa, “Posizione e confini, storia geologica e aspetto fisico del territorio veronese,” in Verona e il suo territorio, ed. Vittorio Cavallari and Piero Gazzola (Verona: Istituto per gli studi storici veronesi, 1960), vol. 1, 9, citing an anonymous contemporary account and physical evidence uncovered during excavations, states that only the chapel of S. Teuteria was destroyed.

\textsuperscript{15} Evelyn Kain, “The Marble Reliefs on the Façade of S. Zeno, Verona,” The Art Bulletin 63, no. 3 (1981): fig. 6 and 372. The Theodoric panels were possibly installed in another location and transferred to the façade of San Zeno in the 1150s.

\textsuperscript{16} Corte (1586): vol. 1, 90-95.
Charlemagne settled in Pavia, but his son Pepin (773-810) moved to Verona in 781 after his father created him King of Italy.\textsuperscript{17} As much of Europe flourished during the Carolingian Renaissance so, too, did Verona; poems and songs from this time document its prosperity.\textsuperscript{18} Pepin initiated many ambitious building projects during his reign, including the construction of new walls and towers, public buildings and churches. Three saints’ relics were also acquired by the city during the rule of Charlemagne, those of Zeno, Rustico and Fermo. These three saints appear in art in San Giorgio in Braida and were meant to evoke the Canons connections to Verona, in the first case, and their sister church of Santi Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo in the second and third cases. The church of San Zeno (Fig. 21), dedicated to the fourth-century bishop of Verona and the city’s patron saint, was built under Pepin to house the saint’s remains, translated into the church on 21 May 807, after their transfer from his small tomb along the Via Gallica.\textsuperscript{19} The church remained the destination of pilgrimages for centuries and its site is the location of the present day church.\textsuperscript{20} San Zeno is home to Mantegna’s \textit{San Zeno} altarpiece (Fig. 22), which singlehandedly changed the direction of art in Verona, including some of the Canons’ paintings, after its completion in 1457-60.

Besides San Zeno, other churches were founded in Verona during this period under the auspices of the Veronese Bishop Annone (reg. c.750-c.780). Annone inspired

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., vol. 1, 132.
\textsuperscript{18} An unknown poet composed the \textit{Versus de Verona} or \textit{Ritmo Pipiniano} during this period. Written in medieval Latin it praised the city and its religious institutions, secular monuments and Pepin himself. So too did \textit{De Pippine regis Victoria Avarica}, which was written during the same period. Peter Goodman, \textit{Poetry of the Carolingian renaissance}, 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 29-31.
\textsuperscript{20} The existing Benedictine church was built 1123-1135 on the site of the previous church that was destroyed by the earthquake of 1117. Pepin is said to have been buried in San Zeno after his death in 808.
the spiritual awakening in Verona when he established several churches during his tenure, including Santa Maria Matricolare (the Duomo; Fig. 23) and San Fermo Maggiore. Fermo and his brother Rustico were not Veronese by birth but were martyred there possibly when Verona was under Diocletian’s rule. Yet their bones were relocated to Istria and it was from there that Bishop Annone’s sister, Maria, retrieved them in 765 in hopes of eradicating the plague that was ravaging Verona. The bones had the desired talismanic effect, and the plague released its grasp on the city. The Veronese became extremely devoted to the saints as a result and erected a small chapel in their honor that grew to become the great Franciscan church of San Fermo Maggiore. The need for protection from the plague was also the reason why the Canons commissioned Gian Francesco Caroto’s talismanic Triptych of Saints Sebastian and Roch (Fig. 30), the first altarpiece for the nave of their church, in the first decade of the 1500s.

San Giorgio in Braida is first mentioned (780)

The first reference to San Giorgio in Braida is contemporary with Pepin and Bishop Annone’s residence in Verona. According to Veronese historian Alessandro Canobbio (c.1532-1607), a church and convent dedicated to Saint George and occupied by nuns existed as early as 780 on the spot where San Giorgio in Braida is today. We cannot verify Canobbio’s information because the documents he consulted in 1598 no

21 Pasa (1960): vol. 1, 44.
23 The Canons of San Giorgio in Braida commissioned for their church images of Saints Fermo and Rustico from Bernardino da India in the mid-1500s.
longer exist, nor do any other corroborating archival materials or physical remains of a building from this period.25

**German Imperial rule (951-1073)**

After the Carolingian line died out at the end of the ninth century, a series of foreign invaders fought for control of Verona until Otto I (912-973), the first of the German emperors, ascended the throne as King of Italy in 951.26 With this transfer the Germans gained a firmer hold on Verona and the Brenner Pass, the main land route between Italy and their homeland. This leadership naturally affected the development of Verona’s blossoming spiritual institutions. Even so the reform mentality that penetrated the Church in Verona during this period of imperial rule also influenced religious institutions in cities loyal to the papacy demonstrating that “political alliances are poor indicators of reform.”27 Verona, as an imperial outpost, positioned herself squarely against the Papacy and Rome’s authority in the Investiture Conflict of the eleventh century, which at its very heart was a contest for supreme control of the Church.28 Consequently, Veronese bishops in the eleventh century all came from Germany, were appointed by the Holy Roman Emperor, and, as his representatives had jurisdiction over both political and spiritual affairs.29 Verona’s conflict with the papacy was renewed in the

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fifteenth century when the city became a province of Venice and thus entered into that city’s ongoing dispute with Rome.

The Church in Verona flourished during this period as it had under Carolingian rule. Among the institutions founded during this vibrant period of reform were a Franciscan and Dominican community as well as a Benedictine one dedicated to the warrior saint George. It was to be located on an undeveloped field, or *breida*, along the Adige River just outside the Porta Santo Stefano (H in Fig. 10).

*San Giorgio in Braida as Benedictine convent/monastery (1046-1127)*

The religious complex of San Giorgio in Braida is recorded for the first time in a pair of documents securing the site upon which it would be built and affirming its endowment. It was one of eleven new Benedictine institutions established in Verona during imperial rule between 1000 and 1150, but it had the most propitious beginnings. Peter Cadalus (d. 1072) acquired the plot of land that would contain San Giorgio in Braida from Walther, the Bishop of Verona (1037-55) on 23 April 1046. The monastery’s benefactor was no ordinary citizen but the Veronese Bishop of Parma who became the schismatic anti-Pope Honorius II in 1061. He was born early in the eleventh

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30 Monasteries in Verona during the early medieval period followed the Rule of Saint Benedict exclusively. See Miller (1993): 65-71. Before 1000, three Benedictine houses were for women and fourteen were for men (half being outside the city walls). Of the eleven new institutions between 1000 and 1150, two were for women and nine for men. Ibid., 71, esp. n. 33.

31 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 6792. Transcribed in Pio Cenci, “Documenti inediti su la famiglia e la giovinezza dell’Antipapa Cadalo,” *Archivio storico per le province parmensi* 23 (1923) and republished in Vittorio Cavallari, “Cadalo e gli Erzoni,” *Studi storici veronesi* 15, no. 63 (1965): 133-137, Appendix I, Documenti Cenci, doc. XXIII. Peter Cadalus is also recorded in documents and secondary sources as Cadelo, Cadalo, Cadolao and Cadalous. San Giorgio in Braida would renew its association with the Papacy in the fifteenth century after it was acquired by the Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, the religious organization established by Angelo Correr and his nephew Gabriele Condulmer, both of whom wore the papal tiara as Gregory XII (reg. 1406-15) and Eugene IV (reg. 1431-56) respectively. Coincidently, Angelo Correr as Pope Gregory XII, like Peter Cadalus, was also embroiled in an investiture conflict during his pontificate.
century into a wealthy, landed Veronese family, and began his ecclesiastical career as a young cleric in the Veronese cathedral chapter as did Gabriele Condulmer and Antonio Correr, two of the first Seculars Canons, in 1400. Sometime after 1040 he ascended to the bishopric of Parma, but returned to his hometown to arrange for the building of the new Benedictine institution in 1046.

The monastery derived its name from the wedge-shaped plot of land donated by Cadalus that the 1046 document referred to as the *pratus dominicus*, or master’s field:

…positioned outside and not far from the center of Verona next to the placid river Adige where the place is called the master’s field [*pratus dominicus*]. This arable piece of land with broken walls around it was assessed in the inspection by a just measurement: the distance of one side is eighty *perticas* long; of the other side the length is sixty *perticas* long; one front side of sixty-four *perticas* and the other front side of twenty *perticas* long. The running river Adige borders it on one side; on the other side many people live and a road traverses from one front [and it] runs in common use to the other front…

The suffix *in Braida* likely came from the Old High German *Breit*, meaning “broad

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32 Cavallari (1965): 95. His father, Ignone, was *viceconte* of Verona in 1004 and acquired a large home in Verona in 1005. (ibid., 63.)

33 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 6764.


35 “…que est posita foris et non longe urbium Veronensis iusta fluvio Athexis ubi dictituar prato donico quidem pecia de terra aratoria cum muris diruptis in circuitu se est per mensuram iustam per longitudinem de uno latus perticas oct – 5. aginta de alio latus per longum perticas sexaginta lato de uno capite perticas sexaginta et quatuor de alio capite lato perticas viginti. Coherit ei de uno latus flumen atdexis percurentem de alio latus plures homines habent et via percurentem – 6. da uno capito ingresso, comuno percurrit da alio capite via…” ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 6792 transcribed in its entirety in Cavallari (1965): 133-137: Appendix I, Documenti Cenci, XXIII. (English translation by Katie Lamberto.) A *pertica* is a unit of measure devised by the Romans. One *pertica veronese* equaled approximately 6.75 feet. Therefore the plot of land purchased by Bishop Cadalus measured about 540 x 405 x 432 x 135 feet.
expanse” or “field”, and later became *Breda* in the Lombard dialect.\(^{36}\) This field was located on the northern banks of the Adige River just a short walk to the east along the old Via Claudia Augusta and past the church of Santo Stefano to the old Roman walls and the northern most entrance into the city, the Porta Santo Stefano. Although in close proximity to the city’s cathedral directly across the river (Fig. 24), the complex was counted among the suburban parishes because it was outside the city walls.

The day after Cadalus donated the land acquired from Bishop Walther he provided financing for the construction and sustenance of a new Benedictine monastery dedicated to Saint George.\(^ {37}\) This endowment took the form of appanages of land dispersed mostly to the southeast and northwest of the city in the Veronese and Vicentine *contado*. These lands would sustain the institution well into the future and formed the largest patrimonial holdings of any church in Verona at the time.\(^ {38}\) Cadalus acquired much of the territory southeast of Verona along the Gua River from his father, Ingone, who purchased parcels in Cologna and Lonigo, land in “several small valleys in the Veronese countryside,” and some houses in Verona in 1018.\(^ {39}\) Ingone also purchased a castle and its dependencies in Sabbione, named for the sandy soil that remained after the

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\(^{36}\) Brugnoli (1954): 6. In Veronese dialect, *Braida* can be further shortened to *Brà*. Therefore, Piazza Brà surrounding the Arena is so called because it was originally the field outside old Roman walls and the Porta Borsari.


\(^{39}\) “…quamque et de foris in comitatu ueronensi in ualle pretoriensi in uico lugano et in ualle preuinianensi in uico malini seu…” (The complete document is reproduced in Cavallari (1965): 113-116, Appendix I, doc. X.) Cenci (1923): 94-95 erroneously stated that Ignone, who was listed in a January 992 document (reproduced in Cavallari (1965): 102-103, Appendix I, doc. II) as the buyer of the Castello in Sabbione, was Cadalus’ father. The Ignone in this document was son of the brother of Cadalus’ great-grandfather. The Castello in Sabbione was acquired by Cadalus’ father, Ignone, but only in 1018. Ibid., 61-63, see 76 for family tree.
Adige changed course in the sixth century. Upon his death these holdings passed to his son, who endowed San Giorgio in Braida with them. The endowment also comprised land that Cadalus himself bought in Bonavigo in 1041 and several fields near Lonigo in the locality of Paderno in 1045. Cadalus was not required to give up his income-producing holdings, as Maureen Miller has pointed out, but he seems to have done so of his own free will, as a traditional ecclesiastic who sought to further traditional institutions. Members of the Congregation of Secular Canons who ascended to higher ranks within the Church continued this practice. Chief among them was Gabriele Condulmer who as Pope Eugene IV (reg. 1431-1447) assured numerous religious complexes were taken care of by allotting them to the various religious orders that were flourishing during his pontificate.

Cadalus went further and encouraged others to provide for the welfare of San Giorgio in Braida. Cadalus’ cousins, Aldo, Bonizo and Milo, renounced their rights to land donated to the monastery, and Milo alone gave the Castello of Orte, its chapel and vast adjoining lands to the monastery in 1061, possibly as restitution for an earlier land dispute. Even the Bishop of Verona was magnanimous; Teutbaldo (1055-1063?)

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40 11 April 1041: Cavallari (1965): 65-66 referring to Appendix I, Documenti Cenci, doc. XVIII. 24 May 1045: ibid., 67 referring to Appendix I, Documenti Cenci, doc. XXII. When the suppressed monastery’s land holdings were accounted for in 1668, the agents in charge of the process created a large map on parchment that I uncovered in the Vatican Archives (ASVat, Fondo Veneto, I, doc. 12885r). It documents the Canons’ property in this region that encompasses the roughly five by three mile area bounded by Bonavigo and Legato to the north and south, and by the road south from Santo Stefano and the Adige to the east and west. The map is schematic rather than naturalistic; the typographic contours of the terrain are labeled with demarcations such as valley, bog, swale, rather than represented visually.

41 Miller (1993): 75-76.


donated a mill adjacent to San Giorgio in the first decade of the monastery’s existence.\textsuperscript{44}

More than three hundred years later these vast agricultural holdings produced the tremendous wealth that enabled the Venetian Secular Canons to undertake the ambitious (and expensive) renovation of their church and monastery in the mid-1400s.\textsuperscript{45} (The Canons acknowledged their indebtedness to their eleventh-century donor and his initial bequest by holding a mass in Cadalus’ honor every 12 February.\textsuperscript{46})

Cadalus’ generous bequest to San Giorgio in Braida was not without strings attached. He made it contingent upon several conditions: the monks would be allowed to elect their prior from within their own ranks; the bishop would have no jurisdiction over the monastery, even though it was under his protection; and the lands would remain under the control of the monastery and could not be leased out or given away through benefices.\textsuperscript{47} These conditions were honored initially but by the early 1100s some of the less trustworthy administrators of the monastery began selling off portions of the patrimony for their personal enrichment. The restitution of some of the property was accomplished in the years just before the monastery’s reform in 1127.\textsuperscript{48} The endowed territories left the possession of San Giorgio in Braida for good in 1669 when they, along with the church and bell tower, and the complex’s movable goods, were sold to various religious institutions in Verona and Venice after Pope Clemente IX suppressed the entire

\textsuperscript{44} ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 6805 cited in Brotherton (1992): 384. This is the only known episcopal donation and involvement in the affairs of San Giorgio in Braida in its nascent period. Though later in 1164, Bishop Ognibene (1157-1185) rented half a mill at Plazola to the Augustinian canons.

\textsuperscript{45} Over 6,000 documents exist in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASVat) that cover every aspect of the management of the agricultural holdings, including the renters of each parcel, their monthly rents and legal actions taken to gain control.

\textsuperscript{46} ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1, fol. 253v: “Pro RR. DD. Cataldo Parmenti Epo. Fundatorium huis E.vtia S. Giorgii.”

\textsuperscript{47} Miller (1993): 74.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 81, esp. n. 95 and 96 referencing inventories of the monastery’s patrimony made after 1121: ASVat, Fondo Veneto, docs. 6874 and 6895. Often the restitution required exchanges as well as purchase of land.
Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga to pay for his war against the Turks.49

San Giorgio in Braida’s abundant agricultural possessions in the Veronese contado were critical to the institution’s long-term financial success and one of the reasons the religious complex was so desired by Verona’s successive ruling regimes. But paradoxically they almost caused the institution’s early demise. As promising as its beginnings were, the new monastery failed to attract immediately the large numbers of neophytes that other Benedictine houses in Verona succeeded in enticing. These difficulties in recruiting new members should be attributed to “papal-imperial politics” rather than to a failure of Benedictine monasticism in general since potential converts lacked confidence in San Giorgio’s longevity on account of its association with its controversial founder, Peter Cadalus, who was an imperialist.50 Emperor Enrico III confirmed Cadalus’ donation for the foundation of San Giorgio in Braida and offered his protection to the institution before 1061.51 That year, Cadalus became anti-Pope Honorius II, in opposition to the recently elected Pope Alexander II (1061-1073). The majority of the land Cadalus used to endow San Giorgio abutted territory owned by Countess Beatrix Canossa.52 The Countess was allied with Pope Alexander II in Rome so many feared she would usurp the land given to the monastery by Cadalus, one of her great rivals, thereby preventing San Giorgio in Braida from sustaining itself. When a permanent religious community finally took up residence at the new Benedictine institution in 1075, one of

49 ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1, fol. 252r.
51 Cenci (1923): vol. XXIII, n.s..
52 A map of land owned by Countess Canossa labeled “Karte der Canusinischen Besitztümer” is enclosed in Thomas Groß, Lothar III. und die Mathildischen Güter. (Europäische Hochschulschriften, 31419.) (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990).
the first acts of its new leader was to request further imperial protection for the institution’s properties in order to assuage the congregation’s fears and to ensure the incomes from the land. 53 There was one unusual aspect of the request: it was made not by an abbot, the individual one would expect at the helm of a monastery, but by an abbess by the name of Richarda.54

Peter Cadalus had died in 1072 (the year before the end of imperial control of Verona), and contrary to his original endowment of a male religious institution, the inaugural community may have been all female as evidenced by the fact that women, first Abbess Richarda (1075-c.1109) followed by Abbess Armengarda (1109-c.1111), headed the institution for the first thirty-six years of its existence. If Benedictine monks first occupied San Giorgio as Cadalus intended, we do not know precisely at what point or why nuns replaced them. It is likely that by 1113 when Priest Martino took control of the complex, monks resided at San Giorgio in Braida, having displaced the female residents of the church.55 But the dates of these transfers are speculative. The only documentary evidence proving that nuns did indeed reside at San Giorgio in Braida is the 1127 decree that gave San Giorgio in Braida to a group of Augustinian canons; it stated that the complex “had been a monastery of women and afterwards of monks.”56

53 Miller (1993): 76.
54 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 6818 as cited in ibid., 80.
55 From 1113 until the monastery’s suppression in 1127, it was lead by men: Priest Martino (1113) and Archpriest Pelegrino (1119-1127). Pelegrino served as the first prepositus or leader of the Augustinian canonry from 1127 until c. 1142. (Brotherton (1992): 22 and 425: Appendix II.)
56 Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 484. Miller (1993): 82 provided the partial English translation of ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 6886. The decree of Bishop Bernardo proclaiming the reform of San Giorgio in Braida in 1127, in which it is stated that the monastery was first inhabited by nuns, is partially transcribed in Ferdinando Ughelli, Italia sacra (Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1717), vol. V, 773. The convent’s close association with the neighboring, secular scuola many have hastened the nuns’ expulsion. Early documents often refer to San Giorgio as a plebs, or baptismal church for the surrounding village or territory (pieve in Italian) that was associated with a neighboring religious organization, a scuola sacredotorum or corporation of secular clerics. (Andrea Castagnetti, La Valpolicella dall’Alto Medioevo all’età comunale
At some point after Priest Martino’s ascension in 1113 and the monks’ arrival the stability of the monastery began to falter. This weakness predated the general decline of Benedictine monasticism that began in the early thirteenth century, and political instability seems to have contributed to this change since it roughly coincided with the end of Imperial rule in Verona. The documents suggest the monks became worldlier, mismanaged their assets and fell into moral and spiritual decline. The monastery’s transfer in commendam for five years (1122-1127) to Azo Crescenzi, who involved the monastic community in his personal family feuds, undoubtedly contributed to the crisis, as did the priests’ difficulties with vassals and their management of the land. But, as I shall describe below, the problem was remedied and stability was restored in 1127 when the corrupt monks were expelled and a new congregation occupied San Giorgio in Braida. Thus the Benedictine monastery became an Augustinian canonry.

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*End of Investiture Conflict (1122) and the beginning of Communal Rule*

The imperial-papal conflict that dominated the late eleventh century began to wane at the turn of the century. Localized in Verona, loyalty to the Emperor was already flagging in the early 1000s and no Imperial representative exercised power in the city

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(Verona: Centro di Documentazione per la Storia della Valpolicella, 1984), 127 and Miller (1993): 26.) In a charter dated 25 October 1096 the *plebs* of San Giorgio is designated as a under the care of Abbess Richarda and affiliated with a *scuola*, the head of which was a cleric by the name of Ingezo. (ibid., 80-81 referring to ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 6843 which is published in Castagnetti (1984): 193, doc. 138.) Brotherton (1992): 31 stated there is a sole reference to the *scola sacerdoctorum* at San Giorgio in Braida, but failed to cite the document. Brotherton also stated that San Giorgio was not a parish or baptismal church, which contradicts Miller and Castagnetti and is refuted in the documents.

60 Many Benedictine houses (both male and female convents) were taken over by Augustinian priors in the twelfth century. See Katherine Walsh, “The Observant Congregations of the Augustinian Friars in Italy, c. 1385-c. 1465” (Ph.D. diss., Oxford, 1972 (i.e. 1973)), 235-263.
after 1073,\textsuperscript{61} though pro-papal (Guelph) and pro-imperial (Ghibelline) factions, and members of the capitanei (feudal lords), milites (professional soldiers) and negotiatores (merchants) classes continued to battle one another for control of Verona throughout the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{62} Thus the struggle to establish communal rule was protracted, but Verona’s government gradually became more autonomous. The city’s growing merchant class slowly usurped the power of the landed aristocracy who had allied themselves with the Emperor and until then had held sway in the political arena. The first extant sign of the merchants’ dominance in Verona is a commercial treaty signed with the Venetians in 1107.\textsuperscript{63} It verifies that by that year Verona was beginning to operate, at least in the commercial sphere, as an independent entity, though the treaty alone does not prove that the commune and its government were fully functional.

The 1122 Concordat of Worms put an end to the Investiture Conflict and papal-imperial discord. It vested the Pope with the power to appoint men to sacred offices and the Emperor with the power to approve their elections in his territories. It also hastened the stabilization of communal rule in Verona,\textsuperscript{64} though the definitive structure of the

\textsuperscript{61} Allen (1910): 16.


\textsuperscript{64} Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, “Popes, Kings, and Endogenous Institutions: The Concordat of Worms and the Origins of Sovereignty,” International Studies Review 2, no. 2 (2000, Summer): 100-101. The Bishop had been the Emperor’s representative in Verona under imperial rule and therefore both the spiritual and political leader of the city. (Peter Cadalus was keenly aware of the extent of the Bishop’s
government was slow to emerge. Documents dating from as early as the 1150s record the names of councilors and rectors who seem to have regulated the city’s affairs, but the first head of state, or Podestà, of Verona was not named until 1169. The ad hoc citizens councils that were formed to aid the Podestà coalesced into the Concio, consisting of all male citizens of age who ruled on public affairs of a general nature, and the Consiglio Maggiore, a smaller group to which the Concio delegated matters that were more intricate and time-consuming. Once established, the structure of the communal government remained in place until 1226 when Ezzelino da Romano, who legitimately came to power as Podestà of Verona, took absolute control of Verona and many of its neighbors.

Imperial hegemony did briefly reassert itself after Frederick II Barbarossa (reg. 1152-90) became Holy Roman Emperor and tried to reinvigorate Imperial power in northern Italy. The Veronese were at first welcoming of Frederick’s renewed interest, perhaps because they recalled their previous valuable ties to the Emperor. But by 1167 the citizens had rethought their decision and aligned themselves with many of their northern Italian neighbors, including Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, Venice, and Padua, to form the Lombard League. The League’s primary goal was to stave off further Imperial aggressions. It succeeded, and in 1176 Frederick led his men away in defeat. Verona once again was the focus of Imperial interest after the Peace of Constance (signed on 25 June 1183). This time Frederick’s intentions were peaceable: he recognized the autonomy of control. That is why under the terms of the institution’s founding, he explicitly forbade the Bishop from interfering in the affairs of San Giorgio in Braida. After 1122 the citizens of Verona no longer required him to mediate their legal matters since the city’s new temporal authority began performing that task, and the role of the bishop was re-evaluated. (Brotherton (1992): 342-343.)

66 A man named Boniface first held this post. Carlo Cipolla, Compendio della storia politica di Verona (Verona: Edizioni Valdonega, 1899; reprint, La storia politica di Verona (1954)), 96.
the commune, and Verona and the other cities of the Lombard League secured their rights to build fortifications and to elect their own magistrates and Council, among other provisions, with little to no interference from the Emperor. These shifting political fortunes brought change to the city’s economy and demography and the new political environment spawned monasteries in Verona.

_San Giorgio in Braida as Augustinian canonry (1127-1281)_

The first Bishop of Verona to be elected after the Concordat of Worms in 1122 was a member of the Brescian nobility named Bernardo (reg. 1122-1135). Soon after his elevation to the bishopric he devoted himself to rebuilding many of the churches that were destroyed in the devastating earthquake of 1117 and to reforming the clergy of the city. Bishop Bernardo’s enthusiasm for reform was fostered by the Church’s recent victory over imperial incursions as laid out in the Concordat, and by the spirit of civic pride that swept across Verona during the commune’s emergence. Contrary to Peter Cadalus’ wishes that the Bishop of Verona not interfere with the governance of the church he founded, Bishop Bernardo usurped administrative power of San Giorgio in Braida in 1127.68 His reform meant re-founding the monastery as a canonry. He suppressed and evicted the monks on spiritual and moral grounds, claiming that “[San Giorgio in Braida] was a brothel of Venus, a temple of the devil more than of God.” In their place, he inserted a congregation of regular canons “who by the grace of God lead

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68 The stability and piety of Verona’s Benedictine religious houses was, for the most part, intact throughout the periods scholars call the “crisis of Benedictine monasticism” (1050-1150). San Giorgio in Braida was one of only two Benedictine monasteries to be reformed by Veronese bishops around 1000, the other being the abbey of Maguzzano, which was reformed by Bishop Ratherius in 966. (Miller (1993): 70.) The decrees of Bishop Bernardo, including the one proclaiming the 1127 reform of San Giorgio in Braida, are printed in Ughelli (1717): vol. V, 773. The 1127 interaction with San Giorgio in Braida was not Bishop Bernardo’s first. Already in 1123 he had granted them tithes to some episcopal land. (Guglielmo Ederle, “Dizionario cronologico bio-bibliografico dei Vescovi di Verona: cenni sulla chiesa verone,” (Verona: Edizioni di “Vita Veronese”, 1965), 39-40.)
the celibate life of the canons and observe the canonical rule [of Saint Augustine].”69 A priest by the name of Pellegrino was appointed Prior of San Giorgio in Braida,70 and Pope Innocent II, like his successors Lucio II and Urban III, placed the church under his protection and confirmed Bishop Bernardo’s reform.71

Sue Brotherton has carefully studied the activities of the Augustinian canonry of San Giorgio in Braida during its nascent period. She has demonstrated that the canonry was aided by the powerful protection of, at various times, the Emperor, the local bishop and the Pope, and as a result prospered financially and spiritually.72 The inhabitants of San Giorgio in Braida were not cloistered and interacted regularly with the locals in the neighborhood, who were mostly craftsmen, such as cloth, leather and metalworkers and butchers, whose professions required them to set up shop away from the town’s center and close to water. Grateful citizens filled the coffers of the canonry with abundant donations, and the incomes from the canons’ land also increased their wealth.73 The canons were able to manage their extensive holdings by dealing regularly with their agents and communities farther afield in the Valpolicella and the Vicentino as the Secular Canons did after 1441.

As proof of the Augustinian canons’ piety and rigor, by 1186 they had adopted the Constitutiones portuenses.74 The constitution outlined the expectations of the canons’ vocation, which included ministering to the poor, dedicating themselves to spiritual

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70 Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 484.
learning through reading and caring for the sick. The canonry of San Giorgio in Braida tended to the spiritual well-being of the population within the sanctuary of their church and to their physical health at the small hospital they maintained next door, which was intended for ailing locals as opposed to travelers or pilgrims, unlike many other hospitals associated with Italian canonries.75 This hospital was a part of the physical structure of the complex and not a separate building. It shared a portico with the church, and under this loggia many of the canonry’s charters were drafted.

San Giorgio was also associated with the Hospital of the Paupers of Christ, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to San Barnaba, a healing saint. The two institutions were physically close: the hospital is described as in the “burg of San Giorgio in Braida” and so in the same parish.76 And San Giorgio held several of the hospital’s documents for safekeeping, which demonstrates another sort of connection between them. But how and to what degree they were linked in the eleventh century is uncertain. The bond was significant and lasted long enough that more than 300 years later, on 20 December 1446, Pope Eugene IV gave this hospital to the Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Braida.77 They honored San Barnaba by adorning an altar in their church with an altarpiece by Paolo Veronese dedicated to the healing saint (Fig. 172).

75 Ibid., 33.
76 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 7454, 7463 as cited in ibid., 279.
Verona under Ezzelino da Romano (1226-59), the Della Scala regime (1277-c.1388) and Visconti Rule (1388-1405)

Verona’s communal government and the principles that characterized it—self-rule, impartial governance and political stability—were threatened in the early thirteenth century by the mounting restlessness of Verona’s own citizens. Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* romanticized the factional fighting that broke out during this period when rival families, above all the Montecchi and San Boniface, battled for control of the city and its administrative offices. During this chaos, in 1207, a nobleman from Treviso named Ezzelino III da Romano (1194-1259) first inserted himself into Veronese history by intervening on behalf of his Veronese allies in their feud against the San Boniface clan. Da Romano contrived to further insinuate himself into the city’s political scene until he legitimately came to power as Podestà of Verona in 1226. In short order, bolstered by a new political alliance with, and material support from, Emperor Frederick II, Da Romano parlayed this office into a despotism.78 He was an infamous and cruel tyrant who was not content with just Verona but set his sights on Padua as well. After he conquered it in 1237 he moved his seat of power to that city without diminishing his potency as absolute ruler of Verona.79 Following his loss of Padua in 1256, he returned to Verona and remained there until his death three years later when rule of Verona passed to one of his deputies, Mastino I Della Scala.

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78 Ezzelino III da Romano was first aligned with the Monticoli and the second Lombard League against Frederic II. In 1232, he switched political alliances and sided with the Emperor. This was an extremely beneficial move on his part as it gave da Romano absolute control of Verona and many of its neighbors. (Castagnetti (1988): 6.)

The Della Scala, also known as the Scaligeri, had been a family of lackluster Veronese middle-class citizens since the eleventh century. Members had held offices in the government but it was only after Mastino I, said to have been a maker of ladders, or scale, and hence the family name, was selected by Da Romano to take the office of Podestà in 1259 that the family truly began their ascent to power. The familial dynasty transformed the signori of Verona into its own despotism. Upon Mastino I’s death, the Anziani, councilors and the nobles unanimously elected Mastino’s brother, Alberto I, Captain General for Life and lord of Verona in 1277. After Alberto’s death, there was no opposition to this assumption and Alberto’s son Bartolomeo was quietly elected Podestà. Bartolomeo was in power for less than three years when he died in 1304. His rule was short, but illustrious; his court attracted men of the arts and letters including the exiled Dante. When Bartolomeo died his brother Albonio was elected Captain General and Podestà in 1304.

Albonio ruled Verona from 1304 until 1311. As his namesake had done earlier, under his rule the della Scala received the title of Imperial Vicar from Emperor Henry II, their most impressive title to this point. The Veronese remained very loyal to the Empire, and therefore Ghibelline, throughout the fourteenth century. Both Albonio and his brother Can Grande entered the Imperial battle against Brescia in the early 1300s. Albonio was struck ill during the conflict and died in 1311. The twenty-year-old Can Grande then became Lord of Verona. His rule lasted eighteen years, until 1387, and was a time of

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great financial and cultural prosperity. It was Can Grande who built the crenellated Castelvecchio and adjoining Ponte Scaligero, probably between 1354 and 1375 (Fig. 25). The Della Scala ruled Verona until 1387 when Antonio abandoned the city to the control of Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, thus ending the 130 years of signorial domination of Verona. Soon after taking Verona in 1388, Gian Galeazzo also conquered Padua. During his almost two-decade-long rule of Verona, he constructed several fortifications, including a large citadel near the Porta Nuova and he rebuilt the Castel San Pietro on the hill overlooking the city. In the early 1400s Gian Galeazzo set his sights on Florence and was ready to take the city when he died suddenly in 1402.

San Giorgio in Braida as Augustinian canonry under Ezzelino da Romano (1226-59), and Della Scala (1281-c.1388), Visconti (1388-1402)

Throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the Church’s top positions provided pious men the bully pulpits they needed to disseminate their religious orthodoxies. Indeed, men such as Bernardo, the Bishop of Verona, and Prior Pellegrino at the Augustinian canonry of San Giorgio in Braida, who occupied some of Verona’s top ecclesiastical offices in the years immediately following the end of imperial rule, implemented their reform plans with great success from their positions of power. The financial rewards and the guaranteed political influence associated with these appointments proved highly seductive, however, and over time less virtuous men began to fill the Church’s ranks. The appointments were often hotly contested and altercations were known to occur after the occupant’s death as interested parties vied for the vacant

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82 Brugnoli (1985): 67 characterized Verona’s many religious institutions as “one of the most important economic nerve centers of the city” on account of their abundant land holdings and subsequent wealth.
post and its benefits; at San Giorgio in Braida, specifically, one such incident occurred in 1266 between Fra Deoteguarda’s faction and that of Fra Alberto following the death of Prior Beneamato.83

With the election of Mastino I della Scala as Podestà of Verona in 1259 and the installation of Giuseppe della Scala into the priorate of San Giorgio in Braida on 4 January 1284, the century of Scaliger succession began. Members of the family exercised exclusive control of Verona’s ecclesiastical institutions for the majority of the fourteenth century, and extracted the rich incomes from San Giorgio in Braida’s extensive land holdings for their personal enrichment.84 Not surprisingly, they did nothing to improve the spiritual and physical conditions of the institution’s flock and church.

The two ecclesiastics appointed by Gian Galeazzo Visconti were equally greedy and lax in their administration of their designated areas of influence. In 1388, the Parmense friend of Visconti Jacopo Rossi was appointed Bishop of Verona.85 He retained this position for the entire eighteen-year reign of Visconti (reg. 1388-1406).86 Also in 1388, Cardinal Filippo D’Alençon, the Patriarch of Aquileia, was made abbot of San Giorgio in Braida, making him the second to hold the church in commendam.87 Both these men were frequently absent from Verona on account of their involvement in Visconti affairs outside the city and because its citizens were not welcoming representatives of the Visconti regime.

83 Ibid., 68-69 and Biscaro (1934-35): 8.
84 San Giorgio in Braida was controlled uninterrupted by consecutive members of the Della Scala family from 1281 to 1388. Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 484-485 provides a partial, often erroneous list of the Della Scala priors of San Giorgio in Braida. See Brugnoli (1985): 70-77 for a complete record with exact dates and documentation.
86 See Del Torre (1992-3): 7-8 for troubles related to Rossi after the Venetians arrived in Verona.
87 Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 484.
Section Two: Establishment of Venetian Rule until Canons receive San Giorgio in Braida (1405-1441)

When Gian Galeazzo Visconti died in 1402, he left his Milanese territories, and the strategically important Verona, ripe for the taking. Francesco II Novello da Carrara, the signore of Padua, tried to overtake the Milanese possessions with the aid of the Florentines, but in 1404 Venice intervened.\textsuperscript{88} She was then in the midst of acquiring her most valuable terrestrial possessions and after a series of events that forced Verona to decide its allegiances, Verona acquiesced to Venetian rule in 1405.\textsuperscript{89} The Commissario of Venice entered Verona on 24 June 1405.\textsuperscript{90} The following month, on 12 July, at a formal ceremony in Piazza San Marco the Veronese ambassadors definitively declared their obedience to Venice and to Doge Michele Steno.\textsuperscript{91} Among the Doge’s first acts was to order those he considered “compromised” because of their friendships or political affiliations to be removed from Verona’s civic and ecclesiastical positions.\textsuperscript{92} The Venetians then suppressed Verona’s Consiglio Maggiore and entrusted the new


\textsuperscript{89} In three years Venice annexed Vicenza, Asiago, Feltre and Belluno (1404), Verona and Padua (1405), and Rovigo (1406). Venice later took Friuli and Carnia (1420), Brescia (1426), Bergamo (1428), and Crema (1449), and the Congregation expanded to Brescia soon after its acquisition. (Davidson (2000): 198.) For further elaboration of the conditions under which Verona was acquired, along with Vicenza, from the Visconti, see John E. Law, “The Commune of Verona under Venetian Rule” (Ph.D. diss., Oxford, 1974); Gaetano Cozzi and Michael Knapton, Storia della Repubblica di Venezia. Dalla Guerra di Chioggia alla Riconquista della Terrafirma (Torino1986); Gino Benzoni, ed. Storia di Venezia: dalle Origini alla Caduta della Serenissima (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992-1998) and John E. Law, “The Beginnings of Venetian Rule in Verona,” in Venice and the Veneto in the Early Renaissance (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000l), section XI, 1-16.


\textsuperscript{92} Brugnoli (1968-69): 177.
government of Verona to a podestà and capitano elected by the Maggior Consiglio of Venice.93

Verona remained very suspicious of its new overlords and the transition to vassal state was not an easy one.94 Even though the transfer of governance meant that the Veronese were therefore part of the sovereign state of Venice, their city was still able to levy its own taxes on travelers and merchants entering its gates and retain all of the funds. But among the hindrances was the fact that the Veronese were not allowed to take part in its government, only to petition its councils.95 Furthermore, the Venetians eliminated many of the Veronese nobles’ privileges, nullified many trade contracts and imposed fines upon a number of business transactions. The population’s general uneasiness with these changes to the financial, mercantile and governmental status quo allowed conspiracy theories to hatch and circulate, spies to infiltrate the city and sympathizers of the former signori—the Della Scala—to attempt to return the family to power.96 Dissenting factions even went so far as to try to incite a revolt in 1412, though the newly-appointed Venetian nobles successfully suppressed these efforts.97

93 Zalin, ed. (2002): 153 esp. n. 157. The first Venetian nobles to be installed into these offices within the Veronese government were Gabriele Emo (capitano and most experienced in Veronese affairs), Bernardo Loredan (provveditore) and Nicolò Venier (podestà).


In addition to ordering the removal of men with dubious loyalties from Verona’s government, the Doge insisted changes be made to the ecclesiastical hierarchies. The Doge collaborated with the Venetian Pope Gregory XII (Angelo Correr) and Senate in inserting Venetians into Verona’s benefices, though who received these offices was often dictated by political rather than virtuous motives. Such was the case of the reappointment of the city’s the most powerful ecclesiastical office, the Bishopric. For eighteen years (1388-1406) Visconti consigliere and loyalist Jacopo de Rossi had served as Bishop of Verona before the Venetians ordered him to step down in 1406. They replaced him with Angelo Barbarigo, the man who two years earlier had promulgated the bull officially establishing the Congregation of Secular Canons on the island of San Giorgio in Alga. Barbarigo was appointed because he was “a citizen of Venice with secure loyalties, and [because he] could facilitate more secure and stable ties with the clergy and the people of Verona…,” but more importantly because he was the Pope Gregory XII’s nephew. Other changes were then made to the leadership of the city’s largest churches, including the richest of the set, San Giorgio in Braida where another of the Pope’s nephews Gabriele Condulmer took control.

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100 A. Gualdo, “Angelo Barbarigo,” in DBI (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1964): “…non tanto perché il primo fosse divenuto sospetto al Senato veneziano, quanto perché il B., cittadino di Venezia e personalità di rilievo e di sicura fedeltà, poteva contribuire a rendere più sicuri e stabili i legami col clero e col popolo di Verona, che nel 1405 aveva compiuto atto di dedizione alla Repubblica.”
First association of Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga with San Giorgio in Braida (1409)

On 1 May 1409, Pope Gregory XII gave his nephew Gabriele Condulmer, Cardinal of San Clemente in Bologna, the commendam of the church and Augustinian canonry of San Giorgio in Braida. At the same time the Pope put his secretary, Secular Canon Blasio Caccini, in charge of the administration of the barely functioning Augustinian canonry as its Prior. Four Augustinian canons and two secular priests comprised San Giorgio in Braida’s pious population until the Secular Canons began officiating there around 1419. That year the Canons formally established a Veronese seat just up the hill from San Giorgio in Braida at Sant’Angiolo in Monte (also known as San Michele in Monte or Oratorio di San Gabriele). The reason the Canons were able to take up residence there was because former Secular Canon Antonio Correr gave the church to them. He held the commendatory rights to the church since receiving them in 1418 from Pope Martin V. Martin V’s donation was to commemorate Antonio’s uncle and Martin V’s predecessor, Pope Gregory XII, who had died on 18 October 1417.

The Congregation of Secular Canons began to consolidate their control of San Giorgio in Braida following Prior Caccini’s death in 1426. Cardinal Condulmer, as

101 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12244. Franco Segala, Monasteriorum memoria: abbazie, monasteri e priorati di osservanza benedettina nella città e diocesi di Verona, secc. VII - XXI, vol. 30 (Verona: Archivio Storico Curia Diocesana, 2004), 179-182. Cracco (1959): 79 stated that Gabriele Condulmer obtained the commendam of San Giorgio in Braida in Verona in the second half of 1407, but this dating is incorrect. The correct date is 1409. At the end of this document it says it was executed in the third year of Gregory XII’s pontificate that began in 1406. Also, the document called Gabriele Condulmer the Cardinal of San Clement (in Bologna), an office he held from 9 May 1408 onward.


commendatory prior, had jurisdiction and brought his friend Lorenzo Giustiniani to the complex to be its procurator, or chief financial official. Condulmer retained possession of San Giorgio in Braida until he was elevated to the papal throne as Pope Eugene IV in 1431, when the church passed to his nephew, Francesco Condulmer. Francesco was forced to leave after being named Bishop of Verona in 1438 (he remained in the post until 1453), so Matteo Contarini was chosen to replace him.

With a papal bull dated 11 March 1441, Pope Eugene IV granted in perpetuity to his former brethren full administrative and spiritual control of the convent, church and its accompanying buildings, lands and vineyards. This gave the Canons the right to officiate at San Giorgio in Braida, though they had been doing so for many years while living just up the hill at Sant’Angiolo in Monte. Five years later, on 20 December 1446, the Pope joined San Giorgio in Braida with the hospital of San Barnaba.

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105 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12266.
106 Matteo Contarini was a member of the Congregation with considerable experience as a Rector. He had served in this capacity at Sant’Angiolo in Monte in 1425 (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 6428), at San Giacomo in Monselice in 1427 (Antonio Niero, “B. Maffeo Contarini,” in Santi e beati veneziani, ed. G. Musolino, Antonio Niero, and Silvio Tramontin (Venezia: Biblioteca agiografica veneziana, 1963), 220) and at San Giorgio in Alga in 1428 (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1027), 1433 (ibid.) and 1437 (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1046 and 1047). Contarini became Rector of San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia in 1456. This was the last administrative post he held within the Congregation. The following year he was elected the second Patriarch of Venice after the first Patriarch, Lorenzo Giustiniani, died in 1456.
107 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12244. Segala (2004): 179-182 and Cenci (1924): 299. The Canons officially received the church from Pope Eugene VI on 1 June 1441. San Giorgio in Braida was one of several churches in Verona given to the major reforming movements by Secular Canon Pope Eugene IV and one of many that was revitalized in the mid-fifteenth century. The Pope gave the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria in Organo, which had been held in commendam by Antonio Correr, to the Olivetans in 1444, and he awarded SS. Nazaro e Celso to the Congregation of Santa Giustina in Padua in 1443. Veronese citizens would have encountered active building sites in every corner of their city since in addition to these three churches, San Bernardino (after 1451) and the Duomo (after 1444) were also under construction or being renovated. (Pierpaolo Brugnoli, “Architettura sacra a Verona dal secolo XV al Secolo XVIII,” in Chiese e monasteri a Verona, ed. Giorgio Borelli (Verona: Banca Popolare di Verona, 1980), 387-389 and Pierpaolo Brugnoli, Le Pietre di Verona: La città romana, scaligera e veneziana (Verona: Cierre Edizioni, 1997), 84.)
There is no indication that any improvements had been made to the Veronese complex since the 1300s when a series of derelict priors from the Della Scala family and the one appointed by the Visconti controlled the complex. These men had siphoned for personal gain the incomes from the church’s land holdings, which had amounted to 1,200 florins per year. Therefore, by 1441 San Giorgio in Braida had “almost entirely collapsed” and “did not provide the least ornament to the very elegant city [of Verona].” The Canons knew much work needed to be done at the complex even before they officially claimed jurisdiction because a small contingent of them had been living and worshipping at Sant’Angiolo in Monte since 1419 and had been officiating at what remained of the church of San Giorgio in Braida for as long as twenty years.

The Canons brought their scholarly nature as skilled humanists and theologians to bear in the renovations of their surroundings, and their status and significant financial resources meant they were able to commission the most sought after craftsmen from any town to carry out their plans. They kept meticulous records of their extensive renovations, as they did of their business dealings, but the account books and other materials documenting the project, unfortunately, have been lost. Therefore, the exact

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109 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12244. To give the reader an idea of the value of this sum, in 1427, a well-paid Florentine craftsman could expect to earn about 66 florins a year while in 1441 the average daily wage for a skilled laborer in Florence was 20.5 soldi, or a little more than 1 florin per day. See Richard A. Goldthwaite, The building of Renaissance Florence an economic and social history (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 60 and 438 and Frederic Chapin Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller, Money and banking in medieval and Renaissance Venice: Coins and moneys of account (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 279.

110 Tomasini (1642): 255.

111 The Vatican archives contain over 6,000 documents produced by the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida. Many of them are detailed registers of rents and other payments received such as the Liber introitus et exitus monast. S. Georgi in Brayda, de an. 1496-1503. (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 261.) The Libri Fabricarum Monasterii and Libri duo Introitum et expensarum ad annum MDXVII usque ad annum MDXXXVI were extant in 1574 when Daniele Rosa recorded them among the contents of the archive of San Giorgio in Braida. (ASVat, Fondo Vento II, 263, fol. 174 and Maria Beltramini, “Sanmicheli e la Chiesa di
date of the renovations’ start and the details of the construction, including the name of the first architect, are unknown, though other documents and physical evidence, including dated paintings, support various dates and give us a general picture of the construction’s scope, duration and evolution.

Enough remained of San Giorgio in Braida’s earlier monastery to house the Canons for the first years of their occupation of the complex and enough of the church remained to shelter them while they worshipped. But these circumstances were clearly temporary because shortly after the Canons took possession of San Giorgio in Braida in 1441 preparations were being made for the much-needed renovations. The Secular Canons intended to begin by enlarging the nave of the preexisting church, as one document from 1443 attests. In that year Gabriele Condulmer, as Pope Eugene IV, granted the Prior of San Giorgio in Braida at the time, Leonis Guberto, the recompense from a dissolved agreement to use for the construction of the presbytery of the church.

Documents propose two possibilities for when the work began. The earlier date of 1464 is supported if we believe the approximate year derived from a petition submitted to the Officio delle decime del clero in 1564, in which the Canons lamented their continued payment of taxes and claimed that it had been “quasi” 100 years since they began the work. The more specific date—14 February 1477—was first cited in 1749 by Biancolini.

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112 Stefano Lodi, San Giorgio in Braida: architettura e arti figurative a Verona nel Cinquecento (Verona: La Grafica Edizioni, 2009), 35 and 77 suggested that the Canons even took the time to decorate the extant structures, commissioning Michele da Verona to paint the refectory and Giovanni Caroto to embellish a set of organ doors with a scene of the Annunciation. (See page 147 for further discussion of these doors.)

113 ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 263, fol. 7 referring to ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12318 which is dated 12 December 1443.

who may have been referring to one of the lost account books or other missing
documents. As a result of the perceived authenticity of Biancolini’s dating, modern
scholars most often repeat 1477 as the year the renovations began. I concur with this
dating since it is in accordance with a series of financial transactions initiated in 1481
expressly to fund the building project, confirming that work was underway by that
time.

**Appearance of San Giorgio in Braida in 1441 when the Canons took possession of the complex**

A general picture of the appearance of the religious complex of San Giorgio in
Braida at the time the Canons officially took up residence can be gleaned from the
church’s early charters, the few extant remains of the structures built during the late
eleventh and twelfth centuries, contemporary maps, and new archival and physical
evidence that I have uncovered.

Eleventh-century documents tell us that the complex’s inhabitants carried on their
private and public activities in a series of buildings which, in addition to the main church,
included a *domus* where presumably the religious community lived, a *caminata* or heated
room, a hospital, a portico which was likely over the main entrance to the church, a

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Trecca, *La Chiesa de S. Giorgio in Braida a Verona* (Verona: Eurotipo, 1930; reprint, 2000), 17 and
Brugnoli (1954): 23 also wrote that the renovations began in 1477, but provided no footnotes for their
reference. Pierpaolo Brugnoli wrote that the Canons began work in 1447. (ibid., 12 without archival
notations. But Brugnoli goes on to say that the church was erected in 1477. (ibid., 15.) His difficulty with
dates continues later in his pamphlet where he said that the first four altars were consecrated by Bishop
Giberti in 1436, not 1536 and repeated his error in the following line where he noted that the remaining
altars were consecrated by the Greek Bishop Cheronea in 1443 instead of 1543. (ibid., 26.)
117 The lands produced significant income, which was substantial enough to enable the
Congregation to pay off its debt by 1498. (Beltramini (1995): 109 and Tomasini (1642): 256 and 389.)
118 Giuliana Mazzi, “La Cartografia: Materiali per la Storia Urbana di Verona,” in *Ritratto di
Verona. Lineamenti di una storia urbanistica*, ed. Lionello Puppi (1978), 540 reproduces a map from 1439-
40 that is preserved in the Venetian archives and catalogued as *carta dell’Almagià.*
cloister and chapter room.\textsuperscript{119} Evidence of some of these earlier structures can be seen on both sides of the present-day church. The space housing the modern-day sacristy (A in Fig. 26), which is just off the right transept, likely dates to this period, though scholars do not agree on this point.\textsuperscript{120} This structure was a square room, originally illuminated by a small window (now closed; Fig. 27) above the door that exits into the cloister and possibly functioned as the \textit{caminata} mentioned in the earlier charters. The room’s only visible wall (on its exterior facing the cloister) is composed of alternating layers of tufa and river stones (Figs. 27 & 28). This bichromatic construction is indicative of architecture built in the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{121} The solid tufa edge on the right side of this masonry has quoins, which suggests the wall originally turned the corner at that point where the wall, covered with whitewashed plaster, now continues down the length of the loggia (Fig. 28). This assumption was confirmed by the discovery during a recent restoration of a walled-up window in the wall between the modern-day sacristy and the former chapter room.

On the northern side of the church, the unadorned tufa bell tower (B in Fig. 26 & Fig. 29) is also most likely a remnant of the initial phase of building when San Giorgio was a Benedictine monastery (1046-1127). Nevertheless, some scholars argue the Augustinians constructed it during their occupation of the complex (1127-1281) after the ruinous 1117 earthquake destroyed many buildings in Verona and all over the Italian

\textsuperscript{120} Alfredo Barbacci, “Il Monastero di San Giorgio in Braida a Verona e il Suo Restauro,” \textit{Palladio} IV, no. II (1940): 77 provides a plan of the church that lists section A (today used as a sacristy) as Benedictine construction from the eleventh century. Gianfranco Benini, \textit{Le chiese di Verona: guida storico-artistica}, 2nd ed. (Verona: Rotary club di Verona Est: Banca popolare di Verona, 1995), 123 dated this section of the cloister to 1355. Benini was probably relying upon Biancolini (1749): vol. ii, 220 for the date. However, at that time San Giorgio in Braida was held \textit{in commenda} by Della Scala priors who were disinclined to rebuild the church.
\textsuperscript{121} Similar examples of this construction can be seen at the churches of San Lorenzo and in the portions of San Fermo Maggiore constructed by the Benedictines eleventh century.
The present appearance of the tower is perhaps the result of it being truncated by the Canons in the fifteenth century with some of the building material reused to become the four large obelisks that ballast the dome. Alternately, its appearance is the result of the tower simply never being completed.

The nave wall running westward from the tufa tower (C in Fig. 26 & Fig. 29) is additional archaeological evidence of the church’s antiquity. Until now this wall has been thought to be the product of the Canons’ fifteenth-century construction. But I assert that it, and likely the southern wall of the church too, date to the Augustinians’ tenure in the mid-1200s. I derived this date from previously unpublished materials assembled during the 1978 restoration of Gian Francesco Caroto’s Triptych of Saints Sebastian and Roch of c.1512 (Figs. 30 & 31). During the course of their work, restorers removed the triptych from above the altar in the third chapel on the left aisle and uncovered the original center panel of the altarpiece: an image of Christ Carrying the Cross or Portacroce that was frescoed directly upon the wall behind the painting’s frame (Fig. 32). The artist of the painting is unknown, although based upon stylistic considerations the Portacroce is datable to the fourteenth century when the church and Verona were under Della Scala rule. In 1882, Antonio Recchia’s panel painting of San Giuseppe (Fig. 33), the dimensions of which exactly match the fresco behind, covered it presumably because it

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122 Barbacci (1940): 77 provides a plan of the church that lists the bell tower (section B) as Augustinians construction from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Trecca (1930): 7 first says the tufa tower was constructed for the Benedictines in the eleventh century but later (page 15) states that the tufa tower may be the remains of a campanile built in c. 1355.

123 Lodi (2009): 30 wrote that the obelisks added in the 1550s to ballast Sanmichele’s dome were made from the tufa extracted from the bell tower. This assertion is uncorroborated by any other source and the claim is put into further doubt by the disparate colors of the stones that comprise the top of the tower and the obelisks.

124 Paolo Bacchin, Carolina Gaetani and Martelletto Maria Grazia restored the triptych. See Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio storico artistico ed etnoantropologico per le province di Verona Vicenza e Rovigo, Scede di Restauro n. 574.
was in such bad condition. But the Portacroce was not altogether forgotten. Several writers had described it over the centuries, including Vasari in 1568 and Da Persico whose 1821 account is the last to note that the image was observable in the church.\textsuperscript{125} What had been forgotten, and what is more important for the dating of the nave wall, was something the Portacroce itself had been covering. When restorers removed the Portacroce from the wall (Fig. 34) they discovered a second, hitherto unknown fresco of an angel that dates to the late twelfth century when San Giorgio in Braida was thriving as an Augustinian canonry (Fig. 35).\textsuperscript{126} Only the upper torso and large wings of the angel survive. It stands frontally while placing its left hand on its chest and inclining its head to the right. This fresco proves that the northern portion of the wall was extant in 1441 when the Canons took possession of San Giorgio in Braida and in all likelihood was built by the Augustinians sometime between 1127 and 1200. Further proof of the wall’s date can be seen on the building’s exterior. The buttresses supporting the northern (Fig. 29) and southern (Fig. 36) wall of the nave were constructed of alternating brick and white marble layers, a method of construction that dates from the mid to late twelfth century, many examples of which can be seen in and around Verona, most notably at San Zeno and the Duomo.\textsuperscript{127}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[126] To better preserve the fresco of the angel, it was removed from the wall, mounted on canvas and reinstalled in the third chapel, where it remains hidden today behind Recchia’s San Giuseppe. The fate of the fourteenth-century Portacroce is unknown.
\item[127] Special thanks to Meredith Fluke for confirming this dating.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Several sections of Gothic tracery survive on the interior of the cloister (D in Fig. 26 & Fig. 37) and demonstrate that this room was built adjacent to the eleventh-century *caminata* (the present-day sacristy) at a later date. The Secular Canons used this room as their chapter room. Historians again disagree about the date. Biancolini, writing in 1749, dated the section to 1355 saying “a stone suggests a remaking of the church [in that year], which is in the local Gothic idiom as seen in the sacristy.”\(^{128}\) He also claimed that the tufa bell tower and sacristy were added during the extensive renovation of the church and monastery in that year. But, as already outlined earlier in this chapter, the priors of San Giorgio in Braida during the 1300s were more concerned with augmenting their personal coffers rather than with the physical structure of the church and monastery and no building activity occurred at the complex during their residence. Another historian, writing in the 1930s, argued that the Augustinians added the room in the thirteenth century, the more likely date.\(^{129}\)

Another structure that the Secular Canons had to consider when planning their expansion was a small tower that was part of the city walls. It was situated near San Giorgio in Braida toward the bank of the Adige River. The wall above the tower’s balustrade contained a verdant image of Christ Carrying the Cross or *Portacroce* (Fig. 38; this image is not to be confused with the frescoed figure on the wall in the third chapel on the left of San Giorgio in Braida shown in Fig. 32) that according to legend was painted in 1445 by a Venetian soldier stationed in the tower using only crushed green herbs.\(^{130}\) Shortly after it was completed the local residents discovered the image’s thaumaturgical

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\(^{129}\) Barbacci (1940): 75.

\(^{130}\) *Notizie istoriche della miracolosa immagine del Cristo che si venera in S. Giorgio in Braida di Verona*, (Verona: Tipolitografia Sordomuti, 1886), 4.
powers, and in thanks for the miracles it granted, began leaving small wooden *ex voti* around it. It had already become the most venerated image in Verona when the Canons started their project in the mid-1400s. The building therefore had to remain autonomous and easily accessible to the devout pilgrims.

In addition to the remnants of this and other physical structures around San Giorgio in Braida, the Canons had to consider the state of the cemetery and gardens that adjoined the church. The Benedictines established the burial ground. It remained in use at least until 1559 when bodies of Veronese townspeople and Secular Canons who specifically requested burial there were still being interred. The cemetery bordered the church’s northern side as late as 1772 (Fig. 39) and was destroyed only in the early nineteenth century. The complex also consisted of ample gardens that stretched along the river to the east of the church and supplied nourishment for the residents’ bodies and

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131 The image became so popular that in 1583 the Secular Canons decided to allow the formation of the Confraternity of the Batturi Neri, whose purpose was to care for the image. They were under the guidance of Don Domenico Trecco. In 1613 Pope Paul V authorized the construction of an oratory to house the image. The oratory is demarcated as ‘IL CRISTO’ in P. Ligozzi’s *Veduta di Verona*, 1620-1630 which is reproduced in Brugnoli and Sandrini, eds. (1988): vol. I, 194. The oratory and its low bell tower with two tall windows can also be seen in two drawings by Pietro Maria Ronzoni and in a seventeenth-century painting now in the Uffizi. All three images are reproduced in Pierpaolo Brugnoli, *San Giorgio*, Monumenti di cultura d’arte veronesi (Verona: Banca popolare di Verona, 1986), 4-5 and 25. The contents of the oratory were recorded in 1803 by Saverio Dalla Rosa (1745-1821) who was commissioned to document the artworks left in Verona after Napoleon’s despoliation. (Dalla Rosa (1803-1804): 164-165.) In 1820, Giovanbattista da Persico also described the oratory’s contents. (Da Persico (1820-1821): part II, 97.) After the Austrian invasion of 1810 the building was sold, fell into ruin and eventually destroyed in 1836 when the Austrians rebuilt the walls. At this time that the image of the *Portacroce* was removed from the wall and placed in the small oratory behind the nave chapel containing Gian Francesco Caroto’s triptych where it can be found today. (Notizie istoriche della miracolosa immagine del Cristo che si venera in S. Giorgio in Braida di Verona (1886): 6-7.)

132 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12803. This document is the testament of Benedicti *fabri* and Dominici Menghini *fabri* written on 23 August 1559. In it they specified they wanted to be buried in the cemetery of San Giorgio in Braida.

133 See map xx. Porta e mura di San Giorgio, 1766-1772 (da Antonio Pasetti [e altri], *Opera per decreto…*, B.C.Vr., Mss. Cl. Storia, Ubic. 90.8) in Marchini (1978): xxix.

134 Trecca (1930): 15.
minds. The gardens were still in existence in the nineteenth century, as shown by a contemporary photo (Fig. 1).\textsuperscript{135}

Thus when the Secular Canons began to renovate San Giorgio in Braida in the mid-fifteenth century, the remains of the structures built by their predecessors confined the scope of their project: the \textit{caminata}, chapter room and nave wall to the south; the tufa tower, nave wall and functioning cemetery to the north; the gardens to the east and the segment of the city wall containing the 1445 image of the \textit{Portacroce} to the west. As they did at their mother church in Venice, the Veronese contingent of Canons used the existing structures to their advantage and the dimensions and truncated transept arms of San Giorgio in Braida were the results. When the Canons and their architect began planning their project they had to take into account the existing structures that limited the extent to which they could enlarge the cloister and church, as was likely the case at San Giorgio in Alga in Venice.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{135} Tomasini (1642): 257-258 wrote that “[The cloister] is large and excellently laid out, with walking paths, plantations of trees, gardens and the fullest springs, with a long view of the most magnificent buildings.”

\textsuperscript{136} Brugnoli (1954): 23 suggested the church was meant to have side aisles.
Chapter Two: History of Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga

Section One: The Congregation’s Beginnings

The Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, named for the small island in the Venetian lagoon where the Canons founded their mother church (Figs. 5 & 62), was one of the most important reform-minded religious organizations in the years leading up to the Reformation and the Council of Trent. Though modest in size (it comprised eleven houses when it was suppressed in 1668), it profoundly and directly influenced Church history. It did so by producing a pope, numerous bishops and cardinals, and the first Patriarch of Venice, who became a saint. One of its greatest achievements was the development of a mode of monastic administration that eliminated the commenda and, as a result, the pervasive corruption that had been thriving in the Church for decades. This administrative system was so successful that it served as the model for the Cassinese Benedictine reform. The Congregation played a significant role in securing Venetian hegemony on the terraferma since it dispatched its mostly Venetian members from San Giorgio in Alga to towns newly incorporated into the Venetian Empire. In Padua, Brescia, Vicenza and Verona the Canons established their new religious centers and inserted a Venetian heritage into these cities’ ecclesiastical

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hierarchy, in addition to incorporating Venetian artistic traditions into the native aesthetics.

In 1642, Giacomo Filippo Tomasini was serving as Superior General of the Congregation of Secular Canons when he published the organization’s only history. He entitled it *Annales Canonicorum Secularium Sancti Georgii in Alga* and began with a description of the organization’s genesis (Fig. 40). According to Tomasini, in 1400, two cousins from the Venetian patriarchate, Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer, were inspired by a vision of the Holy Spirit to commit themselves to pious pursuits. They decided to found what would become the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga. (Modern historians have challenged these claims, and I, too, disagree with Tomasini and argue that it was Angelo Correr, the uncle of Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer, who founded the religious organization. These arguments will be fully addressed further along in this chapter.) The cousins began living a secluded life filled with prayer and contemplation and dedicated to Christ and the Virgin Mary. Their gathering place was the Palazzo Correr, situated along the Riva di Biagio near the Grand Canal in Venice. It belonged to their powerful uncle, Angelo Correr, who was then the Patriarch of Constantinople and who became Pope Gregory XII in 1406. Tomasini tells us that Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer were joined by seven aristocrats: Venetians Marino Querini, Stefano Morosini and Francesco Barbo, as well as Matteo de Strada from Pavia, Romano de Rudellis from Milan, Luca Filippi d’Este from Ferrara,

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3 Tomasini (1642): 2-10 deals with the Congregation’s founding. The organization was suppressed in 1668, so Tomasini’s text does not include the last twenty-six years of its existence. Nevertheless, it is a vital resource for the study of the Congregation of Secular Canons since it reproduces many lost documents and provides invaluable first-hand descriptions and details of all aspects of the organization. Tomasini’s book, however, is not without bias or flaws. There are numerous inconsistencies and errors throughout its 712 pages, many of which, as I assert in this dissertation, were likely intentional.
and Giovanni de Picenardi from Cremona. The Palazzo Correr’s trappings and location, however, were detrimental to the group’s ascetic way of living and desire for isolated surroundings. Consequently, they relocated at an unknown date to the Benedictine monastery of San Nicolò in Lido in Venice, which had been abandoned after the War of Chioggia (Fig. 41).

San Nicolò was an idyllic setting for the growth of the nascent Congregation; its location at the easternmost tip of the Lido provided the necessary tranquility and seclusion. Yet the men remained there only a short time. By 1404 when they were first documented, they had already transferred to the island that gave their Congregation its name, San Giorgio in Alga.

Establishment of the Congregation on the island of San Giorgio in Alga in Venice

The small island of San Giorgio in Alga lies across the lagoon to the west of San Nicolò and derived its name from Saint George, the church’s eponymous saint since

4 Saint Nicholas, along with Saints Mark and Theodore, was especially venerated in Venice. San Nicolò in Lido was an important part of Venetian secular and religious life for many centuries, beginning after 1116 with the relocation there of Saint Nicholas’ relics. Even though Bari claimed to possess the true remains of their patron saint, Venetians believed the bones they plundered from Myra in 1116 belonged to the Puglian saint. (Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice (Princeton University Press, 1981), 97-101.) San Nicolò in Lido also played a key role in the history of the family of Secular Canon Lorenzo Giustiniani. During the course of the 1172 sea battle between the Byzantine Emperor and Doge Vitale II Michiel (reg. 1156-1172), and in the devastating plague that followed it, every Giustiniani perished, save for one member of the family. Only Nicolò Giustiniani, who became a Benedictine monk in 1156, survived on account of being sequestered at San Nicolò in Lido. The Doge obtained permission from Pope Alessandro III to allow Nicolò to leave the monastery and to marry his daughter, Anna Micheli, thus continuing the Giustiniani bloodline. Nicolò returned to the priesthood, and Anna became a nun, after together producing three daughters and six sons. Nicolò was buried in San Nicolò in Lido, but his bones were relocated to the sacristy of San Giorgio Maggiore in the eighteenth century. (Bernardo Giustiniani, Vita Beati Laurentii Iustiniani Venetiarm Proto Patriarchae (Roma: Officina poligraphica laziale, 1475; reprint, 1962), Ch. I; Pompeo Litta, Famiglie celebri di Italia (Milano: Giusti, 1834), vol. IX, fasc. 30 and Silvio Tramontin, “Il B. Nicolò Giustiniani e la B. Anna Michiel Giustiniani,” in Santi e beati veneziani, ed. G. Musolino, Antonio Niero, and Silvio Tramontin (Venezia: Biblioteca agiografica veneziana, 1963c), 133-134.)
1144, and from the large quantities of seaweed (alga in Italian) that have collected upon its shore for centuries. It sits in the middle of the Fusina Canal, the main thoroughfare between Venice and the terraferma that extends from the mouth of the Brenta River to the island’s northeastern corner (Fig. 42). On account of its favorable location and the hospitality of its inhabitants, the island was often the first stop for diplomats, royalty and popes who were on their way to Venice. For example, Anna of Hungary stopped on the island in 1502, and Doge Paolo Renier greeted Pope Pius VI there in 1782.

The island had been home to various religious communities for centuries prior to the Secular Canons’ arrival in the first years of the fifteenth century. The buildings abandoned by earlier inhabitants were rebuilt and expanded by the Canons beginning in 1438 to create their headquarters. When the Canons completed the church twenty years later they began to commission paintings. Eventually, art by the Vivarini brothers, Giovanni Bellini, Cima da Conigliano, Girolamo Santacroce, Paolo Veronese and other artists filled the church. They stocked the monastery’s library with many rare books and manuscripts, which by the mid-1500s were so abundant that the library was considered

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7 The Pope’s visit was documented by Francesco Guardi in his Meeting of Pope Pius VI and Doge Paolo Renier at San Giorgio in Alga (1782), now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The island was also the location of other such important events as the wedding of Mastino della Scala to Taddea Carrara in 1328. (Coronelli (1696): 54; E. Miozzi, Venezia nei secoli. La laguna. (Venezia 1968), 226 and Niero (1984): 159-160.)
8 See the discussion of San Giorgio in Alga’s interior in Chapter Three.
one of the finest in Venice. The Congregation of Secular Canons dispatched its members to towns newly incorporated into the Serenissima’s empire from this intellectual and spiritual haven in the Venetian lagoon until the Pope suppressed the Congregation in 1668. Though later religious organizations occupied the sanctuary and monastery, the mother church of the Congregation stood on this site until 1716, when a devastating fire consumed the island and its buildings. Today nothing more than a mud flat ringed by brick walls and covered by ruins and vegetation remains as a sad reminder of the island’s and its inhabitants’ past glory (Figs. 43-47).

Clerics seeking solitude had been attracted to San Giorgio in Alga’s isolated location since the eleventh century when a population of Benedictines took up residence there. By 1144, the island supported a church dedicated to Saint George, and by 1228, a Benedictine monastery. Both fell into disuse and were eventually abandoned. A small group of Augustinian hermits received the island in 1350, but they did little to revitalize the buildings or their membership, and three years after they arrived, the hermits left for even more isolated surroundings. The abandoned monastery then housed twenty men appointed by the Venetian Senate in 1391 to oversee the work then in progress on the mouth of the Fusina Canal.

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9 The library was endowed by Pope Eugene IV and Antonio Correr, whose library alone contained 120 volumes. (Silvio Tramontin, “Il B. Antonio Correr,” in Santi e beati veneziani, ed. G. Musolino, Antonio Niero, and Silvio Tramontin (Venezia: Biblioteca agiografica veneziana, 1963a), 194.)
10 The library, church and the majority of the monastery were destroyed in a fire that broke out on 11 July 1716. (Corner (1749): vol. VI, 76 and Corner (1758): 505.)
11 The island is now the property of the patriarchate of Venice, though the Venice Lagoon Foundation and the Forum for the Lagoon have proposed transforming San Giorgio in Alga into their headquarters.
12 Bishop Michiel dedicated the church to Saint George in 1228 though references to the island of San Giorgio in Alga date to 1144. (See Niero (1984): 159, esp. n. 154 and 155.)
13 By 1397 only Prior Beltramo remained. (Corner (1749): vol. VI, 58 and Corner (1758): 501.)
The island of San Giorgio in Alga reclaimed its function as a religious sanctuary after Pope Boniface IX decided to reestablish a religious community there in 1397. On 2 April of that year the Pope transferred the benefice, its dilapidated buildings and other dependencies in commenda to the Venetian aristocrat and future reformer of the Benedictine order at Santa Giustina, Ludovico Barbo (c.1382-19 September 1443). He was all of fifteen or sixteen years old. This transfer occurred despite Barbo’s loss of the election, or proba, in the Venetian Senate to Fra Jacopo, the prior of San Clemente, on 13 March 1397, suggesting other factors were in play. Barbo spent the next several years away from his benefice and used its incomes of about 2,000 florins per annum to support his humanist and ecclesiastical training in Padua or Bologna. Meanwhile, with its abbot’s attentions and the monastery’s revenues elsewhere, the island of San Giorgio in Alga and its buildings fell further into ruin, and the monastery’s two lone monks, Onorato da Venezia and Ludovico da Firenze, were left to fend for themselves.

Almost exactly seven years after Barbo took control of San Giorgio in Alga, on 15 March 1404, Pope Boniface IX issued a decree that authorized the reform of the monastery of San Giorgio in Alga “by changing or renewing the organization, statutes,
[and] regulations.\textsuperscript{19} The Archbishop of Kissamos and Angelo Correr’s nephew Angelo Barbarigo (c.1350-16 August 1419) was called to help with the reform. He arrived on the island on 30 October 1404 and surveyed the state of the monastery with Barbo. On that day Barbarigo executed a second bull on behalf of the Pope that reproduced the March decree and formally installed the priests from San Nicolò in Lido into the monastery at San Giorgio in Alga; in this bull the Congregation is referred to for the first time as the “canonici secolari di S. Giorgio in Alga.”\textsuperscript{20} Yet the Canons did not have absolute jurisdiction over their new home. Ludovico Barbo remained commendatory prior and continued to take a third of the revenues of the church, while the governing of the religious community was entrusted to a vicar, possibly Lorenzo Giustinianí’s uncle Marino Querini.\textsuperscript{21} Pope Gregory XII remedied this administrative conflict of interest in 1408 when he transferred Ludovico Barbo to Santa Giustina in Padua, removed the commenda and installed Lorenzo Giustinianni as the first Canon Prior of the island.

What transpired between Ludovico Barbo’s receipt of the commenda of San Giorgio in Alga in 1397 and the establishment of the Congregation of Secular Canons in 1404? What caused San Giorgio in Alga to be reformed and repopulated, and who initiated this transformation? Silvio Tramontin argued that it was Barbo who conceived the reform and wrote to Angelo Barbarigo, the Archbishop of Kissamos on the island of


\textsuperscript{20} The original bull is located ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 958 and reproduced in part in Tomasini (1642): 33-36 and in full Tomassetti, Cocquelines et al., eds. (1857-1872): 645-651. The bull was reaffirmed in another bull promulgated by Pope Gregory XII in 1407 that is reproduced in Bullarum privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum pontificum amplissima collectio (1733-1857): vol. 3.1: Gregory XII, col. 409-411.

Crete, for help in implementing the change to his benefice. Ludovico Barbo’s seven years of religious studies may have triggered his awareness of the desperate state of his Augustinian priorate and the urgent need for its reform. Indeed, this scenario is supported by Ludovico Barbo himself who recounted in his 1440 *De Initiis Congregationis Sanctae Justinae de Padua* that he underwent a “conversion” in 1403 immediately following an apparition of a “lumen veritatis.” Another scenario is that Barbo wanted to reform his benefice because he became aware of his perceived abuse of the commendam system.

By 1403 Barbo was already a priest. Therefore his self-professed “conversion” that year may have been the result of contact with his friends (and brother, Francesco Barbo) who had moved across the lagoon from San Nicolò in Lido to San Giorgio in Alga by that date. Furthermore, after the 1404 reform of San Giorgio in Alga, Barbo continued to profit from the benefice for four more years, so his desire to reform it on the grounds of perceived abuse of the commendam system would have been disingenuous.

In contrast to the assertion that Ludovico Barbo was the driving force behind the transformation of San Giorgio in Alga, I assert, as other scholars have previously, that Pope Boniface IX himself initiated the reform dictating Barbarigo’s involvement. But I differ from these scholars in that I argue the Pope did so not of his own accord, but on behalf of his friend, Angelo Correr, the future Pope Gregory XII who in 1404 was Patriarch of Constantinople and Prior of Corone. This would explain the timing of the

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25 For Barbo’s ecclesiastical career, see ibid., 17, n. 28. For Barbo’s exposure to the Canons as cause for his conversion, see Penco (1984): 96 and Tramontin (1975): col. 156-157.
27 By Pope Boniface IX’s decree in 1390. (Ughelli (1717): vol. V, 1285.)
reform of San Giorgio in Alga. Correr prompted the acquisition of San Giorgio in Alga in early 1404 because a viable population of priests–his nephews and their associates living on San Nicolò in Lido–was ready to be transferred to the island. He saw this transition as the next step in his grand plan for monastic reform that had begun in 1402 when he fostered the devout pursuits of the young priests and hosted them in his Venetian palace on the Grand Canal.

In his *Annales* Tomasini reproduced the important 30 October 1404 bull executed by Angelo Barbarigo that established the Congregation of Secular Canons, but he made one small yet revealing error in his text that buttresses my argument.\(^{29}\) His transcription states that Pope Boniface IX charged Angelo *Correr*, whom he designated as “*episcopo Chysamensi*” or Bishop of Kissamos, with helping Barbo undertake the reform of San Giorgio in Alga.\(^{30}\) As stated above, in 1403, the sexagenarian Angelo Correr was affiliated with churches situated in the Venetian Empire’s eastern frontier as Patriarch of Constantinople and Prior of Corone. It was Correr’s eldest nephew, Angelo Barbarigo, who held the Bishopric of Kissamos in 1403,\(^{31}\) and it was he–not Angelo Correr as Tomasini stated–whom Pope Boniface IX charged with aiding Barbo at San Giorgio in Alga.\(^{32}\) Tomasini’s mistake is understandable given the men’s similar names, lineage and

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\(^{28}\) By Pope Boniface IX’s decree in 1395. Correr was in charge of administering the whole diocese. (Z. Zafarana, “Bartolomeo da Roma,” in *DBI* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960).)

\(^{29}\) Tomasini (1642): 30-39.

\(^{30}\) Tomasini’s assertion that Angelo Correr was Bishop of Kissamos and entrusted with the reform of San Giorgio in Alga was repeated by Cenci (1924): 283.

\(^{31}\) By Pope Urban VI’s decree in the winter of 1385. Angelo Barbarigo was born in c.1350 to Pope Gregory XII’s sister, Caterina Correr, and Bartolomeo Barbarigo. (See Correr/Barbarigo family tree in Appendix II.) Pope Urban VI appointed Angelo Barbarigo Bishop of Kissamos (Crete) in 1385. He held that office for more than twenty years, sharing it with Pietro da Lerino who was given the same title two years earlier by antipope Clement VII. (Gualdo (1964): 56.)

\(^{32}\) Tomasini’s error was rectified by later scholars who consulted the original and re-issued bull. (Cfr. Ughelli (1717): Vol. V, 906-907; Tomassetti, Cocquelines *et al.*, eds. (1857-1872): vol. iv, 645-651 and Penco (1984): 96.) The original declaration was inserted into an instrument of 30 October 1404 and
ecclesiastical affiliations, but in light of my assertion that Angelo Correr was responsible for the transfer of the priests from San Nicolò in Lido to the church of San Giorgio in Alga, Tomasini’s mistake holds a kernel of truth.

Ludovico Barbo, I contend, never tried to recall the Augustinians (the island’s former residents). Moreover, by the time the papal bulls were issued in 1404, the secular priests from San Nicolò in Lido had already taken up residence at the monastery at San Giorgio in Alga. Indeed, when Angelo Barbarigo arrived on the island on 30 October 1404 he allotted the monastery to his cousins Gabriele Condulmer and Antonio Correr and their companions who were already in residence as the bull plainly states: “…the secular cleric allies, *who at present extend their stay in the aforementioned monastery* [of San Giorgio in Alga]…” In other words, the bulls were the results rather than the causes of a desire to reform San Giorgio in Alga and that from its inception the reform plan was predicated upon the priests from San Nicolò in Lido relocating to Barbo’s benefice. I put forth that the mastermind of this plan was Angelo Correr, the uncle of the two cousins Tomasini credited with creating the fledgling Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, Gabriele Condulmer and Antonio Correr; he was the uncle also of Angelo Barbarigo, the man charged with helping Ludovico Barbo reform his benefice, and a close friend of Pope Boniface IX, the man who originated the bull establishing the religious organization on the island of San Giorgio in Alga.

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Neher (1999): 118 stated that on 15 March 1403 Pope Boniface IX made Angelo Barbarigo Prior of San Nicolò in Lido. However, Gualdo (1964): vol. 6, 56-57 stated correctly that Barbarigo was charged only with reforming the church, of which Ludovico Barbo remained prior.

Re-evaluation of Tomasini’s account of the Congregation’s founding

Many surveys of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga have relied upon Giacomo Tomasini’s unique 1642 account of the organization’s genesis and consequently his assertions have been repeated as fact. But the particulars of the beginnings of the religious organization, including the names of the men who founded it, are undocumented, making it impossible to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Tomasini’s account is accurate. The veracity of his account can also be called into question because of the circumstances under which he wrote it. When Tomasini published his *Annales* in 1642, the Counter Reformation was at its apex and the Congregation of Secular Canons was facing powerful opposition from the papacy on the grounds that it was corrupt. Therefore, Tomasini probably massaged two elements of the Congregation’s creation myth in order to deflect its detractors and to support its sanctity: when it was founded and by whom.

Tomasini placed the Congregation’s genesis in 1400. By assigning the foundation to the opening year of a new century, he characterized its beginnings as the dawning of a new era. His dating is unlikely for several reasons. Tomasini’s purported founders of the organization, the cousins Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer, were away from Venice at the very moment he claimed the Congregation convened for the first time. Both were documented as canons in the cathedral of Verona in 1400, and by the fall of 1401 both had the requisite connections to the church of Sant’Agostino in Vicenza. Tomasini’s dating thus assumed that the men founded the religious society in Venice and then promptly abandoned it. Since the archives provide no verification of the Congregation’s

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34 Regrettably, a modern, comprehensive study of the religious community does not yet exist despite the rich trove of archival material in the Vatican Secret Archives.
foundation date, modern scholars have relied upon circumstantial and secondary
documentary evidence to support a range of dates from c.1395 to 15 March 1404, the day
the Congregation was sanctioned by papal decree and first recorded. I share the view of
most who have asserted that the foundation of the Congregation of Secular Canons took
place in 1402.35

*Antonio Correr*

Tomasini emphasized the primacy of the elder cousin, Antonio Correr, in the
Congregation’s foundation and described his younger cousin, Gabriele Condulmer, in
relation to him and as his follower. As evidence of this claim the author cited Antonio
Correr’s eulogy given in 1455 on the tenth anniversary of his death by his nephew, the
Prior of San Zeno in Verona, Gregory Correr.36 In his commemorative tribute, Gregory
credited his uncle with creating the religious organization: “Soon he withdrew himself
with a few clerics to the monastery in Venice, a monk not really in profession but in
humility and worldly contempt...In a short while, your [Antonio’s] family grew.”37 In
1475, Bernardo Giustiniani upheld Gregory Correr’s assertion when he stated that,

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35 Tomasini (1642): 2 states the Congregation was founded in 1400. Tassi (1952): 15 dated the
meeting to c.1395. Cracco (1959): 74 concluded that the friends gathered in 1402. Tramontin (1975): 154-
155 said the men gathered in the Palazzo Correr, but did not specify when. In a later publication
(Tramontin (1984): 92) he agrees with the 1402 dating. Penco (1984): 92 agrees with the 1402 dating. The
Congregation was officially in existence by 15 March 1404.
36 Gregory Correr, “De vita et obitu beatae memoriae Antonii episcopi Ostiensis soliloquium as
331-341. Gregory Correr was also elected Bishop of Verona by the Veronese city council in November
1453, but their decision was overridden by Pope Nicholas V who appointed Ermolao Barbaro to the
position instead. (F. Barbieri, “Brugnoli, Bernardino,” in *DBI* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana,
1972).)
37 “Mox Venetiis monasterio se abdidit cum paucis clericis, non quidem professione sed humilitate
et seculi contempitu monachus...Crevit [Antonio] brevi familia tua.”
“Antonius Corarius stood out [as] leader and originator of this discipline…[with] Gabriele Condulmer, his assistant and minister to the distinguished council.”

Antonio Correr was born to Filippo Correr and his wife, Chiara Venier, on 14 January 1369. He was well educated and privileged to study with the preeminent religious and secular minds of the time. He gained theological training as a young man through the tutelage of his uncle Angelo Correr (Pope Gregory XII after 1406). He was also the student of the great Florentine preacher and reformer Giovanni Dominici while Dominici was vicar general of the Dominican convent of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (1388-1398). Dominici played a formative role in the development of other religious reform movements in the Veneto at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and Antonio Correr’s association with him has been cited as further proof that Antonio was the Congregation’s founder. Antonio formally entered the priesthood in 1392, before leaving Santi Giovanni e Paolo to enroll at the University of Padua to further his

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41 Dominici became involved in the Observant Dominican reform, eventually establishing a network of houses, the greatest being the convent of the Corpus Christi that he founded in 1394. The convent had the dual name of *Corpus Christi* and *Corpus Domini*.

42 On this date he became a regular canon of the order of the Gesuati. Antonio’s nephew, Gregory Correr, first cited his uncle’s entrance into the order of the Gesuati in his uncle’s biography. (Paolo Morigi, *Historia degli uomini illustri per sanità di vita e nobilità di sangue che furono Gesuati* (Venezia 1604), 243.) Tramontin (1963a): 189-196, 331-341 contains an appendix with the life of Antonio as written by Gregory Correr. Cracco (1959): 72 refuted the claim that Correr took his vows in 1392.
His years at university resulted in several of his fellow students later joining him in Venice to become the Congregation’s first members. On 23 September 1396, Antonio received the benefice of Corone on the Peloponnesus in Greece from his uncle Angelo Correr, who was then Patriarch of Constantinople and had previously held the Greek post. In 1400, Angelo Correr installed Antonio and another nephew, Gabriele Condulmer, at the Canonry of Verona. By this date, Antonio had extensive experience and was already a well-established cleric and scholar, so Tomasini’s assertion that he was the originator of the Congregation and its reform is plausible. But modern scholars have challenged Tomasini’s assertion that Antonio Correr was the Congregation’s founder and they have argued that other men—Gabriele Condulmer, Marino Querini and Lorenzo Giustiniani—deserve the appellation.

**Gabriele Condulmer**

Giorgio Cracco considered Antonio’s younger cousin, Gabriele Condulmer, the true progenitor of the Venetian religious community (Fig. 8). He based his conclusion on the Queriniana Codex in Brescia that states:

> [God] sent his Holy Spirit to Gabriele Condulmer, the Venetian nobleman dedicated to good habits and to divine works. He [Condulmer], with worldly ostentation cast aside any pleasures in remote signs and earthly riches utterly repudiated, beforehand living at his own home with a certain outstanding Antonio Correr and some other generous and very distinguished men, equal to his own, he chose the most salubrious apostolic life, cherishing one another mutually...Moreover, when they

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44 Alfredo Monaci, “Lettera testimoniale di Angelo Correr (Gregorio XII),” *Miscellanea di storia e cultura ecclesiastica* V (1907): 254-265.
46 Cracco (1959): 73-75.
assumed the clerical habit...through the divine Spirit by which he might rouse the one called beforehand Gabriele.47

This is the earliest source to name Condulmer as the singular illustrious founder of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga. Cracco goes on to cite later papal documents that advance his argument.

The Condulmer family, like the Correr, was among the most powerful clans in Venice. Gabriele Condulmer (1383-23 February 1447) was a member of both having been born to Angelo Correr’s sister, Bariola, and the aristocrat Angelo Condulmer in 1383.48 Gabriele would become Pope Eugene IV in 1431 but began his ecclesiastical career in 1400 when he entered the Canonry of Verona along with his older cousin Antonio, at the behest of their uncle Angelo Correr.49 The seventeen-year-old Condulmer soon received his first income-producing benefice when his uncle Angelo Correr ordered the Prior of Sant’Agostino in Vicenza (Fig. 48), Bartolomeo da Roma, to concede his position to Condulmer on 7 November 1401.50

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47 Biblioteca Queriniana di Brescia, ms. segnato A.VI.7., f. 17r-20v. Ibid., 73-74. Appendice I, 73 reproduces the passage: “Misit Sanctum Spiritum suum in Gabrielem Condulmarium patricium venetum bonis moribus ac divinis operibus deditum. Qui... abiectis... secularibus pompis voluptatibusque omonibus sepositis ac terrenis facultatibus prorsus abnegatis, domi sue prius cum prestanti quodam Antonio Corario nonnullisque alis generosis clarissimisque viris coequalibus suis habitando, vitam apostolicam saluberrimam elegit sese mutuo invicem diligentes... Cum vero clericalum habitum assumpsissent... Spiritu divino quo prius dictum Gabrielem suscitarat...” (Translation by Jeremy Thompson.)


49 Tomasini (1642): 6. Gill (1961): 16 states that a plaque once existed in the canonry that commemorated Condulmer’s year-long sojourn there and read: Eugene IV Pont. opt. max felix domicilium. I have been unable to establish the current location of this plaque or if it still exists.

Bartolomeo da Roma was a reformer and peripatetic preacher who spent time in the Veneto, serving as Prior of Sant’Agostino in Vicenza (1399-1400) and coming into contact with Antonio Correr, Gabriele Condulmer, Ludovico Barbo and Lorenzo Giustiniani. After he passed the office of Prior of Sant’Agostino to Gabriele Condulmer, he left the Veneto for Lucca, where he founded his Congregation of Regular Canons.

Sant’Agostino was a bastion of reform thought in the late 1300s and would be among the Congregation of Secular Canons’ most important outposts on the terraferma. Angelo Correr’s decision to appoint Condulmer prior of the monastery shows how highly he thought of his nephew. Yet Condulmer received the priorship of Sant’Agostino in absentia, leaving his cousin Antonio to accept the office in his stead. Why was Condulmer not present in Vicenza? Had he moved from the city or never taken up residence there after leaving the Veronese canonry? The answers are unknown, but on the day he was to collect his benefice in Vicenza he was documented as residing in a private residence “in the neighborhood of Saint Lorenzo” in Venice. The fact that Antonio Correr was acting as his younger cousin’s agent supports Cracco’s contention that Condulmer was the dominant cousin and chief initiator of the Congregation of Secular Canons.

The problem with Cracco’s argument is that Condulmer himself, as Pope Eugene IV (reg. 1431-1445), commissioned the Brescian codex that proved he was the

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51 Zafarana (1960) and Giovanni Mantese, “Correnti riformistiche a Vicenza nel primo Quattrocento,” in Studi in onore di Federico M. Mistrorigo (Vicenza: 1958), 855, esp. n. 855 and 856.

52 Cracco (1959): Appendix, doc. 2. His Congregazione dei Canonici Lateranensi, as the Regular Canons of Lucca were better known after they received the church of San Giovanni in Laterano from Pope Eugene IV in 1444, were closely associated with the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga.

Congregation’s founder during his pontificate. The additional papal documents Cracco cited can be explained by realizing that the popes would have wanted one of their most esteemed and unblemished predecessors to be considered the Congregation’s illustrious founder. It would have been natural for subsequent popes to collude in showing Condulmer in such a favorable way. Furthermore, in 1400, when they joined the Veronese Canonry, Gabriele Condulmer was only sixteen or seventeen years old while his cousin Antonio Correr was in his early thirties and already an established cleric with benefices and titles to his name. If Cracco’s conclusion is correct, one is left to wonder why Antonio, the older and more experienced cousin, would willingly join the Canonry as a novice with his much younger cousin, serve as his proxy in Vicenza, then later return to Venice as Gabriele’s follower. The situation leads one to speculate that he was instructed to do so by a third party.

**Marino Querini**

Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer are considered co-founders of the Congregation by two historians who proposed Marino Querini as an equal, third collaborator.\(^{54}\) Querini has been described as “a notable figure of Venetian monasticism,” and was listed as among the Congregation’s first members by Tomasini.\(^{55}\) Nonetheless, he is the most mysterious of the men associated with the establishment of the Secular Canons. Very little else is known about his life, not even the years of his birth and death.\(^{56}\) Querini certainly had some rank among his fellow canons because the bull

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\(^{55}\) Cracco (1959): 80.  
\(^{56}\) See Querini family tree in Appendix II. Vivaro Capellari and Alessandro Girolamo, “Campidoglio veneto, in cui si hanno l’Arme, l’origine, la serie de gl’huomini et gli Albori della Maggior parte delle Famiglie, così estinte, come viventi, tanto cittadine quanto forastiere, che hanno goduto e che
authorizing the Canons to take possession of San Giorgio in Alga in 1404 listed Querini first and as the one responsible for the young secular clerics: “…the learned, venerable men, D. Marino Querini and his secular cleric allies…”\(^57\) He likely remained with the Secular Canons for the rest of his life. But other than a document of 1414 naming him Prior of San Giorgio in Alga\(^58\) and an eighteenth-century reference to him serving as Prior of San Giacomo, the Congregation’s house in Monselice (Padua), in 1425,\(^59\) his life and accomplishments are obscure. Had the Canons considered him their founder, his name would have appeared more frequently in the history of the Congregation and at the very least the Canons would have commemorated him and his achievements in the decorations of their church. Yet no known images of Marino Querini exist in the Canons’ churches nor, for that matter, in the greater visual lexicon of the early modern period.

**Lorenzo Giustiniani**

Tomasini himself further confused the answer as to who founded the Congregation. His *Annales* contains the biography of the nineteen-year-old nephew of Marino Querini, Lorenzo Giustiniani (Fig. 6).\(^60\) Tomasini recounted how Giustiniani made his dramatic entrance into the religious organization in 1400. He then refuted his own story saying Giustiniani joined the Congregation just after its move to San Giorgio in Alga, i.e. in late 1403. The author obviously struggled to reconcile the by-then pervasive myth that Giustiniani was the founder of the Congregation. This myth had been

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\(^58\) ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 979, 19 May 1414.

\(^59\) Capellari and Girolamo (c.1741): VII, 17 (8306), ff. 8256v-8277v, S8303 and ibid., vol. I, 260r.

\(^60\) Tomasini (1642): 14-19.
perpetuated because he was a model priest, ascetic and scholar who codified the Congregation’s ritual practice and served as its first Superior General. He was also one of Venice’s most celebrated citizens and the city’s first Patriarch, adding to his posthumous legend and popularity. Prior to Tomasinii, hagiographers and artists had been sustaining the myth. The Venetians used these writings and depictions of the saintly Lorenzo Giustiniani as additional evidence of his sanctity when they began petitioning for the holy man’s canonization in the early 1500s. (Giustiniani finally attained sainthood in 1690.)

Lorenzo Giustiniani’s own name, however, strongly refutes this long-established notion and supports the idea that he joined the Canons and definitively embraced the religious life only after the Canons had established themselves at San Giorgio in Alga in 1403. Lorenzo was baptized Giovanni Giustiniani in 1381. Tradition holds that he changed his given name to Lorenzo after he arrived at San Giorgio in Alga to honor the venerable Augustinian abbot, Beato Lorenzo Spagnolo, who had briefly resided on the island after 1350.61 This detail buttresses the argument that Giustiniani came to the island following the religious community’s arrival there sometime in 1403, but prior to 15 March 1404, when the papal bull sanctioning the Congregation listed him among its members as Lorenzo Giustiniani. This suggests he was neither present at the organization’s inaugural meeting in the Palazzo Correr in 1402 nor in residence at San Nicolò in Lido after the nascent Congregation moved there. Thus his adoption of a name associated with San Giorgio in Alga supports the argument that Giustiniani did not found the Congregation himself.

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To be sure, Lorenzo Giustiniani is largely responsible for the course of the Congregation’s history. He wrote rules for living a disciplined monastic life and the Congregation’s dogma. He disseminated these doctrines and helped propel the Congregation’s reach beyond the borders of Venice. And even after he left the Congregation to become Bishop of Castello, he served as their great advocate. For these reasons he can rightly be considered the Congregation’s most revered member, the Canons’ exemplar and founder of the Congregation’s spirituality, but not the founder of the Congregation. (His biography is discussed in detail in the last section of this chapter.)

**Angelo Correr, the founder of the Congregation of Secular Canons**

There is little doubt that Antonio Correr, Gabriele Condulmer and especially Lorenzo Giustiniani played integral parts in the Congregation’s history. But despite the hold that Tomasini’s history has had on our conception of the founding of the Congregation and our tendency to take his writings as fact, and notwithstanding modern scholars’ alternative interpretations of Tomasini’s thesis, I argue that Angelo Correr (Fig. 7) should be considered the true founder of the religious organization.

The Congregation of Secular Canons is the direct outcome of Angelo Correr’s efforts to reform the Church and the clergy on the eve of the Councils of Pisa (1409) and Constance (1414-1419), which finally succeeded in ending the long-standing divide between the Pope and the College of Cardinals. The Congregation’s great strides in clergy reform were hard won for Correr, yet he simultaneously besmirched his legacy by making a series of imprudent decisions during his pontificate as Gregory XII. These decisions caused his native city of Venice to sever all ties with him and led many of his once-loyal Cardinals to flee his entourage and head for Pisa where they convoked their
own Council. They ultimately forced the disgraced Pope to abdicate on 4 July 1415.62 To this day he is the last person to resign from the papacy, and he remained among the most divisive figures in the Church’s history. Unfortunately for his reputation, of all the events of Angelo Correr’s long, varied career, history most often remembers his blunders. One of my objectives is to restore, at least in part, Correr’s tarnished reputation and to add another accolade to the list of Correr’s accomplishments: Founder of the Congregation of Secular Canons.

Giacomo Tomasini was a member of the Congregation of Secular Canons and its Superior General. So he could not help but have known the singular role Angelo Correr played in the founding of the religious organization. But in 1642 he was compelled to recast the Congregation’s history in order to exclude its most important, and most controversial, figure because the Congregation was facing opposition from the papacy. By consciously disregarding Angelo Correr’s involvement in the Congregation’s foundation and by crediting Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer, the cousins whose reputations were unblemished in the eyes of the papacy, Tomasini emphasized the uncorrupt nature of the organization. He also indicated that its purity persisted since its inception and, most significantly, fortified the reputation of the Congregation in the eyes of the papacy and its corroborating detractors.

I maintain that by reevaluating the known details of the Congregation’s creation and Correr’s biography (see below), and by analyzing key works of art commissioned by the Secular Canons of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga for their churches in Venice and on the mainland, particularly for the church that is the focus of this

62 Zafarana (1960): 204.
dissertation, San Giorgio in Braida in Verona (Chapter Three of this dissertation is devoted to this analysis), my hypothesis that Angelo Correr was the true founder of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga can be substantiated.

Section Two: The Congregation’s sanctioning, expansion and administration

Papal sanctioning and expansion onto the Venetian terraferma

The bull issued by Pope Boniface IX on 30 October 1404 officially sanctioned the Congregation and referred to the Canons for the first time as the “canonici secolari di S. Giorgio in Alga.” Despite their changed status the Canons were still unconfined by monastic vows, hence the designation of their organization as a Congregation rather than as an Order, though some of the Canons, such as Antonio Correr, Gabriele Condulmer and some of the other original members, were already priests. The Congregation’s membership continued to be a mix of ordained clergy and unordained canons until 1568 when Pope Pius V required all the Canons to take monastic vows and to adopt the Rule of Saint Augustine. 63

Giuseppe de Luca summarized the Canons’ desires and the initial reason they chose their secular nature:

…[they wanted] to create a life whose principles were a compromise between the rigidity of the religious orders and looseness of the secular clergy but which followed the examples of Augustine and Eusebius. But they did not want to create a new order, rather to remain at the disposition of the church, its pastors and people; they were canons in the sense that

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63 It has been assumed that the priests took monastic vows from the inception of their organization, and they have been mistakenly referred to as the Regular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga or the Augustinian Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga (cfr. Neher (1999): 115). It was only after 1568 that they could correctly be classified as Regular and as Augustinian. Pius V’s 17 November 1568 bull obligated the Canons to take vows. It is reproduced in Tomasini (1642): 537-540 and Tomassetti, Cocquelines et al., eds. (1857-1872): vol. VII, 725s. See Chapter Six for further discussion of the Pope’s motivations.
they practiced solemn liturgical prayer, and personal solitary contemplation.⁶⁴

Only after the Council of Trent in 1568 were the Canons compelled to adopt officially the Rule of Saint Augustine, which they selected as it was closest to the character of their religious practices. Unlike avowed monks, the Secular Canons were permitted to own and dispose of property as they deemed necessary. These conditions became vital components of the patronage patterns and strategies employed by the Congregation.

The papal writ of execution of 1404 demonstrates how rapidly the Congregation had grown since its birth in the Palazzo Correr in 1402. It listed seventeen members’ names arranged into a hierarchy of sacerdoti (priests), diaconi (deacons) and subdiaconi (sub deacons).⁶⁵ All seven of the sacerdoti were among the nine original members mentioned by Tomasini: cousins Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer, Stefano Morosini, Francesco Barbo (brother of Ludovico Barbo), Matteo de Strada, Romano de Rudelli and Luca Filippi d’Este. The remaining two original members, Marino Querini and Giovanni de Picenardi, were diaconi along with neophytes Lorenzo Giustiniani (Querini’s nephew), Michele Condulmer, Simone de Persicis from Cremona, and Girolamo de Musisde from Pavia. The remaining new members, Marco Condulmer, Domenico Morosini, Agostino Gastaldi from Pavia and Angelo Ser Donato from Cultrici, comprised the subdiaconi. Their family names indicate that the Canons had almost doubled their membership by recruiting members of their own families and others from

⁶⁴ “...metter su una forma di vita la quale sull’esempio di quella che un tempo si menava intorno ad un Agostino e ad un Eusebio, stesse tra il convegno rigido degli Ordini religiosi e la slegatezza inguariibile del clero secolare. ...Volevano non creare un Ordine nuovo, bensí restare a disponibilità delle chiese, dei pastori, delle plebi: canonici nel senso di ecclesiastici votati contemporaneamente al ministero spicciolo, alla solenne preghiera liturgica, alla contemplazione solitaria e personale.” (don Giuseppe De Luca, Letteratura di pietà a Venezia del ‘300 al ‘600, vol. 3, Lettere italiane (Firenza 1968), 36.)

the nobility in Venice and towns on the *terraferma*. The Congregation would continue deliberately using their familial and social connections to expand its membership, to increase the number of houses under its control and to secure the needed approvals from church officials (especially from the Pope) for its expansion. Ultimately, it engineered a network of religious houses that spread the Congregation’s reform ideologies throughout the enlarged Venetian Empire.

The Congregation achieved its rapid growth by dispatching members in quick succession from the mother church to surrendered monasteries on the *terraferma*, some of which were held already *in commenda* by its members. Between 1404 and 1420 the Congregation enlarged its network five-fold by establishing religious houses in territories newly acquired by the Venetian Republic. In April 1406, one year after the city’s incorporation into the Venetian Empire, the Canons took over San Giovanni Decollato in Padua (granted to Lorenzo Giustiniani by Pope Gregory XII), and in 1407 Sant’Agostino in Vicenza and Santi Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo outside Vicenza (Figs. 48 & 49; both granted to Lorenzo Giustiniani by Pope Gregory XII). In 1419, Sant’Angiolo in Monte in Verona joined the Congregation (given by Pope Martin V in

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66 The biographies of some of these men are known only from their entries in the manuscript *Campidoglio veneto* of c.1741, while others are not mentioned in the standard biographical sources. Stefano Morosini: Capellari and Girolamo (c.1741): vol. I, 16r; Michele Condulmer: ibid., vol. I, c. 282v; Michele Condulmer: ibid.; Marco Condulmer: ibid.; Domenico Morosini: ibid., vol. I, 16r. Unlike many of his Venetian contemporaries, Morosini believed that the majority of the benefices on the mainland should be filled by Venice’s subjects who resided on the *terraferma*. (See Law (2000): section XI, 8 and Gaetano Cozzi, “Domenico Morosini e il ‘De bene instituta re publica’,” *Studi veneziani* XII (1970): 417.) See Condulmer and Querini family trees in Appendix II.

67 Gios (1997): 11 and Giustiniani (1475): xxvi. Bishop Stefano Carfaves sanctioned the transfer of this ancient Benedictine church to them in 1406. (Corner (1758): 502.) The church was destroyed in 1513 to make way for the new walls of Padua. (Tomasini (1642): 413 and Cenci (1924): 292.)

68 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, VII. Bull of Pope Gregory XII dated 14 September 1407. Cenci (1924): 289. Santi Fermo e Rustico’s income was 1,000 gold ducets per year. Gabriele Condulmer received the church of San Agostino *in commenda* in 1400 and his cousin Antonio Correr was in charge of collecting the incomes of the monastery. See also Tomasini (1642): 54-56 and Cracco (1985): 30.
commenda to Antonio Correr in memory of his uncle Angelo Correr in 1418. Antonio Correr passed it to the Canons the following year. San Giacomo in Monselice outside Padua joined the following year (Fig. 50; given by Bishop of Padua, Pietro Marello). The Canons gained two more houses on the terraferma during the pontificate of former Secular Canon Gabriele Condulmer who was elected Pope Eugene IV in 1431. He granted them the churches of San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia in 1437 (Fig. 51) and San Giorgio in Braida in Verona in 1441. And he tried to give them more. Together with Lorenzo Giustiniani, the Pope unsuccessfully pressed for the removal of the Umilitati from the Madonna dell’Orto in Venice in 1433 (Fig. 52). The Canons finally displaced the Umilitati in 1462. In 1440, Eugene IV also tried to establish a Ferrarese house by using his ties with Borso d’Este to his advantage, but he was unsuccessful. Papal support of the Congregation continued under Pope Pius II (reg. 1458-64), who granted Santa Maria in Vanzo in Padua (Fig. 53) to them in 1458. The Canons’ second Vicentine church, San Rocco (Fig. 54), the only church in the Congregation to be built ex novo, was completed in 1488.

70 Cracco (1959): 70 and Cenci (1924): 293.
71 Cenci (1924): 286.
72 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1064 and 12297. The bull promulgated by Pope Eugene VI on 11 March 1441 granted the Canons the right to officiate at San Giorgio in Braida. They officially took possession of the church on 1 June 1441.
74 Cracco (1959): 75. ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1058 published in Tomasini (1642): 225-226 with dated from 13 May 1440 to 25 April. I have been unable to determine the exact relationship between Borso d’Este and Luca Filippi d’Este, one of the Congregation’s original members, though one can assume kinship existed.
75 Cenci (1924): 292.
The Congregation eventually expanded beyond the borders of the Venetian state. They occupied San Gregorio e Siro in Bologna in 1419 (Fig. 55; granted by Pope Martin V), San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome (Fig. 56; granted by Pope Paul II at the behest of Cardinal Latino Orsini who had it rebuilt and endowed) and San Paolo in Valiponte north of Assisi in 1468 (held in commenda by Latino Orsini who gave it to the Canons the same day as San Salvatore), and San Giuliano in Rimini in 1496. Affiliated houses were even established as far away as Sicily (Sicilian Enrico di Simone established a canonry at San Giacomo di Mazzara in 1433) and Portugal (at Vilar de Frades in 1431), though these were relatively independent of the Congregation’s Venetian nucleus.

**Spirituality and Orthodoxy of the Congregation**

The seventeen men listed in the bull of 1404 sanctioning the Congregation were neophytes in the organization, but they were by no means inexperienced. Antonio Correr and many others in the nascent congregation took vows prior to joining the group and were already aware of the low state of morals found in the Church’s religious orders.
By 1402 some had been part of the intellectual community at the University of Padua, where students from cities north of the Alps disseminated the new extra-Italian trend of the *devotio moderna*. Others had been part of the religious communities that had flourished under two important Italian reformers active in the late 1300s: Bartolomeo da Roma at Sant’Agostino in Vicenza and the Florentine Dominican preacher, Giovanni Dominici (né Banchini), at Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. These intellectual and spiritual influences were vital ingredients in the complex recipe for reform that the Secular Canons formulated between the organization’s inception and its expansion onto the *terraferma* in 1406. Since most of the men associated with the Congregation’s formation, especially Angelo Correr, Gabriele Condulmer, Antonio Correr and Lorenzo Giustiniani, were exposed to these elements, it is impossible for any one of them to be thought of as the unique source of the Congregation’s orthodoxy.

The greatest preoccupation of the Congregation of Secular Canons was religious reform, specifically the reform of monastic life. As intellectuals, they believed the best way to counter the endemic corruption was through a return to the fundamental ideals and teachings of the Church. The Congregation focused on a simple communal life. The Canons’ devoted themselves to studying canonical writings, venerating the Holy Sacrament, the Holy Spirit and to meditating on the life of Christ. The Secular Canon

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Lorenzo Giustiniani championed these initiatives in his writings, which, along with the canonical texts of the Church, were the basis of the Canons’ word-based devotional practice. Their strict orthodoxy was also modeled after Giustiniani’s extreme asceticism and aimed to counter the lax standards that were the root of the Church’s pervasive religious crisis. The Canons were especially devoted to the Virgin Mary as their protector and intercessor. The ecclesiastical garb that Pope Gregory XII permitted them to wear on 27 January 1407 reflected their duty to her (Figs. 57 & 112). The color of their skullcaps and habits was the dark blue of the Virgin’s mantle, and it provided the reason the Canons were known as the Celestini or Turchini (turchino means dark blue in Italian).

Music was also of central importance to the Canons. They conducted their daily lives in meditative silence, and allowed only choral song to interrupt the stillness. The Canons believed their vocal melodies, accompanied by organ music, were the most efficacious way of carrying their invocations and prayers to the Virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit and other intercessors in the spiritual realm. Attesting the importance of this practice to their public and private ritual are the surviving choral books and those listed in the library inventories. The size and central location of the organs and singing choirs in each of the Congregation’s churches are further proof. An instrumental figure in

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87 Lorenzo Giustiniani’s biography including his numerous treatises and sermons, are discussed in detail in the last section of this chapter.
89 De Luca (1968): 36.
promoting this use of choral music was Lorenzo Giustiniani. When he became Bishop of Castello (Venice), he founded the *Schola Cantorum* and immediately required the clergy to undertake religious studies and choral training, in emulation of the curriculum he put into place as a Secular Canon.\(^{91}\)

*Administration of the Congregation*

The success of the Congregation of Secular Canons was not purely the result of the Canons’ way of life and their requirement of unimpeachable moral and spiritual behavior. It was as much the result of their innovative system of governance. The system mitigated the preceding era’s ecclesiastical abuses and assured Congregation-wide spiritual and administrative homogeneity. Besides allotting San Giorgio in Alga to the priests from San Nicolò in Lido, the twelve articles of the 1404 decree established the electoral procedure and governmental structure of the Congregation and laid out a code of conduct for the Canons.\(^{92}\) These articles became the basis for their constitution. The highly structured system governed and regulated the behavior of the Canons, their network of religious houses and their agricultural holdings. One of its by-products was the cross-pollination of ideas and creative resources. The Canons employed this system to meet the challenges of governing a group of affiliated religious institutions. It was their greatest innovation and one reason for the lasting success of their Congregation.

The twelve articles addressed the material needs of the religious community by dictating that the Canons share responsibility for their food and clothing as well as for the upkeep of the communal refectory and dormitory of the church. They also laid out the

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\(^{91}\) Giustiniani (1475): § 25.

Congregation’s governing system, which was underpinned by individual houses that were managed by a single, annually-elected prior. The Canons chose a new prior for each of its houses of worship through elections held in the spring, usually at the end of April or in early May. The Congregation’s burgeoning population and the increased number of houses under its control created new managerial and financial challenges for the organization. So from 1414 onward, the Canons also voted for a Superior General. The man in this role oversaw the proceedings of the General Chapter (capitolo generale). Beginning in 1424, it consisted of twenty-four members from each community who worked together to ensure collective financial and spiritual well-being.

The great collective wealth of the Congregation was derived from the agricultural holdings of each monastery and the personal wealth of its members. The spring elections also named two inspectors (visitatores) and an auditor (calculatore). They were dispatched from San Giorgio in Alga to each of the peripheral houses of the Congregation to coordinate their financial activities with the mother church. This procedure was another safeguard against corruption. Further, the General Chapter formed a syndicate whereby the expenses, obligations and incomes of each member house were overseen and regulated. Thus the churches’ incomes filled the coffers of the Congregation, not of an individual prior, and their expenses were shared. One example of this sharing of fiscal responsibility was when San Giorgio in Braida sold some of its lands in Zimella for the

93 The dates of most of the annual elections and the men elected to the priorate of each house are recorded chronologically in Tomasini (1642) and throughout the Congregation’s parchment records at the Vatican.
95 San Giorgio in Braida in Verona was especially well-endowed because its patrimony included the extensive incoming-producing appanages in the Veronese countryside with which Peter Cadalus (who became Antipope Honorius II in 1061) endowed the institution on 24 April 1046. See Chapter One.
96 Beltramini (1995): 109. Tomasini (1642): 230 stated that the Rector General (also known as the Superior General) and the visitatores resided at the mother church in the Venetian lagoon.
benefit of the Madonna dell’Orto, and later gave 300 ducats more “to poor Madonna dell’Orto in Venice.”

Also in contrast to the former, highly corruptible commenda system, the priorates and other elected positions were no longer available to outside candidates for limitless terms or vulnerable to political patronage. An individual was prevented from becoming too ambitious under the new system because he had to be a member of the Congregation and his tenure in office was limited to one year. The term limits, however, did not prevent men from returning to govern the same house every other year.

By these means, the Canons overcame pervasive corruption and abuse of power. These weaknesses had developed in the earlier system of independently administered institutions in the Catholic Church, especially those held in commenda for indefinite periods of time by secular priors uninterested in the spiritual needs of their flock. The new administrative network also facilitated close communications and encouraged the community’s sharing of tradesmen and even artists and architects among their houses. The results were ecclesiastical structures whose similar interior and exterior appearances served to link further the monastic conglomerate and to advance its religious objectives.

The procedures enumerated in the decree of 1404 facilitated the Congregation’s expansion. So, in 1406, when Lorenzo Giustiniani and his fellow Canons took control of San Giovanni Decollato in Padua, the Congregation’s first terraferma house, the behavioral and administrative standards were in place. The fact that these procedures were established at the same time as the Congregation of Secular Canons, when only

97 ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 263, fol. 68r.
98 “per esser St. Maria dell’ horto povera.” ASVen Soprintendenti alle Decime B.32 as cited in Douglas-Scott (1995): 25, note 73. Douglas-Scott made the point that the Canons of Madonna dell’Orto were trying to conceal the extra income and therefore the reference to them being poor in this document.
seventeen men comprised the organization and occupied only one church, means that the author of the decree intended for the population of Canons to grow quickly and to occupy other religious houses. Seen in these terms, it is further proof that the decree must have been written by, or at least in close collaboration with, Angelo Correr, the founder of the Congregation.

The reforms of the Congregation of Secular Canons and the Council of Trent

The Secular Canons’ ideals and methodologies for pious living, and those of other reforming orders such as the Cassinese Congregation who also were linked to Angelo Correr, Lorenzo Giustiniani, Ludovico Barbo and Gabriele Condulmer, prefigured many of the edicts for reform put forth by the Council of Trent. Herein lies the reason the Congregation and the other reforming orders were such an important part of the Church’s efforts to reform itself in the years leading up to the Reformation. The Congregation of Secular Canons began abolishing the *commenda* system in 1408. The Council codified this achievement, which was among the Congregation’s most significant contributions, in 1547. It required that holders of multiple benefices resign all but one benefice “since he must be considered exceedingly fortunate who succeed in ruling one church well, fruitfully and with due interest in the salvation of the souls committed to him.”99 The Council also ordered the repair of destitute churches and required “ordinaries” to visit churches annually to ensure their upkeep.100 This procedure was modeled after the Canons’ system of dispatching inspectors to each church in their network. The Council required the Church return to canonical scriptures and sacred texts; the Congregation’s

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99 Seventh session, Ch. 2, 3 March 1547: Schroeder (1941): 55-56.
100 Seventh session, Ch. 8, 3 March 1547: ibid., 58.
word-based religion required the use of these texts.\textsuperscript{101} And perhaps most famous of all the Council’s decrees in the context of art history was the mandate passed in 1563 that required religious works of art to inspire piety.\textsuperscript{102} The Canons had insisted upon this from their first commission at San Giorgio in Alga in the 1440s. But as I shall demonstrate in Chapters Five and Six, the decrees did have other repercussions for the art created at San Giorgio in Braida. Given the similarities between these few examples, it should come as no surprise that some former Secular Canons and members of other reforming orders were present at the Council of Trent and helped write the degrees promulgated by it in the mid-sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{103}

\textbf{Section Three: Angelo Correr – Founder of the Congregation of Secular Canons}

Angelo Correr was among the great religious thinkers at the turn of the fifteenth century. His involvement in the Great Schism and its resolution and his participation in the larger sphere of early fifteenth-century international politics have been thoroughly examined by scholars.\textsuperscript{104} His roles as patriarch of the Correr ecclesiastical dynasty and

\textsuperscript{101} Fourth session, 8 April 1546: ibid., 17-20.
\textsuperscript{102} Twenty-fifth session, 4 December 1563: ibid., 215-217. This decree is reproduced in part on page 285, note 3.
\textsuperscript{103} Luigi Lippomano (1500-1559) and Agostino Steuco (1497-1548) were among the attendees. For complete list see \textit{Participants in the Council of Trent}, ed. General Books LLC (2010). See Gisolfi and Sinding-Larsen (1998): 68-70 for discussion of three members of the Cassinese Congregation who were present at Trent.
founder and mastermind of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga and the Reform Benedictines of Santa Giustina in Padua have not been explored fully.\textsuperscript{105}

**Early history of Angelo Correr**

Angelo Correr (c.1335/45-18 October 1417) was born in Venice sometime between 1335 and 1345, the eldest son of Nicolò di Pietro Correr, a wealthy Venetian aristocrat, and his wife Polissena.\textsuperscript{106} The details of his youth are scant, but we know Correr began leading a pious life on the eve of one of the most turbulent times in Church history and completed his theological studies at the University of Padua at a young age.\textsuperscript{107} He later augmented his education at the University of Bologna.\textsuperscript{108} He is documented for the first time only on 23 March 1377 when he is called a professor of theology and named deacon of Corone on the Peloponnesus in Greece after being recommended to Pope Gregory XI (reg. 1370-1378) by the Venetian Senate.\textsuperscript{109}

Correr rose quickly through the ranks of the Church hierarchy and became a potent figure in Venetian and Roman ecclesiastical circles.\textsuperscript{110} He retained his position at Corone, perhaps without ever visiting his See, until 1379. That year he returned to his hometown to take up the Bishopric of Castello (Venice) for which he earned an annual

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{105} Cracco (1959): 72-74; De Luca (1968): 36-37 and Penco (1984): 98-99. The connection between the Congregation of Secular Canons and the Cassinese Congregation is known and has been explored by Tassi (1952): esp. 137-139 and Cracco (1959): 71 among others.
\item \textsuperscript{106} See Correr family tree in Appendix II.
\item \textsuperscript{107} Papadopoli (1726): tom. 2, 163, n. 120.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Franz Ehrle, ed. *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell’Università di Bologna* (1932), 104.
\item \textsuperscript{109} This was an important and profitable appointment on account of this See’s prominence and its strategic location in the Venetian dominion. Furthermore, it was designated as a key stop-over point for pilgrimages to Jerusalem. (Ortalli (2000): 584-593.)
\item \textsuperscript{110} Zafarana (1960): 195; Gigrensohn (1985): 5-6; Ortalli (2000): 585. The Senate and Consiglio each had among its members a sizable number of Correr family members. They were instrumental in promoting Angelo to his ecclesiastical positions in the Veneto. For a summary of Angelo Correr’s ecclesiastical career, see Ughelli (1717): vol. V, col. 1285-1286.
\end{itemize}
stipend of 1,800-1,950 florins. Pope Urban VI named him “collectaria de Venetiis” on 21 February 1387, and Angelo began traveling widely for the pontiff, collecting for him the incomes of dioceses from Verona to Albania. It was during this period that he came into contact with Giovanni Dominici, who was vicar general of Santi Giovanni e Paolo and teacher of Angelo’s nephew, Antonio. Correr and Dominici found they shared a vision of a unified Church and a desire to end the ongoing Schism. They advocated these principles throughout their long careers during which time they remained close friends.

It was likely during this period that Correr formulated his master plan for reform.

Correr’s relatives in the Venetian Senate and his friend Pope Boniface IX ensured that he took control of the vacant Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1390. And after further recommendation by the Senate to the Pope, he was promoted to the priorship of Corone in 1395. These numerous appointments made him an even wealthier man. Augmenting the stipend he drew as Bishop of Castello, Correr received 3,450 florins per annum as Patriarch of Constantinople and another 1,950 florins as prior of Corone. Angelo retained these lucrative ecclesiastical benefices even after his elevation to Pope in 1406. In spring of 1407 he increased his yearly incomes yet again after assuming the Archbishopric of Crete following the death of his predecessor and collecting the office’s

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113 After his election to the papal throne, Angelo Correr chose Dominici as his confessor and advisor, and created him cardinal along with Gabriele Condulmer and Antonio Correr on the same day in 1408. Gregory XII took refuge with Dominici after his banishment from Naples in 1411. In 1415 Pope Gregory XII sent Dominici to the Council of Constance as his proxy together with Carlo Malatesta of Rimini. There Dominici tendered the Pope’s resignation on 4 July thus ending the Schism.
annual income of 1,500 florins.\textsuperscript{115} This meant that from 1407 onward he was earning a staggering 8,700 florins annually.\textsuperscript{116} These positions obviously produced substantial wealth for Correr, but more significant for his effort to expand his Congregation was the broader jurisdiction they gave him to allocate ecclesiastical offices.

Angelo Correr devised a master plan for reform of the monastic orders that, in an apparent contradiction, at first exploited the corrupt system in order to achieve his reform goals. As Correr climbed the ecclesiastical hierarchy and accrued greater power to appoint men to church offices he commenced practicing nepotism with deliberateness and zeal. He did this in order to lay a solid foundation for his nascent reform movement. He decided that all five of his nephews—Antonio Correr and two of his brothers, Marco and Paolo; Gabriele Condulmer; and Angelo Barbarigo—should enter the Church. He used the numerous connections he had with church officials in and around the Veneto and in Rome to advance his nephews’ careers by bestowing lucrative benefices on them at every stage of their religious lives. The various churches and cities to which he attached Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer later formed the bases of the network of religious houses maintained by the Congregation of Secular Canons.

Angelo Correr first exercised his patronage for the benefit of his oldest nephew, Antonio Correr. He granted him the benefices of Santa Maria in Organo in Verona and Corone on the Peloponnesus in Greece on 23 September 1396.\textsuperscript{117} In 1400, he installed him and his cousin Gabriele as canons at the Duomo of Verona. The cousins completed

\textsuperscript{115} Hermann von Hoberg, \textit{Taxae pro communibus servitiis, ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1455 confectis}, Studi e testi, 144 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1949), 41-44, X as referenced in Girgensohn (1985): 24-25, n. 76.

\textsuperscript{116} To give the reader an idea of the value of this sum, in 1427, a well-paid Florentine craftsman could expect to earn about 66 florins a year. See Goldthwaite (1982): 60 and 438 and Lane and Mueller (1985): 279.

\textsuperscript{117} Brugnoli (1997): 84.
their training in the Canonry by the end of 1401, and Angelo then named Gabriele benefactor of Sant’Agostino in Vicenza in November 1401 and assigned Antonio to collect his cousin’s appointment. As Patriarch of Constantinople since 1390, Angelo granted his nephew Angelo Barbarigo the Bishopric of Kissamos. It was in this capacity that Barbarigo executed the papal bull of 1404 suppressing the Augustinian monastery on San Giorgio in Alga and allotting it to his cousins Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer and their nascent Congregation. It was after Angelo Correr ascended the papal throne that he was able to see his plan fully realized.

_Angelo Correr becomes Pope Gregory XII (reg. 1406-16)_

Angelo Correr befriended Cardinal Cosmo de’ Migliorati while they were both in the Roman Curia at the end of the 1300s. Cardinal de’ Migliorati became Pope Innocent VII in 1404, and in April of the following year made his friend Angelo Rector of the Marches, and two months hence, Cardinal of San Marco. With this promotion paved the way for Angelo himself to be elected Pope a little more than a year later. After the sudden and some say suspicious death of Innocent VII on 6 November 1406, a conclave of fourteen cardinals selected Angelo to succeed his friend on 30 November. With this appointment he became the first in a line of Venetians, all of whom were Angelo’s relatives, to wear the papal tiara. The cardinals unanimously choose Angelo because he was the most fervent proponent of reforming the church and ending the Schism that had plagued the papacy since 1378. Angelo Correr chose Gregory as his papal name to


119 The Vatican lists his official election day as 19 December because, when Angelo Correr was selected, he was not a Bishop and so could not be Bishop of Rome until his consecration as Pope in December.
emphasize his commitment to these principles, which had previously been upheld by his namesake Pope Saint Gregory I (reg. 590–604).120

Angelo Correr swore he would fulfill the three conditions imposed by the Roman Cardinals to eliminate the Schism when he was elected pope. First, he would create no new cardinals in the first fifteen months of his reign (i.e. from 30 November 1406 to 28 February 1408), and then would do so only to create parity with the College of Cardinals in Avignon. Second, he would end the Schism by abdicating if his counterpart in France, Benedict XIII, agreed to do the same. And last, he would proactively solicit a meeting with Benedict XIII within three months to negotiate an end to the Schism.121 The Venetians were rightly proud to have one of their native sons holding the keys of Peter and certainly expected to profit from their strong bond with the new pontiff. In homage, the Venetian government held lavish festivities for three days and sent eight ambassadors, instead of the usual four, and their entourage of fifty-three to Rome to greet the new pontiff.122 With Angelo Correr at the helm of the Church, an end to the Great Schism and the divided, secular loyalties of the Cardinals seemed at hand, as did a stronger collaboration between Rome and Venice. All this boded well for Angelo Correr’s nascent Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga and his dream of clerical reform. As Pope Gregory XII, he was so anxious to insure the institution of his

120 Gregory the Great, as he was also known, was Roman by birth and perhaps from the Anicia family. He reluctantly committed himself to the monastic life (he was the first monk to be named Pope) though he proved to be ardent reformer and prolific writer of sermons and religious texts. He was the first Doctor of the Church. His life was so exemplary and his deeds so great that he was canonized immediately following his death in 604. (Barbieri (1972); S Boesch Gajano, “Gregorio I,” in Enciclopedia dei Papi (2000); C. Leyser, Authority and asceticism from Augustin to Gregory the Great (Oxford 2000); R.A. Markus, Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo (Milano 2000).
new Congregation that he reaffirmed Pope Boniface IX’s promulgation of 1404 by issuing a second bull on 28 May 1407.123

**Angelo Correr’s practice of nepotism as Pope Gregory XII**

Shortly after receiving the papal tiara in 1406, Correr created further opportunities for his most beloved nephews.124 He took Antonio Correr away from the Secular Canons when he called him to Rome and appointed him Bishop of Modone (Greece) on 26 February 1407.125 The Pope also appointed him papal secretary and treasurer on this date. Antonio then became even busier. In March, he was elected Bishop of Bologna, though he never took possession of the Duomo because the city opposed the Roman pope. In June he was nominated *camerlengo* (chamberlain) of the Church.126 Papal favors continued the following year. Antonio and his cousin Gabriele were named Cardinals on 9 May 1408. And in August, as further proof of the Pope’s faith in Antonio, he charged him with the reform of the Paduan monastery of Santa Giustina.127 He made him *commendatario* while he gave the church to the Benedictines from Monte Oliveto, though Antonio’s attempt at reform was ultimately unsuccessful.128 It was only after Pope

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124 Pope Gregory XII also advanced a third nephew, Angelo Barbarigo, within the Church. Barbarigo assumed the Bishopric of Verona on 21 September 1406, a position he held for two years. Though his tenure was brief, Barbarigo was able to introduce the Augustinian Regular Canons from Lucca into Verona’s ecclesiastical milieu. The Pope also appointed Barbarigo Collector-General in 1407. His jurisdiction as Collector-General were the provinces of Milan and Genova, and Como, Parma, Regio Emilia, Mantua, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Trent, Bressiano, Feltre and Belluno. (Gualdo (1964): 57.)


127 This took place on 21 August 1407. (Penco (1984): Appendix II, doc. 3.)

128 Ibid., 323, Appendix II, doc. 321.
Gregory XII stripped his nephew of the benefice and transferred Ludovico Barbo to Padua in 1409 that the reform of the monastery began in earnest.

Gabriele Condulmer also expeditiously received a host of important titles and benefices after his uncle became Pope Gregory XII in 1406. Within a week of his election the Pope summoned twenty-six year old Gabriele to Rome\textsuperscript{129} and in quick succession awarded him numerous key positions: principal cleric of the Camera Apostolica (25 February 1407), treasurer in charge of the papal finances (13 June 1407),\textsuperscript{130} and Bishop of Siena (30 December 1407).\textsuperscript{131} All of this culminated in Gabriele’s receipt of a Cardinal’s hat the following year. Despite these papal favors, Pope Gregory XII’s actions should not be read simply as further evidence of his nepotism but as proof of his desire to fulfill his promise to end quickly the Schism. This is because Gabriele Condulmer was very pious and, like his uncle, above all interested in the reform of the church and the clergy. His devotion to these principles would be clear in his actions as Pope Eugene IV.

Although the Congregation of Secular Canons lost two of its most important members to the Roman Curia, it soon flourished in Venice and on the terraferma. Indeed, it was because the Congregation was then under new management that it was able to thrive. The Pope entrusted Lorenzo Giustiniani with the Congregation’s administration and dogma. Thus Giustiniani, who was “supremely laudable for his sanctity of life,

\textsuperscript{129} Tomasini (1642): 38.
\textsuperscript{130} When he was instated as his uncle’s papal promontory and treasurer, Gabriele Condulmer renounced his commendam of San Agostino in Vicenza. Daniele Rosa, \textit{Summorum, sanctissimorumque Pontificum Illustrium Vironum Piorumque Patrum de Beati Laurentii Iustiniani Venetiarum Patriarchae Vita Sanctorum ac Miraculis Testimonialorum Centuria}, 1st ed. (Venetiis: Apud Sanctum Gryllum, & Fratres, 1614), 173-174.
\textsuperscript{131} Hay (1993): 496.
honesty of morals, and for all his virtues,” became the pillar of the Congregation. Even before Angelo Correr became Pope Gregory XII he had taken note of Lorenzo’s piety and extreme devotion. He recognized that his nephews would be better served in the higher ranks of the church while Lorenzo would be best suited to the daily running of the organization and to living among the Canons for whom he was the exemplar.

Pope Gregory XII encouraged Lorenzo Giustiniani to expand the Congregation onto the terraferma by placing three churches on the mainland under his control. The Secular Canons established their first satellite church in Padua, site of the university where many of them received their schooling, at the small peripheral monastery of San Giovanni Decollato. Giustiniani took possession of the priorships of Sant’Agostino in Vicenza and Santi Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo (outside Vicenza) in 1407 after Pope Gregory XII called Gabriele Condulmer to Rome.

To sum up, Angelo Correr had a grand vision for Church reform that he probably formulated when he befriended Giovanni Dominici at Santi Giovanni e Paolo in the late 1300s. He encouraged his nephews to gather their friends in his palace in 1402. He then facilitated their move to San Nicolò in Lido and finally to San Giorgio in Alga in 1404 by using his friendships to his advantage, just as he used nepotism and his power as Pope to advance his plan after 1406. Correr assessed the proficiency of each nephew and then assigned him a role in the church where he would be best able to foster the

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132 “uomo per santità di vita, onestà di costumi, & per tutte le virtù sommamente laudabile.” Corner (1758): 502.

133 These were lucrative positions; the benefice of Santi Fermo e Rustico alone produced an annual income of 1,000 gold ducats. (Cenci (1924): 289.) Pope Gregory XII issued the bull transferring possession of San Agostino and SS. Fermo e Rustico to Lorenzo Giustiniani on 14 September 1407. (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, VII, bulla Gregorii XII, dat. Senis., II id. septemb, an. I.)
Congregation’s growth. This continued also after the emergence of Lorenzo Giustiniani as the spiritual leader of the religious organization.

**Pope Gregory XII’s efforts to end the Great Schism and subsequent troubles**

While in Lucca impatiently awaiting guarantees from his ambassadors as to the safety of a planned meeting with antipope Benedict XIII in Savona, Pope Gregory XII must have known his papal authority was in grave danger and his legacy and fledgling Congregation threatened. This was because he reneged on one of the promises he made when he was crowned Pope. He had vowed not to create cardinals unless to create parity with Benedict XIII’s cardinals. The gifts of cardinals’ hats to his nephews (as well as to his friend and confessor Giovanni Dominici) on 9 May 1408 came just three months after his promised fifteen-month moratorium on such activity. The Pope’s bold measures had negative consequences. Many of his cardinals saw his actions as a treacherous betrayal of his inaugural promises since the Schism still had not been resolved. They shed their loyalties to him even before he made a third nephew, Angelo Barbarigo, cardinal on 19 September of that year.\(^{134}\) With three papal nephews as cardinals, the Correr family was squarely in line for the papal throne. Correr’s defiant cardinals departed for Pisa on 11 May 1408 with the intention of calling their own Council and electing a new, and as it turned out, third claimant to the Holy See. Baldassare Cossa (the future Anti-Pope John XXIII) led the group and even threatened to end the Schism by kidnapping Pope Gregory XII.\(^{135}\) Tensions between Angelo Correr and Venice had been rising but came to a head

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\(^{135}\) Antipope John XXII was born in 1360/65 and died on 27 December 1419. He was elected antipope on 25 May 1410 and was formally deposed on 29 May 1415. See Sarah Blake McHam, “Donatello’s tomb of pope John XXIII,” in *Life and death in fifteenth-century Florence*, ed. Marcel Tetel,
when the Pope beseeched his native city for assistance in the fall of 1408. None was forthcoming.  

As the heat of summer arrived in 1409, Pope Gregory XII had two other reasons to be hot under the collar: the Venetians recognized Alexander V as the true pope in spite of having one of their own on the papal throne in Rome, and the Council of Ten declared that those still loyal to Gregory XII would be imprisoned. Seeing that he could no longer depend on support from or entrust his security to the Venetians, Gregory XII fled to Friuli and then to Naples in ships sent by his last loyal protector, King Ladislas. Soon after, the Venetians definitively severed all ties with the Pope.

The twentieth of December 1408 was an important day for Pope Gregory XII, one that must have been filled with a sense of urgency and foreboding if the volume and significance of bulls he promulgated that day are any indication. The bulls were crucial to the success of the Congregation of Secular Canons and to the founding of the Reform Benedictine order, which would flourish under Ludovico Barbo at Santa Giustina in Padua. They ensured his beloved nephews would be guaranteed their positions in the Church, and they set the precedent for the elimination of the commenda. Taken together,
the documents paint a picture of a man desperately trying to salvage his plan for clerical and ecclesiastical reform in the face of rising opposition against him.

The bulls were necessitated by a series of events that began to unfold in 1404. This was before the Pope’s authority was called into question and on the day when Ludovico Barbo welcomed his friends and brother to his priorate on San Giorgio in Alga and the Congregation of Secular Canons was founded. Barbo acquainted himself with their devotional practices, yet he neither formally joined their Congregation nor did he transfer his commendatory privileges to them. Instead, he retained the priorship and a third of the church’s incomes, while a vicar, most likely Marino Querini, was in charge of the daily running of the complex.\footnote{Tomasini (1642): 26 and Tomassetti, Cocquelines \textit{et al.}, eds. (1857-1872): Vol. 4, 648, §649.} Two administrative complications arose from this arrangement. The Canons were unable to elect a prior from within their ranks or to gain access the church’s funds until Barbo either joined another order and gave up his \textit{commendam} or died,\footnote{Tassi (1952): 19-20.} and Barbo, as a regular canon, could not participate in the religious life of the Secular Canons. These conditions stifled the expansion of the Congregation of Secular Canons and Gregory XII’s dream of a broader reform that was predicated upon the elimination of this very conflict of interest. I contend that this was the moment the Pope realized that the \textit{commenda} system needed to be abolished. His reform could not take shape otherwise. Perhaps Lorenzo Giustiniani was the driving force behind this idea. He had never held a church \textit{in commendam} (the Venetian \textit{probae} are void of his name) so he could have advocated eliminating it without a conflict of interest.\footnote{Cfr. Cenci (1968).} The Pope had attempted to remove Ludovico Barbo from San Giorgio in Alga before, in
1407, but Barbo declined,¹⁴⁴ and so the conflict of interest persisted until the Pope took
decisive action on 20 December 1408.

The bulls issued on that day accomplished the following chain of events. To
begin, the Olivetans had received Santa Giustina from the Pope in May 1408 with the
express purpose of rehabilitating the church. By December they still had not taken
possession of the abbey. So, the Pope revoked his donation of Santa Giustina to them and
terminated the accompanying annual income of 500 florins.¹⁴⁵ He then removed the
commendatory privileges that his nephew Antonio Correr had held since 21 August
1407.¹⁴⁶ Yet, not wanting to deprive his nephew of too much, he granted him a lifetime
salary of half the incomes of Santa Giustina.¹⁴⁷ This action cleared the ecclesiastical
hierarchy at the Paduan abbey. The Pope’s final task was to promote Ludovico Barbo to
abbot of Santa Giustina, provided he took the habit of the monastery, which he did the
following year.¹⁴⁸ Thereby Lorenzo Giustiniani became the prior of San Giorgio in Alga.

Ludovico Barbo had been asked to leave San Giorgio in Alga before, in 1407. But
only under these orders from the Pope did he reluctantly depart for Padua in 1409. By
that time he had been affiliated with the Secular Canons for more than five years and had
absorbed the lessons of their success. Once at Santa Giustina, he modeled his reform of
the Benedictine house on the Canons’ asceticism and simple way of life. He modeled the
administrative structure on the system that they pioneered, especially the requirement that

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Appendix II, doc. 3.
¹⁴⁷ The Pope charged Gabriele Condulmer, who was then Bishop of Siena, Bishop Giovanni dal
Pozzo of Città di Castello, and Paolo Venier, the abbot of San Michele in Murano, with overseeing this
allocation. (ibid., Appendix II, doc. 6 and 7.)
¹⁴⁸ Ibid., Appendix II, doc. 4.
each church would eliminate the *commenda* when they joined the Benedictine Congregation of Santa Giustina.

Barbo’s departure from San Giorgio in Alga facilitated Lorenzo Giustinianî’s election in his stead as the Congregation’s first prior on 2 September 1409. Thus, Angelo Correr accomplished three goals with this series of bulls. He eliminated the *commenda* system altogether at San Giorgio in Alga and Santa Giustina. He launched the largest reform movement of the fifteenth century, that of the Reform Benedictines of Santa Giustina, by relocating Barbo from Venice to Padua. Lastly, he ensured the prosperity and longevity of the Congregation of Secular Canons by transferring administrative and financial control of San Giorgio in Alga to them, which in turn permitted Lorenzo Giustinianî to disseminate his teachings to the population of Canons.

But that was not all Pope Gregory XII did in these waning days of his reign. On 1 May 1409, he gave Condulmer the benefice of the crumbling twelfth-century religious complex of San Giorgio in Braida in Verona that had fallen into disuse in 1338. Correr’s power as Pope ended shortly thereafter. On 5 June 1409, the Council of Pisa first deposed both Pope Gregory XII and the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII. It then elected the Greek Archbishop of Milan, Pietro Filargi, as Pope Alexander V on 26 June.

This was a devastating blow to Angelo Correr. Unfortunately, more misfortune was to come. Rebuffed by his native city, which by 1414 had completely cut off communications with him, he was forced to abdicate in 1416 as a result of the outcome of the Council of Constance. But he did not do so without conditions. He negotiated the promise that all his cardinals would continue to be recognized and allowed to retain their

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149 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12244.
authority and title. The stipulation ensured the prolongation of Venetian influence in the Church and secured the future of the Congregation of Secular Canons. Within two decades, Cardinal Gabriel Condulmer was elected pope, taking the name Eugene IV, and in 1431 became the second Venetian to hold the papal keys.

Angelo Correr spent his remaining years in the reduced position of Cardinal of Ancona even though the Holy See was proclaimed vacant on 30 May 1417. He died on 18 October 1417 and was buried in the Cathedral at Recanati where his body remains today (Figs. 58 & 59).\textsuperscript{150} The Great Schism was finally brought to an end with the election of Oddone Colonna as Pope Martin V on 11 November 1417.\textsuperscript{151} Colonna had been one of the insurgent Pisan cardinals who elected Alexander V to the papal throne. This suspicious connection, coupled with the convenient timing of Angelo Correr’s death raises the question–did Correr, who was already an aged man in his eighties, die of natural causes, or did he meet his end by more sinister methods?

\textit{Conclusion to Biography of Angelo Correr}

While never a member of the Congregation himself (he was in his seventies and about to become pope when it was founded), Angelo Correr’s initial sponsorship of the group resulted in its flourishing. He enlisted his numerous connections and consistently practiced nepotism to ensure the Congregation’s prosperity. As the powerful uncle of Gabriele Condulmer and Antonio Correr he installed them in the Canonry of Verona, where they were exposed to devotional rigor and solitude that would inspire the piety and asceticism of the reform-minded group. Upon their return to Venice in late 1401 or early

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{150} Filippo Raffaelli, \textit{Il monumento di Papa Gregorio XII ed i suoi donativi alla Cattedrale Basilica di Recanati: memoria con documenti} (Fermo: Bacher, 1877).
\textsuperscript{151} C Bianca, “Martino V, papa,” in \textit{DBI} (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana).}
1402, he vigorously encouraged them to establish the Congregation. He orchestrated the transfer of Sant’Agostino, an exemplary center of reform, to Gabriele Condulmer and seems to have instructed Antonio Correr to accept the position in Gabriele’s stead. He offered his palace on the Grand Canal as their assembly hall and facilitated their move to San Nicolò in Lido. After the transfer, he continued to keep the men under his protection first as Patriarch of Constantinople and later as pope. He watched over the religious community’s development once it was established and he laid the groundwork for its papal approval. He probably encouraged his friend Pope Boniface IX to send Correr’s nephew Angelo Barbarigo to San Giorgio in Alga to promulgate the papal bull sanctioning the Congregation and to facilitate the official transfer of the island to the priests from San Nicolò in Lido who were already in residence at San Giorgio in Alga. After his election to the papal throne as Pope Gregory XII in 1406, Angelo Correr, for good measure, promulgated a bull confirming that issued by his predecessor (but probably written in collaboration with Correr). He had great affinity for the young Venetian priest, Lorenzo Giustiniani, whose piety and reformist motivation were aligned with his own, and he entrusted Giustiniani with the Congregation after he called his nephews Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer to Rome. In the waning years of his papacy, his need to secure the longevity of his Congregation resulted in his drastic actions that brought the unrest in the Church to a fever pitch; he created his three nephews cardinal to put them in line for the papacy. This act was in violation of his solemn vow to the College of Cardinals upon his election in 1406. His life ended in the midst of the turmoil following his abdication.
Giacomo Tomasini was a devoted member of the Congregation of Secular Canons and its Superior General when he wrote his *Annales Canonicorum Secularium Sancti Georgii in Alga* in 1642. With it he tried to save the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga from extinction by detailing its glorious past and the achievements of its members. In light of Tomasini’s desire to defend his Congregation against its detractors, above all the Papacy, at the height of the Counter Reformation he wanted to distance his organization from any association with the Congregation’s true founder, Angelo Correr, who brought disgrace to the Papacy and to Venice during his last years as Pope. Tomasini claimed that Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer were the Congregation’s true founders and were inspired by the appearance of the Holy Spirit to start their reform. Perhaps this divine apparition is Tomasini’s conceit: the Dove of the Holy Spirit is the embodiment of Angelo Correr, Pope Gregory XII. The imagery in the Canons’ churches, which is examined fully in Chapter Three, reinforced this association in the Canons’ minds. He was the true founder of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga who, in Tomasini’s telling, appeared to his nephews as their inspiration. Furthermore, the iconography in the churches supports the idea that Angelo Correr and the Papacy were looked upon with reverence by the Canons, who commemorated their founder and his actions. Correr became one of the heroes of the Congregation and was honored, however subtly, in the decorations of the Congregation’s churches.

*Angelo Correr’s Legacy*

When Pope Gregory XII created Gabriele Condulmer Cardinal of San Clemente in 1408, he set the stage for his nephew to become the second Venetian pope as Eugene
Though Gabriele Condulmer was a member of the Congregation of Secular Canons for only five years (1402-1407), he remained very loyal to the group he had helped to establish. As Pope, Condulmer continued the work begun by his uncle by granting dispensations and issuing bulls for the Canons’ benefit. He also bestowed more benefices upon the Congregation of Secular Canons (and the other reforming orders) and facilitated their further prosperity and rapid expansion. For example, in 1440, he helped the Canons fund the renovations of their mother church by granting a bull to Lorenzo Giustinianii, then serving as Bishop of Venice, “pro ampliatione ecclesiae Sancti Georgii [in Alga].” And three years hence on 1 May, he issued a _privilegium_: …for fulfilling vows of pilgrimage…Eugene, _pontifex maximus_, granted to the General Rector [of the Congregation of Secular Canons] the ability to fulfill vows of any pilgrimage whatsoever for the construction of the church of Saint George in Alga, and this up to the sum of 500 ducats. Moreover, as a particular proof of favor the pope furnished the library of San Giorgio in Alga with several handwritten books, and later, with a zeal of some degree for the public advantage, he augmented it, through the Bishop of Feltra, who was making a journey from Rome to Venice, with many codices of the same kind.

His munificence reached Verona, too. Upon being named Pope in 1431, Condulmer entrusted the priorate at San Giorgio in Braida that he had held _in commendam_ since 1409, to his nephew Francesco Condulmer who was a Secular Canon. On 11 March 1440, Condulmer offered a cardinal’s hat to his own nephew, Pietro Barbo, the future Pope Paolo II, extending Venetian papal lineage into a third generation.

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152 See Mary Hollingsworth, _Patronage in Renaissance Italy: from 1400 to the early sixteenth century_ (London: John Murray, 1994), 236-238. In 1440, Condulmer offered a cardinal’s hat to his own nephew, Pietro Barbo, the future Pope Paolo II, extending Venetian papal lineage into a third generation.

153 Tomasini (1642): 121-144.


1441, Matteo Contarini, who served as prior of Sant’Angiolo in Monte, was elected Rector and full control of San Giorgio in Braida passed to the Congregation of Secular Canons. Five years later, Eugene IV joined San Giorgio in Braida to the hospital of San Barnaba in Borgo, allowing the Canons the serve the community in yet another way. Consequently, the Secular Canons prospered under Pope Eugene IV as they did through the patronage of his uncle.

Section Four: Lorenzo Giustiniani – Shepherd of the Congregation of Secular Canons

Pope Gregory XII established the Congregation of Secular Canons on the island in the Venetian lagoon. He then put his religious organization into the hands of a devoted young man he recognized as the ideal exemplar and shepherd for the growing population of Canons, Lorenzo Giustiniani (Fig. 6). Giustiniani can be considered the spiritual founder of the Congregation. He is rightly heralded as one of its heroes, since he was the author of its orthodoxy and way of life and the one who oversaw its expansion onto the terraferma. The myth that Giustiniani was founder added sanctity to the Congregation. Giustiniani provided a model by which the Canons led their lives, produced writings that rivaled the canonical writings of the Church Fathers, was beatified and ultimately canonized.

Lorenzo Giustiniani’s Youth

Lorenzo was born Giovanni Giustiniani in Venice on 1 July 1381. According to later tradition this was the very day the Genoese surrendered to the Venetians at Chioggia

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157 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12332.
158 Giustiniani (1475); Giustiniani (1684); Litta (1834): vol. XI; Silvio Tramontin, “Il S. Lorenzo Giustiniani,” in *Santi e beati veneziani*, ed. G. Musolino, Antonio Niero, and Silvio Tramontin (Venezia:
thus ending the Venetian-Genoese Wars that had raged since 1350.\textsuperscript{159} Destiny seemed to have had grand plans for this son of two of Venice’s oldest aristocratic families. He went on to lead an extraordinary life as a scholar and holy man. The significance of his sermons and theological writings, and his impact on church history caused him to be considered among the Fathers of the Church.

Lorenzo was the eldest son of privileged and powerful parents, Bernardo Giustiniani and his pious wife, Querina Querini. He spent his youth with his two younger brothers, Marco and Leonardo, who also became prominent men in Venice and her sphere of influence.\textsuperscript{160} Querina took the lead role in the lives of her three sons, a more prominent one than Venetian aristocratic society would otherwise allow on account of being widowed at age twenty, shortly after the birth of Leonardo. The amount of formal education the boys had outside the home is unclear, though all three were heavily influenced by their mother’s instruction.\textsuperscript{161} Querina taught her sons the lessons of the Bible and the ecclesiastical texts of Saint Augustine and other Church Fathers. By example she taught them to pray, to curb their urges through fasting and vigil and to give generously to the less fortunate. Lorenzo was most assiduous in his religious and humanist studies, and he began sleeping on rough boards and refusing food.\textsuperscript{162} His

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{159} Giustiniani (1475): 7. John Julius Norwich, \textit{A history of Venice}, 1st American ed. (New York: Knopf, 1982), 255 says the war ended on 24 June when the 4,000 Genoese troops surrendered after running aground and half-starving in the lagoons of Chioggia.
  \item \textsuperscript{160} Marco (d. 1438), the second boy, became a member of the Council of Ten, the first podestà of Bergamo, and governor of Verona. (Patricia H. Labalme, \textit{Bernardo Giustiniani: a Venetian of the Quattrocento} (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), 8, 18, 109.) Leonardo (1381/6-1446), the youngest, authored poems of devotion and became the Venetian Republic’s leading humanist. (Franco Pignatti, “Leonardo Giustiniani,” in \textit{DBI} (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001).)
  \item \textsuperscript{161} Tramontin (1963b): 207.
  \item \textsuperscript{162} For the more discussion of the impact of humanism upon Venetian society during this period see Vittore Branca, “Ermolao Barbaro and late quattrocento Venetian humanism,” in \textit{Renaissance Venice},
\end{itemize}
observance was so strict that Querina believed her eldest son did not understand the demands of an ascetic life and worried he would harm himself. She did all she could to persuade Lorenzo to give up his arduous religious practice and return to the more comfortable family life. She even arranged for him to marry a suitably attractive and wealthy Venetian noblewoman. Yet a different female persuaded the teenaged Lorenzo (still known as Giovanni) not to marry, but to abandon fully the privileged secular world of his youth and to enter the ascetic and secluded spiritual one he would inhabit for the rest of his life.

Lorenzo perpetuated his own myth by telling the reader of his autobiography that in 1400, when he was nineteen years old, a young maiden appeared to him. She was no ordinary Venetian beauty, however, but the terrestrial personification of the Divine Wisdom of God. Wisdom, who was “more resplendent than the sun,” according to Giustiniani, proceeded to admonish him for his indecisiveness and failure to embrace religious study wholeheartedly. She promised all he desired if he accepted her as his bride:

‘Oh youth, why do you not give yourself to me, and learn to love me? Everything you are searching for you will find in me, everything that you desire I can offer to you, and it is all yours if you take me to be your companion.’ On hearing her speak like this, my heart softened and love for

163 He wrote his autobiography, entitled Fasciculus amoris (Bundles of Love), when he was forty-five.

164 The juxtaposition of the earthly, Venetian bride offered by Lorenzo’s mother and the heavenly, mystical one offered by God himself is an illustration of the rewards and temptations of the two paths and further emphasizes the dutiful piety of Giustinianil’s decision. Familial pressure to marry commonly appears in stories of saint’s lives, including in the hagiography of one of Lorenzo’s relatives, Nicolò Giustiniani, who had to renounce vows out of duty to continue the family blood line. Cfr. Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700 (University of Chicago Press, 1986), 74-76.

165 This quotation is also from the Book of Wisdom 53:17.
her pierced my soul, and I desired to know her name and her station. She replied that she was Divine Wisdom, the very same who had in the fullness of time taken on her human form to aid the reconciliation of mankind with God.166

It was at this moment, Giustiniani continued, that he finally renounced the secular world and his native home, never to enter it again, and began his secluded religious life on the island of San Giorgio in Alga.167

Later hagiographers repeated Giustiniani’s assertion. His encounter with Divine Wisdom was the definitive moment of his conversion and mystical union with God and added the necessary aura of sanctity to his life. The Congregation of Secular Canons especially fixed upon what Bernardo Giustiniani described as the “spiritual, mystical marriage between his uncle’s soul and the Word of God.”168 They exploited the potent iconography associated with it because the union prefigured and ordained the rational, scholarly nature of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga and its word-based orthodoxy written by Giustiniani. The iconography of Divine Wisdom is also

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167 Several sources suggest Giustiniani’s conversion was less instantaneousness. His nephew, Bernardo Giustiniani, recorded in his biography that Giovanni/Lorenzo was nineteen when he had his conversion, i.e. 1400. But Tomasini provided this same year as the one in which the group of men who would come to be known as the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga first met in the Palazzo Correr in Venice. Bernardo Giustiniani wrote that after the vision his uncle was still unsure of its meaning and at an unknown date sought out the “pious and devout” brother of his mother, Marino Quirini, on the island of San Giorgio in Alga. But Marino and his fellow priests had been in residence there only since late 1402 at the earliest (the Congregation was sanctioned on 15 March 1404), so the time between Giovanni/Lorenzo’s vision and consultation with his uncle was about two years. Other sources say his conversion took place when he was twenty (Del Torre (2006): 73) or about twenty-two (Lorenzo Giustiniani, Sancti Laurentii Justiniani Opera omnia (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1751; reprint, 1982 with preface by Giorgio Cracco), i as cited by P. L. Sartorelli, “La controversia cronologica su San Lorenzo Giustiniani,” L’Osservatore Romano 3 Feb 1982, 6).

168 Giustiniani (1475): xxxiv.
associated with the Dove of the Holy Spirit, as it appears upon the figure’s shield in images and iconologies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Fig. 71).\textsuperscript{169}

\textit{Life as a Secular Canon and Role in the Congregation’s Expansion}

Lorenzo Giustiniani entered the Congregation in late 1403 or early 1404 after the Canons had transferred to San Giorgio in Alga because on 15 March 1404 he is documented among its members.\textsuperscript{170} His uncle Marino Querini, who was one of the Congregation’s original members, probably encouraged him to do so. As a Canon he continued the rigid existence of his youth but blossomed into a gifted cleric, exemplary ascetic and ardent reformer. His biographer/nephew, writing his hagiography in 1475, painted a somber picture of the holy man’s comportment as a Secular Canon. Lorenzo ate or drank little; rarely left his cell, and when he did, only to sing mass; and almost never leaned when he stood to pray. His habits were so strict that he did not even allow himself a walk in the garden, “the only leisure for a religious soul,” or the warmth of a candle in winter, which was “remarkable given the delicacy of his skin.”\textsuperscript{171} His extreme self-deprivation and religious discipline were in stark contrast to the lax protocol prevalent in the monastic communities of Europe. His rigorous existence gained him the immediate respect of his confrères, and they were quick to fashion their way of life after his.

Nevertheless, the annals of the Congregation portray Giustiniani as a robust man very engaged in an active pastoral career. He won praise for the key role he played in the practical matters of the Congregation by masterminding the expansion of the Canons’


\textsuperscript{171} Giustiniani (1475): Ch. II, §10.
network of houses beyond the lagoon and onto the terraferma in conjunction with Pope Gregory XII. Under Giustiniani’s leadership, the reforming Congregation of Secular Canons became Venice’s secret weapon—the Senate called it the city’s Trojan Horse—because it penetrated and stabilized the ecclesiastical infrastructures of the cities newly incorporated into the Venetian domain.\footnote{ASV, Senato, Secreta, reg. 26, fol. 31v as cited and reproduced in Labalme (1993): 18, n. 19.} Another of his great contributions was his treatise of rules for how to live a disciplined monastic life written in 1424.\footnote{De disciplina monasticae was written by Lorenzo Giustiniani while at Sant’Agostino in Vicenza in 1424. It is reproduced in Giustiniani (1751). For a list of manuscript copies of the treatise see Silvio Tramontin, Saggio di bibliografia laurenziana: appunti per lo studio della vita e delle opere di s. Lorenzo Giustiniani (Venezia: Studium cattolico veneziano, 1960), 28-29.} The treatise together with the twelve administrative articles laid out in the 1404 papal bull sanctioning the Congregation, guided all aspects of the Canons’ life.

Giustiniani assumed control of the fledgling Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga after Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer departed for the papal Curia no later than 1406 at the behest of their uncle Pope Gregory XII. The young Giustiniani embodied the reform ideologies the Pope supported so it was logical for the Pope to place his most promising vehicle for church reform there. The Pope had confidence in Giustiniani and bestowed upon him control of three houses over the next two years. In 1406, the small church of San Giovanni Decollato in Padua became the first to be reformed by the young priest and his Secular Canons.\footnote{Giustiniani (1475): xxvi; Tomasini (1642): 54-56; Cracco (1985): 30 and Gios (1997): 11.} On 2 September 1407 Pope Gregory XII made Giustiniani prior of Sant’Agostino in Vicenza, where he remained for one year (1407-1408).\footnote{ASVat, ACNV, VII. Bull of Pope Gregory XII dated 14 September 1407. Cenci (1924): 289. SS. Fermo e Rustico’s income was 1,000 gold ducets per year. Gabriele Condulmer received the church of San Agostino in commenda in 1400 and his cousin Antonio Correr was in charge of collecting the incomes of the monastery (Antonio Niero, I patriarchi di Venezia: da Lorenzo Giustiniani ai nostri giorni (Venezia: Studium cattolico veneziano, 1961), 22).} At the same time, Giustiniani received Santi Fermo e Rustico in...
Lonigo since Pope Gregory XII had united it with Sant’Agostino early in his pontificate.\textsuperscript{176} Lorenzo brought twelve of the Venetian Canons to Vicenza, among them some of the Congregation’s original members, Domenico Morosini, Giovanni de’Picenardi and Luca d’Este.\textsuperscript{177} Giustiniani’s arrival at Sant’Agostino made it the nucleus of the Congregation’s activities until the renovations were completed at San Giorgio in Alga.

Hence Giustiniani became the most revered canon and champion of the Congregation’s pastoral activity. The prominence of his new position as de facto head of the Congregation (the formal position of Superior General was created only in 1424) drew additional attention to his humility, constancy, mercy and mortification. His flock of Canons looked to their new leader as the exemplar for their devotional practice and way of life, though Lorenzo’s extreme self-deprivation and habit of entering into ecstatic trances while performing Mass were sometimes more cause for alarm than emulation.\textsuperscript{178} Ultimately, the Congregation succeeded because, as I mentioned earlier, Giustiniani ended the \textit{commenda} system in collaboration with Pope Gregory XII, instituted strict orthodoxy to counter the lax standards that were the root of the Church’s pervasive religious crisis, and organized a syndicate of religious houses in Venice and on the \textit{terraferma} where this orthodoxy was practiced and disseminated.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[176] Cenci (1924): 289. The union of the two institutions is recorded in a bull promulgated by Pope Gregory XII, but the original document of union has been lost.
\item[178] Bernardo Giustiniani reported that once, while celebrating Christmas Mass, following the consecration of the Host, Lorenzo became so lost in his ecstatic vision for so long that one of the deacons had to pull on his the sleeve of his vestments to induce him to continue the service. Giustiniani (1475): Ch. III, §16.
\end{footnotes}
First Prior of San Giorgio in Alga (1409) and First Superior General (1424)

The Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga finally laid claim to their namesake church on 20 December 1408. That day Pope Gregory XII issued the bull that sent Ludovico Barbo to Padua to take up the priorate of Santa Giustina and put Lorenzo Giustiniani in command of the Congregation’s mother church. From this new position of power, Giustiniani was able to control the church’s incomes and impart his methodology and teachings to the Congregation at large, thereby accelerating its expansion. But Giustiniani left the Venetian priorate for Sant’Agostino in 1411. This was in accordance with the original twelve decrees that stated priorates could only be held for one year at a time. In 1412, Giustiniani returned to Venice leaving Luca d’Este at the helm in Vicenza.179 For the next two decades, Giustiniani oscillated between the Congregation’s two largest houses.180 He gained leadership of the whole Congregation in 1424 when he was elected as its first Superior General.181

During the years in which Lorenzo was not serving as Prior or Superior General, he remained engaged in the Congregation’s expansion. For example, he was among the group of Canons who travelled to Bologna to take possession of San Gregorio fuori porta S. Vitale on 1 June 1418.182 And he served the Congregation in other ways, such as when he served as procurator of San Giorgio in Braidia in Verona in 1426.183

179 Luca d’Este was made prior on 15 January 1412. ASVat, ACNV. VIII. Cenci (1924): 289, n. 288.
180 He served as prior of San Agostino in 1407, 1411, 1415 and 1418 and San Giorgio in Alga in 1409, 1413, 1418 and 1421.
182 Giustiniani (1475): xxvii.
Giustiniani punctuated his active administrative life with periods of solitude and meditation during which time he produced the numerous religious discourses that constitute his literary legacy. Though it took him until age thirty-eight to write his first treatise, *Lignum vitae (The Tree of Life)*, he remained a prolific writer right up to the time of his death in 1456 at age seventy-four.\(^\text{184}\) In his fourteen treatises, he advocated his own interpretation of mysticism and a regimen for living an ascetic life.\(^\text{185}\) His thirty-nine published sermons were dedicated to each phase of the liturgical calendar and to the feast days of two dozen saints.\(^\text{186}\) This corpus of writings reflected Lorenzo’s humanist training and presented in a new and highly original fashion the religious ideologies of scholastic predecessors, especially Saints Bernard and Augustine and pseudo-Dionysius, in concert with his own views.\(^\text{187}\) His ideas have been compared with these progenitors for their piety and devotion to the Holy Sacrament. Their structure and emphasis on humility and Marian devotion were also based upon earlier precedents, such as the northern *devotio moderna* and Richard of Saint Victor. Giustiniani routinely referred to the object of his mystical vision and the reason for his spiritual awakening–Divine Wisdom–and underscored that the way to salvation was through the Word of God.

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\(^\text{184}\) Giustiniani’s original *Lignum Vitae*, dated 11 October 1419, is conserved today in the Biblioteca Bertoliana in Vicenza. (Cracco (1985): 32.)


Giustiniani produced his first treatise entitled *Lignum vitae* (*Tree of Life*) in 1419. Giustiniani’s conception of the mystical Tree of Life and the fruits, or virtues, it bears—continence, prudence, justice, charity, patience, obedience, hope, perseverance, simplicity, poverty, humility, prayer—is similar to examples found in medieval ascetic literature. The Tree in Giustiniani’s treatise also represented personal salvation as it is the Word Incarnate planted in the Paradise. In short, this work is a small treatise on individual virtue and the rewards one can reap through ritual practice and study—the ideal introductory text for the neophyte Canon. Giustiniani next turned his attention to the organization of pious men within a cloistered society. In 1425, he completed *De disciplina et perfectione monasticae conversationis* (*The discipline of the monastic profession*) while sequestered at Sant’Agostino in Vicenza. The work is less a formal constitution and more a set of rules of how to live a disciplined monastic life. It had a dramatic impact on monastic reform and it became Giustiniani’s most widely known work, even though they were a congregation of unavowed canons, not of monks as the title implies.

While he was aware of the need for reform of the organization, he also composed treatises of a more personal nature dedicated to personal reform and his own solitary life and spirituality. *De spirituali et casto Verbi animaeque connubio* (*The chaste and spiritual marriage of the Word and the souls*) of 1425 was the spiritual autobiography of

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Giustiniani and *Fasciculus amoris in coena Domini* (*Bundles of love at the last supper of Christ*), written in 1426 while in residence at San Giorgio in Braida as its procurator.\(^{191}\)

The work is a commentary on Jesus’ discussion at the Last Supper. Lorenzo warns that material things should not distract the soul and that it should be focused on the joy derived from worshipping and contemplating God. Also while serving as procurator in Verona in 1426, he wrote his fifth work, *De triumphali agone mediatoris Christi* (*The triumphant fight of Christ the mediator*), which was a meditations on the Passion of Christ and Divine Wisdom.\(^{192}\) In 1429, when he was forty-seven and had twice held the post of Superior General, Giustiniani completed two volumes, *De interiori conflictu* (*The inner struggle*) and his prescription for reform, *De compunctione et complanctu christianae perfectionis* (*The compunction and cultivating of christian perfection*) while in residence at San Gregorio in Bologna.\(^{193}\) Giustiniani completed two treatises in 1431, *De corpore Christi* (*The Body of Christ*), *De vita solitaria* (*The Solitary Life*) in which he considers both material and spiritual solitude, where the body is purified so that the spirit may be free to contemplate and receive the gifts of God. These were followed in 1432 by a treatise meant for the laity, *De contemptu mundi* (*In contemplation of the world*). This was his last book written while still a Canon of San Giorgio in Alga.\(^{194}\) It was during these years, it is believed, that Giustiniani also wrote the majority of his public sermons.

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\(^{191}\) Tramontin (1960): 60, n. 66. Lorenzo Giustiniani’s autograph copy of *Fasculius amoris* is housed in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona, *Manoscritto MCVII, Codice membranaceo del sec. XV*. Gerolamo Cavallo used this manuscript while compiling the *Opera omnia* in Brescia in the early 1500s.

\(^{192}\) Two manuscript versions of *De Triumphali Agone Mediatoris Christi* exist, one in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (Marciano Latino Classe III, 41, 3186) and the other in the Biblioteca Vaticana in Rome (Chigiano 554, B VII 119).

\(^{193}\) Tramontin (1963b): 209.

which were dedicated to each phase of the liturgical calendar and to the feast days of two dozen saints.\footnote{Goffen (1986): 105; Biffi (1985): 107-114; Tramontin (1968): 47-48.}

\textit{Elevation to the Bishopric of Castello (1433)}

Pope Eugene IV elevated Lorenzo Giustiniani to the Bishopric of Castello (Venice) on 5 September 1433. Giustiniani’s appointment to this post was largely in response to the convocation of the Council of Basel, which opened in July of 1431 and was presided over by Eugene IV. By placing Giustiniani, a friend of the Pope and a fellow Venetian at the helm of the church in Venice, the Pope was able to consolidate power there while still allowing the See to remain autonomous. Giustiniani, “like a good father,” had great affection for his brethren.\footnote{“Avrebbe fatto non so che cosa per essi, come un buon padre: tanto era innamorato dela sua vita relogiosa e dei suoi frati.” Tramontin (1956): 12.} He and the Canons pleaded with the Pope not to take him away from his Congregation. Bernardo Giustiniani tells us that his uncle “twice…tried to flee and return to the place where he was born, twice he resisted and finally decided to submit to the judgment of his fellow Canons; many beseeched the Pope (via letter and entreaties) not to take Lorenzo Giustiniani who was the Father and Head of the Congregation whom they could not do without.”\footnote{Giustiniani (1475): Ch. IV, §22. Letter between the Pope and Giustiniani can be found in ibid., 49 and Ughelli (1717): vol. v, 1290-1292.} And so it was with reluctance that he left the Congregation to become Bishop of Castello.\footnote{Tramontin (1956): 12 stated that this took place in September while Del Torre (2006): 75 wrote it was in May. The Pope initially had wanted to reward Giustiniani’s piety and loyalty by naming him the Bishop of Vicenza. This privilege was part of the ancient right of the Canons of the Cathedral of Vicenza, so they appointed Francesco Malipiero, the Bishop of Castello, to the Vicentine bishopric. Malipiero’s former post thus vacated, the Pope was able to persuade Giustiniani to accept the Bishopric of Castello (Venice) by reminding him of the examples of the Holy Fathers who did not contradict divine will. Giustiniani (1475): IV. This was a fortuitous turn of events because the position would become the Patriarchate of Venice.} But even in this new position,
Lorenzo remained ever-loyal to the Secular Canons.199 He expressed his great affection for and obligation to them by always having “two brothers from [the] Congregation…[by his side at the altar while saying mass]; one helping to pray the divine office and the other helping with the most important matters” of the mass.200

One of Lorenzo’s first tasks as Bishop was the reform of the Venetian parishes and the canonry of San Pietro in Castello.201 He applied the same methodology and strict standards to the Venetian clergy at large as he did to Secular Canons of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga. Within a year of entering the bishopric, he assembled a synod and instituted a regimen of religious studies and choral training for all clerics; in 1438 a *Synodicon* consisting of forty rules established during the synod was promulgated.202 Giustiniani also founded the *Scuola Cantorum* and reorganized the ecclesiastical administration. Monastic communities, including several convents of nuns, were also reformed and religious observance reestablished during Giustiniani’s tenure.

After his elevation to the Bishopric, Giustiniani focused on his new role as physician and shepherd to his flock in the remaining five of his opuscules written over the next two decades. The need to reform the pastoral offices, specifically the bishoprics, was critical enough by the sixteenth century that several clergymen contemporaneously dealt with the topic in treatises, but Giustiniani was among the first to do so in the fifteenth century.203

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199 For example, he was instrumental in acquiring the Madonna dell’Orto from the Umilitati in 1462.
200 Giustiniani (1475): Ch. V.
202 Del Torre (2006): 75.
203 Based on internal evidence Gaspero Contarini is thought to have written *De officio episcopi* in 1517, but it was not published until 1571. Agostino Valier, Bishop of Verona (1565-1606) wrote *De rhetorica ecclesiastica* in 1574. For discussion of writings devoted to pastoral reform in the fifteenth and
Giustiniani is believed to have written *De institutione et regimine praelatorum* (The institution and the regime of the bishop) in 1432, the year before his elevation to the Bishopric of Castello, though a later dating of 1433-56, after Giustiniani had experience in the position, has been proposed and seems more likely. The treatise does not explicitly address reform, but rather implicitly and as a byproduct of the Bishop’s just fulfillment of his binary duties: to serve actively as shepherd and doctor to the flock in imitation of Christ, and to withdraw and pray in pursuit of a union with God on more mystical terms. Two key themes in the work, the divination of man and the need for the bishop to be selfless and filled with fire in order to communicate the burning love for God to his flock, came from Greek and Byzantine mystical theology via the writings of pseudo-Dionysius and Saint Bernard. Lorenzo wrote two treatises about obedience and humility before completing *De gradibus perfectionis* (The steps of perfection) within weeks of his death in 1456. This treatise provided guidelines that the reader could measure their progress towards perfection and has been considered Giustiniani’s most complex and subtle piece of writing.

With these treatises and those written during his tenure as a Secular Canon, Giustiniani helped to restore purity to Christian thought and orthodoxy and to create an antidote to Church corruption. Consequently, Lorenzo is considered the one of the foremost ascetic writers of the last 600 years.


206 See *De Oboedientia* and *De humilitate*. Giustiniani (1475): Ch. X and Olszewski (2004): 114.
First Patriarch of Venice (1451)

The creation of the Patriarchate of Venice was a landmark in Venice’s political and religious history. At the time of Giustinian’s ascension to Bishop in 1431, the Diocese of Castello belonged to the Patriarchate of Grado. It was located approximately sixty miles northeast of the city and was therefore beyond the immediate reach of the Venetian Council. Domenico Michiel held the position. Following his death, and without the approval of the Venetian Senate, Pope Nicholas V united the See of Castello with the Patriarchate of Grado on 8 October 1451.\textsuperscript{207} The Patriciate was thus transferred to Venice and the title was bestowed upon the Bishop of Castello, Lorenzo Giustiniani, who held the title until on 8 January 1456.\textsuperscript{208}

With the creation of the Patriarchate of Venice secular and sacred jurisdiction for the whole Venetian Republic was, for the first time, consolidated in Venice. Thus Venice, like Rome, had a religious figurehead who symbolized the city. At the helm of these two institutions were the most important men in Venice: the Doge, Francesco Foscari, and the first Patriarch of Venice, Lorenzo Giustiniani. The Doge and the Senate may have feared the new sacred authority in the city would usurp their secular power, but, according to Bernardo Giustiniani’s embroidered biography, his uncle’s humility convinced them that he was disinclined to do so.\textsuperscript{209} Paolo Prodi speculated that the Doge allowed this transfer to occur to establish closer relations between the church and state and to keep a closer

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item The papal document was dated 8 October 1451. It is reproduced in Ughelli (1717): vol. V, 1292-1294. However, Rosa (1630): 173 states the transfer took place on 5 September 1451.
\item 1455 by the Venetian calendar. Following his canonization in 1690, 8 January became Giustiniani’s feast day.
\item Giustiniani (1475): Ch. VIII, §48.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
The relationship between the Doge and Giustiniani was contentious at times, but the two men understood the power and influence of the other so that they were able to work together. Even though it may have irritated the Senate that the Pope made Lorenzo the Patriarch without its consent, in the end it was pleased because the change brought glory to the city of Venice.

In his capacity as head of the See of Venice, Lorenzo Giustiniani appealed to a wide-ranging group of people. Men and women both secular and religious sought his spiritual guidance and his power as a healer. Bartolomeo Colleoni consulted with Lorenzo and entrusted him with alms. Commoners and pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land also came in contact with Lorenzo.

Those who came in contact with him called him a saint. His character, which epitomized virtue, piety and humility, befitted the appellation. While confined to his cell at San Giorgio in Alga suffering from the malarial fever that eventually killed him, he received at his bedside members of every class and race in Venice, including the poor and ailing, and members of the Venetian Senate, the Procurator and the Doge himself. Respect for Giustiniani was international, too. Among other foreign dignitaries, Francesco Sforza with his wife Bianca and their young son Galeazzo came to pay homage to the dying Venetian who was their friend. Lorenzo Giustinian’s death on 8 January 1456 at age seventy-four was cause for great sorrow, and appeals for his canonization began immediately.

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211 Marino Sanudo, *Cronica Veneta* (1490), vol. 22, 1159.
Lorenzo Giustiniani’s death and the fight for possession of his corpse

Upon his death, Lorenzo Giustiniani’s body was laid in state upon the altar of San Pietro in Castello (Figs. 60 & 61), the ecclesiastical center of Venice and the seat of Giustiniani’s power as both Bishop and Patriarch of Venice. Mourners filled the streets of Venice and the interior of the church. They clamored for a glimpse and small memento of their beloved deceased Patriarch, so much so that his body was denuded. The devout held vigil around the corpse, filled the church with gold candles and sang incantations day and night. Lorenzo’s nephew, Bernardo, who was present in his uncle’s cell when he died witnessed the outpouring of emotion at the funeral. He described the mood as melancholy but tempered with joy and triumph, as if the funeral were a parade. People were evidently already anxious for Giustiniani’s canonization.

The funeral completed, Giustiniani’s corpse was moved to the sacristy of the church while the Canons of San Pietro in Castello, who served as temporary heads of the Patriarchal church while the Senate elected Giustiniani’s successor, and the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, to whom Giustiniani had consigned his body, resolved their dispute over its proper burial place. Both wanted the honor that came with having the body of the venerable Venetian in their respective churches. No doubt their thoughts were more farsighted since the custodian of the body would have the saint’s complete relic, should his much-desired canonization come to pass (as it did in 1690).

Making the case for interring Giustiniani at the Patriarchal church even stronger, the first of Giustiniani’s many posthumous miracles conveniently occurred while a resolution to the dispute was being sought. The body remained intact and gave off a

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212 Giustiniani (1475): Ch. XII.
213 Ibid.
sweet fragrance after six days of lying in the sacristy of San Pietro in Castello. On the eighth day, Giustiniani was partially resurrected. The corpse’s face took on a rosy color, and blood began to flow in the veins. Renowned doctors attested to its revitalized state. So the body was moved back into the main sanctuary of the church in order that the amazed mourners could witness these miracles for themselves. The celebration nearly turned into ecstatic rioting, and the body had to be relocated to the sacristy, lest the dead cleric have his body denuded once more. It remained for forty more days in an uncorrupted condition—another miracle that Bernardo made more dramatic by noting that the body of Lorenzo’s contemporary, Saint Bernardino of Siena, remained intact for only three days. Soon after Lorenzo Giustiniani was finally laid to rest on 17 March, both Venice and the Congregation of Secular Canons began petitioning for his canonization, no doubt aware that such a move would bring glory to each of them.  

Perhaps the outcome would have been in the Secular Canons’ favor had former member and Giustiniani’s colleague, Matteo Contarini (reg. 1456-60), come to power as Patriarch sooner. Giustiniani had recommended Gregory Correr, prior of San Zeno in Verona and nephew of Antonio Correr, as his successor and not Contarini. This may have

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214 For the history of the processo for canonization before Clement VII’s decree of 1524, see Labalme (1993). For the later initiatives to canonize Giustiniani see Antonio Niero, “Pietà popolare e interessi politici nel culto di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani,” Archivio Veneto CXVII (1981).

215 Following Giustiniani’s death, the Venetian Senate considered four men as his successor: Andrea Bondumier, Gregory Correr, Jacopo Zeno and Matteo Contarini. Contarini won the election 125 to 41 and the Senate issued its official decree recognizing Contarini as the second Patriarch of Venice on 23 January 1456, fifteen days after Giustiniani’s death. The Canons of San Pietro in Castello were temporarily vested with the power of the Patriarchal seat during this delay. Contarini was in Brescia at San Pietro in Oliveto where he was serving as Superior General when he received notice that he was selected. Subsequently, the Patriarch’s successor was selected the same day the Patriarch died. (Niero (1961): 18 and 32 and Niero (1963): 221.)
been because he knew Contarini would be reluctant to take on his duties.\textsuperscript{216} Indeed, after the Venetian Senate nominated Contarini on 23 January 1456 to fill the empty Patriarchate, it took Pope Callistus III to induce him to accept.\textsuperscript{217} Contarini, like Giustiniani, was a virtuous man, committed to reform and an active member of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga.\textsuperscript{218} Both had a penchant for solitude and study, had held the post of Superior General of the Congregation, and were charged by the Pope to reform a female convent. Had Contarini been the decision-maker and not the Canons of San Pietro in Castello, it is likely that Lorenzo’s resting place would have been at San Giorgio in Alga since Contarini might well have abided by the Patriarch’s twice-expressed dying wishes to be remembered in the Secular Canons’ offices and to be buried without pomp among his spiritual family.\textsuperscript{219} It is worth speculating that had they won the dispute, the Canons would have constructed a fine tomb for Giustiniani in San Giorgio in Alga.\textsuperscript{220} Perhaps in form and grandeur it would have resembled the splendid tombs commissioned by other orders for their founders’ remains,\textsuperscript{221} or the one Contarini went

\textsuperscript{216} Giustiniani’s second choice was Andrea Bondumier, prior of Santo Spirito. Bondumier would be elected the third Patriarch in 1460 and Correr the fourth upon Bondumier’s death in 1464. (Niero (1961): 7-8.)

\textsuperscript{217} Before his election, he served as Prior of San Giorgio in Alga seven times between 1428 and 1454. Pope Nicholas V charged Contarini with reforming the convent of San Tommaso in Vicenza on 14 April 1448. (ibid., 31-33.) For the election process see ibid., 13-14.

\textsuperscript{218} Matteo Contarini served as prior at Sant’Angiolo in Monte, Verona and was the first prior of San Giorgio in Braida after it was given to the Congregation by Pope Eugene IV in 1441. He served as prior of San Giacomo in Monselice in 1427. (Niero (1963): 220.)

\textsuperscript{219} Giustiniani (1475): Ch. X, §57.

\textsuperscript{220} The inaccessibility of the observant churches in the Venetian lagoon was one of the benefits of burial there. The mourner who came to pay their respects would have been able to pray in silence. Peter Humfrey, \textit{The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 90.

\textsuperscript{221} Examples of tombs commemorating founders of other orders are those of Saint Dominic in Bologna and Saint Francis in Assisi.
on to commission for Giustiniani in San Pietro in Castello: a marble tomb worthy of a saint.²²²

**Conclusion to Biography of Lorenzo Giustiniani**

Lorenzo Giustiniani demonstrated his selflessness by constantly adapting to the needs of the growing Congregation of Secular Canons and later to the needs of the whole Venetian population as their Patriarch. Pope Gregory XII, the Canons and Pope Nicholas V (himself trying to gain hegemony in Rome and the Papacy), all called upon Giustiniani each time a new position materialized. He took over the administration of the Congregation when Gabriele Condulmer and Antonio Correr left for Rome. He became the first prior of San Giorgio in Alga, first Superior General, first Patriarch of Venice, the first of the Canons to be beatified and the first to be made a saint. He also took time between appointments to write, adopting an active administrative role unlike the more contemplative scholarly one during which time he produced his ascetic treatises promoting a mystical existence devoted to Christ and the Divine Wisdom. Giustiniani eventually became the embodiment of the Congregation itself, its religious teachings and tradition of scholastic achievement; he was one of its heroes who would be glorified by the Canons in the decorations of their churches.

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²²² This marble tomb was destroyed in the early seventeenth century and is not the tomb one sees today above the high altar of San Pietro in Castello. This tomb was built by Clemento Moli in c.1624 after the canonization of Giustiniani seemed a forgone conclusion. See Chapter Four for further discussion of Giustiniani’s first tomb.
Chapter Three: The collective identity of the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, Venice and its earliest manifestation at San Giorgio in Braida (1441-1528)

The Secular Canons battled the pervasive corruption of the Veneto’s religious communities with the Congregation’s spiritual discipline and innovative administrative system. They had, however, another very effective weapon in their arsenal—a carefully crafted visual identity. This visual identity buttressed the Canons’ religious beliefs and word-based spirituality by providing them with images to aid their devotion. It was expressed first and foremost by specific iconography that functioned in several different ways. Primarily the imagery reaffirmed the Canons’ devotions, but it also evoked their bond with Venice and the Papacy, and encouraged the cult of their most venerated holy figure, Lorenzo Giustinianii, who became the symbol of the Congregation. This considered artistic program was a vital part of the Canons’ reform strategy for another reason: it affected the decoration of all of their religious houses and therefore helped bind the Congregation together spiritually and their surroundings together visually.

The Canons’ innovative governing system supported this visual and devotional cohesion since the mechanism that facilitated close communication regarding administrative matters also encouraged the community’s sharing of tradesmen, artists and architects. Consequently, an intricate web of patronage developed in which priors employed individual artists in multiple churches. This was done in order to reinforce the Canons’ collective persona and to create a sense of community throughout their regional network of religious institutions. The end result was a community of aesthetically similar religious complexes where the Secular Canons—no matter in which church they
worshipped—were enveloped in familiar surroundings. The settings provided a unity of content and purpose.

Section One: San Giorgio in Alga: the Birthplace of the Visual Identity of the Congregation of Secular Canons

The Congregation was still young and without an established architectural or visual lexicon when it began the renovations to its mother church in the Venetian lagoon in the early fifteenth century. The religious complex of San Giorgio in Alga was the site of the Congregation of Secular Canons’ first commissions, and consequently, where its visual identity was born and where the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida and every other church in the Congregation’s network turned when they began renovating and decorating their own church.

In the short period between 1438 and 1443, the Canons rebuilt and expanded the abandoned monastery on San Giorgio in Alga to create living quarters large enough to accommodate 100 residents; in 1446 they began to build their library.¹ They completed the campanile by 1454 and the church by 1458, just twenty years after the renovations began.² This was quite an achievement considering the logistical challenges presented by moving tons of material and scores of workers from the mainland to the island two miles away.³ Former Secular Canon Gabriele Condulmer facilitated the rapid pace of construction. As Pope Eugene IV, he issued a bull on 14 August 1440 directing 1,000

³ The speed with which this Venetian project was completed is even more striking when we consider that the equally costly and labor-intensive renovations begun in Verona at San Giorgio in Braida occupied the Canons there for over 150 years.
gold florins in papal funds “for the expansion of San Giorgio in Alga,”⁴ and on 1 May 1443, “…[he] granted to the General Rector [of the Congregation of Secular Canons] the ability to fulfill vows of any pilgrimage whatsoever for the construction of the church of San Giorgio in Alga, and this up to the sum of 500 ducats.”⁵

Sadly, in 1716, a catastrophic fire consumed the church of San Giorgio in Alga, its monastic complex and most of its contents, including all the library’s books and manuscripts and all but one of the paintings.⁶ However, contemporary written accounts and two pre-fire images of the island (Figs. 40 & 62) permit us to estimate the contents of the church and convent of San Giorgio in Alga and the church’s architectural form and artistic patrimony.

Visitors to the island of San Giorgio in Alga would have arrived by boat and landed in a small cove where they were protected from the wind and rough water of the lagoon as they disembarked. They surmounted a set of stone steps, walked across an open piazza and directly into the church. The façade of the church they encountered was divided vertically into three sections by pilaster strips. Two long and slender windows on either side of the main door and a small rose window above the doorway arch punctuated the façade. A statue of Saint George probably occupied one of the niches on either side of the main door, though its exact location on the church front is unknown.

⁶ One must assume that the fire did not reach the refectory since the massive refectory painting of the Crucifixion by Donato Veneziano survived. ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 787 contains a description of the damage done after fire to San Giorgio in Alga. The destroyed structures were rebuilt, as prints from 1737 and 1799 attest, but no further attempts were made to save them after they were turned into a prison in the early nineteenth century and bombed in the second World War. (Niero (1984): 159.)
In plan San Giorgio in Alga was a modified Latin cross with truncated transept arms—existing structures likely dictated the footprint of the church—and measured roughly forty-five feet by 124 feet (Fig. 63). A wood ceiling painted “most luxuriously” covered the sanctuary.\(^7\) Seen closest to the main entrance and protruding from the exterior of the left side of the nave in the Coronelli frontispiece was the burial chapel of the Pisani family (Fig. 62).\(^8\) One reached this small semi-circular space from the nave. The location of the entrance to the Pisani chapel was likely reflected across the nave by the door to the convent. According to the inventory taken of the church in 1669 and other written sources,\(^9\) the Saint Catherine chapel was just beyond the Pisani memorial on the left aisle. The one dedicated to San Marco followed this, which was followed by the chapel dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani. On the right of the nave opposite the chapel of Saint Catherine was the chapel of Mary Magdalene, the chapel of Saints Peter and Paul, and immediately to the right of the high altar, the chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and the Nativity. The high altar was consecrated to Saint George and located at the end of the long chancel in a large semi-circular apse. The visitor standing at the back of the church had his view of the high altar partially obstructed. The nave of San Giorgio in Alga was bisected. Intersecting the walls between the chapels of Lorenzo Giustiniani and San Marco on the left and the chapels of the Virgin and Saints Peter and Paul on the right was

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7 Tomasini (1642): 227.
8 Coronelli (1696): frontispiece. Another image of San Giorgio in Alga can be found in the frontispiece of Tomasini (1642).
the choir screen, or barca.10 The barca, a feature found in many Venetian churches from this period,11 was among San Giorgio in Alga’s most distinct architectural features since it was perpendicular to the nave and centrally located. It consisted of a solid balcony supported by six marble columns that contained the organ keyboard and pipes and space for singers.12 It undoubtedly resembled the barca in San Rocco in Vicenza (Fig. 64), the only church belonging to the Congregation to preserve the choir screen in its original form and location. The Canons relied upon choral singing to aid them with their meditations, and the location of the barca in the interior of San Giorgio in Alga and in all the Congregation’s churches reflected the centrality of music in their devotions.13

The sacred decorations of San Giorgio in Alga and its convent first and foremost related to the Canons’ devotions and encouraged their veneration of specific saints and exemplars. Some of the iconography found in San Giorgio in Alga and in other houses of the Congregation was typical of many monastic and mendicant orders, such as the scenes of stories from Christ’s life or representations of the Virgin. But as I shall demonstrate in the remaining chapters of this dissertation, the Canons employed various artistic methods to make it specific to their devotional needs. The Canons were secular priests and

10 This structure is so-called by the documents.
11 In San Michele in Isola, for example.
12 Tomasini (1642): 227 recounted that “the fathers gather [on the barca in San Giorgio in Alga] in divine praises night and day.” See Appendix VII.
13 This choir screen in San Giorgio in Alga was perpendicular to the nave and centrally-located as it was in many of the Congregation’s other churches, such as those extant in Santa Maria in Vanzo in Padua and San Rocco in Vicenza. The choir screen in the Madonna dell’Orto was destroyed in the nineteenth century. The one in San Pietro in Oliveto as described by Tomasini as “most rare” (ibid., 199); it was destroyed at the end of the 1600s. Tomasini tells us that San Giacomo in Monselice also had a barca (ibid., 106), which was destroyed some time after 1668. Prior to 1668 a choir screen was located in Santa Maria in Vanzo just beyond the threshold of the second bay of the church, towards the high altar. This screen is now located above the organ entrance, giving the appearance of a low entryway or vestibule. The first bay of the church, however, was originally open. A choir screen also bisected the nave of SS. Fermo e Rustico, but as in Santa Maria in Vanzo, it was relocated to the back of the church sometime after the Congregation’s suppression. San Rocco is the only church with its barca in its original location. It is still located toward the high altar between the second and third chapels. The altar dedicated to San Rocco that presently occupies the space beneath the barca on the left side post-dates the Canons’ tenure.
therefore not bound by monastic vows, yet they chose to live a deeply spiritual life and to rely on written, visual, and choral materials to aid their prayers. Through assiduous study of the writings of Lorenzo Giustiniani and the church fathers, and contemplation of representations of holy figures, the Canons stimulated their mystical connections to the spiritual realm.

**Life of Christ**

The Canons believed that “he who follows [Christ] walks not in darkness” and that studying Christ’s life and learning its lessons was the way to true spiritual enlightenment.\(^{14}\) This practice was at the root of their larger monastic reform effort and derived largely from the mystical teachings of the Church Doctors, and especially the Congregation’s spiritual founder, Lorenzo Giustiniani.\(^{15}\) Three of Giustiniani’s treatises in particular centered upon the passion of Christ, his self-sacrifice and the ensuing soteriological rewards. The first, *De spirituali et casto Verbi animaeque connubio* (*The chaste and spiritual marriage of the Word and the souls*) of 1425 is considered his spiritual autobiography as it is very private in nature, dedicated to personal reform, and to Giustiniani’s own solitary life and spirituality. It is recounted in the first person and describes a life lived free of terrestrial concerns and focused upon a harmonious communion with the God incarnate in the Word.\(^{16}\) It prescribes meditation upon the mysteries of the passion of Christ and the Eucharist as the method for the Secular Canons

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\(^{14}\) John 8:22 and the opening line of Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitation of Christ*, the manual of sorts to the modern devotion written in the early fifteenth century.

\(^{15}\) Many of the ideas put forth in Giustiniani’s writings had their roots in the writings of the Church Fathers and the trans-alpine religious movement of the *devotio moderna*, which Giustiniani gained exposure to through contact with Angelo Correr, Antonio Correr and Bartolomeo da Roma, though the Secular Canons were not strict adherents of this discipline.

\(^{16}\) Giustiniani (1751); Tramontin (1960): 29-30 and Tramontin (1968): 46-47.
to attain this mystical marriage with the divine. The second treatise, *De triumphali agone mediatoris Christi* (*The triumphant fight of Christ the mediator*), was written by Giustiniani in 1426 while in residence at San Giorgio in Braida as its procurator. It is a series of meditations on the Passion of Christ that focuses the devout upon the “sweetness of the wisdom [that emanates] from the piercing of hands and feet of the Redeemer and the flame of divine love that erupts from the piercing of his side.”*\(^{17}\) *De corpore Christi* (*The Body of Christ*) of 1431 was written specifically for the feast of the Corpus Christi. It commemorates Christ’s institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper. The Canons’ consistent preference for scenes from Christ’s life showed they believed that contemplation of these didactic images was among the most efficacious way to rehabilitate the mind and soul.

**Stories from the Gospels in San Giorgio in Alga**

Written sources tell us that during the Canons’ tenure, San Giorgio in Alga contained at least three narrative scenes from Christ’s life. This type of imagery was among the most frequently represented in San Giorgio in Alga and all the Congregation’s churches. Portrayals of the Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism and Crucifixion were most common. An altarpiece of the *Nativity of Christ*, signed and dated by Cima da Conegliano (c.1459-c.1517) in 1497, was originally in the sacristy where Sansovino recorded it in 1604. According to Peter Humfrey this now-destroyed work was a “major altarpiece.”*\(^{18}\) It featured Lorenzo Giustiniani among the adorers of Christ with the whole

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17 From the preface of *De triumphali agone mediatoris*. (Tramontin (1968): 47.)
scene taking place before a rich pastoral landscape.\textsuperscript{19} By 1642, the Canons had relocated Cima’s altarpiece to the right nave chapel closest to the high altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and the Nativity. A large altarpiece of the Flagellation (also described in the documents as Christ on the Column) signed by Giovanni Bellini (c.1431-1516) at an unknown date resided in the sacristy; a lunette of God the Father surmounted it and predella panels by Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini showing various scenes of the Passion, the Virgin, San Giovanni and angels were situated below.\textsuperscript{20} A Cristo Passo “said to be by the hand of Giovanni Bellini” was in the sacristy in 1670. It, too, contained the Virgin and two angels, so perhaps this is the Flagellation by Bellini recorded in earlier sources. Either the scribe misinterpreted its iconography or it was another work entirely.\textsuperscript{21}

Circumstantial evidence suggests there may have been more scenes of Christ’s life in the church of San Giorgio in Alga. The nave chapel of Mary Magdalene could have displayed an altarpiece of the Noli Me Tangere, the moment Mary Magdalene recognized the resurrected Christ, since the only known reference to the chapel’s altarpiece, the 1670 inventory of the church, describes the altar and its decoration simply as an “altare della Madalena con pala simile.”\textsuperscript{22} Indeed, this is the biblical episode portrayed in the altarpiece that hangs over the altar dedicated to the Magdalene in San Giorgio in Braida. The same inventory listed another painting, this one in the Pisani


\textsuperscript{20} ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, fol. 60r and Boschini (1664): 571-572. Boschini attributed the main painting to Antonella Messina even though it was signed “Ionnes Bellinus”.

\textsuperscript{21} ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, fol. 60v.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
chapel, of an uncertain subject but containing an image of Christ: “un’quadro di tela con Christo, e li due Santi Francesco d’Assisi e di Paolo delle parti.”

Besides images in the sanctuary and sacristy, the convent contained another scene from the life of Christ. The Crucifixion is the subject of the only painting to have survived the fire in 1716, probably on account of its location on a refectory wall that was farthest from the church. Donato Veneziano (c.1438-c.1473) painted this massive canvas (c. 14 x 25 ft) in the mid- to late fifteenth century (Fig. 65).

**Stories from the Gospels in San Giorgio in Braida**

In keeping with the tradition begun at San Giorgio in Alga, the painted decorations in San Giorgio in Braida produced over the course of 125 years also referred to episodes from the life of Christ. They did so eleven times. The earliest of these was Michele da Verona’s Crucifixion of 1501 (Fig. 81), in which the artist placed particular emphasis upon the blood running from Christ’s side, hands and feet. Five scenes from Christ’s life were originally part of the first altarpiece commissioned by the Canons for the nave of their church. When it was completed in c.1512, Gian Francesco Caroto’s signed triptych surrounded a fourteenth-century frescoed image of Christ Carrying the Cross flanked by Saints Sebastian and Roch (Figs. 30 & 32). The lunette contained the Transfiguration (Figs. 30 & 103), and the predella depicted Christ Praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, also known as the Agony in the Garden, the Deposition of Christ from the Cross, and the Resurrection of Christ (Figs. 104a, b & c). When Domenico Brusasorci’s

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23 Ibid.
24 It is currently in an upper room in the Scuola di San Marco. It was described by Boschini (1664): 572 and Coronelli (1696): 570-572.
25 The sixth, The Healing of the Demonic Child by Domenico Brusasorci, was added in early 1540s.
26 It was replaced by Recchia’s Saint Joseph in 1882. (Brugnoli (1954): 29.)
painting of the *Healing of the Child Possessed by a Demon* (Fig. 105) was inserted below the lunette of the *Transfiguration* "qualche anni dopo," the triptych acquired its current form.  

Three more scenes from the Gospels appeared in San Giorgio in Braida in paintings produced over the next half century. Two of them were commissioned by the Canons: Francesco Montemezzano’s *Noli Mi Tangere* of 1578/80 for the chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalene (Fig. 188), and Paolo Farinati’s *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes* of 1603 for the right wall of the chancel (Fig. 182). The third, Jacopo Tintoretto’s *Baptism of Christ* of c.1570 (Fig. 202), hangs above the main entrance on the retrofaçade and was among the last paintings installed in the church.

*Cult of the Virgin*

The Canons’ dark blue ecclesiastical garb mimicked the color of the Virgin Mary’s mantle and expressed the constancy of their devotion to her. The Canons at San Giorgio in Alga, and consequently all the Congregation’s churches, also commissioned works of art with specific iconography that demonstrated their self-presentation as votaries of their protector and intercessor.

*The Virgin in San Giorgio in Alga*

The altar dedicated to the Virgin and the Nativity in San Giorgio in Alga was where the church’s relics, especially those related to the Passion, were placed for safe keeping.  

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27 Ibid., 30.
28 According to Tomasini (1642): 227, the relics seem to have been preserved in one reliquary bearing the following inscription: RELIQVIARUM LOCVS IN QUO SVNT PRÆCIPVÆ SPINA DE
altar contained Cima’s Nativity. By 1670, when an inventory was made of the church’s contents, "un quadro della Madonna con altri tre santi per parte" was located “dalla parte della stessa Capella” of the Virgin Mary. The inventory is so vague, however, that the altarpiece’s date, precise iconography and location, whether in the chapel proper or simply on the same side of the nave, cannot be determined definitively.

The Virgin appeared in at least four other places in San Giorgio in Alga: in the lunette by Girolamo Santacroce above an altarpiece of Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani with Saints Stephen and Lawrence, signed and dated by the same artist in 1525; in the predella of Bellini’s Flagellation (and possibly in a separate Cristo Passo); at the foot of the cross in Donato Veneziano’s Crucifixion in the refectory; and above the painted doors of the organ on the barca. The Virgin likely appeared in many more of San Giorgio in Alga’s paintings if the profusion of Marian imagery in the Congregation’s affiliated houses is any indication.

The Virgin in San Giorgio in Braida

At San Giorgio in Braida, the Virgin appeared in an intercessory role or as the protagonist in more than half of the church’s eleven altarpieces and in at least five other painted images in the nave and cloister. As many as seven altarpieces containing the Virgin were displayed by the Canons during their tenure there, of which six are still visible. One painting believed to have been commissioned for the church during the

CORONA, DE VESTE INCONSVTILI, ET DE LIGNO CRVCIS DOMINI NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI. PES S. GEORGII MARTYRIS, ET CORONA D. MARCI EVANGELISTÆ ANNO MDLXXXIX.


29 ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 3, fol. 60v.
30 “Un organo grande con due portelli dipinto in tela dell’una, e l’altra parte con figure, e di sopra un’quadro della Madonna.” ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, fol. 62r.
earliest phase of renovations, but no longer in situ, is Gian Francesco Caroto’s *San Giorgio and the Princess* dated to c.1535 (Fig. 164).\(^{31}\) In this image, Saint George on horseback slays the dragon as the princess flees towards the city in the background; situated above in nimbus are the Virgin holding the Christ Child flanked by Saints Peter and Paul who turn to revere them. The altarpiece likely adorned San Giorgio in Braida’s high altar until the mid-1500s when it was transferred to the parochial church of San Giorgio in Marega near the Veronese stronghold of Bevilaqua, where it hangs today, and Paolo Veronese’s *Martyrdom of Saint George* (c.1566; Fig. 163) took its place.\(^{32}\) Veronese’s altarpiece duplicated some aspects of Caroto’s composition, including the Virgin and Child and Saints Peter and Paul in the painting’s upper register.

The Virgin again appears in nimbus and as the chief intercessor in Moretto da Brescia’s *Santa Cecilia with Saints Catherina, Lucy, Agatha and Agnese* of 1540 (Fig. 126), which is located under the organ on the left side of the nave of San Giorgio in Braida, as well as in Felice Brusasorci’s *The Virgin Assunta and Three Archangels* (1578; Fig. 189) above the fourth altar on the right. Two altarpieces feature narrative scenes in which the Virgin is the principal figure: Domenico Tintoretto’s *Pentecost* (1619; Fig. 197) and Pasquale Ottino’s *Assumption and Saints Benedict, Maurice, Bernard, and Anthony Abbot* (1625; Fig. 200). Only one, Girolamo dai Libri’s *Madonna and Child* of 1526 (Fig. 110), features the Virgin at the center of a sacra conversazione. I shall argue in the next chapter, however, that this last altarpiece was relocated to San Giorgio in Braida.

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\(^{31}\) This work was attributed to Caroto by Giuliana Ericani. See Giuliana Ericani, “29. Francesco Caroto, *S. Giorgio e la Principessa,*” in *Veronese e Verona*, ed. Sergio Marinelli (Verona: Fedrigoni, 1988a), 222.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., 267. See also Chapter Five.
Two Annunciation scenes are not altarpieces. One is played out in a pair of paintings, *Angel Gabriele* (Fig. 66) and the *Virgin Annunciate* (Fig. 67). The paintings are thought to date to just after 1508. Maffei first records them in San Giorgio in Braida only in 1731. They are most often attributed to Giovanni Caroto (1488-1563/6), though his older brother Gian Francesco Caroto, or another unknown artist have at times been considered the paintings’ author. As the visual manifestation of the Incarnation of Christ, this type of imagery often appears on either side of the high altar, or the chancel in this instance, though it has been suggested that they were once San Giorgio in Braida’s organ doors. Indeed, evidence collected during the restoration of the paintings in 2002 suggests that a now-missing center strip, which contained the left section of the Virgin’s lectern, originally connected the two canvases to create a single field, and suggests the painting may not be in its original location.

Images of the Virgin also appeared several times in the convent’s private realm. The Canons’ earliest commissions included the scene of Christ’s crucifixion for their refectory, which featured the Virgin at the base of the cross, as well as a fresco of the

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33 Maffei (1731): vol. iii, 175: “La Nunziata fuori della maggior cappella è del Caroto.”
34 Maria Teresa Franco Fiorio, *Giovan Francesco Caroto*, Collana Monografie d’arte; 11 (Verona: Vita veronese, 1971), 131 and fig.177-178.
38 The paintings were restored by Alessandra Zambaldo. Her findings, including x-rays that show that the face of the angel was probably in 3/4 profile, that his right hand originally pointed upward, and that there was an extra flower on the lily, are contained in the Soprintendenza per il patrimonio storico, artistico ed etnoantropologico per le province di Verona, Rovigo e Vicenza. Scede di Restauro, n. 2072.
39 Fabrizio Pietropoli, “Giovanni Caroto, Annunciazione,” in *Dipinti restaurati a Verona e nel suo territorio*, ed. Fabrizio Pietropoli (Verona: Soprintendenza per il patrimonio storico, artistico ed etnoantropologico per le province di Verona, Rovigo e Vicenza, 2002), 72 suggested the canvases may have been in San Giorgio in Alga.
Virgin cradling her dead son for their chapter room (Figs. 68 & 69). Until recently, this Pietà was absent from the literature. But based upon stylistic evidence and an inscription carved into the wall under the painting which has gone unrecognized (Fig. 70), I argue that Michele da Verona completed the fresco in 1501, the same year he dated his refectory painting. Vasari tells us there was a third image of the Virgin painted:

for the Prior of the Monks [sic] of San Giorgio, [Gian Francesco Caroto] executed a small picture of the Nativity, in which he was seen to have greatly ameliorated his manner; the heads of the shepherds, and, indeed, of all the other figures in this work, exhibiting an expression so pleasing and so beautiful, that the work has been much and greatly extolled; nay, were it not that the ground of this picture was badly prepared, insomuch that it has peeled off, and the work is by consequence becoming spoiled, this painting alone might have sufficed to keep the memory of the artist ever living in the recollections of his fellow citizens.

Vasari also tells us there was a fourth, now-lost image of the Virgin in the convent painted by Gian Francesco’s brother, Giovanni, the same artist who likely painted the Annunciation: “For the Prior of S. Giorgio [Caroto] painted a picture of Our Lady, which, as a good painting, has been kept ever since, as it still is [in 1568], in the chamber of the

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41 MDLVIII DIE XIII APRILIS ECCL[ESIA] STI THOME RVIT / MCCCCCI DIE XXV Sept.bris is carved into the plaster under the painting but was painted over, probably in 1773. The carved inscription is only visible in raking light, but it was reproduced in paint on a fictive frame which was added in 1773. The figures of the Virgin and Christ are the most finely painted and stylistically appear to be the oldest and, I argue, were painted by Michele da Verona. The other two figures, Saint John on the left and Mary Magdalene on the right, seem to be the works of two separate artists and were almost certainly repainted or added later. The dramatic pose and hand gesture of the Magdalen and her more elegant style suggest she was painted in the seventeenth century, or in 1773, the date painted on the base of the fictive red frame, at the behest of Dominico Giorgio, who could be the priest shown gazing up at the Magdalen from the roundel at the base of the picture.
42 “Al priore de’Fratti di S. Giorgio lavorò in una tavola piccola un precepio nel quale si vede che aveva assai migliorata la maniera perché le teste de’pastori e di tutte le altre figure hanno così bella e dolce aria che questa opera gli fu molto e meritatamente lodata: e se non fusse che il gesso di quest’opera, per essere stato male temperato si scrosta, e la pittura si va consumando, questa sola varrebbe cagione di mantenerlo vivo nella memoria dei suoi cittadini.” Vasari (1851): vol. III, 401.
Priors."\textsuperscript{43} This painting may be the "quadro della B. Vergine" recorded in an inventory in 1669 as located in the \textit{camerino} or room adjacent to the sacristy where the priests washed their hands.\textsuperscript{44} If they are not one and the same, then the painting described in the inventory is yet another example of an image of the Virgin in the Canons’ private domain.

\textbf{Female Saints}

Many of the Congregation’s churches contained imagery of female saints, which points to another aspect of the Canons’ devotional focus, one that seems to have been related to the cause that Lorenzo Giustiniani championed. He believed in the purity of women and as Bishop of Venice and later Patriarch of the city, he was a great advocate for several convents of nuns in Venice, in particular the convent at Santa Croce della Giudecca where his niece was a nun.\textsuperscript{45} He also wrote a treatise dedicated to the decorous dress of women.

\textbf{Female Saints in San Giorgio in Alga and San Giorgio in Braida}

Among the altars in San Giorgio in Alga was one dedicated to Saint Catherine, most likely Catherine of Alexandria, the great martyr and fourth century scholar, located in the first altar on the left (E in Fig. 63). The altarpiece by Francesco de’ Franseschi featured the saint and contained four other, unknown saints in niches (it is also unknown if the niches were fictive or real).\textsuperscript{46} Opposite this chapel on the right of San Giorgio in

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 409.
\textsuperscript{44} ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1, fol. 262v.
\textsuperscript{45} Following Lorenzo’s death, the sisters received many of his vestments and may have participated in the commissioning of his tomb in San Pietro in Castello. (Rosa (1630): 173.)
\textsuperscript{46} Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 240; Tomasini (1642): 228 and ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, fol. 60r. All three sources are transcribed in the Appendices.
Alga’s nave was the Mary Magdalene chapel (H in Fig. 63), but the artist and iconography of this altarpiece are unknown. This same configuration—chapels dedicated to female saint located just inside the main entrance and facing each other—was also used by the Canons in San Giorgio in Braida. But in Verona it is a chapel dedicated to Saint Ursula that faces the Mary Magdalene chapel across the nave (A & K in Fig. 99). This pairing often occurred in devotional images (Figs. 158 & 159) since Saints Ursula and Mary Magdalene exemplify, respectively, purity and penitence—paired, though alternate paths to salvation, so perhaps this was the intended association in this instance.47

Saint Catherine of Alexandria also appears in San Giorgio in Braida, but she is not the main protagonist of the altarpiece as show likely was in the altarpiece in San Giorgio in Alga, but is among Saint Cecilia’s attendants in Moretto’s painting under the organ (Fig. 126). The cartolino containing the artist’s signature appears to be attached to the edge of Catherine’s wheel and perhaps signifies the artist’s devotion to her. The Canons’ choice of Cecilia, the patron saint of musicians and especially Church music, for an altarpiece to be placed under the organ was a logical one. In addition to Catherine, the martyred saints Lucy, Barbara and Agnes join Cecilia. Agnes appears in at least one other church belonging to the Canons,48 but the inclusion of Barbara, who is not listed among the altar’s dedicants in the cloister inscription, and Lucy seems to be without precedent in the Congregation’s network. Given the connection between Giustiniani and female religious institutions it is not unreasonable to assume that the Canons’ too tried to forge

47 I thank Sarah Wilkins for bringing the significance of this association to my attention.
48 Agnes also appears in Tititoretto’s Miracle of Saint Agnes altarpiece for the Contarini Chapel in the Madonna dell’Orto. See Douglas-Scott (1997): 130-163.
connections with convents in the towns where they had established congregations and that these saints were some how connectioned with these female populations.49

*Dove of the Holy Spirit and Saints Peter and Paul*

While extant written sources are void of descriptions of altarpieces or other art in San Giorgio in Alga that featured the Holy Spirit, some must have existed. The Canons were especially devoted to the Trinity’s third person, and consequently, the Dove of the Holy Spirit was a recurring theme in the iconographic programs of all the Canons’ churches. At San Giorgio in Braida the Dove was represented five times in painted and sculptured form.

The Dove appeared repeatedly because images of the heavenly being were multivalent within the Congregation’s visual lexicon. The Dove of the Holy Spirit was emblematic of the Congregation’s word-based religion since it was seen as an embodiment of the spirit of God and of Divine Wisdom who appeared to Lorenzo Giustiniani and was the agent of his conversion. In his *Iconologia* of 1618, Ripa characterized and imagined Wisdom as an armored woman with a shield bearing the Holy Spirit in her right hand and the Book of Wisdom in her left (Fig. 71).50 The Dove also had enduring spiritual significance for the Canons because, according to Tomasini, it appeared to the Congregation’s founders and was the impetus for starting the religious organization.51 By linking the Congregation with this *topos* that is associated with

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49 One more piece of evidence that suggests the Canons had some connection to a local order of nuns is the inclusion of the figure of a nun in the lower left corner of Paolo Farinati’s massive *Miracle of Loaves and Fishes*. The woman is dressed in black garments with a white habit. Her face is turned towards the high altar and is specific enough to suggest that this is meant to be a portrait.


51 Tomasini claimed that the motivation for the founding of the Congregation was the appearance of the Holy Spirit to Antonio Correr and Gabriele Condulmer. Tomasini (1642): 2-10.
inspired conversion and founding myths Tomasini affirmed its divine provenance. He thereby provided to its detractors further proof of the religious organization’s virtuousness. Lastly, the Dove of the Holy Spirit evoked in the minds of the Canons the man who, as I argued in the previous chapter, was progenitor of the Congregation of Secular Canons, Pope Gregory XII (Angelo Correr). The Secular Canons, in their early struggle for identity, would have wanted to memorialize Correr in the decorations of their churches. However, on account of his controversial career, Correr was simply too inflammatory a figure for the Canons to feature him overtly in their churches’ iconography. Consequently no recognizable likeness of him ever appears in the Congregation’s copious extant commissions. Instead the Dove of the Holy Spirit personified him because it was the emblem of Correr’s papal namesake, Pope Saint Gregory I (c. 540-608). The Saint’s writings highlighted the importance of Wisdom and it was said that the Holy Spirit appeared to him and dictated the *Homilies of Ezekiel* (Fig. 72). Examples of altarpieces and other decorations that contain depictions of Gregory the Great accompanied by the Holy Spirit abounded in the history of art and especially in Venetian art of this period. An artist who worked in San Giorgio in Alga painted one such altarpiece. Antonio Vivarini, together with Giovanni d’Alemagna, painted a

*Madonna and Child with Saints* in 1446 for the albergo of the Scuola della Carità; next to

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53 In Venice, Titian’s painted a roundel of Saint Pope Gregory for the ceiling of Santa Maria del Salute, Venice; and Calvi’s *Pope Saint Gregory* (1581) on high altar of the Canons church of SS Gregorio e Siro. Additional examples can be found throughout the history of art are a tenth-century ivory of *Gregory with Dove of Holy Spirit Dictating and Three Monk Scribe* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Inv. 8399); Carlo Saraceni’s *Gregory the Great* (c.1590) in the National Gallery of Ancient Art, Rome; Peter Paul Rubens’ *Ecstacy of Gregory the Great* (1608) in the Musée de Grenoble; Andrea Sacchi’s *Miracle of Saint Gregory the Great* (1625) in Saint Peter’s in Rome.
Saint Jerome on the painting’s left side is Gregory the Great with the Dove of the Holy Spirit perched upon his shoulder (Fig. 73).

Besides the Dove of the Holy Spirit, Pope Gregory XII, and indeed the papacy in general, were personified in the Canons’ artistic commissions at San Giorgio in Alga and throughout the Congregation in two other ways. They were commemorated in likenesses of other popes and were personified by Saint Peter, who as the first Pope, symbolizes the Papacy, and Saint Paul, who together with Peter embodied the city of Rome as its patron saints. These associations were important for the Canons because they were very loyal to the office of the papacy and the Roman Curia. This was the result of Pope Gregory XII’s agency in the foundation of the Congregation. Furthermore, their ranks were filled with several papal family members. This fealty was strengthened in 1431 when one of their original members Gabriele Condulmer was named Pope Eugene IV. In addition, there were ideological reasons for the Canons’ strong allegiance to the papacy and for imagery related to it: they understood the Pope’s role as terrestrial representation of God on earth and recognized his authority to be absolute.

_Saints Peter and Paul and other papal imagery in San Giorgio in Alga_

Saints Peter and Paul were so important to the Canons at San Giorgio in Alga that they dedicated a chapel to them on the right of the nave. Above the altar they placed an altarpiece containing Saints Peter and Paul painted by the Vivarini brothers in c.1452.\(^\text{54}\) There was papal imagery in the area of the high altar too. The 1669 inventory of the church tells us a portrait of Pope Eugene IV flanked the high altar and had as its pendant

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\(^{54}\) ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, fol. 60v; Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 240 and Tomasini (1642): 228.
a portrait of Lorenzo Giustiniani. The placement and composition of these canvases were likely similar to the narrow canvases of Lorenzo Giustiniani and Saint George on either side of the high altar in San Giuliano Martire, the Canons’ church in Rimini, painted by Pasquale Ottino (Fig. 74). There could have been other representations of a pope or Saints Peter and Paul in the church and convent of San Giorgio in Alga, but they were not recorded by any of the extant written sources.

**Dove of the Holy Spirit, Saints Peter and Paul, and other papal imagery in San Giorgio in Braida**

The importance of the papacy to the Canons in Verona was first reflected in the dedication of San Giorgio in Braida’s high altar and one of its side altars. At the ceremony commemorating the laying of the first stone for the apse in 1504, the high altar was dedicated to Saints Peter, Paul and George. Saints Peter and Paul occupy the upper register of Paolo Veronese’s *Martyrdom of Saint George* that currently adorns the high altar (Fig. 163) and the saints appear in Gian Francesco Caroto’s *Saint George and the Princess*, the altarpiece that is believed to have been painted first for the altar (Fig. 164).

In 1543, a second altar, the third on the left of the nave (D in Fig. 99), was dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani, San Zeno and Pope Saint Sylvester I (reg. 314-335). Sylvester was known to have consecrated Old Saint Peter’s in 326, and was believed to have received from Constantine an imperial decree consigning to him Rome and the Empire’s western territories. Although the documents reporting this transaction were

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55 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, f. 60r.
discovered to be forgeries in the 1400s, the Papacy and in turn the Canons disregarded the findings and continued to view Constantine’s donation as fact.\(^{56}\)

Around 1560, Bernardino India painted images of Pope Saint Gregory and Saint Jerome (Figs. 178 & 179). They are located under the cantoria on the right side of the church. But, unlike other representations of the Pope, the Dove of the Holy Spirit is not present in this painting. Instead, Gregory turns to his right and looks toward the high altar for his inspiration (\textit{cfr.} Fig. 117).

The papacy is again referred to in Gian Francesco Caroto’s \textit{Saint Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins}, signed and dated in 1545 (Fig. 156). The story of Saint Ursula is tied directly to the papacy since Ursula, along with her 11,000 companions, went on a pilgrimage through Europe in anticipation of her marriage, and after a stop in Rome they convinced the Pope and other members of the Curia to join them in their journey. It was when Ursula and her retinue arrived in Cologne that they were martyred. The Pope, a cardinal and bishop, whose face is obscured, are among the crowd gathering on the painting’s left side. The faces of these men are specific enough to suggest they are meant to represent particular men, possibly Pope Eugene IV and one of his faithful cardinals,\(^{57}\) though the figure dressed as a cardinal has also been identified as the artist.\(^{58}\) This painting is the earliest known painting in San Giorgio in Braida to contain the Dove of

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\(^{56}\) In about 1440, the humanist Lorenzo Valla revealed the document to be a forgery after analysis of language. (Lorenzo Valla, \textit{Discourse on the Forgery of the Alleged Donation of Constantine}, trans. Christopher Bush Coleman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1440 (1922))).

\(^{57}\) Filarete, in his bronze doors at Saint Peter’s of 1445, included his patron Pope Eugene IV accompanied by a man cardinal. They could also be the men in Caroto’s painting.

the Holy Spirit. Christ has sent forth the Dove to Ursula below; she in turn lifts her gaze and looks directly at the heavenly vision.

Four other paintings present the Dove of the Holy Spirit as the divine messenger in the upper register. The lunette of God the Father, attributed to Domenico Brusasorci, is located above Girolamo dai Libri’s Madonna and Child (Fig. 149). In this image, seraphim and clouds surround God who appears in an orant position, with hands up and palms open. He looks down toward the Dove who, with wings spread, descends toward the altarpiece below. The Dove also accompanies the Virgin in Felice Brusasorci’s Virgin Assunta and the Three Archangels (Fig. 189), and is the divine light source and the object of the angels’ devotion. The Dove in Jacopo Tintoretto’s Baptism of Christ (Fig. 202) on the church’s retrofaçade descends toward the kneeling figure of Christ. The Holy Spirit’s importance in the Baptism story is highlighted by the size of the Dove—it appears to be as large as the lamb to John’s right. And finally, Domenico Tintoretto’s Pentecost (Fig. 197) of 1619 has the Dove at the heart of the action. All the Apostles and the Virgin look up in adoration at the arrival of the spirit that bestowed upon them the ability to speak in tongues. The Dove also appears in the pediment of the paintings’ frame.

Lorenzo Giustiniani

Lorenzo Giustiniani came to symbolize the Congregation of Secular Canons, and consequently his image appeared repeatedly in San Giorgio in Alga and in all the Congregation’s churches. On account of the quantity and significance of Giustiniani’s imagery and the fact that it evolved between his death in 1456 and his beatification in 1524, and dramatically between 1524 and his canonization in 1690, the next chapter fully addresses this vital element of the Canons’ visual identity.
Saint George

The Secular Canons at San Giorgio in Alga were also devoted to the warrior saint George. This was foremost for a practical reason—they founded their Congregation on an island that had a church dedicated to him since the eleventh century. He also proved to be the ideal metaphor for the Canons’ mission to reform the church. George’s role as brave knight defeating the dragon was akin to the Canons’ role as reformers overcoming the corruption in the Church. Furthermore, the Canons felt an affinity with George because he, too, renounced all his worldly possessions to join the Christian faith.  

Saint George in San Giorgio in Alga

Visitors to San Giorgio in Alga encountered the first likeness of Saint George on the façade of the church, possibly over the door. Though there may have been images of George in the nave, the church’s high altar is the only location where any are documented. There, Paolo Veronese’s Saint George Disputing Before the Emperor Diocletian hung above three predella panels also by Veronese’s hand of scenes from the saint’s life and martyrdom. Veronese would have known Gerolamo Romanino’s portrayal of the same scene painted on the exterior of the organ door in San Giorgio in Braida and could have been inspired by this imagery (Figs. 131-134).

Saint George in San Giorgio in Braida

The Secular Canons at San Giorgio in Braida were doubly dedicated to Saint George as he was the eponymous saint of their Veronese house and they commissioned

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61 Diana Gisolfi, “The Youth of Veronese” (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1976), 102-103.
as many as eleven separate representations of him. The high altar of their church, like San Giorgio in Alga, displayed an altarpiece dedicated to Saint George by Gian Francesco Caroto. His altarpiece, *Saint George Slaying the Dragon* (c.1535; Fig. 164), shows George’s triumph over the serpent rather than his judgment before Diocletian. Paolo Veronese’s *Martyrdom of Saint George* (Fig. 163) replaced Caroto’s painting after 1566 for reasons that are explored in Chapter Five. Caroto also painted an earlier image of Saint George in the predella of his triptych of c.1512 (Fig. 104b). Francesco Torbido completed an altarpiece for the Canons in 1533 that included an armored Saint George and originally hung above the altar dedicated to Giustiniani in San Giorgio in Braida (Fig. 140).62 In 1540, Gerolamo Romanino (1484/7-c.1560) painted the organ shutters with three scenes from the life of Saint George that are now separated and hung on the walls of the transept (Figs. 125a-d). The shutters’ interiors contain *Saint George on the Wheel* on the left and *Saint George in the Cauldron* on the right while their exterior portrayed *Saint George Paying Tribute to Diocletian* (also called *Saint George before the Judge* and *Saint George’s Self Defense*). In 1603, Paolo Farinati painted a panel of Saint George (now missing but discussed in Chapter Five) for the door into the former entrance to the cloister. In addition to these painted representations of Saint George, the Canons commissioned several sculpted ones. The frame of Domenico Tintoretto’s *Pentecost* (1619) contains a small sculpted image of George wearing the armor of a warrior (Fig. 143) and a bronze figure of Saint George and the dragon graces the holy water fonts to the right of the church’s entrance (Fig. 203). Two additional images of George added

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62 See Chapter Four for discussion of this altarpiece.
after the Canons’ congregation was suppressed in 1668 are evidence of the new residents’ continued veneration of the church’s dedicant.63

**Conclusion**

San Giorgio in Alga housed as many as eighty neophytes. There the young, highly educated men were first exposed to the Congregation’s customs, devotional curriculum and aesthetic program. They were schooled in the lessons of Lorenzo Giustiniani and the Church Fathers’ writings, and took instruction in choral singing. There they were first moved to piety by contemplating the image of Lorenzo Giustiniani above the altar in the novitiate chapel, the images of Saint George and the stories of Christ’s life told in the many altarpieces above altars in the church, and in the sanctuary and convent. They assimilated the meaning conveyed by this visual language and carried this knowledge with them when they were dispatched to other churches in the Congregation’s network, such as San Giorgio in Braida. In all the peripheral churches the newly arrived Canons encountered imagery similar to that found at San Giorgio in Alga and were immediately able to decode the grammar of the churches’ decorative programs.

**Section Two: Forging a Veronese Identity: The Secular Canons’ renovations of San Giorgio in Braida, 1477-1528**

As the Canons at San Giorgio in Alga were completing the construction and decoration of the Congregation’s mother church, their Veronese brethren at San Giorgio in Braida began renovations to their church and convent modeled after the artistic program conceived in Venice. The Secular Canons at San Giorgio in Braida, and at the

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63 Lorenzo Muttoni (1720-1778) sculpted the *Saint George and the Dragon* for the high altar frame in the mid-1700s and the Jacopo Ceola (1696-post-1741) carved the façade sculpture in 1741. Maria Scolastica Tosetti, the Mother Superior of the Order of Nuns of Santa Maria di Reggio who took control of the church in 1669, commissioned the façade sculpture as the inscription at its base tells us: QUÆ SUPRA SÆCOLORUM INFORMES IACUERANT MARIA SCOLASTICA TOSETTI.
Congregation’s other houses, designed their churches to reflect the setting, form, and general exterior appearance of their mother church. They transformed the small, provincial church of San Giorgio in Braida into a refined, significant religious structure and inaugurated the ecclesiastical complex’s history as one of the Canons more prolific and important centers of artistic patronage.

This section concerns only the art and architecture produced at San Giorgio in Braida between 1477 and 1528, the year by which the sanctioning of Lorenzo Giustiniani’s cult in 1524 and the arrival into Verona of Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti in 1528 had dramatically altered the Canons’ original architectural and aesthetic plans. They demonstrate that the Canons, in addition to ordering art that embodied their devotions and orthodoxy, were initially concerned with forging a distinctly regional interpretation of the overarching visual identity emanating from San Giorgio in Alga. Two major paintings were created for San Giorgio in Braida during this period—Michele da Verona’s Crucifixion (1501; Fig. 81) and Gian Francesco Caroto’s Triptych with Saints Sebastian and Roch (c.1512; Fig. 30). Girolamo dai Libri’s Madonna and Child with Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and San Zeno (1526; Fig. 110) and Gian Francesco Caroto’s Saint George and the Princess (c.1535; Fig. 164) were also created during this period, but they were the product of two other significant factors. As a result, while I discuss these two paintings briefly in this chapter. I reserve my principal analysis of them for Chapters Four and Five, respectively.

64 The churches that belonged to the Congregation of Secular Canons from San Giorgio in Alga exhibit a distinct architectural style, as do the churches that were part of the Cassinese Congregation. But unlike this latter organization whose structures have been thoroughly examined by Mary-Ann Winkelmes (1995), the architectural style, characteristics and development of the Congregation from San Giorgio in Alga has yet to be fully explored. Jörg Stabenow has done some preliminary research on this topic, but as of this writing his conclusions are unpublished. (Jörg Stabenow, “The Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga: Reconstructing the Architectural Profile of a Venetian Reform Order” (paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America, Venice, 2010).)
**Patronage pattern**

The Canons initially expressed their kinship with Verona by means of their mode of patronage. They chose to hire only Veronese artists—Michele da Verona, Girolamo dai Libri, Gian Francesco Caroto, his brother Giovanni Caroto and two Veronese architects—during this first phase of the renovations and often for multiple projects. Perhaps the Canons chose to employ these artists to mollify the local populace, who, despite being members of the Venetian state since 1405, may have had lingering concerns about the intentions of the priests from Venice. Relations between Venice and the frontier were still tentative. The Canons’ choice could also have been financially motivated since native artists did not have to travel and they did not have to pay the wages expected by artists from other larger cities. The significance of selecting Veronese artists, however, went beyond benevolence, convenience and cost efficiency. For the Canons, I argue, choosing local talent for their earliest commissions was an intentional act. It was Congregational policy, and effectuated at most of the Canons’ other houses. They sought to speed the process of assimilation into their new hometowns on the mainland through artistic means, specifically by adopting the local artists’ unique styles and artistic conventions that were synonymous with art produced in Verona.65

The Congregation’s constitution guaranteed that the residentships of their churches were ever-changing. It stipulated that each house’s rector, and the community’s two inspectors and the Superior General, who oversaw the administration of the whole organization, were elected annually in the spring and served one-year terms. By means of

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65 The Canons seem to have employed this strategy only in cities with an established and vibrant creative community, such as Padua, Brescia and Venice. Where such a community was absent, as in Monselice and Lonigo, the first commissions in these locations were executed by artists who had already worked in the Canons’ other churches.
this structure, its members moved frequently among the consortium’s houses. For example, an individual could be elected biannually and indefinitely to a particular rectorship, spending the alternate years as head of an affiliated house or overseeing multiple houses as an inspector. The Canons first employed the local talent in the towns on the mainland where they established their churches then endorsed them for further work. But my research suggests that as the Congregation matured and the Canons circulated more often, an artist who produced a work for one church could be recommended by a member of the organization for a commission at another. I have also discovered that these exchanges took place even after the span of more than a century. The result of these changes was a cross-pollination of artists and styles. Together with the cohesive iconographic scheme developed at San Giorgio in Alga, this intricate web of exchanges produced a similar aesthetic and spiritual experience at San Giorgio in Braida and its sister churches.

The Venetian Secular Canons’ early preference for native-born artists was unusual because it ran counter to the practice of looking beyond Verona’s borders for artistic talent. Before the arrival of the Venetians in 1405, Verona was entwined politically with the Visconti regime, and the prevailing trend in Verona was to turn to Milan for its tastes and artistic formulations. But after 1405, patrons shifted their attention to Venice and began commissioning artists from that city. The very process that brought the Secular Canons to San Giorgio in Braida—the arrival of Venetian clerics into Verona to occupy the city’s ecclesiastical offices—expedited this natural shift. Many of these men commissioned art for their churches from Venetian or other foreign artists whose artistic sensibilities were often avant-garde and differed greatly from those of their
Veronese contemporaries. The reasons they did so varied. Chief among them were to show loyalty to Venice or self-glorification, as two examples of this trend demonstrate.

The Venetian Guido Memo came to power as Bishop of Verona in 1409 and held this office until his death in 1438. Between 1420 and 1436 he had his burial chapel built in the Veronese Duomo, the church that was the seat of his power (Fig. 75). When the structure was complete, Memo enlisted fellow Venetian Jacopo Bellini to paint a large fresco of the Crucifixion on the chapel’s left wall. The painting was destroyed in 1759, but was still visible in 1718 when Del Pozzo described it as “…the Crucifixion of the Savior with stucco reliefs and gilding of many figures in the antique style made by Jacopo Bellini in 1436.” According to Luigi Simeoni, the Bishop selected Bellini because “…being Venetian, [the Bishop] hardly knew the Veronese [school of painting].” But this explanation is too simplistic. When he hired Bellini, Memo had

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66 He died in office, though in Venice, on 31 October or 1 November 1438. (Ederle and Cervato, eds. (2002): 84.)

67 It was attached to the right side of the nave of the Duomo and was dedicated to Saints Zeno and Nicolò.

68 At the same time Memo commissioned Bellini to paint a canvas of Christ on the Cross for the Bishop’s palace. The signed canvas (“OPVS IACOPI BELLINI”) is among Jacopo Bellini’s rare surviving large-scale works and it currently hangs in the Museo del Castelvecchio in Verona (inv. no. 365).

resided in Verona as Bishop for twenty-six years and therefore had ample time to
acquaint himself with local artists. The more likely reason Memo chose Bellini was
because, although the Bishop had been spiritual leader of the city of Verona for more
than a quarter century, he considered himself a proud Venetian and preferred to have a
vanguard artist from that city embellish his final resting place.

The second example of a Venetian cleric who deliberately chose to employ an
artist from beyond Verona’s borders for his artistic commission was the Venetian
aristocrat Gregory Correr. His reasons for doing so, however, differed from Bishop
Memo’s. Correr was the nephew of one of the first members of the Congregation of
Secular Canons, Antonio Correr, and a renowned humanist whose intellectual dexterity
rivaled the greatest minds of the Renaissance.71 In 1445, he came to Verona as Abbot of
the Benedictine monastery dedicated to the patron saint of Verona, San Zeno.72 In 1457,
to demonstrate his prowess in the artistic realm, Correr enlisted Andrea Mantegna to
create a triptych for San Zeno’s high altar. The Paduan painter and son-in-law of Jacopo
Bellini was known for his innovative, classicizing style, so by selecting this artist Correr
showcased his own scholarly aptitude and progressive taste. Indeed, Correr’s
monumental San Zeno Altarpiece (Fig. 22) singlehandedly changed the course of

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71 Gregory Correr was elected Patriarch of Venice on 17 October 1464 only to die in Verona on 30
November. He was buried in the mother church of the Congregation of Secular Canons on the island of San
Giorgio in Alga. The epigraph from his tomb was removed in 1810 and functioned as the lid of a stove (!)
in a Venetian palace until it was relocated to the Museo Correr in 1820. (P. Preto, “Gregorio Correr,” in
DBI (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana) and Vincenzo Lazari, Notizia delle opere d’arte e
d’antichità della Raccolta Correr di Venezia (Venezia: Tipografia del Commercio, 1859), 266.)

72 He had received the commenda of the monastery from his uncle Antonio Correr in 1443. (Gian
Maria Varanini, “Verona, San Zeno e Gregorio Correr,” in Mantegna e le Arti a Verona 1450-1500, ed.
Sergio Marinelli and Paola Marini (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2006), 47.)
Veronese art by introducing the Renaissance style into Verona.\textsuperscript{73} The \textit{San Zeno Altarpiece} so successfully personified its patron that it is considered the quintessence of the man.\textsuperscript{74}

As the Venetians Guido Memo and Gregory Correr had done before them, the Secular Canons commissioned specific artists as a way to communicate their allegiances and intellectualism. They initially rejected the practice of importing artists into Verona. This was done to solidify their bond, not with Venice, the center of political power, but with its dependent city Verona and her population. This was part of the Canons’ strategy for penetrating and stabilizing the ecclesiastical infrastructures of the cities newly incorporated into the Venetian domain.

\textbf{San Giorgio in Braida’s architecture}

The Canons began by selecting a local architect to take on the renovation of the church and convent. Except for a dubious attribution to Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570), the architecture of San Giorgio in Braida has been uniformly ascribed to Veronese architects.\textsuperscript{75} Scholars most often associate the Veronese sculptor and architect Antonio


\textsuperscript{74} A terracotta plaque found in Correr’s tomb when it was opened in 1796 reinforces this point. Its eleven lines laud Correr’s life as Abbot of San Zeno and Patriarch of Venice and lists as his most “pious and perfect accomplishment” the “colorful and most beautiful work” in San Zeno. (Lazari (1859): 267.)

\textsuperscript{75} Jacopo Sansovino: Brugnoli (1954): 23. Brugnoli states that, based upon the Renaissance aspect of the interior of the church, Jacopo Sansovino may have been the architect. This is impossible since Sansovino was not born until 1486, though he could have had a hand in a later renovation or design to the façade. The humanist Scipione Maffei, a prominent resident of Verona in the eighteenth century, wrote a five volume monograph of the city of Verona, from its Roman beginnings to his time. In one volume he attributed the façade of San Giorgio in Braida to both Sanmichele and Jacopo Sansovino (“ambiuga fra le due”). (Maffei (1731): vol. 4, 141.)\textit{Antonio Rizzo}: Giuseppe Cadorin, “Pareri di XV architetti, e Notizie storiche ecc. Venezia,” (1838): 132; Cesare Bernasconi, \textit{Intorno la vita e le opere di A. Rizzo} (Verona1859): 17; Giovanni Mariacher, “Profilo di Antonio Rizzo,” \textit{Arte Veneta} ii (1948); Brugnoli (1954): 23; Giovanni Mariacher, \textit{Antonio Rizzo} (Milano: Fratelli Fabbri, 1966); Anne Markham Schulz, \textit{Antonio Rizzo: sculptor and architect} (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983) and Lodi
Rizzo (c.1440-1499) with the architecture of the project’s first phase. The Veronese stoneworker Francesco da Castello (1486-1570) has also been linked with the first phase of construction. Scholars accord to the Veronese architect Michele Sanmicheli (c.1487-1559), the only practitioner whose involvement is documented, the second phase.

Several facts support the attribution of the plans for the initial renovations of San Giorgio in Braida to Antonio Rizzo. Rizzo had had close ties with the Canons due to his friendship with Gregory Correr. The two men were so close that in the 1460s Gregory Correr dedicated three of his poems to “Antonium Riccium Sculptorem.” This dedication is the first time Rizzo is mentioned in documents. Secondly, as was their practice, the Canons wanted the best local artists and architects to work in their churches. When they commenced their renovations, Rizzo was among the most celebrated artists in Verona. And lastly Rizzo may have had prior architectural experience working with the architect Fra Giocondo on Verona’s Loggia del Consiglio (1474-93; Fig. 76), the first


76 Gregory Correr was named Apostolic Protonotary by Pope Eugene IV. (Schulz (1983): 3, see especially n. 5.) The Last will and testament of Correr published by Lionello Puppi, Il trittico di Andrea Mantegna per la Basilica di San Zeno Maggiore in Verona (Verona 1972), 73ff. doc. Xvii dated November 29, 1464.

77 For information regarding this epigram, see Giovanni Degli Agostini, Notizie istorico-critiche intorno la vita, e le opere degli scrittori viniziani, vol. i (Venice 1752), 132, no. xiv. For information regarding the disappearance of the texts, see Wiebke Pohlandt, “Antonio Rizzo,” Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen n.s., no. xiii (1971): 163, note 165.
major expression of the new Renaissance style in architecture in Verona.\textsuperscript{78} Consequently, the Canons would have thought he was ready to take on their architectural project.

However, it would have been impossible for the renovations to begin in 1477—the date generally accepted by scholars—if Rizzo was the architect of San Giorgio in Braida. This is because documents place Rizzo in Venice beginning in 1462. Rizzo left Verona to begin work on three altars in San Marco dedicated to Saints James, Paul and Clement. They were commissioned by Doge Cristoforo Moro (reg. 1462-71) and completed by June 1469.\textsuperscript{79} Soon after, in c.1470, Rizzo was named \textit{proto} of the Procuratie de supra in Venice, and he held this position until 1498.\textsuperscript{80} In 1483, in this capacity he had the Venetian Palazzo Ducale rebuilt after a massive fire destroyed its eastern flank. In addition to being \textit{proto}, Antonio Rizzo held the Venetian title of \textit{Ingegner al Servizio dello Stato per le Lagune e Fortificazioni} from 1474 to 1477 for his work on the Scutari fortifications.\textsuperscript{81} Rizzo’s lifetime of artistic accomplishments was such that by 1498 he was considered “\textit{statuari, et architectura clarissimus}.”\textsuperscript{82} Yet in his early years he was known primarily as a sculptor, which thus raises the question of how he became the head of the largest and most important building project in Venice, the reconstruction of the Doge’s palace. It seems logical that to be given such a prestigious post Rizzo must have had previous architectural experience. But where did he acquire this expertise, while

\textsuperscript{78} For the Loggia del Consiglio see Raffaello Brenzoni, \textit{La celebre Loggia del Consiglio veronese; opera collettiva di umanisti della città e di artisti Comacini, Silloge} (Verona 1958).
\textsuperscript{80} Trecca (1930): 17 without footnote says that c.1470 Rizzo gained fame in Venice and was named \textit{proto} then was selected for the Ducale Palace. Bernasconi (1859): 32 citing documents in Cadorin (1838).
\textsuperscript{81} Langenskiöld (1938): 14. The only other Veronese to hold this position was Michele Sanmicheli from 14 April 1535. The post paid 120 ducets per annum.
\textsuperscript{82} Scipione Maffei, when he discussed the modern architecture of Verona, first mentioned Antonio Rizzo and said there were few who were his equal. He cited Matteo Colaccio’s 1498 description of Rizzo as proof. (Maffei (1731): vol. IV, 130.)
working alongside Fra Giacondo at the Loggia del Consiglio, or perhaps on his own at San Giorgio in Braida? The documents are mute on this issue.

Antonio Rizzo is not the only accomplished local artist proposed as the original architect of San Giorgio in Braida. Recent scholars have convincingly argued that Francesco da Castello had a hand in the church’s early construction.\(^83\) Castello was a Veronese stonemason celebrated for his work in the cloister of Santa Maria in Organo, which dates to 1517 (Fig. 77), and for his contributions to that church’s bell tower, and in several altars in other Veronese churches.\(^84\) Santa Maria in Organo is downriver from San Giorgio in Braida. Pope Eugene IV gave it to Ludovico Barbo’s Reform Benedictines by in 1443, two years after he gave San Giorgio in Braida to the Secular Canons. The Benedictines began rebuilding their church in 1481, in sequence with the Secular Canons’ project at San Giorgio in Braida. The styles of the cloister architecture at both Santa Maria in Organo and San Giorgio in Braida are tantalizingly similar (Figs. 78 & 79). This parallel makes Francesco da Castello’s early involvement in both projects entirely possible. Furthermore, as a stone mason, Da Castello had the artistic and technical knowledge necessary to oversee the large-scale redesign of San Giorgio in Braida. He was best known as an architect in the years before Michele Sanmicheli returned to his hometown in the early 1530s to work at both San Giorgio in Braida and

Santa Maria in Organo. Therefore, if the Canons were looking for a talented local artisan to execute their project, Francesco da Castello would have been a natural choice.

In the absence of further documentation, it is impossible to confirm Antonio Rizzo, Francesco da Castello, or any other specific architect’s involvement in the first phase of renovations at San Giorgio in Braidia. Moreover, an attribution cannot be made based on stylistic grounds because Michele Sanmicheli so greatly modified the late fifteenth-century construction of the church when he began work on the dome and interior spaces of San Giorgio in Braidia in the 1530s.

*Veronese identity manifested in the Canons’ private domain: Michele da Verona’s Crucifixion*

To forge their Veronese identity, the Canons did more than just employ local artists. They seem to have insisted that every work produced before 1528, whether it was for the private or public sectors of the religious complex, contain representations of Verona’s cityscape and/or the countryside surrounding it. They also demanded imagery that honored local saints. These recognizable visual cues bound the Canons and the local worshippers to the sacred action taking place in the painting in a way that would have been difficult for a viewer unfamiliar with the local typography and devotions to appreciate. The characteristics of the iconography in San Giorgio in Braidia’s first paintings make clear that no matter if the painting was in the sanctuary where the Veronese laity had full access or in the privacy of the pious Canons’ quarters, the goal was to bolster the Congregation’s favorable relationship with Verona and foster their Veronese identity.

After 1441, the new population of Canons needed lodging at San Giorgio in Braidia. For this reason they revitalized the nave with a barrel vault and enlarged their
living quarters. The style of the columns and capitals of what remains of this cloister resemble that in Veronese ecclesiastical architecture built around the turn of the fifteenth century. It is likely that the first cloister was completed by 1495. By 1501, the cloister was in such a state of finish that the Canons commissioned the local Veronese artist, Michele da Verona, to paint a scene of the Crucifixion for the refectory and a Pietà for the chapter room (Fig. 68).

Michele da Verona was born in the neighborhood of San Zeno around 1470, and by age twelve may have been a pupil of Domenico Morone (c.1442-c.1518), an established and well-respected artist working in Verona and Mantua. Further details of Michele’s youth and artistic training are scarce, and the scope of his career before he began work for the Secular Canons is uncertain. The only painting attributed to Michele that predates the Crucifixion and Pietà is a Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist thought to be from the 1490s, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

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Evidence of the addition of the barrel vaults to the existing architecture can be seen on the exterior of the church: a layer of dark red brick sits atop the lighter brick of the nave walls and buttresses.

The Canons were focused on their accommodations at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as two documents from 1508 illustrate. (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12668 and ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 261.) On 16 November of that year, the Canons requested from the Council of Twelve and Fifty that land adjacent to San Giorgio in Braida be given to the Canons for the construction of another cloister. The document goes on to say that the decision was made to lay foundations for the new dormitory as long as old foundations were not disturbed, which is further proof that the Canons had already completed earlier monastic accommodations in the 1490s. As a result of the extensive renovations made to the southern and eastern sides of the church in the 1930s most of the first cloister was destroyed and two arms of the sixteenth-century cloister were altered. For descriptions of the renovations see Alfredo Barbacci, “Relazione sul Progetto di Restauro della Chiesa e del Convento di S. Giorgio a Verona,” (Verona: Soprintendenza all’Arte Medioevale e Moderna per le Provincie di Verone e Mantova, 24 ottobre 1936); Barbacci (1940) and “Il monastero di San Giorgio in Braida,” Notiziario Banca popolare di Verona ser. IV, 58(1997).

When Michele came to the attention of the Canons is unknown, although it is almost certain that two Canons, Giovanni Francesco Novario and Francesco Paradiso, were aware of his reputation and were responsible for hiring him. In 1494, Don Novario held the office of Prior of San Giorgio in Braida and was again in that position in 1500-1 when Michele da Verona was at work on his canvas. Novario’s level of involvement at the complex at that time went far beyond his obligations as Prior. As of 1498 Don Novario, together with Don Paradiso, was in charge of the construction of, and most likely the selection of artists and architects for, San Giorgio in Braida and Santi Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo.

Michele da Verona signed and dated his Crucifixion (Fig. 81) on 2 June 1501, as the painting’s fictive epigraph states. The painting hung in the Canons’ refectory from its completion until its removal in 1811 (it survives today in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan). The immense canvas was a pure expression of the Canons’ devotions. It

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88 Inv. no. 27.41. It was on account of the similarity of the figure of Mary in the lower register of the Crucifixion with the Met Madonna that Roberto Longhi first attributed it to Michele da Verona in 1937. Guzzo (2006): 385. For complete bibliography for this painting, consult the Met’s Online Collection Database.


90 Tomasini (1642): 396.

91 The painting measures 335 x 720 cm or approximately 11 x 23.5 ft. The inscription on the left and columns read: (left) MCCCC / I / DIE II / IUNII (right) PER ME / MICHAE / LEM / VERONEN / SEM.

92 The painting was recorded still in situ by Saverio Dalla Rosa in 1803-4. (Dalla Rosa (1803-1804): 174.) Napoleon pillaged two paintings by Paolo Veronese from San Giorgio in Braida in 1787: Martyrdom of Saint George and Saint Barnabas Curing the Sick. To prevent the same from happening to Michele da Verona’s Crucifixion, it was brought to Milan in 1811 where it was placed in storage for safe keeping. In 1851 it was displayed in the nave the Basilica of Santo Stefano, above the main entrance. The canvas was returned to the Brera after the unification of Italy in 1888 where it remains on view today. (Cesare Bernasconi, Studj sopra la Storia della Pittura Italiana dei Secoli XIV. e XV. e della Scuola Pittorica Veronese dai medi tempi fino a tutto il Secolo XVIII (Verona: A. Forni, 1864), 285; Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri and Corrado Ricci, Catalogo della R. Pinacoteca di Brera (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d’Arte Grafiche, 1908) and Bacchi (1991): 352.) It was cleaned by Carlotta Beccari in 2007. See Mariolina Olivari, “Michele da Verona: la “Crocifissione” di Brera; note in occasione del restauro (2003 - 2005) in Tela picta: tele dipinte dei secoli XIV e XV in Italia settentrionale,” Arte lombarda 153, no. 2 (2008).
depicted an episode from the Gospels. Its primary function was to focus the priests’ minds during every meal upon the Eucharistic symbolism of Christ’s sacrifice upon the cross, which Lorenzo Giustiniani and the Church Fathers emphasized in their writings. The spiritual beliefs and allegiances conveyed by this painting were significant facets of the Congregation’s self-identity. Similar imagery could be found in all the Canons’ houses. For the Canons in residence at San Giorgio in Braida in 1501, however, this painting functioned in other ways: it showed the Canons from Venice making a bold statement about their commitment to assimilating into their new surroundings and Veronese society at large. They hired a local artist to execute this first important work that, by means of its illusionistic realism and rich, symbolic iconography, placed the sacred event within the confines of the refectory which was highly unusual at the time. The setting increased its devotional significance by making Verona appear in the guise of the Holy Land.

Formally, the Crucifixion is a carefully orchestrated narrative arrangement that follows the traditional telling of the final moments of Christ’s life. Christ is shown hanging on the cross (Fig. 81a), flanked by the good thief on his right (Fig. 81b) and the bad thief on his left. At the foot of the cross is a man holding the sponge used to offer Christ vinegar and the Virgin who swoons into the arms of Mary Magdalene (Fig. 81c). Her sister, Mary of Cleophas, and John the Evangelist surround the Virgin. John looks up at Christ and has his back to the viewer. To the right of the cross is a group of men on horseback. The man in a red headdress is an interlocutor who, with his gesture, directs the viewer’s attention to Christ (Fig. 81b). Next to him, a man on a white horse holds a

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standard with the initials SPQR above a black scorpion in a white field.\textsuperscript{94} It is balanced visually by the large red standard emblazoned with a black, double-headed eagle on the left of the composition (Fig. 81d).\textsuperscript{95} In the lower left two men throw lots for Christ’s cloak, though this event typically takes place to Christ’s left side reflecting the sinister aspect of the act.\textsuperscript{96} An enthusiastic horn blower on the painting’s far left announces Christ’s death.

The narrative plays out on a semi-circular stage flanked by classical ruins that incorporate columns bearing two coats of arms. Behind is a lush green landscape that gives way to an urban scene on the painting’s right side. Walls and crenellated fortifications separate the countryside from the town. Under a blue sky dotted with clouds, two bridges span the river, an imposing structure sits atop a wooded hill, and mountain peaks majestically enclose the deep recession of space.

The Secular Canons would have recognized this painted view as the city of Verona.\textsuperscript{97} Immediately to the left of the cross is the Ponte Pietra, distinguished by its two crenellated towers and four arches outlined in white stone (Figs. 16, 81a & 82). The Romans were supposed to have built this bridge the year they founded Verona (49

\textsuperscript{94} One iconographer suggests this combination of symbols illustrates the joining of the murderous brutality of Rome, signified by the initials, with the betrayal and treachery of Judas and the Jews, signified by the scorpion; both of these elements combined to bring about the Crucifixion. (Marcel Bulard, \textit{Le scorpion, Symbole du Peuple Juif dans l’Art Religieux des XIVe, XVe siècles} (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1935), 142-143.)

\textsuperscript{95} The two banners together may represent the passing of the Old Law or the Synagogue. The eagle may also signify the Emperor or “the word” of Saint John who is often personified by an eagle or as a symbol of Christ’s imminent Ascension often represented by an eagle in medieval art. (James Hall, \textit{Dictionary of subjects and symbols in art}, Rev. ed., Icon editions (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 109.)

\textsuperscript{96} This episode takes place to Christ’s right and under the cross of the good thief for reasons unknown. Some examples of the episode taking place to Christ’s left: Benedetto Antelami’s 1178 sculpted \textit{Deposition} in the Parma Cathedral, Giotto’s c.1304 \textit{Crucifixion} in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Altichiero’s 1376 \textit{Crucifixion} in the Lupi Chapel in the Santo, Andrea Mantegna’s 1457-9 \textit{Crucifixion} from the \textit{San Zeno Altarpiece}, and Gaudenzio Ferrari’s 1513 \textit{Crucifixion} in S. Maria delle Grazie in Varallo Sesia.

\textsuperscript{97} An observation first made by Diego Zannandreis, \textit{Le Vite dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Veronesi}, Italica gens; n. 23 (Bologna: Forni, 1891; reprint, 1971), 102: “mostrando lo stato in quell’epoca della parte di Città in esso rappresentata.”
B.C.E.). The second and more distant bridge on the right of the canvas is the Ponte Scaligeri, constructed by Cansignorio della Scala around 1375, and recognized by its three low arches, crenellated towers and balustrades (Figs. 25, 81b & 82). It is shown attached to the Castelvecchio, the fortified, defensive outpost on the south side of the Adige river that Cangrande II della Scala built in 1354. The other large fortress in the painting sits atop the hilltop behind the cross. This is the Castel San Pietro, which the painter chose to move to a more centralized position in the painting (Figs. 18, 81a & 82). It was built by the Visconti regime in the 1300s and remained in place until the late nineteenth century when it was destroyed by the Austrians and replaced with neo-classical barracks. Even though Michele added mountain peaks in the distance, the remaining parts of the view of Verona are topographically accurate (Fig. 83).

Representations of contemporary city and landscapes as the setting for historical events are not uncommon in the history of art or in Veronese art that predates Michele’s painting. The tradition dates back centuries. Other contemporary Italian examples are Piero della Francesca’s schematic portrait of Arezzo as the backdrop to The Discovery of the True Cross from his Legend of the True Cross cycle of 1450 (Fig. 84), and Domenico Ghirlandaio’s fresco of 1485 of the Miracle of the Notary’s Son from the life of Saint Francis in the Sassetti Chapel in the church of Santa Trinità in Florence (Fig. 85) in which the event takes place in the piazza in front of the church. As with Michele da Verona’s Crucifixion, the contemporary narrative settings in these frescoes are meant to

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98 Penelope Brownell and Francesco Curcio, Verona, guida storico artistica (Caselle di Sommacampagna [Verona]: Cierre edizioni, 1998), 61.
99 For a discussion of numerous local examples, including those by Pisanello and Gisolfino, see Gisolfi (1976): Chapter II.
relate to the frescoes’ actual location and to place the sacred event in a current context. However, there is one critical difference between Michele da Verona’s painting and these examples: the implied vantage point in the frescoed images is different from the location of the viewer in front of the work (i.e. the viewer of the Sassetti chapel fresco is not in Piazza Santa Trinità, but the action of the painting appears to take place there), while the fictive and real vantage points in the Crucifixion are one and the same. It is this trompe l’oeil effect that makes Michele da Verona’s work unique.

A scene of the Crucifixion was traditionally recommended as fitting decoration for the eastern wall of a refectory, yet the painting would have hung on the southern wall of the refectory of San Giorgio in Braida.\textsuperscript{101} Comparisons of the locations of the two bridges and the fortifications in the painting with a map indicating their actual locations in 1501, reveals that the painted background is an artistic interpretation of the modern Veronese landscape as seen from a point on the northern bank of the Adige River. This is the exact position of the painting’s actual location. This hypothesis is supported by the now-destroyed refectory’s north-south orientation, which can be ascertained from prints and drawings (e.g. Fig. 86).\textsuperscript{102} The Crucifixion was painted to appear as if the action of the Crucifixion was taking place in front of the Secular Canons on a dais at the end of

\textsuperscript{101} Irene Kabala, “Medieval decorated refectories in France, Italy and England until 1250” (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2001), 158.

\textsuperscript{102} According to late nineteenth-century sources, the monastery was sold to a private citizen who demolished it in 1837. This was done probably because it was unstable after years of inundation by the Adige’s annual floods. This penchant for destruction also claimed part of San Zeno in 1810. (Verona, Antiche archivi veronesi, Ms. 2176; see also Cesare Cavattoni, Storia delle chiese di Verona (c.1850), 84: ‘Persona privata comprò il bel monastero, e buona parte di esso nel 1837 fu atterrata.’). The remaining parts of San Giorgio in Braida’s convent, cloister, campanile and attached houses were restored or reconstructed in 1936. (Cfr. “Il Restauro del Convento di San Giorgio,” L’Arena, 6 Agosto 1937 and Barbacci (1940).) The houses attached to the northern and southern flanks of the church, parallel with the façade, were gutted and renovated in the fall of 2009.
their dining room. Thus the painting becomes a fictive window onto the panorama that lies right outside the walls of the refectory.

The backdrop is neither a fanciful creation containing an image of San Giorgio in Braida following its completion, nor a pastoral interpretation of Lake Garda, but the city of Verona as it would have appeared to the Canons in 1501. In this way, the scene of Verona anchors the Canons in their surroundings and in the context of the sacred event enacted by the painting. But it is more than just a modern portrait of the city: the scene represents Verona as a New Jerusalem where the hill of Golgotha is located at the end of the refectory hall. Michele took creative liberties when he moved the Castel San Pietro and the hilltop into a more centralized position in the painting, but by placing them there the hill is transformed into the burial site of the Holy Sepulcher, and the Castle San Pietro into the Temple of Jerusalem.

The conception of Verona as a New Jerusalem was not unique to this painting, but “an ancient urbanistic concept reawakened in the fifteenth century and put into service in the redesign of the city.” This connection was made all the more powerful in the Jubilee Year of 1450 when Verona was anointed minore Gerusalemme and certain

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103 According to Maria Beltramini, the small building ‘with the compact façade’ between the base of the cross and the lance to its right is the church of San Giorgio in Braida as it would appear after the Canons’ renovations were completed. She argued that Michele da Verona may have been privy to the Canons’ plans for San Giorgio in Braida and adjoining cloister and the appearance of this building is proof of this assertion. (Beltramini (1995): 109, n. 122.) However, in my formulation this building is meant to represent the Duomo of Verona, which sits directly across the river from San Giorgio in Braida and in 1501 was undergoing its own extensive renovations and had not yet received its Renaissance campanile designed by Sanmicheli.

104 Antonio Morassi, La Regia Pinacoteca di Brera (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1932), 7.


locations declared the counterpart to sacred places in Jerusalem, such as the Mount of Olives, Golgotha, Nazareth, Bethlehem, the Sepulcher.\textsuperscript{107} The promulgation of this theme continued through the turn of the sixteenth century and was co-opted by Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti.\textsuperscript{108}

Many Veronese artists around the turn of the fourteenth century imagined Verona as Jerusalem at the time of the Passion of Christ.\textsuperscript{109} In addition to Michele da Verona’s canvas, the large central section of the \textit{Passion Polyptych} (c.1517; Fig. 87) painted by Paolo Morando Cavazzola (c.1486-1522) for San Bernardino and now in Museo del Castelvecchio, shows the \textit{Deposition} with the Castel San Pietro in the central background. Girolamo dai Libri’s \textit{Deposition and Saints} (1490; Fig. 88) for Santa Maria in Organo, now in the town of Malcesine north of Verona, also prominently features the Temple of Jerusalem in the guise of the Castel San Pietro.\textsuperscript{110} In San Giorgio in Braida the city of Verona appears two more times in the predella panels of Gian Francesco Caroto’s triptych (\textit{Agony in the Garden} and the \textit{Deposition}; Figs. 104a & b) and again in the background of Paolo Farinati’s \textit{Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes} (1603; Fig. 182) on the right wall of the chancel.

Michele da Verona conceived his \textit{Crucifixion} for the conventual dining hall at San Giorgio in Braida with Verona as its backdrop as a way to assimilate the Canons into their new surroundings. In the simplest of terms this was done by including the Veronese urban and suburban environment surrounding the religious complex of San Giorgio in

Braida as the backdrop to the sacred scene taking place in the painting’s foreground.

Significantly, this landscape presented Verona to the Canons as a new Jerusalem, the fertile land of Christ’s life and death.

**Significance of a Crucifixion scene in the refectory**

In addition to reinforcing the Canons’ devotion to the Life of Christ, the Eucharist, and the symbolic connection between the cities of Verona and Jerusalem, Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion* was important for another reason: its subject matter and location in the refectory deliberately evoked past successful Church reforms in the minds of the Secular Canons. The specific reform took place at San Giorgio in Braida in the eleventh century. Prior to the ninth century, prophets and Old Testament scenes most often decorated the walls of monastic refectories. This decorative scheme underwent a change, with images of the crucified Christ becoming increasingly popular, following Benedict of Aniane’s reform of monastic life in the early ninth century.\(^{111}\) Benedictine tradition called for prayer eight times a day and the reading of sacred texts at meal time. Monks would therefore have found an image of the sacrificed Christ a fitting scene upon which to meditate while they ingested the sacred recitation and their twice-daily repast. As a consequence of the popularity of this image, refectories decorated with scenes of the crucified Christ became one of the hallmarks of Benedictine monasteries of the Middle Ages beginning in the ninth century. The highly educated priests of the Congregation of Secular Canons for whom monastic reform was the prime objective were especially concerned with renewing many aspects of the earlier successful reform movement as part of their own program in the fifteenth century.

\(^{111}\) Kabala (2001): 141.
Their adoption of figural language associated with the Benedictine reform of the ninth century, in this case the *Crucifixion* as refectory decoration, was an integral part of this methodology and the Secular Canons’ artistic identity. Their choice of a scene of the *Crucifixion* rather than of the *Last Supper* would have also reminded the Canons of the previous Benedictine reform of the church and convent since Crucifixion scenes were the preferred decoration for refectories in the eleventh century.

**Refectory decorations in other churches in the Congregation**

Of the many ways the Secular Canons achieved visual unity among their various houses was to adorn refectories with images of the *Crucifixion*. Aside from San Giorgio in Braida, two other versions of the subject are extant: Michele da Verona’s second *Crucifixion* of 1505 for the refectory of Santa Maria in Vanzo in Padua (Fig. 89) and the lone survivor of the fire in 1716 at San Giorgio in Alga, Donato Veneziano’s *Crucifixion* of c.1475-1500 (Fig. 65). We are especially fortunate to have Veneziano’s painting because it provides concrete proof that the decorative programs of many of peripheral churches’ refectories followed the precedent set by San Giorgio in Alga.

In the twelfth century the *Last Supper* joined scenes of the *Crucifixion* in the repertoire of decorations for refectories. By the early Renaissance pairs of these scenes

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112 The dimensions of this canvas, roughly 330 x 720 cm, are similar to the Brera *Crucifixion*, and it is signed in a similar way, “Die XXVII Martii MCCCCCV Op. Michaelis Veron.[ensis].” Unlike Michele da Verona’s Veronese refectory painting, the fictive view in the Paduan canvas work does not match the actual appearance of the landscape, nor does it place the painting in a specific location in Padua; it only suggests a contemporary setting for the sacred event. The Santo can clearly be made out in the center of the work. It is distinguished by its domes and spires and is the singular identifiable piece of Paduan architecture in the painting.

113 “La Passione di Christo, con le Marie, soldatesche, e molto numero di astanti, quadro Grande: opera con tutta diligenza, fatta da Donato Veneziano” (Boschini (1664): 571. See also Niero (1984): 161; Tomasini (1642): 227-228 and Coronelli (1696): 570-572.) It was probably San Giorgio in Alga’s largest at 14 ft x 25 ft. The painting is currently housed in the upstairs chapter hall of the Scuola Grande di San Marco. (Michael LaPlaca, “Donato Veneziano, *Crucifixion*, early 1500’s (?)”, *Save Venice Inc. Newsletter* 2007, 8.)
became common. Two examples contemporary with Michele da Verona’s painting are Andrea del Castagno’s *Crucifixion* (1450; Fig. 90) above his *Last Supper* in the refectory of Sant’Apollonia in Florence and Giovanni Donato Montorfano’s *Crucifixion* (1495) opposite Leonardo da Vinci’s *Last Supper* in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan.\(^{114}\) In the Renaissance demand for last suppers and feast scenes had eclipsed images of the *Crucifixion*, especially in Venice, as patrons came to see this type of imagery as more fitting for a dining room. The three other surviving refectory paintings from the various churches belonging to the Congregation of Secular Canons are proof that the Canons—while still remaining true to their visual identity and their need for narratives from the life of Christ—allowed their artistic decisions to mirror this larger trend. The priests at San Giacomo in Monselice selected for their refectory the *Supper at the House of Simon the Pharisee* (Luke 14:1-14) and in 1544 commissioned Moretto da Brescia for the project (Fig. 91). Moretto was also selected that year to paint for the refectory of Santi Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo the *Marriage at Cana* (John 2:6-10), the story of Christ’s first miracle when he turned water into wine for the nuptial feast (Fig. 92). Six years later, the Canons at San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome choose this same scene for their refectory and enlisted Francesco Salviati to fresco the work (still *in situ*; Fig. 93).\(^{115}\)

**Patronage**

The *Crucifixion* is the only work of art in San Giorgio in Braida that contains coats of arms; they hang from the columns on either side of the painting, the one on the

\(^{114}\) The timing of this trend in refectory decoration makes it possible that a Last Supper accompanied Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion* in the refectory of San Giorgio in Braida, but there is no physical or written evidence to suggest this was the case. (Kabala (2001): 250.)

\(^{115}\) The painting is usually dated between 1550 and 1555. Salviati also decorated the vaults of the cloister with frescoes of the *Creation of Woman* and *Original Sin*. (Paul Fehl, “Veronese’s Decorum: Notes on the Marriage at Cana,” in *Art, the ape of nature: studies in honor of H. W. Janson*, ed. H. W. Janson, et al. (New York; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: H.N. Abrams; Prentice-Hall, 1981), 341-365.)
left bears a red cross over a white field and the one on the right is divided horizontally into thirds with diagonal bands of silver and red on the bottom, a gold band in the middle, and a band of silver with a red rose in the middle at the top (Figs. 81, 94 & 95). The prominent placement of these shields leads one to conclude that they are associated with the person or persons who commissioned the work. The fact that only San Giorgio in Braida’s first commission contained coats-of-arms suggests that the Canons initially solicited external participation in their artistic commissions as a way to further connect with the city of Verona, though this may not have been the case as information uncovered in the course of my research suggests.

Attilio Mazzi was the first to suggest that the arms in Michele da Verona’s Crucifixion belonged to Nicolò Orsini da Pitigliano (1442-1510; Fig. 96) and his wife, Elena de Giovanni Conti.\textsuperscript{116} The white coat of arms with the red cross on the left of the work purportedly belonged to Elena: however, it is not the Conti arms which has a red field with an eagle checked with gold and black.\textsuperscript{117} The stemma in the painting has other iconographic meanings. A banner with these characteristics can represent the flag of Resurrection, such as seen in Giovanni Bellini’s Resurrection (1475-9; Fig. 97).\textsuperscript{118} This is a viable choice, as the event taking place in Michele da Verona’s picture culminates in Christ’s resurrection. Alternatively, the stemma could be a reference to Saint George, who is frequently shown holding a banner or shield emblazoned with a red cross on a white ground. The church of San Giorgio in Braida, and the whole Venetian

\textsuperscript{117} “di rosso, all’aquila scaccata d’oro e di nero.” Fabrizio Di Montauto, Manuale di araldica (Firenze: Polistampa, 1999), 157, n.668.
\textsuperscript{118} Additional examples are Alvise Vivarini’s Resurrection (1497-8) or Piero della Francesca’s Sansepolcro Resurrection (1463).
Congregation, was dedicated to the warrior saint George. A white shield with a red cross is also found on the belt of Saint George in Paolo Veronese’s *Martyrdom of San Giorgio* in the church’s high altar (Fig. 163), so this association is the most plausible reading of the stemma on the left-hand column.

Unlike his assessment of the left shield, Mazzi correctly identified the shield on the right of the painting as the Orsini family coat-of-arms. The shield in the painting lacks the blue serpentine eel that the gold stripe in the middle typically contains. That makes the link to Nicolò Orsini da Pitigliano even more probable since the family’s standard on his large funerary monument in Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (Fig. 98) is shown in exactly this way. Orsini was a *condottiere*, who was *signore* of two towns in Lazio and several towns in Lombardy, including Ghedi and Leno. At various times he was employed by the House of Aragon, the Florentines, the Pope, the Duke of Mantua, and Venice. He served as captain-general of the Venetian army from 1495 until his death in 1510. During the War of the League of Cambrai, Orsini is said to have fought valiantly and without fear. In 1507, along with his Venetian troops, he successfully defeated Emperor Maximilian. As both *signore* and captain-general, Orsini frequently

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121 Claudio Rendina, *I capitani di ventura: storia e segreti: le affascinanti biografie dei condottieri italiani nell’età delle Signorie e dei Principati: i protagonisti di una grande “epopea mercenaria” tra battaglie e congiure tradimenti e violenti passioni*, Quest’Italia (Roma: Newton Compton, 1985), 454-457. He was Captain-General of the Florentine troops from 1485 to 1488, of the Papal troops from 1489 to 1493, director of exercises in the Romagna and captain general of the Mantuan troops in 1496. At the time the contract with the Signoria of Venice was signed on 30 October 1495, Orsini was living in the Venetian palace of the Duke of Ferrara. (Giovanni Dolcetti, *Il Libro d’Argento: Storie delle Famiglie Nobili e Cittadine*, ed. Arnaldo Forni, vol. IV (Bologna: Forni, 1928), 59-60.)

passed through Verona when he traveled between Lombardy and Venice. He was
documented in Verona on numerous occasions between 1498 and 1501 and he could have
come in contact with the Secular Canons.123

Several significant events in Orsini’s life have been suggested as the impetus for
his commissioning the Crucifixion. Orsini’s son died in Ghedi in December 1498, so the
painting may have been in remembrance of him. The mounted, praying centurion at the
foot of the cross may be the deceased (Fig. 81d). Orsini commanded the Venetians troops
when they conquered Cremona in 1499, so the painting may have been commissioned in
thanks.124 Or the work may have been intended as a talisman against the illness that
Orsini’s wife Elena may have been suffering. She died in 1504 three years after the
painting’s completion.125 They are all plausible reasons for the commission. Orsini,
however, was a very prominent man in Venetian political and military life on account of
his many military successes. He did not shy away from an opportunity to glorify himself
and his accomplishments, especially when it came to artistic commissions.126 Such was
the case at his private palace in Ghedi where frescoes in the loggia painted in 1509 by
Gerolamo Romanino blatantly lauded his numerous military victories.127 Given his
proclivity for self-aggrandizement, why would Orsini commission a large painting for a

123 Ibid., 453-457.
124 Marino Sanudo, I Diarii di Marino Sanuto 1496-1533, ed. Rinaldo Fulin (Venezia: F.
125 Mazzi (1911): 170.
126 “[The Count of] Pitigliano was already by the late 1480s recognized as the leading soldier in
Italy, and Venice was very fortunate to have him.” Mallett and Hale (1984): 158 and 269. See also Sanudo
(1879): 10:222, 336-237 and Robert Finlay, “Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of
Cambrai, and the Rise of Habsburg Hegemony, 1509-1530,” Renaissance Quarterly 53, no. 4 (Winter
127 Fragments of this fresco cycle survive in the Szépművészeti Muzeum in Budapest. Roberto
Longhi, “Di un libro sul Romanino,” L’Arte XX(1926): 144-150 and Alessandro Nova, Gerolamo
14-15 and 266.
room in the quarters of the Canons where only the Canons had access? Therefore, could the Orsini coat of arms and the shield of Saint George in this painting be meant to celebrate another Orsini? Or do the arms honor a significant event that would have been more relevant to the Secular Canons?

My research suggests that the most plausible reason why Michele da Verona included these coats-of-arms in his painting was to commemorate Don Cardinal Latino Orsini di Brecciano (c.1411-11 August 1477) and his donation to the Congregation of Secular Canons. It is unclear when Cardinal Latino became affiliated with the Congregation, though by the middle of the Quattrocento he “passed a good part of his time among the Canons, living like one of them,” in both Venice and Verona. The Cardinal was appointed Archbishop of Bari and in the early 1460s returned to Rome. It was there in 1468 that he gave the Congregation of Secular Canons the eleventh-century Roman church of San Salvatore in Lauro (Fig. 56), paid for its renovation, and filled its library with numerous precious manuscripts. For this magnanimous act, in May 1481 Don Francesco Paradiso, having just been appointed Rector General of the Congregation, declared public remembrances be held in every one of the Congregation’s affiliated

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128 In fact the public was unable to view the Crucifixion for more than 300 years, from the date of its completion in 1501 until 1810 when, under orders of Napoleon, San Giorgio in Braida was suppressed and the public was allowed to enter and view the work for the first time. (Bernasconi (1864): 285.) After the public was allowed into the refectory, the intelligenti went ‘mad because of their love’ of the Crucifixion and Gaetano Zancon, a Veronese engraver, published a 30 x 50 cm wood cut print of the work, allowing it to be seen by an even wider audience. (Zannandreis (1891): 102.)  
129 “che passava una buona parte del suo tempo fra i canonici, vivendo come uno di loro.” (Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1974), 157.)  
130 A bull in the Vatican archives dated 17 May 1477 reaffirms the 1468 donation: ASVat, Fondo Vento I, doc. 1137. See also Tomasini (1642): 338-339. The bond between the Orsini family and San Salvatore in Lauro was strong enough that Sister Magdalena Orsini was buried in the church and her tomb erected sometime between 1473 and 1508, the years the patron of the tomb, Rinaldo Orsini, reigned as Archbishop of Florence. See image in Francesco Maria Tosi, Raccolta di monumenti sacri e sepolcrali scolpita in Roma, nei secoli XV. e XVI., misurati e disegnati (Roma: Spithöver, 1842/56), vol. II.
churches on the anniversary of Cardinal Orsini’s death. This mandate was respected Congregation-wide from that day forward. More than two-hundred years later, annual masses were still being said at the Canons’ churches, including San Pietro in Oliveto and San Giorgio in Braida.

But who insisted the painted tribute be made? There are several possibilities that are not mutually exclusive: the Veronese Canons under the leadership of Don Paradiso; Nicolò Orsini da Pitigliano; or the grandson of Cardinal Orsini, Roberto Latino Orsini. It should be recalled that after 1498 Don Francesco Paradiso and Don Giovanni Francesco Novario were likely making the artistic decisions at San Giorgio in Braida. By that time Don Paradiso was a senior member of the Congregation whose opinions unquestionably carried considerable weight. It is possible that sometime after 1498, Don Paradiso again exercised his authority and obligated Michele da Verona—in the first painting commissioned for San Giorgio in Braida—to include the Orsini arms and the shield of San Giorgio in the Crucifixion as a way of honoring Don Cardinal Latino Orsini di Brecciano’s benevolence more prominently.

As the Canons’ affections for the Cardinal endured, so too did those of his relatives. The Cardinal was related to Nicolò Orsini di Pitigliano, but they were from different branches of the Orsini clan. History has shown that fraternal love permeated

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131 Tomasini (1642): 364-365. The election that year took place on 7 May.
132 ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 2, fol. 79r-v dated 1669: “Augustus…Obs. 11. Pro Em.mo DD. Latino Card.li de Orsini missa in cantu.”
134 Paradiso was first elected Rector General of the whole Congregation in 1477 (Tomasini (1642): 344-345) and was again appointed to the same office in May 1481.
135 Christine Shaw, The political role of the Orsini family from Sixtus IV to Clement VII: barons and factions in the Papal States, Nuovi studi storici (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2007), Genealogical tables ORSINI (V) and (VII) for Latino and Nicolò respectively.
the entire Orsini family tree, so it would not be unusual for Nicolò to want to honor such a distant relative. If Nicolò commissioned the painting, however, as Mazzi proposed, it would have been an anomalous instance of outside participation in the Canons’ artistic commissions at San Giorgio in Braida.

The other member of the Orsini family who could have encouraged the painted tribute in the Canons’ refectory is Roberto Latino Orsini di Lamentana, and one that the facts uncovered in the course of my research favor. As often happened in ecclesiastical circles during this period, Cardinal Latino Orsini di Brecciano fathered an illegitimate son, whom he named Paolo. After the Cardinal’s death in 1477, Paolo was made the founding member of the Orsini di Lamentana clan, the cadet branch of the Orsini family named for the lands split from his father’s holdings that endowed the new blood line. Paolo, in turn, had his own sons, Roberto Latino (? -d. c.1525) and Camillo (1493-1559) before being strangled to death in 1502. The elder son, Roberto Latino Orsini di Lamentana, was a member of the clergy and served as Archbishop of Reggio Calabria from 23 July 1512 until 24 August 1520 when he left the Church to marry Costanza de’Mareri and henceforth was known as Cavaliere. It is likely that Roberto Latino came to commission the painting in San Giorgio in Braida because of his association with the Canons and his bond with the imagery of the crucifixion. Several documents written by Roberto Latino in 1518 while he was serving as Archbishop of Reggio Calabria, but in residence in Rome, were conserved by the Canons at San Giorgio in Alga. They show

\[136\] Ibid., 42.

him acting as intermediary between the Canons and Pope Leo X. Attached to each is Roberto Latino’s official seal of the Archbishopric that features the Crucifixion.\\footnote{ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1249 and 1250. The parchments were both issued by Orsini on 3 April 1518 and sealed with his insignia. A portico with three arches occupied the lower portion of the seal. The Orsini coat of arms is in the center arch with a cross emerging from the center of it. Atop the portico are three kneeling saints, Peter, Paul, and possibly on the right, Saint Jerome. All three of them turn to venerate the Crucifixion.}

The ties between this generation of the Orsini family and the Secular Canons continued with Roberto Latino’s younger brother, Camillo Orsini di Lamentana. Camillo was a renowned \textit{condottiere} in the service of the Venetian Republic. After the death of Nicolò Orsini di Pitigliano in 1510, Camillo became what Mauro Sanudo described in 1521 as “\textit{il primo de casa Ursina}.”\\footnote{Sanudo (1879): XXXI, col. 355 quoted in Shaw (2007): 85-86.} But in 1501, when Michele da Verona signed and dated the \textit{Crucifixion}, Camillo was only eight, and therefore too young to have commissioned the picture. But by 1541, he was living in Verona and interacting with the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida, specifically with Anselmo of Verona the Prior in charge of the consecrations in 1543.\\footnote{ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1319 dated 19 July 1541. As further proof of Camillo’s affection for the Secular Canons and loyalty to the church endowed and restored by his grandfather, Camillo chose to be buried in San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome.}

\textit{Veronese identity manifested in the Canons’ public domain: Gian Francesco Caroto’s Triptych of Saints Sebastian and Roch (1501)}

The Canons continued to forge a relationship with the Veronese and created a local identity for themselves in the next commission in San Giorgio in Braida, Gian Francesco Caroto’s \textit{Triptych}, which was the first for the nave (Fig. 30 & C in Fig. 99). The Canons’ devotional needs were met, but they were of secondary importance to those of the local population which was in dire need on account of an acute civic crisis of the early 1500s.
After the completion of the *Crucifixion* in 1501, it would take more than a decade for this altarpiece to be painted because the altar for which it was to be created was not completed until c.1512. In fact, the first stone for the apse foundations was not laid until 4 October 1504 by the Brescian Prior of San Giorgio in Braida, Don Bernardino de Ganassoni, who as part of the ceremony dedicated the apse to God and Saints George, Peter and Paul.\(^{141}\) After that date, work on the nave of the church, the apse, and cloister probably progressed swiftly until political and social upheavals halted the renovation and decoration of the monastic complex.\(^{142}\)

The wars of the League of Cambrai (1509-1516) interrupted the renovations when possession of Verona briefly reverted to the Milanese and construction stopped for a time. Pope Julius II formed the League of Cambrai in collaboration with Spain, France and the Holy Roman Empire (though the belligerents switched allegiances throughout the wars) against Venice in December of 1508.\(^{143}\) The League was the result of foreign

\(^{141}\) ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12648. Also present at the ceremony was Matteo Ugoni, vicar for the Bishop of Verona, Marco Corner, who was out of Verona at the time. An inscription described by Tomasini as “in golden letters” and located “in [the] ancient part [of San Giorgio in Braida]” may date to this ceremony; it reads: NUMINI SANTO PROPITIATO / DIVI GEORGII / POLLENTIS, POTENTIS, MERENTIS / PIE, RITÉ, SOLEMNITER / SACRUM, DICATUM ESTO (Let it be dedicated according to custom to the holy, propitious will of divine Giorgio, the mighty and powerful, deserving piously, solemnly Sacred). (Tomasini (1642): 256-257.) This inscription is mentioned by no other source and is not visible in the present-day church. The façade bears a very similar inscription in gold letters displayed over the main entrance (NUMINI SANTO PROPITIATO / DIVI GEORGII / POLLENTIS POTENTIS INVICTI / PIE RITÉ SOLEMNITUS / SACRUM DICATUM ESTO), but Tomasini could not have been describing this because the façade was completed only after Tomasini’s lifetime. However, the façade epigram may be the inscription Tomasini described as from the ‘ancient part’ of the church that was placed above the door when the façade was completed in the eighteenth century. In this scenario, either Tomasini incorrectly transcribed the words or a sculptor changed MERENTIS from the earlier inscription to INVICTI, though the inscription over the door exhibits no signs of recarving.

\(^{142}\) According to Beltramini (1995): 109, n. 122, the church at this moment resembled the simple building at the base of the cross in Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion* for the refectory. However, this building did not represent San Giorgio in Braida but the Duomo, which is located on the opposite side of the Adige. Also according to Beltramini, the southern flank of the convent is also visible in a painting by Luigi Vanvitelli conserved in the Uffizi and reproduced in Brugnoli (1986): 4-5.

states’ suspicions of Venice’s expansionist intentions on the Italian peninsula. They delivered a devastating blow when they defeated the Venetian Republic at Agnadello in May 1509, thereby returning the Venetian Empire, which still managed to hold Trieste, to single-city status. Peace returned and the Venetian Republic was reunited with all her former terraferma territories after the Treaty of Noyon was signed in Brussels in August of 1516. Nevertheless, this was not before French troops loyal to the League burned the area surrounding San Giorgio in Braida (known as the Borgo San Giorgio). This included the Ospedale di San Barnaba, which had been in the Canons’ possession since 1446. To commemorate the return of Venetian sovereignty to Verona, on 1 January 1517 the citizens placed the Lion of Saint Mark atop a classical column at the head of Piazza Erbe, where it remains today (Fig. 14). Another event—an act of nature rather than of war—also delayed the physical improvements at San Giorgio in Braida. But it proved to be the impetus for the Canons’ commissioning the first painted decoration for the publicly-accessible section of the church interior.

The plague descended on Verona in the first quarter of the fifteenth century with great frequency and devastating effects. Between 1500 and 1512 alone there were five separate outbreaks, and in the deadliest year, 1510, just over 12,000 people died after contracting the disease. As a consequence of the plague, the Veronese were in greater

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144 Nicolò Orsini, Count of Pitigliano and his younger cousin Bartolomeo d’Alviano lead troops into Battle of Agnadello. D’Alviano and 4,000 of his men were overrun and the League was able to claim victory.


146 See Section Two of Chapter Five for further discussion of the hospital.

147 Fainelli (1962): 154 and Assessorato alla cultura e belle arti Comune di Venezia, ed. Venezia e la peste: 1348-1797, 2nd ed. (Venezia: Marsilio, 1980). This may be an overestimation. If the number is accurate, it constituted a tremendous loss of life. It was perhaps half the population, considering that in 1530 Verona had a population of around 33,000 and was thus considered ‘a fairly large town.’ (Langenskiöld (1938): 11.) The population seemed to have surged soon after as the 1548 census put
need of spiritual guidance and devotional focus, and the clergy responded by commissioning altarpieces that represented the chief intercessors against the plague: Saints Sebastian and Roch, and the Virgin. Examples of these talismanic altarpieces include a triptych dedicated to the three intercessors by Girolamo dai Libri, Paolo Cavazzola and Francesco Torbido for Santa Maria della Scala (1518; Figs. 100 & 101) and an altarpiece dedicated to Saints Roch, Job and Sebastian by Girolamo dai Libri in San Tomaso Cantuariense still in situ (1510-2; Fig. 102). I argue that a triptych dedicated to Sebastian and Roch was commissioned for the third chapel on the left of San Giorgio in Braida for the same reason. The Veronese Prior of San Giorgio in Braida in 1510, Don Paolo Veronese, likely commissioned Gian Francesco Caroto to paint the triptych, which was completed around 1512, the year after the plague reached its deadly apex. If Don Paolo did in fact do so then it means that the alterations to this chapel were complete and the altar was ready for decoration by that date.

Gian Francesco Caroto was acquainted with the Veronese Canons. As mentioned previously, he painted a Nativity for the Prior of San Giorgio in Braida at an unknown date.

Verona’s population at about 52,000. (Brian S. Pullan, Rich and poor in renaissance Venice; the social institutions of a Catholic state, to 1620 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 27.)

146 Girolamo dai Libri’s Madonna and Child with Sant’Anna (1518; inv. no. NG748) and Paolo Cavazzola’s Saint Roch (1518; inv. no. NG735), were respectively the central and left sections of this altarpiece. Both are now in the National Gallery of Art in London. Francesco Torbido painted Saint Sebastian for the triptych’s right panel in 1518; the location of this panel is still unknown. (Varanini (2006): 374.) Dal Pozzo observed Girolamo’s Madonna on the altar in 1718, but lamented the removal of its wings (Pozzo (1718): 42) which, we learn later from Biancolini (1749): vol. III, 177 were taken by “celebre nostro dipintore” Giambitin Cignaroli. By 1822 Torbido’s Saint Sebastian was separated from the triptych’s other panels. That year the Madonna and Saint Roch passed into the Caldana collection and subsequently to the collection of the Monga who sold both works to the National Gallery in London in 1864. (Varanini (2006): 374.)

149 Tomasini (1642): 408.

150 The altarpiece is usually dated to around 1510-15, in the years following Caroto’s return from Casale. Carlo Del Bravo, “Per Giovan Francesco Caroto,” Paragone XV(1964): 7 sees in the triptych manifestations of Caroto’s Mantuan experience, dating the work to 1510-15, where as Franco Fiorio (1971): 40 and 94 sees its style as more reminiscent of Leonardo and the Milanese milieu and dated it to 1530-40.
date. He also later painted an altarpiece for the chapel dedicated to Saint Ursula (signed and dated 1545; Fig. 156), and the *Saint George and the Dragon* (c.1535; Fig. 164).

Caroto was also employed by the canons at the Congregation’s second Veronese house, Sant’Angiolo in Monte, for which he produced “*una bellissima palla,*” dated 1528, for the high altar “*che rappresenta Maria Vergine Annunziata.*”

The frame surrounding Caroto’s *Triptych with Saints Sebastian and Roch* is original, though it has been altered (Figs. 30 & 31). It is also unique because it was the first altar commissioned in San Giorgio in Braida and its designer was not required to follow the stylistic formula–single-field altarpiece flanked by columns and topped by a pediment–that became the standard frame format for the nave altars (Figs. 123, 156, 160 & 186). In form, Caroto’s triptych reproduces the format chosen by Mantegna for his *San Zeno Altarpiece* (1457-60; Fig. 22). But the artist chose to paint each saint individually in a return to the antiquated practice of the polyptych that was so popular in the late Gothic period and continued to be in the early 1500s.

The Canons’ choice of iconography for this first nave altarpiece illustrated how they remained true to their overall visual program while tailoring it expressly to suit the needs of the local population. For the first public work of art, the Canons chose imagery that was related to Christ’s suffering in the moments leading to his death. These didactic narratives would have been the most instructive and comforting for the citizenry of a

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152 Biancolini (1749): vol. 1, 388.
153 Caroto may have been Mantegna’s pupil. Vasari (1851): vol. III, 401.
154 There was a tradition in Verona of commissioning triptychs. The most relevant precedent in this examples is in the Boldieri Chapel in Santa Anastasia where there is a sculpted triptych of Saints Sebastian and Roch on either side of San Pietro Martirio. (Francesca Flores D’Arcaia, “La Pittura nelle Chiese e nei Monasteri di Verona,” in *Chiese e monasteri a Verona*, ed. Giorgio Borelli (Verona: Banca Popolare di Verona, 1980), 466-467.)
town in the throes of the worst outbreak of the plague in recent memory. Saints Sebastian
and Roch are included in the altarpiece because their cults are most often reinvigorated
during times of plague. They are considered protectors against the scourge, and thus
reinforced the altarpiece’s palliative function.

Caroto’s triptych with Saints Sebastian and Roch originally contained five
episodes from the life of Christ and demonstrated the Congregation’s continued
predilection for scenes from this narrative. When it was completed, the fourteenth-
century frescoed Portacroce also known as Christ Carrying the Cross was in the central
panel of the triptych (Fig. 32),\textsuperscript{155} the Transfiguration in the lunette (Fig. 103) and in the
predella, the figures in which Vasari described as small and exceedingly beautiful,\textsuperscript{156}
Christ Praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Deposition of Christ from the Cross,
and the Resurrection of Christ (Figs. 104a, b & c). The original triptych is recreated in
Figure 30. It included neither the Healing of the Child Possessed by a Demon (Fig. 105),
which was inserted between the lunette and the entablature above the panels of the Saints
and Portacroce around 1540, nor the Saint Joseph (Fig. 33) in the central panel, which
was added in 1882 to cover up the deteriorating fresco of the Portacroce.

The large figures in the main part of the triptych provided the worshipper with
three exemplars of heroic suffering (Fig. 30). Christ Carrying the Cross was the primary
image of veneration and emphasized his torments in the moments leading to his death.
Saint Roch (Fig. 106), like the devout who suffered in front of the altarpiece, clasps his
hands in prayer and inclines his head and body toward the center panel of Christ as if
praying to the agonized figure. This depiction of the saint differs from the way he is

\textsuperscript{155} It was replaced by Recchia’s Saint Joseph in 1882. (Brugnoli (1954): 29.)
\textsuperscript{156} Vasari (1851): vol. III, 401. The triptych was among the best works produced in Verona during
this period according to Del Bravo (1964): 7.
usually shown; he typically indicates to the viewer the physical manifestation of the plague on his body, the bubo upon his inner thigh. By contrast, Saint Sebastian (Fig. 107) is shown in the usual manner. He is shot through with two arrows and bound to a tree. He calmly looks heavenward toward the image of Christ in the lunette of the Transfiguration where Christ’s disciples are made aware of his divinity for the first time.

The altarpiece’s three predella panels are still positioned just above eye level in the chapel as they were in the 1500s and therefore communicate directly with the worshipper. These too provide a model for devotion like the images of Roch and Sebastian, and a summary of the path to salvation. The leftmost panel shows Christ Praying in the Garden of Gethsemane (also known as the Agony in the Garden)\(^\text{157}\) the moment following the Last Supper when Christ prepared himself for the suffering of the Passion and ultimately for his death on the Cross (Fig. 104a). Christ told his companions, Peter, John and James, to keep watch while he prayed for the strength to endure the events he knew were imminent. The central panel of the Deposition is the event that takes place immediately after the Crucifixion when Joseph of Arimathea obtained Christ’s body from Pontius Pilate and placed him in his tomb (Fig. 104b). The Resurrection of Christ is the culmination of the suffering and preparation for death when Christ rose into heaven; the moment was proof of his divinity (Fig. 104c).

Rather than simply extolling Christ’s virtues, these predella panels, along with the central panel of Christ Carrying the Cross and the Transfiguration in the lunette, portray narrative scenes from Christ’s life that emphasize salvation can ultimately be achieved through faith and suffering. This would have been a particularly poignant message for the

pious individual worshipping before the altar at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It should be remembered that this painting was one of many commissioned by the clergy in Verona as talismans against the recurring outbreaks of the plague in the city in the early 1500s. The Canons chose this altarpiece’s specific iconography, I argue, because it spoke most directly to the members of the Veronese population who had been stricken by the epidemic. In this triptych they would have seen Sebastian and Roch as empathetic figures and in the scenes of Christ’s life the promise of release from their torment.

Reinforcing the message of suffering and salvation is a small painting on the far right of the predella panels (Figs. 104c & 108). Here Caroto painted a blond putto standing in a niche and holding a shield that appears to be a coat-of-arms. It could refer to the commissioner of the painting. The small canvas is located under the figure of Saint Roch, who was the patron saint of the Arti degli Torcolotti, or the Veronese guild of the wine carriers. However, the stemma of the Arti degli Torcolotti had a cream background with a silver cross and not what is depicted in the painting. The putto’s black shield appears to contain a knife, four nails, a pair of tongs and a draped cloth that represents Veronica’s Veil or some of the instruments of the Passion that hastened Christ’s demise.

The intended viewers of the altarpiece were not only those already afflicted with the plague, but also those who were seeking immunity against it. In addition to Saints Sebastian and Roch, the Canons included an image of Lorenzo Giustiniani in a small panel in the lower left of the frame (Figs. 104a & 109). The Venetian holy man had been called upon to intervene on behalf of the citizens of Venice during the outbreaks of

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plague in the 1400s, and consequently devotion to him was ardent, especially as an intercessor against the disease. In this painting the Veronese Canons have put him into service for the Veronese people. In 1512 his cult was still not sanctioned so his appearance was confined to the predella of the altarpiece. He is placed within a small, fictive niche in which we see placed his bishop’s miter and his Patriarchal cross leaning against the niche’s exterior. Giustiniani faces to the right and is in the act of praying with Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane in the adjacent panel.

One last element is further proof that the Canons were forging a Veronese identity with the painting. The vignettes of Verona in the background of two of the predella panels, and the Veronese countryside behind Saints Sebastian and Roch, would have comforted the worshippers even further since they would have recognized these narratives as taking place in their hometown as the Canons witnessed the Crucifixion playing out before the Veronese cityscape.

**Balancing local and Congregational devotions: Girolamo Dai Libri’s Madonna and Child (1526)**

Girolamo dai Libri’s *Madonna and Child* of 1526 (Fig. 110) currently hangs above the altar in the chapel dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani, San Zeno, and Pope Saint Sylvester I (D in Fig. 99). Several unusual features of the altarpiece have led me to conclude that this altarpiece was commissioned by the Canons, not for this location but

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159 Antonio Niero, “Pietà ufficiale e pietà popolare in tempo di peste,” in *Venezia e la peste: 1348-1797* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1980) and Niero (1981). This devotion only increased as the years wore on. Archival records from the seventeenth century reveal that clerics, nuns, laymen and women made repeated pilgrimages to Giustiniani’s tomb on the outskirts of Venice, and to his eponymous altars on the terraferma, to ask for his grace and for intercession on behalf of those in ill health. (Cfr. ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523, fols. 1029r-1030v.) To express their fidelity and thanks the faithful covered his tomb and altars with many *ex voto* made of wood, wax and silver, and candles of all colors. (Cfr. ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523, fols. 1008r, 1029r-1030v, 1201r; ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3515, fols. 4v, 5r, 7r, 9r, 11r.11r; ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3529, fol. 170r.)

160 Both the the *Agony in the Garden* and the *Deposition* include the turret of the Castelvecchio.
for their second Veronese house, Sant’Angiolo in Monte. I have chosen to discuss aspects of this painting here because, despite its relocation, it was commissioned by the Canons in Verona during the time period covered by this chapter. It therefore is emblematic of the methodology used by the Canons to forge their Veronese identity and to strengthen their ties with the city. The following chapter addresses why and how it came to reside in San Giorgio in Braida. In addition to employing a local artist to create the work, this painting is evidence that the Canons chose to include local saints and native artistic motifs as a way to establish their local idiom.

Girolamo dai Libri was born and raised in Verona. He began his career in his father’s workshop, which specialized in manuscript illumination. As Gian Francesco Caroto did, Dai Libri worked for the Veronese Canons on other projects. In all likelihood he produced several manuscripts and Psalters for them in the late 1400s. The Bergamese Prior of San Giorgio in Braida, Don Giorgio Cacciamale, who, Vasari tells us, paid the artist sixty “scudi d’oro” for “una carta” of Paradise that was considered Girolamo’s masterpiece, may have first established the relationship between Dai Libri and the Veronese Canons. It is unclear how Girolamo met Don Giorgio Cacciamale, to whom there is no other reference in the literature. It is uncertain if he produced this sheet as a singular work or as part of a larger liturgical text since it is now lost. It was regarded as the most exquisite miniature in Rome after its commissioner gave it to a Roman cardinal who was described as “protector of the religion.” This is evidence that priors were recommending their local/favored artists to the heads of other houses, perhaps in hopes of inducing the other priors to employ the same artist. By the time of the publication of

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161 Vasari (1568): vol. v, 330-331, n. 331. Vasari says the work depicted Adam and Eve being expelled by the sword-bearing Angel from Paradise, and as was customary in works by Girolamo, contained numerous and varied trees, fruits, flowers, birds and other fauna.
Milanese’s annotated version of Vasari’s *Vite* in 1878, Dai Libri’s *Paradise* had been sold and subsequently disappeared.

The Canons already associated the exact rendering of detail, crispness of form, and intense colors of Girolamo’s miniatures in their library with their scholarship and ritual. When they needed an artist to create an altarpiece that could embody their order and its devotional practice, they called upon him to “illuminate” their *Madonna and Child*. Their campaign was successful. An eighteenth-century chronicler noted the binary quality so desired by the Canons. In the painting, he observed, one witnesses “the miniaturist who paints and the painter who creates a miniature.”\(^{162}\) He also remembered the intimate quality of the monumental painting when he described the large altarpiece as a “quadretto”.

In this composition, Dai Libri has placed the Virgin and Child, Lorenzo Giustiniani and San Zeno in a marble portico open to an outdoor scene filled with sunlight. A low marble parapet that separates the figures from the rugged landscape in the background runs the width of the painting behind the throne and is the division between the painting’s interior and exterior domains. Crenellated castles and simple red-roofed dwellings populate the fecund mountainous terrain reminiscent of the countryside north of Verona. Behind the figure of Giustiniani, pack animals and people walk along the road and women laden with goods ascend the steps, while behind San Zeno, animals graze and a shepherd tends his flock in the field. A bare mountain rises in the extreme background and is blue in color from the artist’s application of atmospheric perspective. A mature apple tree grows behind the Virgin’s throne and against the blue of the sky, though the

only parts visible are its trunk and lower branches ripe with fruit. Between this tree and
the throne grows a young lemon tree that sprouts two flowering and fruited branches, the
leaves of which just reach the lowest bough of the apple tree.

In the lower register of the canvas, a red carpet with yellow geometric forms and a
blue border covers the arms and lower portion of the Virgin’s throne. Here at the bottom
of the painting, the artist signed and dated the work in a two-part inscription in the form
of an epigraph that spans the lip of the fictive marble step. Three music-making angels in
half-length interrupt the inscription and appear to sit just inside and below the lower edge
of the frame and at the foot of the throne.

The sumptuously dressed figures are arranged in a symmetrical and stable *sacra
conversazione*. At the center of the group, the Virgin and Christ Child sit frontally upon a
marble-inlaid throne that is draped in rich textiles. They are elevated above and flanked
by Giustiniani and Zeno. The Virgin lovingly holds Christ’s chin in her left hand and his
feet in her right. Christ sits upon the Virgin’s right arm. He loops his left arm around her
neck and extends his right hand towards Giustiniani. The Virgin’s gaze is toward the
viewer/worshipper, but Christ is turned to his right and focused on Giustiniani. What
appears to be a long blue ribbon hangs over Christ’s right thigh and below the Virgin’s
left knee; the two ends of the ribbon terminate in silver-colored rings and are draped over
the right hand of Christ and the left hand of the Virgin.163

Both Giustiniani and Zeno are dressed as bishops and hold books in their hands.
Giustiniani, on the left of the painting, holds a staff capped with a gold cross in his left

163 Girolamo dai Libri produced an almost identical painting of the Madonna and Child where
Christ is not covered, suggesting the ribbon in the painting in San Giorgio in Braida may be a later addition.
See Gino Castiglioni and Gianni Peretti, eds., *Per Girolamo Dai Libri pittore e miniatore del Rinascimento
veronese* (Venice, Italy: Marsilio, 2008), 112-113, fig. 128.
and a green book in his right. He wears a miter decorated with pearls and precious stones behind which emanates an eight-point aureole that identifies his holiness and is evidence of his recent promotion to Beato in 1524. Giustiniani is also dressed in the crimson cope of the Patriarchate of Venice. It has the appearance of sumptuous red velvet stamped with a rose and pomegranate pattern that has been embroidered with an elaborate gold orphrey adorned with images of various saints. Holding the cope in place is a large jeweled clasp framed by embroidered pomegranates. The splendor of these ecclesiastical garments is in stark contrast to the simplicity of the attire Giustiniani wears underneath them, an unadorned dark blue skullcap that comes down to cover his ears and a simple white tunic over a *turchino*, or dark blue gown worn by the Secular Canons of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga (Figs. 57 & 112).

On the other side of the Virgin, San Zeno, the Bishop of Verona from 362 to 372, looks out at the worshipper and holds a red book with gold closures in his left hand. His office is signified by his bishop’s miter, which has affixed to the front a sunburst medallion containing Christ’s monogram and blue, green and red stones decorating its gold trim. The crozier in his right hand has hanging from it his attribute of a fish. The divinity of the figure is illustrated by the thin halo that seems either to rest inside the miter or emerge from behind the saint’s head. Zeno’s deep green bishop’s cope is painted to resemble rich, heavy velvet embossed with the same large rose and pomegranate pattern as Giustiniani’s. Likewise, an orphrey containing four saints down the length of each side trims the front of the garment, which is fastened across the saint’s chest by a large gold clasp containing a blue stone. San Zeno’s facial features and structure, unlike Lorenzo Giustiniani’s portrait-like features, are generic in quality and are meant to be
suggestive of the man rather than an exact likeness. Indeed, this same facial type reappears in Dai Libri’s earlier *Centrego Madonna* (1488-1502; Fig. 111) on the Centrego altar in another Veronese church, Sant’Anastasia, in the figure of Saint Augustine who appears to be Zeno’s twin. As Lorenzo Giustiniani embodies the Secular Canons and Venice, San Zeno in green robes on his left, represents the transplanted Canons’ new hometown as he is the city’s patron saint.

In the altarpiece Zeno is on equal footing with Giustiniani. Both are dressed in lavish vestments of complementary colors and stand on the same level marble floor, their poses mirroring one another. This harmonious pairing reinforces two important relationships: the sacred bond between Verona (embodied in San Zeno) and the newly arrived Canons (embodied in Giustiniani), and the secular/political bond between Verona and Venice whose territorial state Verona had joined in 1405. By pairing Zeno with Giustiniani, Veronese citizens and the Canons gained an intercessor. As a result, local and “national” representatives present them to the Virgin. In San Giorgio in Alga in Venice, the chapel dedicated to Saint Mark and decorated with an altarpiece by the Vivarini brothers is proof that the Canons encouraged devotion to the patron saint of the individual city where their churches were located.164 Furthermore, coupling the two holy figures in equality and concord created a message of Verona’s peaceable and contented absorption into the Venetian state, perpetuating Venetian propaganda about the conquest of the mainland.165

Girolamo’s training as a miniaturist is evident in three music-making angels that appear at the bottom of the painting between the inscriptions that contains the artist’s

164 Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 240; Tomasini (1642): 22 and ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, fol. 60v (1669).
signature. Singing and music-making angels are far from unusual in altarpiece iconography, but here the angels highlight the Canons’ practice of employing music as part of their liturgical practices. They function similarly to other figures in Girolamo’s manuscripts. For example, in a manuscript now in a private collection but originally produced for the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida, the canons in the “C” of “Cantante Domino” are shown in the act of singing before a choir stand, just as the Canons who were reading the Psalter would be following suit (Fig. 112). In Girolamo’s altarpiece the angels serve the same purpose: they are showing the Canons what they are to do, which is to exalt through song their love of God, an action that was integral to their ritual practice.

The angels also epitomize how Girolamo developed an identifiably native typology to prompt devotional response among the Veronese Canons. By including artistic motifs that evoked native traditions, Girolamo ensured the Canons’ connection with the local population was advertised in visual terms. It was a tradition in Verona to include figures in half-length at the bottom of the canvas, a practice referred to specifically as dalla cintula in su. Most often these figures were the patrons, as in another work by Girolamo, his later *Madonna Centrego* where the patron Cosimo and his wife appear before Saints Thomas and Augustine (Fig. 111).

The most influential native artistic allusions were derived from Andrea Mantegna’s *San Zeno Altarpiece* of 1443 for the church of Verona’s patron saint (Fig. 22). This altarpiece single-handedly transformed art in Verona and the Veneto for the remaining part of the fifteenth century and well into the sixteenth. Girolamo constructed

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166 Gino Castiglioni and Sergio Marinelli, eds., *Miniatura veronese del rinascimento* (Verona: Museo di Castelvecchio, 1986), 246, Fig. 252.213.
pronounced and deliberate visual references to Mantegna’s prototype; for example, Christ has his arm around the Virgin’s neck, the throne is decorated with classical roundels and is carpet-draped, and fecund fruit trees behind the Virgin refer to the fruit garlands. It is not surprising that Girolamo was eager to adopt the poses, antique style and practice of blending sacred and profane elements into his own artistic output because it marked his altarpiece as expressly Veronese. However, the parallels between these paintings were not made exclusively for aesthetic and civic reasons, but were made to highlight the order’s dynastic connections to the patron and his cultural heritage. The commissioner of Mantegna’s altarpiece was the Venetian bishop of San Zeno, Gregory Correr. He, like Giustiniani, was a humanist. He was also the nephew of Antonio Correr. By recalling Mantegna’s altarpiece in his own, Girolamo connected his painting and the patrons who commissioned it to the foremost altar honoring Zeno, to the prominent Venetian patron who commissioned it who happened to be a blood relative of one of the Congregation’s original members, and to Venice’s authority on the mainland.

Conclusion

The visual identity of the whole Congregation was born in Venice at San Giorgio in Alga. The Veronese Canons used the program as a framework for their decoration of San Giorgio in Braida, but they embellished and adapted it in a distinctly Veronese way. They initially hired Veronese artists to show their loyalty to their new hometown. They ordered these artists to include recognizable civic settings and local aesthetic models in the paintings for both the public and private domains. And the Canons catered to the devotional needs of the local population. They provided them with an altarpiece featuring

saints most venerated by those afflicted with plague and their own holy figure, Giustiniani, who was put into service for the populace since his intercession had traditionally be sought to safeguard against the disease. Finally, the Canons strove to bond with their new surroundings by commissioning art that featured the local patron saint on equal footing with the most holy representative of their religious organization.
Chapter Four: The development of the collective identity of the Congregation of Secular Canons at San Giorgio in Braida during the Bishopric of Gian Matteo Giberti (reg. 1524-1543) until the commencement of the Council of Trent (1545)

Introduction

On 9 July 1524, Pope Clement VII moved Lorenzo Giustiniani one step closer to sainthood when he pronounced him bishop-confessor and conceded the celebration of his cult on 8 January, the date of his death in 1456. Also in 1524, in August of that year, the Pope appointed the Sicilian-born cleric Gian Matteo Giberti as Bishop of Verona at the urging of the Doge of Venice, Andrea Gritti.\(^1\) Giustiniani’s beatification altered Venice’s and the Congregation of Secular Canons’ self-conception and Giberti’s appointment meant the commencement of a comprehensive campaign to reform spiritually and physically the churches under his jurisdiction. This chapter spans Giberti’s tenure as bishop (1524-1543) and examines how these two significant events effected the renovations that were still underway at San Giorgio in Braida and the works of art produced there during these years. It concludes in 1545 because this was when the Council of Trent met for the first time. While the Veronese Canons continued to promote the objects of their devotions and to develop their local identity in the art they commissioned during this period, they were also compelled to adapt the Congregation’s aesthetic and architectural program in order to reflect Giustiniani’s evolving divine status and to conform to Bishop Giberti’s new guidelines for churches in his diocese.

\(^1\) Ederle and Cervato, eds. (2002): 93-94.
Section One: Gian Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona (reg. 1524-1543) and his influence upon the art and architecture at San Giorgio in Braida

Bishop Giberti’s reform of Verona’s churches

Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543) was a skilled humanist and intimate of Pope Leo X and his cousin Pope Clement VII, having served both as a trusted member of the Curia during the early sixteenth century.\(^2\) He was also the most distinguished prelate of the Catholic mission against Protestant reform and, with the powers vested in him by Clement VII, the Counter Reformation’s chief proponent in Verona. Giberti began formulating his prescription for reform of the Church in Verona a full ten years before the first session of the Council of Trent convened and forty years before it promulgated its decrees. Giberti arrived in Verona in January of 1528 following the Sack of Rome. But while still in Rome he ordered a surrogate bishop (known as a suffragan bishop) and a vicar to begin a systematic campaign of church inspections in his absence, which they did in 1525.\(^3\) These visits were Giberti’s primary method for assessing the state of the clergy and the churches in Verona. His proxies visited most of the churches in the city and countryside, though Giberti personally inspected Verona’s churches on four occasions (1529, 1530, 1534 and 1542) and twice visited the entire diocese (1530 and 1541).\(^4\) With the collected data the Bishop formulated a detailed set of standards and requirements for

\(^2\) Gian Matteo Giberti was in charge of Pope Leo X’s diplomatic correspondences and he later served as Pope Clement VII’s Apostolic dataria. (See A. Turchini, “Giberti, Gian Matteo,” in DBI (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana). For a complete description of Giberti’s time in Rome see Prosperi (1969): 7-32.)

\(^3\) Dario Cervato, Diocesi di Verona, vol. 8, Storia religiosa del Veneto (Venezia: Giunta Regionale del Veneto, Gregoriana Libreria Editrice, 1999), 283. For additional information about Giberti’s pastoral visits, see Prosperi (1969): 176-179.

change entitled *Le Costituzioni per il clero*, which he himself published in 1542.\(^5\)

Giberti’s seventeen-volume opus magnum addressed almost every aspect of clerical life from dress and conduct to the celebration of the Mass, and administration and use of ecclesiastical funds. It was so effective in reforming the clergy in Verona that many of the Council of Trent’s decrees adopted its principles and reproduced its recommendations word for word.\(^6\)

In 1530, in preparation for his pastoral visits, Giberti produced a small pamphlet for the secular clergy entitled *Breve ricordo di quello hanno da fare i chierici*, which was later republished as the opening chapter of the *Constitutiones*. It described, among other things, the proper decorum of the interior and exterior of the churches, which included the appropriate use and appearance of the altars, furnishings and liturgical instruments.\(^7\)

Underpinning these requirements was Giberti’s belief in the Holy Sacrament and its vital role as “…the heart in the chest and the mind in the soul…” of mankind.\(^8\) Therefore, the tabernacle containing the host had to function as the church’s nucleus, and all other parts of the church had to be designed to focus the worshipper upon it. Perhaps most

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importantly, the nave had to be unobstructed in order for everyone to have visual access to the high altar. The liturgical instruments—above all the tabernacle—had to be of the highest quality possible, though preferably of marble and precious metals, and the floors of the church had to be of marble and artfully designed. The apse was to be framed by a triumphal arch and the wooden stalls of the clergy in the presbytery had to be directed toward the high altar. Furthermore, tombs were prohibited.\(^9\) The side altars were not to outshine the high altar and the saints to whom they were dedicated were not intended to be the most venerated in the church. These requirements were aimed at focusing the worshipper’s attention upon the high altar, the Eucharist, and the miracle of transubstantiation.

**Bishop Giberti’s role as patron**

Giberti executed his directives most faithfully and completely in Verona’s Duomo. Using his authority as apostolic legate, he transformed the church that was the seat of his power into a pre-Tridentine reformed Veronese church, although he met with some resistance from the cathedral’s canons.\(^10\) He began making preparations for the renovations in 1527 when he had the floor of the presbytery repaved in marble and three floor tombs relocated within the church to make way for the new high altar assemblage.\(^11\) Possibly as early as 1533, he commissioned Michele Sanmicheli to design and build the colonnaded enclosure for the apse known as the *pergula* or *tornacoro* to emphasize the

\(^9\) Commemorative floor markers were added to the chapels only after the Congregation’s suppression in 1668.
sanctuary and frame the tabernacle and high altar (Fig. 113). In 1534, Sanmicheli’s close friend, the Venetian painter Francesco Torbido, painted the frescoes on the exterior arch of the presbytery. Scenes from the Life of the Virgin played out within a complex arrangement of fictive architecture across the entire interior of the apse. Torbido executed the frescoes using designs by Giulio Romano, whom Giberti had befriended during his time in Rome, but only after Giberti’s favorite artist, the aged Gian Francesco Caroto, had turned down the Bishop’s request. The remaining parts of the church also conformed to Giberti’s specifications: the high altar was fashioned from marble and other precious materials; the wooden stalls of the canons, which had previously occupied an enclosed space in the center of the church similar in form to that in the Frari in Venice, were realigned and placed along the curve of the apse facing the tabernacle; and the wooden pavements of the entire church were replaced with marble.

During this same period Giberti directed the renovations at the Abbey of Rosazzo in Friuli, a church under his control since 1527 when Pope Clement VII assigned it to him. When he was ready to have the presbytery arch and apse frescoed he again called upon Francesco Torbido, who had become one of the Bishop’s trusted painters by the time the frescoes were commissioned in 1534. The artist filled the spaces with scenes

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13 Francesco Torbido and Michele Sanmicheli knew each other very well. Vasari tells us that Torbido came to stay in Sanmicheli’s house when he was in financial trouble. Torbido had been a student of Giorgione’s while in Venice, but relocated to Verona in about 1500 and began studying with Liberale da Verona. (Vasari (1851): vol. III, 414-415 and Giusepe Gerola, “Questioni storiche di arte veronese, 8: Torbido, Moro e dall’Angolo,” Madonna Verona iv, no. 3 (1910): 148, esp. n. 143.)
14 For a complete investigation of the history of the frescoes and an analysis of their iconography, see Serafini (1996) and Serafini (1998).
from the life of Saint Peter and the altar wall with the Transfiguration of Christ and other imagery that proclaimed the power of the papacy and of the Bishop himself.

Giberti is also to be credited with transforming the Veronese church of Santo Stefano (Fig. 19) into a model of the new reform even though the renovations were begun more than ten years after the Bishop’s death. Giberti had appointed Giovanni Del Bene archpriest of the ancient Veronese church in 1542. Within a decade Del Bene completely refurbished the interior of the church, following Giberti’s recommendations to the letter.17

These three religious houses—the Veronese Duomo, the Abbey of Rosazzo in Friuli and Santo Stefano in Verona—have long been associated with Bishop Giberti and his drive to reform the clergy and to remake churches into paradigms of a pre-Tridentine reformed church. There were other commissions, many undertaken by the same artists who had earlier worked with Bishop Giberti. Santa Maria in Organo, given to the Olivetans in 1444 by Pope Eugene IV, received a classical façade from Sanmicheli (Fig. 114). Its interior was frescoed in part by Torbido, who also painted the San Jacopo altarpiece. The church of Santa Maria di Nazareth, once located on the hill above San Giorgio in Braida, contained Gian Francesco Caroto’s Raising of Lazarus (signed and dated 1531).18 Giberti’s influence upon the on-going renovations at San Giorgio in Braida and the repercussions of his changes upon the architectural typology of the Congregation and their visual identity, however, have been unexplored up to now.

18 Ibid., 66-67.
Bishop Giberti’s influence upon the art and architecture of San Giorgio in Braida

Since the founding of their religious organization, the Secular Canons had been in the vanguard of the clerical reform movement. So when Bishop Giberti published his pamphlet, the Canons of San Giorgio in Braida were likely willing to follow its edicts of their own accord. But beyond mandating changes to the physical structure of the church via a printed pamphlet, it seems that Bishop Giberti played a very active role in the renovations and decorations at San Giorgio in Braida. When one realizes that the same architect and artists who worked on the renovations of the Verona Duomo and Santa Maria in Organo, two projects connected with Bishop Giberti, were also active at San Giorgio in Braida, it appears that the Bishop was very engaged in the changes and decorations there. Besides consecrating four altars in the church in 1536, Giberti could have encouraged the Secular Canons to hire the Veronese architect Michele Sanmicheli and the painter Francesco Torbido to work at San Giorgio in Braida.19

The Canons used San Giorgio in Alga’s architectural prototype when designing all their churches, including San Rocco in Vicenza, the only church built ex novo (begun 1485, Figs. 54 & 64). Over time regional preferences and changing taste caused this formula to be adapted in churches on the terraferma. In San Giorgio in Braida after 1530, it was Giberti’s reforming tendencies that accomplished this goal. In plan the Veronese church, like the Venetian mother church, is a Latin cross with truncated arms and an aisleless nave (Figs. 99 & 115-121). However, the nave is larger (20 x 57 m; 65.2 x 187

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19 By contrast, Beltramini (1995): 110 supposed that Anslemo Canerio, the prior present at the consecration of the altars in 1543, commissioned Michele Sanmicheli to work at San Giorgio in Braida. She based this assumption upon a 1541 document (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, vol. 327, fasc. I, unnumbered sheet) in which “Polo da Sanmichele taia piéra” was compensated by Anselmo Canerio for work at “una fabriga a Porto de Legnago.” She saw this as proof that Canerio had previous ties with the Sanmicheli family and thus was the link between the Canons and the Sanmicheli family.
than the nave of San Giorgio in Alga, which allows it to have four altars on each side rather than just three. Two slender windows and a large Palladian window in the façade of San Giorgio in Braida illuminated the interior (Fig. 115 & 116).

Two crucial elements of San Giorgio in Braida’s architecture, however, departed from the Congregation’s formula. A barrel vault replaced the pitched painted wooden roof in the nave of the church and the barca, or choir loft, that bisected the nave of all the Canons’ churches built before San Giorgio in Braida, was eliminated. Instead, the organ and the singing gallery were placed on the left and right of the crossing and supported by “four columns of bright marble” (Figs. 117 & 120). Under each balcony were “placed two magnificent altars.”20 The Canons’ decision to redesign the whole transept and apse and to change significantly the architectural model established at San Giorgio in Alga was made in order to open the nave and make the high altar and the tabernacle upon it the focal point of the church and the pilgrims’ devotions. In this way they closely followed Bishop Giberti’s requirements in his Breve ricordo di quello hanno da fare i chierici of 1530.

The split configuration of the cantoria and organ loft proved to be an advantage for the Canons since it enhanced the quality of the music created in the church. Although the human and instrumental voices were separated from one another, the balconies containing them are directly under the soaring dome, and higher up and closer to the apse relative to the barca than in their other churches. Additionally the gallery that circumambulated the base of the dome (Figs. 2 & 118) “provided a place for musical choruses” of Canons, whom Tomasini described as “singers…noteworthy for their talent,

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20 Tomasini (1642): 257. For a complete discussion of San Giorgio in Braida’s organ see Chapter Five.
The vast interior dome was where the music produced by the singing Canons and the accompanying organ coalesced and reverberated throughout the whole interior of the barrel-vaulted church (Fig. 116). The elimination of the barca, the relocation of the organ and singing galleries, and the enclosing of the nave with a dome and barrel vault proved so successful for the Canons, whose devotional regimen necessitated the use of song, that building projects post-dating the renovations in Verona, such as San Giuliano in Rimini (begun 1553) and San Gregorio e Siro in Bologna (begun 1530), were based upon the Veronese model.

**Sanmicheli’s interventions**

It has been argued that the mastermind behind the design of the crossing was Michele Sanmicheli (c.1487-1559). Indeed, scholars have come to accept without further confirmation Vasari’s attribution of the church to him. Only since 1995, when Maria Beltramini published her discovery of a contract written in 1557 between the prior of San Giorgio in Braida, Domenico Savallo, and a team of “talia piera” and “murari” for the completion of the “steps of our church made according to the designs of Michele Sanmicheli engineer,” has Sanmicheli’s involvement in the second phase of construction at San Giorgio in Braida been firmly proven (Fig. 119). The contract defined Sanmicheli’s contribution to the steps leading to the high altar, and presumably the

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21 Ibid., 257-258. See Appendix VI for the transcription of this document.
24 Vasari wrote “riuscì contro l’opinione di molti, i quali non pensarono che mai quella fatica dovesse reggersi in piedi per la debolezza delle spalle, che avea: le quali furono poi in guisa da Michele fortificate, che non si ha più di che temere.” (Vasari (1568): 29 and vol. VI, 355-364.)
25 “salizon de la nostra chiesa…fatto secundo li disegni fatti per messer Michel da San Michel Inzignere.” ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 832, unnumbered folio dated 2 October 1557 as quoted in Beltramini (1995): 106. These steps are now covered by an elevated dias that is clearly visible in Figures 117 and 120. Mass is now said from this position in front of the iconostasis rather than at the high altar in the chancel.
Michelangelo Sanmicheli was also responsible for much of the rest of the renovations. They included the dome, campanile, apse and four altars: the high altar,\textsuperscript{26} the two transept altars including the organ loft and cantoria above them, and the frame of the third altar on the left of the nave that houses Girolamo dai Libri’s \textit{Madonna and Child}.\textsuperscript{27}

Sanmicheli had left his native Verona in 1509 but returned by early 1527. In the intervening years he had worked as inspector of defenses for the Papacy and on many of the most important sacred and secular building projects in Rome and Orvieto.\textsuperscript{28} During these sojourns Sanmicheli acquired considerable skill and reputation as an engineer and architect, and encountered the classical structures that informed his hallmark \textit{all’antica} style of architecture. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the quality and quantity of Verona’s Roman remains, this \textit{all’antica} style blossomed in the many projects in which Sanmicheli was involved with that city, including San Giorgio in Braida. Sanmicheli’s \textit{all’antica} style manifested itself most spectacularly in his first commission upon his return, the Cappella Pellegrini at San Bernardino, which he began in 1528 (Fig. 122).\textsuperscript{29} Although an accomplished architect in his forties by this date, the Pellegrini commission gave him “an important opportunity to demonstrate his skill to other more powerful patrons.”\textsuperscript{30}

Sanmicheli became quite busy indeed. Based upon stylistic and chronological

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} Attributed by Vasari to Sanmicheli’s nephew, Bernardino Brugnoli. Vasari (1568): 120-121.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Brugnoli (1961): 21.
\item \textsuperscript{28} They include the Orvieto Cathedral, the Cappella dei Magi in the cathedral and the floor tomb for the Petrucci family in San Domenico. See Langenskiöld (1938): 41-44.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Sanmicheli is first mentioned in conjunction with the chapel in Margarita Pellegrini’s first will dated 15 October 1529. In it she desired that the architect be “satisfactorily paid for his work and his industry for completing the chapel…,” which implies the chapel was underway at the time the will was written. Margarita commissioned Sanmicheli to create a burial chapel to house her remains and those of her young son, Nicolò, who died in early 1528, the earliest possible date of the chapel’s commencement. (King (1996): 172-174. See also Langenskiöld (1938): 110-114; Puppi (1971): 41-45 and Puppi (1986): 33-37.)
\item \textsuperscript{30} King (1996): 183.
\end{itemize}
considerations, I propose the Secular Canons enlisted Sanmicheli as their architect around 1529, soon after he began the designs for the Cappella Pellegrini and the year after Giberti arrived in Verona.31

Among the first sections of the church of San Giorgio in Braida to benefit from Sanmicheli’s interventions was the fourth altar in the left nave dedicated to Lorenzo (D in Fig. 99 & Fig. 123).32 The altar in this chapel was dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani, among others, and as I shall argue later in this chapter, his recent beatification necessitated the quick completion of the altar and its decorations, which were finished by 1533.33 In that year, Francesco Torbido, Sanmicheli’s great friend and another of Bishop Giberti’s favored artists, dated the altarpiece of Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani with Saint George and Archangel Michael (Fig. 140) that I contend originally filled Sanmicheli’s frame until its removal after 1536.34 Also around this time, three predella panels, two depicting Lorenzo Giustiniani’s miracles performed during his lifetime and a third

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31 Besides San Giorgio in Braida, Sanmicheli was at work on no less than nine separate projects in Verona in the interval between 1530 and his death in 1559: four private palaces (two on the Corso, Palazzo Canossa and Palazzo Bevilaqua; and two in town, Palazzo Pompei and Palazzo degli Honorij), the Duomo’s campanile (left unfinished) and remodelled presbytery (the tornacoro begun in c.1533), the façade of Santa Maria in Organo (begun in 1547 but left unfinished) and the Madonna di Campagna (begun in 1559, the year of Sanmicheli’s death), as well as urban planning projects and a comprehensive new system of fortifications and gates to protect Verona against further incursions such as those experienced during the League of Cambrai. These buildings were in addition to the many Sanmicheli was simultaneously working on in Venice.

32 Brugnoli (1961): 21-24 argued that Sanmicheli was the architect of the frame, which was built between 1536 and 1542. I agree with his attribution but argue in this chapter that it was completed by 1533 when Torbido’s altarpiece of Lorenzo Giustiniani was installed.

33 This date differs from Brugnoli’s assertion that Sanmicheli executed the frame between 1536 and 1543. (ibid., 21)

34 The year after this painting was completed, in 1534, Torbido completed the frescoes depicting the Assumption of the Virgin commissioned by Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti for the walls and ceiling above Sanmicheli’s tornacoro in the presbytery of Verona’s Cathedral. Giulio Romano designed the preparatory drawings for the frescoes but was unable to execute them himself. Since 1524 he had been the court painter in the court of Federico Gonzaga in Mantua, and although Giberti knew Romano personally from their time together in Rome, the Duke of Mantua would not release Romano from his service.
showing the holy man laid out on his funerary bier, were completed and installed in Sanmicheli’s frame below Torbido’s painting (Fig. 147).

Consecration of the church and altars in 1536 and 1543

Enough of the body of the church was completed by 1536 that it was ready for Bishop Giberti to dedicate it and three altars. A plaque affixed to the northern wall of the cloister documents the ceremony (Fig. 124). It begins: “On 27 April 1536, for the glory of God most high and mighty and his martyr George, Gian Matteo Giberti consecrated [the] church and three altars of which two of these were moved afterwards from their places and in the name of Michael, Gabriele and Raphael the Angels…” 35

Construction progressed quickly so that by 1540, the left side of the transept was completed and ready for decorations. The Brescian, Leone Bugatus, whom the Canons elected Prior of San Giorgio in Braida in 1540 and Rector General of the Congregation in 1539 and 1541, was responsible for recruiting new members from his hometown. 36 He also brought Brescian artists to work at San Giorgio in Braida in the late 1530s. He commissioned Gerolamo Romanino to paint the organ’s shutters with three scenes from the Life of Saint George (Figs. 125a-d), 37 and Moretto da Brescia to paint the altarpiece of Saint Cecilia with Saints Catherina, Lucy, Agatha and Agnese (Fig. 126) for the altar below the organ; 38 both paintings are dated 1540. Bugatto was one of eight Brescian Superior Generals of the Congregation, and in 1551, was praised for his role in the

35 See Appendix III for a complete transcription and translation of the cloister inscription.
36 Neher (2000): 134; Tomasini (1642): 481. Bugatus had approved the building of San Pietro in Oliveto in 1534. The documents also refer to him as Leo Bugattus or Bugatto.
37 The interior of the organ doors show two Episodes of the Martyrdom of Saint George: left: Saint George on the Wheel; right: Saint George in the Cauldron. The doors exterior contains Saint George’s Self Defense
The completion of San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia and the reconstruction of San Giorgio in Braida.\textsuperscript{39} The fact that the prior and the artists he selected, and indeed many of the Canons during this period, were all Brescian demonstrates the correlation between the hometown of the population of Canons and their artistic preferences.\textsuperscript{40} This practice was a Congregation-wide trend that was vital to the dissemination of the Canons’ artistic program.

The cloister inscription confirms that the remaining sections of the nave were completed by 1543 when nine more altars were consecrated between 31 July and 2 August:

In the seventh year afterwards [on 31 July 1543] the high altar was dedicated to Saint George and the Apostles Peter and Paul; the altar under the organ was dedicated to the Virgins and Martyrs Cecilia, Catherine, Agnes and Lucy; the fourth altar on the left to Beat Lorenzo Giustiniani first patriarch of Venice, San Zeno and Saint Silvester the martyred Pope; the third on the left to the Holy Trinity and Saints Sebastian and Roch; the second on the left to the martyrs Saints Lawrence, Stephen, Vincent, and Christopher; the first on the left to Saint Ursula and her retinue. On 2 August the third on the right of the nave was dedicated to all the Apostles; the second on the right was dedicated to Saints Anthony, Benedict, Maurice and Abbot Bernard; and the first altar on the right of the nave was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, Martha and her brother Lazarus.

It has been argued that the accelerated activity between 1536 and 1543 was on account of Michele Sanmicheli’s presence in Verona during these years. By 1536, however, Sanmicheli had become so preoccupied with his various Veronese and Venetian commissions that he put his nephew, Paolo Sanmicheli, in charge of San Giorgio in


Braida’s dome.\textsuperscript{41}

The inscription tells us that Dionisio, the Greek Bishop of Cheronea, not Bishop Giberti as it had been in 1536, officiated at the consecration ceremonies in 1543. Giberti had fallen ill in January of 1543 and by June was so sick that he had taken to his sickbed in Verona where he remained until his death in December 1543.\textsuperscript{42} Besides Giberti’s grave condition, there was another reason why the Greek Bishop, not another local official of the Church in Verona, took on these duties in 1543: he had connections with Anselmo Canerio of Verona, the Prior of San Giorgio in Braida. The inscription’s last line records Canerio’s participation in the consecration ceremonies of that year. He was elected Prior of San Giorgio in Braida in the spring of 1543 after serving in the same capacity at the Madonna dell’Orto in Venice the year before.\textsuperscript{43} At the Madonna dell’Orto he oversaw the consecration of the first altars on 13 February 1542 and enlisted Dionisio to officiate.\textsuperscript{44} When the altars at San Giorgio in Braida were completed, and with Bishop Giberti incapacitated, Anselmo again called upon the Greek Bishop to perform the same ceremony at the Veronese church.

These dealings show that Anselmo Canerio of Verona was very active in the governance of both San Giorgio in Braida and the Madonna dell’Orto. He was a shrewd administrator and as visitatore he was involved in the inspection of all the churches in the Congregation.\textsuperscript{45} Between October 1542 and November 1543 he enacted a series of financial transactions that suggest he was anticipating the financial needs of San Giorgio.

\textsuperscript{41} Beltramini (1995): 110.
\textsuperscript{42} Ederle and Cervato, eds. (2002): 96-97.
\textsuperscript{43} Anselmo Canerio, the Secular Canon and Prior of San Giorgio in Braida, joined the Congregation of Secular Canons in 1501. He should not be confused with Anselmo Canerio (1522/34-1584/6), the Veronese painter and early collaborator of Paolo Veronese.
\textsuperscript{44} ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1779 transcribed in Douglas-Scott (1995): Appendix III, doc. 28.
\textsuperscript{45} See Appendix IV for a partial list of documented events of his life.
in Braida now that the church was ready for its decorations.\footnote{ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 828.} Over the course of these months, he purchased on behalf of the Canons thirteen parcels of land (some of which included dwellings) mostly in Orti and Zumella. These towns were familiar to the Canons since the land given by Peter Cadalus in 1046 as an endowment for the construction of the church was located in the countryside nearby. Thus Anselmo’s purchases increased the church’s presence in these sectors of the \textit{contado}. The acquisition of these income-producing properties was concurrent with the consecration of all the altars in the church. This timing suggests that more money was needed to pay for the embellishment of San Giorgio in Braida as its altars were functional and ready for sacred art. It also suggests that the Canons’ commissions were internal funding, whether by the Canons themselves or one of their close associates.

Section Two: The effects of the beatification of Lorenzo Giustiniani in 1542 upon the Congregation’s visual identity and the art at San Giorgio in Braida

Introduction

Devotion to Lorenzo Giustiniani was a chief concern of the Canons. To them, he embodied all aspects of their world: an ascetic way of life, the orthodoxy by which they lived, and the reform of the clergy through a return to purity of thought and action. In life he was their exemplar, and he wrote many of the texts they used daily, including two treatises written in 1426 while he was in residence as procurator of San Giorgio in Braida.\footnote{A pair of documents in the Vatican Secret Archives (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12266 and 12267) prove that Giustiniani was actively involved in the running of San Giorgio in Braida. He was only in residence there for a year, but it was time enough for him to write two of his most important treatises. Lorenzo Giustiniani’s commentary on Christ’s discussion at the Last Supper, entitled \textit{Fasciculus amoris in coena Domini} ( Bundles of love from the Lord’s [Last] Supper), warns that material things should not distract the soul and that it should be focused on the joy derived from worshipping and contemplating God.} He was the protégé of Pope Gregory XII and took control of the Congregation...
When the Pope’s nephews were called to Rome to take up positions in the upper ranks of the Church. Following his death in 1456, solicitations for recognition of his heroic sanctity were quickly expressed in literary and artistic terms. The first image of Giustiniani was a sculpted one for his tomb in San Pietro in Castello in Venice. The group of painted images that followed was generated by the Congregation of Secular Canons to show their devotion to their most beloved member and author of their religious teachings. Peter Humfrey stated, “the most explicit way in which the interests of the clergy, and especially the regular clergy, were expressed in altarpieces was through the choice of saints.”

By including his image in their altarpieces and sculptures, the Canons accomplished several objectives. They commemorated the father of their way of life and orthodoxy. They also furthered the effort for his canonization and nurtured the order’s collective sense of identity by encouraging the veneration of its most exalted holy figure. Furthermore, they linked the Congregation’s houses on the mainland to their mother church in Venice. The consistent iconography underscored their Venetian lineage and their role in Venetian society because Lorenzo Giustiniani was a member of one of Venice’s most powerful patrician families, Bishop of Venice, and after 1451, the city’s first Patriarch.

The Congregation’s mother church, San Giorgio in Alga, and each of the churches in its syndicate had an altar dedicated to Giustiniani to the left of the high altar. The Giustiniani’s autographed copy of Fasculius amoris is housed in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona, Manoscritto MCVII, Codico membranaceo del sec. XV. Gerolamo Cavallo used this manuscript while compiling the Opera omnia in Brescia in the early 1500s. Giustiniani also wrote De triumphali agone mediatoris Christi (The triumphant fight of Christ the mediator) in 1426. It is a collection of meditations on two of the Canons’ principal devotions, the Passion of Christ and Divine Wisdom.

49 Rosa (1630): 107. Some of the altars dedicated to Giustiniani have since been rededicated and their altarpieces relocated or lost. San Giorgio in Alga, San Giorgio in Braida and the Madonna dell’Orto all had altars dedicated to Giustiniani in this position.
The altarpiece featured Giustiniani even though most churches contained multiple painted and sculpted likenesses. At San Giorgio in Braida, for example, Giustiniani appears five times, though only three portraits were commissioned by the Canons. The two most conspicuous portraits, the marble statue on the façade (Figs. 115 & 127)\(^{50}\) and the stucco one above the high altar (Figs. 4 & 128),\(^{51}\) were produced after the suppression of the Congregation in 1668. (Therefore they will not be discussed here except to say that their existence long after the removal of Giustiniani’s flock from San Giorgio in Braida indicates the continued devotion to the Venetian holy man.) At present the church contains two painted portraits, both in chapels on the left side of the nave and in the oldest section of the Canons’ church: a small panel (26 x c.17cm) from c.1512 that is part of the frame surrounding Gian Francesco Caroto’s *Triptych of Saints Sebastian and Roch* (Fig. 109) and Girolamo dai Libri’s *Madonna and Child with Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and San Zeno* of 1526 (Fig. 110) above the altar dedicated to Giustiniani. A century after this last painting was completed, the Canons commissioned the eighty-centimeter-tall

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\(^{50}\) Almost lifesized and made of white marble, Giustiniani’s statue stands in a niche in an awkward pose reminiscent of Lorenzo Ghiberti’s *Saint John the Baptist* (1412-16), his left-facing feet seemingly unattached to legs, and his right hip jutting to the side. Giustiniani gestures to himself by placing the fingers of his left hand on his chest while into his right hand he gathers the folds of his surplice. This statue seems pedestrian when compared with its pendant, *Saint George*, on the opposite side of the church door. Both were carved by Jacopo Ceola and Lorenzo Muttoni in 1741, but Saint George, dressed in a decorative cuirass and boots (but with a foppish expression and long curls) stands confidently in front of the dead dragon with his hand on his left hip and his right foot positioned at the edge of the plinth. Trecca (1930): 13. As the inscriptions on their bases tell us (San Giorgio: QUAE SUPRA SAECOLORUM INFORMES IACUERANT MARIA SCOLASTICA TOSETTI. Giustiniani: COLECTIS MONIALIUM VOTIS PERFECIT ET IN PROSPECTUM EREXIT A.D.MDCCXLI), they were commissioned by Maria Scolastica Tosetti, Mother Superior of the Sisters of Santa Maria di Reggio, the Order which purchased San Giorgio in Braida from the Venetian State in 1669 after the suppression of the Congregation of Secular Canons the year before.

\(^{51}\) Inside the church, marble sculptures of Lorenzo Giustiniani, San Giorgio and San Zeno stand atop the frame of the high altar. They also date to the late eighteenth century and are attributed to Lorenzo Muttoni. Brugnoli (1954): 48. Muttoni died in 1778. The sculptures are recorded for the first time by Dalla Rosa (1803-1804): 170. He identified the statues as by unknown artist, made of bronze, and of San Giorgio and Saint Bishops Agostino and Nicolò.
bronze sculpture of Giustiniani in bishop’s garb (Fig. 129) for the low iconostasis separating the apse from the crossing.\textsuperscript{52}

Giustiniani’s three portraits in San Giorgio in Braida were not the only images commissioned by the Canons in homage to their hero. My research indicates that the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida memorialized Lorenzo Giustiniani in another picture by the Venetian artist and pupil of Giorgione, Francesco Torbido. His altarpiece dedicated to Giustiniani and Saints Michael and George is now in the Museo del Castelvecchio in Verona (Fig. 140). I argue that immediately after it was completed in 1533, the Canons installed it in the marble frame designed for it by Michele Sanmicheli that currently contains Girolamo dai Libri’s painting. I further contend that Torbido’s altarpiece was accompanied by the lunette of God the Father (Fig. 149), which is still in place and three predella panels showing two of Giustiniani’s miracles and his death (Fig. 147), which are currently in a private collection. I maintain that these five paintings remained \textit{in situ} until about 1536 when Dai Libri’s altarpiece was taken from the Veronese church for which it was commissioned and brought to San Giorgio in Braida to replace Torbido’s painting. In the process the predella panels were removed and Dai Libri’s painting was trimmed to make it fit the existing frame. The original appearance of the Giustiniani chapel in San Giorgio in Braida and the vicissitudes of its marble frame and paintings will be discussed fully in the latter part of this chapter. The account of Torbido’s painting and why it was replaced by dai Libri’s perfectly illustrates the inherent tensions created among the Secular Canons, Venice, and the Church as a result of Giustiniani’s changed status and

\textsuperscript{52} The bronze sculptures were founded in Venice in 1625, as indicated by an inscription inserted into the tabernacle. Brugnoli (1954): 44.
Giberti’s reforms. It also demonstrates how these factors effected the development of the Congregation’s visual identity at San Giorgio in Braida.

*The history of the canonization of Lorenzo Giustiniani*

In the 1450s when the Secular Canons were first formulating their visual identity, they looked to the established orders for inspiration. The Canons came to embrace Lorenzo Giustiniani as their visual icon as a way to legitimize their organization in much the manner that other religious orders, such as the Augustinians, Benedictines, Franciscans, and Dominicans had successfully adopted likenesses of their founder. And just as these older orders used the likenesses of their eponymous heroes before their canonization,53 the Canons’ first devotional images of Giustiniani strove to elevate the man to divine status before he was beatified in 1524. After that year, the Canons’ imagery continued to advance the case for canonization.

Venice joined the Congregation’s effort to exalt one of the city’s greatest citizens because she well understood the value of having a native-born saint in her pantheon. The Republic’s desire for Giustiniani to be canonized can also be read as its way of seeking validation of its contribution to the Catholic Reform despite its sometimes contentious relationship with the papacy. It could also be seen as a symbol of the Republic’s intellectual sophistication and ability to produce humanists and theologians of the highest order. Moreover, by the mid-fifteenth century, Venice’s fortunes had begun to wane. The city became desperate for additional divine aid and resorted to promoting the cult of Giustiniani in the hopes that his sanctification would reverse the negative trend and

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53 Saint Augustine (died 430; canonized 1303), Saint Benedict (died 547; canonized 1220), Saint Francis (died 1226; canonized 1228) and Saint Dominic (died 1221; canonized 1234).
reassert the city’s greatness.\textsuperscript{54} Need became more urgent as the century wore on and the challenges besetting Venice’s sovereignty over the mainland empire multiplied. In 1453 the Ottoman Empire expanded into Constantinople and began looking westward. Venice’s own expansion further threatened her stability. Florence, Milan, Naples, the Pope, the Emperor, and France became unsettled by Venice’s increasing presence on the mainland, which would ultimately result in the war of the League of Cambrai in 1508. Natural disasters, notably plagues and earthquakes, ravaged Venice and the mainland cities under her command with greater frequency.\textsuperscript{55} Finally, Venice’s belief that she was independent and not bound by every ruling from Rome, especially regarding jurisdiction over ecclesiastical offices, came under attack by the Papacy.\textsuperscript{56} Sensing the need for divine reinforcement from a hometown hero, Venice joined the Congregation’s efforts and began petitioning for the canonization of her first Patriarch, the Venetian Lorenzo Giustiniani, immediately after his death on 8 January 1456 at age seventy-four.

In 1450, just six years after his death, Bernardino of Siena was made a saint. This event was a turning point in the Church, because:

\ldots [it] ended a twenty-five-year moratorium on canonizations, [and] gave rise to much jostling among the mendicant orders for a similar promotion of their own members. The immediate result was the canonization five years later of Vincent Ferrer (1455), followed by the Carmelite Albert of Trapani (1457), [the Dominican] Catherine of Siena (1461), and the Franciscan Bonaventure (1482). It is surely no coincidence that this sequence is at least in part reflected not only in the foundation of new

\textsuperscript{54} Labalme (1993): 15-16.
\textsuperscript{55} Francesco Sansovino noted outbreaks of plague in 1388, 1428, 1478, 1489, 1491, 1576 and occurrences of earthquakes in 1425, 1457, 1512. (Cfr. Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): Cronico particolare.)
\textsuperscript{56} Prodi (1973): 410.
Immediately following Giustiniani’s death in 1456, the Canons and Venice tried to seize upon the momentum in the Church. Both began to push aggressively for Giustiniani’s canonization. They were especially encouraged because Bernardino had been a friend of Lorenzo Giustinian and had led a similar ascetic life.

In the first images of Giustiniani, the primary strategy of both the Canons and Venice was to capture his accurate exterior appearance, which was a reflection of his inner virtue, and his role as pseudo-saint. Also of importance was the intentional association in the mind of the viewer with the recently canonized San Bernardino. The Canons’ approach to promoting Giustiniani was at first more nuanced and focused upon celebrating Giustiniani’s scholarly achievements and asceticism but gave way to much more explicit imagery after Giustiniani was declared a Beato in 1524.

**The First Processus for Canonization (1474)**

At first, the Congregation’s and Venice’s efforts appeared to be a success and Lorenzo Giustinian seemed to be on the fast track to canonization. The Venetian Senate and Lorenzo’s nephew Bernardo Giustinian (1408-1489) persuaded Pope Sixtus IV (reg. 1471-84) to convene the official proceedings for Giustiniani’s canonization (called a *processo*), which opened in Rome on 21 December 1474. It is unclear how far it

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59 Bernardo was the son of Lorenzo’s brother, Leonardo. As his father before him, Bernardo was an accomplished humanist and very active in Venice’s intellectual circles and political life. Among his posts he became Procurator of San Marco in 1474, and he took part in several important diplomatic envoys, including the 1471 mission to the Papacy, and to the courts of Fredrick II H.R.E., the king of France and numerous Italian principalities. (Labalme (1969): 109-222.)
advanced.\textsuperscript{60} But it did not reach the hoped for conclusion. The inevitability of Lorenzo’s canonization became uncertain. Yet the Venetians and their representatives in Rome continued to press to reopen the cause for Lorenzo’s canonization.\textsuperscript{61} Several factors slowed their subsequent initiatives. All the evidence of Lorenzo’s divinity that had been stored in the Vatican following the failed \textit{processo} was destroyed by fire in 1518 and had to be replicated.\textsuperscript{62} Then, too, by the early 1500s cordial relations between the Papacy and Venice soured as a result of the ongoing struggle for control of benefices on the \textit{terraferma}.\textsuperscript{63} Beginning in 1517, when Martin Luther instigated his public criticism of the Catholic Church, the Papal Curia was again hesitant about creating new beati and saints in light of this atmosphere of controversy and because of the mounting criticism of the cult of saints.

\textit{The Clementine Decree (1524)}

Venetian efforts to promote Lorenzo Giustiniani’s divinity coupled with those of his nephew Bernardo and the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga finally began to bear fruit thirty-five years after Lorenzo’s death. On 9 July 1524, Pope Clement VII issued an \textit{indultum}, or an exemption granted by the pope permitting a deviation from canon law, in

\textsuperscript{60} The Senate petitioned the Pope on 26 June 1473. (ASV, \textit{Senato, Segreta}, reg. 26, fol. 31v (numero moderno) 26 June 1473 transcribed in Labalme (1993): Appendix I.) Bernardo Giustiniani was directly involved in the issuing of this petition. He was a councilor to the Doge and his name appears on the document. (ibid., 23.)

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 24-37.


\textsuperscript{63} The Venetians refused to seek Papal approval for their appointees to the benefices in the Republic. Gilbert (1973): 275-276.
recognition of the valid arguments presented at the previous failed processo of 1474.\footnote{Rosa (1630): 12-13: "Papa Clemente Settimo per su Breve, emanato ad instanza della Republica concede per tutto il Domino Veneto il farli la sesta, le Commemorationi nell’Officio, & dire la Messa, & anco dipingere l’imagine di esso Lorenzo Giustiniani Patriarcha sotto titolo di B. Pontefice Confessore."} He pronounced Giustinianii bishop-confessor and established the celebration of his cult on 8 January, the day of his death, but only in churches under Venetian rule. Artists were permitted to portray Giustinianii in the manner of a Beato (an aureole–not a halo–around his head) to reflect his changed status, even though Giustinianii would not receive official recognition as a Beato until 1588 when Sixtus V issued the decree of beatification.\footnote{Niero (1961): 31.}

As the qualified nature of Clement VII’s decree suggests, his decision was conditional and politically motivated. Patricia Labalme described it as a “partial achievement” and cited it as the reason why the Venetian jubilant celebration of Giustinianii’s feast day quickly waned.\footnote{Labalme (1993): 38 and 41.} But the Venetians’ dissatisfaction with the outcome may have been one reason why Lorenzo’s cult quickly redoubled in the visual sphere.

It would be another century before the years of unrequited petitioning for full recognition of Lorenzo Giustinianii’s cult were finally rewarded. On 16 October 1690 Pope Alexander VIII (Pietro Ottoboni; reg. 1689-1691) canonized his fellow Venetian in part because of Giustinianii’s effective intervention during an especially deadly outbreak of the plague in Venice in 1630 and during the War of Candia in 1644.\footnote{Also canonized on that day were Giustinianii’s friends and collaborators in Venetian ecclesiastical reform, Giovanni di S. Facondo, Giovanni di Dio, Pasquale Baylon and Giovanni da Capistrano. Giuseppe Tiburzio Vergelli captured the ceremony that took place in Saint Peter’s in an engraving now preserved in the Biblioteca del Museo Correr and reproduced in Giandomenico Romanello, ed. L’immagine di San Lorenzo Giustinianii nell’arte: documenti di cultura e vita religiosa nel suo tempo: Venezia, Chiesa di S. Stae (10 ottobre-4 dicembre 1981) (Venezia: Comune, Musei Civici, 1981), cat. 14. The marble relief showing the Canonization of Five Saints (c. 1702) upon the tomb of Pope Alexander VIII.} The Pope fixed
5 September as the feast day because Giustiniani had been made Bishop of Castello (Venice) on that date in 1433. This had replaced his earlier day of commemoration, 8 January, which Pope Clement VII established in 1524. The city of Venice, her native sons in the College of Cardinals, and the Secular Canons of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga celebrated the long-awaited canonization of its newest bona-fide saint.

Appeals for canonization in the literary sphere

Three literary works were equally important in forging Lorenzo Giustiniani’s posthumous identity. Together they buttressed the Venetian and the Congregational crusade for Giustiniani’s sainthood. Bernardo Giustiniani’s biography of his uncle (1475), the anthology of Giustiniani’s writings compiled and edited by Girolamo Cavallo (1506), and Daniele Rosa’s compilation of testaments to Lorenzo’s sanctity (1614 and 1630), each encapsulated a specific aspect of the holy man’s life and his earthly and extraterrestrial accomplishments. Both Cavallo and Rosa had been Superior Generals of the Congregations. These writings affirmed Venice’s and the Congregation’s joint desire for recognition of Giustiniani’s extraordinary virtues and were deliberate attempts to

(né Pietro Vito Ottoboni; reg. 1689-1691) commemorates this event, the Pope’s only significant act during his brief pontificate. Designed by Count Arrigo di San Martino and sculpted by Angelo de’ Rossi and after his death by Giuseppe Bertosi, the tomb is located in the right transept of Saint Peter’s. See Olszewski (2004): esp. 95-228.

For stages of Lorenzo Giustiniani’s canonization in the seventeenth century, see G. P. Maffei, Lorenzo Giustiniani primo Patriarca di Venezia... (Padua 1691). Documents are contained in ASVat, Sezione Sacra Congregazione dei Riti 3523: ff. 607-713. See also description in Giustiniani (1475) and Bernardo Giustiniani, Notizie storiche dell’origine, vita, santità, e canonizzazione di san Lorenzo Giustiniano primo patriarca di Venezia, raccolte dall’abbate di S. Leonardo (Colonia1695). For the earlier canonization efforts in the sixteenth century, see Labalme (1993).

68 Tramontin (1963b): 214. Feast days are most often celebrated on the day of the saint’s death/martyrdom. The Pope’s decision to change the day on which Giustiniani was honored is significant as it deviates from tradition. By choosing the day upon which Giustiniani took control of the Venetian ecclesiastical hierarchy and came to symbolize the power of the Venetian church, the Venetian Pope simultaneously commemorated the strong bond between Giustiniani and Venice and his personal affection for the new patron saint of his natal city.

69 The Venetian Bishop-Saint Gerardo Sagredo (990-1046) was canonized in 1083; his relics were relocated from Prague to Murano in 1333. Niero (1963) and Labalme (1993): 15, n. 12.
emphasize his saintly life, orthodoxy and religious teachings. On the practical side, Venice and the Secular Canons needed such a comprehensive collection of written materials to petition the Papacy.

**Bernardo Giustiniani’s Vita (1475)**

Bernardo Giustiniani published his panegyric of his uncle, *Vita Beati Laurentii Iustiniani Venetiarchum Proto Patriarchae*, in 1475. It is Bernardo’s best-known work and the urtext of Lorenzo’s life, career and miracles. He presented citations of Lorenzo’s miracles to Pope Pius II at the Council of Mantua in 1459,70 and he began composing his biography around 1470 on the occasion of his visit to Rome at the behest of his friend, Pope Sixtus IV, who, as Francesco della Rovere, had attended the University of Padua with Bernardo and was therefore friendly with the Venetian.71 Bernardo’s biography was instrumental in causing the Pope to open the first *processo* in late 1474.

The author intended it as a premature hagiography of his uncle. Hence the format of the *Vita* is based upon ancient models and earlier saints’ biographies. Bernardo made no secret of his objective. The title of his volume already referred to Lorenzo Giustiniani as “Beato”. Though Lorenzo’s upbringing and appearance are considered, Bernardo’s primary emphasis is upon his uncle’s saintly qualities, his virtues, and many miracles. Bernardo does refer to Lorenzo’s convivial relationships with the secular rulers of Venice and the sacred ones in Rome and his ecclesiastical career in general, but these references serve as a framework in which his holier deeds are placed. As a skilled historian and politician, Bernardo also used his *Vita* to glorify his family and to instruct the Venetian

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citizens on the nobleness of civic duty and self-sacrifice. The *Vita* became very popular and was widely read in the original Latin and in Italian after it was translated in 1569 and was reprinted four more times in the years leading up to Lorenzo’s canonization in 1690. Lorenzo’s reputation was sealed when Bernardo’s *Vita* was used as Lorenzo’s entry in the *Acta Sanctorum*, published in 1684.

This biography was not Bernardo’s first hagiographic prose. He had planned similar biographies of his own father, Leonardo, and uncle Marco. These never came to pass, but he did complete a three part *Life of Saint Mark* in 1480 and added it to his seminal *History of the Origin of Venice*, which was published posthumously in 1493.

The *Opera omnia* (1506)

Building upon the momentum of Bernardo’s hagiography, the Secular Canons produced their own literary contribution to the canonization effort after the failed *processo*. The Canons’ first publication of Lorenzo Giustiniani’s *Opera omnia* in 1506 promoted his scholarly and religious achievements by making his fourteen treatises and thirty-nine sermons available to the public. Girolamo Cavallo was the architect of this initiative undertaken for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Lorenzo’s death.

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72 Ibid., 18-19.
73 Giustiniani (1475). Bernardo’s biography was reprinted in Latin in Venice in 1622, Rome in 1690 and Padua in 1691. An Italian version was printed in Venice in 1569, 1612 and 1690, the year of Lorenzo’s canonization. The 1690 Italian version contained a description of the canonization ceremony performed by Pope Alexander VIII.
74 Giustiniani (1684): 549. When this was published, Lorenzo’s feast day was still 8 January, the date of his death. It was only after his canonization in 1690 that his feast day was moved to 5 September.
77 *De origine urbis Venetiarum rebusque a Veneris gestis libri quindecim*. (Labalme (1969): 247-304.)
He began compiling and editing the material in the early 1500s while Prior of San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia, and had Angelo Britannico publish it in its entirety in 1506 with the title *Opera omnia divi Laurentii JustinianiVenetiarum Protopatriarchae*. The *Opera omnia* became extremely popular between Giustiniani’s beatification in 1524 and his canonization in 1690. It was republished whole and in excerpt form, and in numerous languages, attesting to the appeal of Giustiniani and his teachings outside of Italy in the period following the Council of Trent.

Subsequent editions of the biography contained illustrative images of scenes from Lorenzo’s life. For example, the frontispiece of the edition published in Venice by Bartolomeo de Albertis in 1606 laid out episodes from Giustiniani’s life, death and miracles in graphic fashion. Among the twelve episodes are Divine Wisdom’s appearance to the young Giustiniani, his ministry to potential neophytes, his elevation to Bishopric of Castello, and his expulsion of a demon from a possessed woman. Some of these scenes from Giustiniani’s life were duplicated in the art produced for the churches of the Congregation.

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79 Among the vast collection of the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona are two works of Giustiniani’s in manuscript form that are believed to be autograph: *De casto verbi animaeque connubio* (Verona, Codice MCVI) and *Fasciculus amoris* (Verona, Manuscritto MCVII). The former came from San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia, where Girolamo Cavallo was Superior General, and was the version reproduced in the 1506 *Opera omnia*. The latter is thought to be the original written by Giustiniani in 1426 while he was serving as procurator of San Giorgio in Braida. It contains notations by Cavallo, presumably made while he was editing the *Opera omnia*. (Tramontin (1960): 29-30, 35, 68.) See also Neher (2000): 134 regarding Girolamo Cavallo.

80 Four editions were published in and distributed from Venice (1527, 1606, 1721 and 1751), while other editions originated in foreign cites: Paris (1524), Basel (1560), Lyons (1568 and 1628) and Cologne (1616 and 1675). (Tramontin (1960): 35-41.)

81 The *Opera omnia* was published in its entirety and in parts in venacular Italian and translated into French, German and Portuguese (the presence of houses in Portugal explains the necessity of this translation). (ibid., 49-56.)

Daniele Rosa’s *Summorum sanctissimorumque* (1614 and 1630)

Daniele Rosa served as procurator of the Madonna dell’Orto in the 1590s and later Superior General of the Congregation. He too seized upon the renewed interest in canonization and created a compendium to the new Beato’s *Vita*. First published in 1614 and in an expanded version in 1630, the volume was a compilation of references to Lorenzo’s virtues, divinity and miracles. Such a collection of material was needed as further evidence of Giustiniani’s sanctity and the people’s devotion to him.

**Appeals for canonization in the visual sphere**

**Depictions of Giustiniani before 1524: Sculpted bust and Bellini banner**

A sculpted bust commissioned for Lorenzo Giustiniani’s tomb in the year of his death, 1456, is the first to capture the holy man’s likeness (Fig. 130) and served as the model for every later image of Giustiniani. The specificity of the bust’s facial features suggest this was an exact likeness of Giustiniani as he appeared at the end of his life, and that the sculpture was modeled after a death mask. The sculpture presents us with the face of an ascetic seventy-four-year-old man with an aquiline nose, hollow cheeks and deep wrinkles in his face and neck. As a sign of his loyalty to the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, Giustiniani wears the skullcap and habit of their attire. The only adornments are five tiny buttons on the right wrist and the button closing the vestment’s collar. His right

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83 Rosa (1614) and Rosa (1630).
84 Tramontin (1960): 14.
85 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, fol. 90 as cited in Douglas-Scott (1988): 675, n.621. This is an inventory of the Canons’ possessions taken after the Congregation’s suppression in 1668. It listed a death mask of an unknown subject. Meyer zur Cappellen dismissed the possibility that a death mask was used based upon the assumption that the skin of the final sculpture would have looked more hallow. He cited the bust of Giovanni Chellini by Antonio Rossellino as an example of this result. (Meyer zur Capellen (1981): 19-20.)
hand is aloft in a gesture of blessing and his left hand displays a closed book, probably symbolizing one of his many treatises and his scholarly achievements.

According to a register of payment, in 1456, Lorenzo’s successor as Patriarch of Venice, Matteo Contarini, paid Jacopo Bellini sixteen ducats to create a “figura” of Lorenzo to place “sopra la sua sepoltura” in San Pietro in Castello, his seat of power as Bishop and Patriarch. Bellini most likely produced only the design for this carved work.86 The sculpture is the only known remnant of Lorenzo’s burial chapel, which was located in the first chapel on the right in San Pietro in Castello.87 The likeness was relocated to the Lando chapel where it remains today, when the tomb was dismantled in the seventeenth century.88

Nine years after Contarini paid for the sculptured bust of Giustiniani, the Secular Canons commissioned the first of many images of Lorenzo for one of their churches. Giustiniani was particularly venerated at the Congregation’s second Venetian church, the Madonna dell’Orto, since he had been instrumental in helping the Canons acquire that

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86 “1456 Venezia – Mº Jacobo belin. ...de aver per una figura de n.o predecessor posto sopra la sua [Lorenzo Giustiniani] sepoltura [in S. Pietro di Castello] duc: 16.” Registro della Cassa 1444-1459, ASVe, Mensa Patriarchale transcribed in Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Gentile Bellini* (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verl., 1985), 11-13, esp. n.11. Meyer zur Cappellen argued that the bust in the Lando chapel is by Jacopo Bellini’s hand. The Patriarch commissioned two other pieces at the same time that the register specifically referred to as *palle, tele or deponenture*: a painting of Sts. Peter and Paul, and a large canvas with three figures for the “room of the patriarch.” (Meyer zur Capellen (1981): 11-13, esp. n.11.) By contrast, Paoletti wrote that the Patriarch only commissioned two works: the *figura* and a large canvas of Saints Peter and Paul with another figure for the palace of the Patriarch. (Pietro Paoletti, *Raccolta di documenti inediti per servire alla storia della pittura veneziana nei secoli XV e XVI* (Padua: Prosperini, 1894), 9.)

87 ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523, fol. 1201r. A tomb reflecting Lorenzo’s status as a saint was erected later above the high altar at the church. See the following note.

88 The Bellini sculpture is presently displayed on a console in front of a bare wall and flanked by two byzantine columns. At that time the Canons replaced Giustiniani’s tomb with a grander one reflecting his status as a saint and relocated it to above the high altar. Lorenzo Giustiniani’s relics are above the main altar and contained in a lavish silver and marble sarcophagus held aloft by six putti and two angels. Above is a marble effigy in glory by Clemente Moli, Francesco Cavrioli and others. His remains are the focal of the high chapel of San Pietro which celebrates the life of the saint in its lateral and apse frescoes. Giustiniani’s bones were moved in anticipation of the church’s renovation on 1 February 1597. (Meyer zur Capellen (1985): 5.)
building on 14 September 1473 after a protracted dispute with the former residents, the Umiliati.\textsuperscript{89} In 1465, the Canons there commissioned Gentile Bellini (?1429-1507) to paint what is believed by many to have been a processional banner (Fig. 6).\textsuperscript{90} It is the best-known image of Lorenzo and the artist’s earliest signed and dated portrait. These first two commemorative images of Giustiniani prematurely advertised his divine status in Venice and within the Congregation and established the standard iconography prior to the sanctioning of his cult in 1524.

Gentile painted Lorenzo as a cult figure: he stands in profile, raises his right hand in benediction, and holds a book at an angle in his left. His body is monumental, the lower half having the appearance of an enormous fluted column. The image is in a barren, rocky landscape. Two Secular Canons dressed in blue robes kneel on either side of him. In the background, two diminutive, barefooted angels dressed in white robes hold the instruments of Giustiniani’s offices: the one on the left holds the Patriarch’s staff and the one on the right his miter. A small fictive card at the base of the painting records the date and artist’s name while several bunches of small white flowers push through the hardened ground at Lorenzo’s feet. Two fruit swags seem affixed to the center top of the picture and to its outer edges and appear draped over the corners of the painting.


\textsuperscript{90} The painting is tempera on canvas. Its current condition is the result of severe water damage suffered during the mid-nineteenth century restoration of the church. The canvas was removed to the Galleria dell’Accademia in 1852 and has been there ever since. Gentile Bellini signed and dated it in the lower register in 1465: MCCCCLXV / OPUS GENTILI BELLINI / VENETI. (Sandra Moschini Marconi, ed. Galleric dell’Accademia di Venezia, sec. XIV a XV, 3 vols., Cataloghi dei Musei e Gallerie d’Italia (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955), 61 and Meyer zur Capellen (1985): 136-137.) The dimensions (221 x 155 cm) suggest the canvas was used as a processional banner, but, as Douglas-Scott pointed out, “few banners contain portraits” and the work is single sided. (Douglas-Scott (1995): 24.)
The obvious similarities between these first two portraits of Giustiniani have led scholars to conclude that Gentile modeled his figure after the sculpture\textsuperscript{91} and invented other details, such as Lorenzo’s presentation in full-length, the angels holding ecclesiastical instruments, and the kneeling Canons. However, I have found new archival evidence that confirms the bust in San Pietro in Castello was originally a full-length standing figure and that, in his painting, Gentile deliberately recreated it and the original arrangement of the carved figures atop Lorenzo’s sarcophagus. The sources prompted me to deduce that the canvas served as a painted cenotaph memorializing Lorenzo in the Madonna dell’Orto. The Congregation had been denied the rights to bury him in one of its churches. The painting records the manner in which the Canons interacted with the tomb of their spiritual leader.

The completed tomb was recorded for the first time thirty years after his death by his nephew. In 1489, Bernardo specified in his will that his uncle’s tomb be restored in “beautiful and ornate” sculpted marble, not a surprising request since Bernardo greatly respected his uncle and was himself buried in the center of the chapel under a marble slab.\textsuperscript{92} One hundred years later the Venetian chronicler Francesco Sansovino observed:

\begin{quote}
...there was attached [to the nave of San Pietro in Castello] the Oratory of the Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani first Patriarch of this church, whose holiness and whose noted doctrine [is known] by everyone, known for the many miracles done by him, altar, chapel and marble statue placed above his sepulture [and] at the joining of the above mentioned altar: near to which one reads: Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani first Patriarch of Venice / 8 January 1455.\textsuperscript{93}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{92} Bernardo Giustiniani’s “Testamentum” of 5 March 1489. ASVe, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 1203, n. 33 as cited in Labalme (1969): 315.
\textsuperscript{93} “vi fu parimente aggiunto l’Oratorio del Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani Primo patriarca di questa Chiesa, la cui santità, & la cui dottrina nota ad ogni uno, meritò per diversi miracoli fatti da lui, Altare,
Jürg Meyer zur Capellen speculated that the statue mentioned in this account is the three-quarter bust we see today and that it is unaltered. He argued that nothing suggests the sculpture was modified and that its current format suited the artist’s objective, namely to associate Lorenzo with bona fide saints. A Venetian in the mid-Quattrocento would have perceived a frontal, half-length figure in the attitude of benediction as a “prelude to canonization,” if not as the representation of a genuine saint. This was precisely the association the patron wanted to make, since at the time of the commission, the push for Giustiniani’s canonization was reaching its apex. Meyer zur Capellen further argued that in Venice full-length figures in the round were reserved for tombs of military men and doges, not holy men. He based his argument on Sansovino’s omission of terms used elsewhere to describe these full-length figural sculptures, such as *statua pedestre* and *in piedi*. Sansovino described effigies in this way when discussing the tomb of Benedetto da Pesaro (c.1505; Fig. 131) and Antonio Rizzo’s sculpted image of Doge Nicolò Tron (1476; Fig. 132), both located in the Frari, and the effigy of General Vincenzo Cappello (1542; Fig. 133) above the door on the exterior façade of Santa Maria Formosa. In these cases Sansovino described all three as “*statua pedestre*.” Doge Pietro Moncenigo (reg. 1474-76) was also honored with a “*statua pedestre di sopra al cassone*”

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*Cappella, & Statua marmorea posta sul suo sepolcro all’incontro del predetto Altare: presso alla quale si legge: Beatus Laurentius Iustinianus primus Venetiarum Patriarcha / Die VIII. Ianuarii M.CCCC. LV.*

Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 6-7.

98 Cappello was “*honorato di statua pedestre*” (Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 39), Pesaro with “*la statua pedestre di Benedetto da Pesaro.*” (ibid., 188) and Vettor Cappello, who is shown kneeling, was described as “*la cui statua pedestre fatta di finissimo marmo*…” (ibid., 212-213.)
for his role as conquering general rather than governing doge.99 The tomb was sculpted by Pietro Lombardo between 1476-80 and is on the retrofaçade of Santi Giovanni e Paolo (Fig. 134).

But Meyer zur Capellen did not take into account Marin Sanudo’s description of the tomb in 1490, which described the sculpture of Giustiniani as a standing image in marble using the same terminology with which Sansovino described the full-figure effigy of Doge Tron—"con la sua imagine de marmoro in piedi."100 Nor was the scholar aware of the document I discovered in the Vatican that corroborates Sanudo’s description and confirms that the marble image of Giustiniani represented him standing. This first detailed account of the burial chapel and tomb was written in 1616 as part of a compilation of briefs for the new processo for Giustiniani’s canonization. It contains the first known complete description of the tomb. The pertinent passage reads in translation as follows:

[In]…San Pietro in Castello, [there is] a chapel built some many years ago in honor of and for preserving the body of Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first patriarch of Venice, [the chapel is] honorably constructed with marble stones, and in it…there is a raised stone sepulcher…in the shape of an altar without lower steps…above the marble sepulcher as large as the altarpiece [opposite] there is a marble image in white color of the same Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani standing in the act of blessing, dressed in a rochet…101

101 Vice deacon Philippo Pizavano and Clemente Serlino were the auditors in charge of recording the location of all the altars in Venice dedicated to Giustiniani and their appearance in 1616. Their handwritten observations can be found in ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3516, fol. 60v-67v. See Appendix VIII docs. 3 and 4 for the transcription and transcription of this document.
This characterization of the sculpture’s appearance is further supported by another report I gleaned from the Vatican archives, this one from a painter who also made his living as a bombardier in the Venetian navy. Matteo Veneziano was forty-six when he gave his testimony to the Apostolic Protonotary in Venice in 1622. A trouble-maker by his own admission, Veneziano lived in the Santa Trinità section of Venice and had been very devoted to Lorenzo Giustinian for seven years. “I know the Beato Lorenzo is dead,” the artist said, “and that his body is buried in the church of Castello, having visited it many times and seen his sepulture, which is of marble supported by two marble lions and above [it] there is his standing effigy in marble, [“sopra la sua sepoltura, vi è la sua effigie di marmoro in piedi”] and I went to visit [the tomb] for the devotion that I have for this blessed saint and for the grace that I receive from God mediated by his intercession.”

With these accounts as evidence, there can be little doubt that Lorenzo’s effigy was a full-length standing figure like those of the condottieri and Doges described by Sansovino.

Personal commemoration was a common practice beyond Venice, but within its domain, the cult of personality was solely the purview of the state. Even the Doge had to take care to present himself always as the embodiment of Venice and not as a private citizen. By memorializing Lorenzo in the full-length sculpted form used to commemorate an individual for his laudable earthly achievements in the service of the Republic, in this case as head of the Venetian See and the personification of the Church

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102 ASVat, Cong dei Riti, Processus, doc. 3523, fols. 1133r-1137v. See Appendix VIII doc. 5 for the transcription of this document. His devotion also lead him to worship at the altars dedicated to Giustiniani in San Martino, San Luca and Sant’Agnese, the last of which was nearest his home and contained a “large wooden life-like effigy [of Giustinian] that was painted and gilded” and surrounded by “ex voti and little votive panels with [Lorenzo’s] image.”

103 Doge Pietro Moncenigo’s tomb in Santi Giovanni e Paolo is one example of how a public
of Venice, the Venetian Patriarch who commissioned the tomb asserted the city’s claim to this religious figurehead and made him its symbol.

The Vatican accounts I discovered are important for another reason: they are the only known descriptions of other components of the tomb and their placement within the chapel. These shed new light on the objectives and interpretation of subsequent images of Giustiniani, especially Gentile Bellini’s portrait. The document of 1616 tells us “a marble altar in honor of Blessed Michael the Archangel and of the saints Lawrence, martyr, and Benedict, abbot,” (the father of monasticism) occupied an unspecified side wall of Giustiniani’s burial chapel. And located above the same “[was] … a marble reliquary…[and] an altarpiece…and opposite the view of the same altar” was the raised stone sepulcher previously mentioned, which the artist Matteo Veneziano tells us was supported by “two marble lions.” (Figure 135 is a diagram of the chapel.) Above the marble sepulcher was the standing image of Giustiniani. His frontal position meant that he was facing the altar. He had:

on either side two marble angels likewise in white color, of whom one holds a miter, while the other shows a gesture of holding a staff, or perhaps a cross, which… is missing… on account of the course of time, or perhaps destroyed or removed … and under the feet of the marble statue… there are words sculpted… in capital letters: B[lessed] Lorenzo Giustiniani / First Patriarch of Venice / January 8, 1455 [more veneto].

Gentile painted the angels and the articles in their hands exactly as the Vatican document describes them, ensuring the visual connection to the tomb in San Pietro in Castello. The missing implement in the description of 1616 is reconstituted in Bellini’s

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104 Masses were still being said there in the seventeenth century. ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523, fol. 1201r.
105 See ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3516, fol. 60v-67v in Appendix VIII docs. 3 and 4.
106 See ASVat, Cong dei Riti, Processus, 3523, fols. 1135r in Appendix VIII doc 5.
painting. The angel on the left holds the cross of the Patriarchate, which together with the miter in the hands of the other angel, celebrated the high ecclesiastical offices attained by Lorenzo. They focused the viewer on his religious achievements as head of the Church in Venice. However, the instruments are partially obscured. They are therefore of secondary importance to Lorenzo and the kneeling Canons. His dress, that of a simple Secular Canon, also belies his public achievement.

The Canons’ objective of glorifying their spiritual founder and his accomplishments as a Canon is further reinforced by Lorenzo’s pose and his surroundings. Gentile’s painted image is the tomb’s sculpted effigy rotated ninety degrees. The pose accentuated Lorenzo’s gaunt features, which capture his ascetic lifestyle, the one emulated by the Canons. His blessing hand and body become more prominent because they are silhouetted against the once-blue background. Stressed also are the vertical lines of his simple Canon’s habit, which make him appear monumental and columnar, perfectly reflecting his role as pillar and spiritual anchor of the Congregation. The book in his left hand, the emblem of his scholarship and the Canon’s word-based spirituality, is no longer upright and parallel with the rigid folds of his habit, as in the sculpted figure, but at an angle, drawing more attention to it. Other details bespeak Lorenzo’s achievements during his time as a Canon. The rocky landscape refers to the Congregation’s *terraferma* expansion that Lorenzo initiated as a Canon.\footnote{Douglas-Scott (1995): 24.} Several bunches of small white flowers push through the dry earth beneath his feet symbolizing the rebirth and reform he brought to the corrupted Church. Giustiniani’s status as a cult-figure is further emphasized by the aureole ringing his head. This is the first time that he
was shown this way. It is a clear violation of the papal decree that stipulated that aureoles could be used only for beatified figures, a status Lorenzo did not attain until 1524, fifty-nine years after the painting was completed.

By choosing a profile pose, Gentile also may have simply employed his preferred format. One example roughly contemporary with the painting of Lorenzo Giustiniani is Bellini’s Portrait of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo from c.1478 (Fig. 136). He and his patrons, however, may have chosen a profile pose specifically because it replicated the appearance of the sculpted tomb figure when viewed while approaching the chapel from the nave of the church. Though the Vatican description did not state upon which wall the altar and tomb were located, the fact that Lorenzo is in left-facing profile in the painting suggests the tomb and effigy were on the burial chapel’s right side and that the statue of Lorenzo faced the altarpiece opposite the tomb.108

The two kneeling Canons are posed to suggest they were interacting with the effigy in the chapel in both the physical and spiritual sense. They function as more than just donor portraits, which their poses, location in the composition, and facial features suggest.109 I argue that the audience of Canons was meant to see the kneeling figures in the painting as models to their own participation in two simultaneous yet distinct acts of

108 The sepulcre was definitely on one side of the chapel, and Giustiniani’s body still in it in 1622, as an account in the Vatican archive from that year confirms (ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523, doc. 1007v-1008r): “Respondit io ho inteso a dire che il Beato Lorenzo non alli ottodi Gennaro, Non mi ricordo l’anno, ma me parem che fosse l’anno mille quarto Cento Conquanta quatro, o mille quattro cento Cinquanta Conque salvo il ero, ma non me ricordo precisamente come ho detto di sopra, et fu sepolto nella Chiesa Patriarchale dove anco hoggidi si trova il suo corpo posto in un Arco di marmo da un late della sua Capella, et la sua sepoltura l’ho vista aperto una sera già doi anni sono in cerca, che la fece Aprire Monsignore Patriarcha, et fin da picolo ho’visitato spesso questa sepoltura per esser il Beato Lorenzo il mio devoto, et perche era devoto per Beato, et faceva miracoli, et questa è la opinione universale de tutto il della chiesa, et anco del popolo et ho veduto altra gente andare a farli oratione et anco attaccarli del le tavolette per voti.”

109 Douglas-Scott has proposed that the kneeling Canons may be likeness of Antonio Morosini (left), the first prior of the Madonna dell’Orto, and his Procurator, Daniele Veneto (right). (Douglas-Scott (1995): 23.)
devotion to their spiritual founder: devotion to Giustiniani in life and in death. The first hypothesis adheres to Bernardo Giustiniani’s description. He wrote that his uncle always had two Secular Canons at his side while performing mass, a practice that a predella panel from San Giorgio in Braida c.1533 illustrates (Fig. 147b). The two Canons kneeling behind Lorenzo are wearing the red deacons’ robes of the Patriarchate, but the sleeves of their blue canonical dress peek out from the cuffs of their outer vestments. Gentile’s painting alludes to this same interaction between the Canons and the sculpted image of Giustiniani in his funerary chapel. In Bellini’s painting, the participants in the mass have shed the red vestments and wear the Turchino, or dark-blue habits of their Congregation. However, the Canon on the right, behind Lorenzo still attends him as his effigy stands before the altar opposite it in the burial chapel. The second hypothesis, that Bellini’s painting represents the Canons’ interactions with Giustiniani’s tomb, is illustrated by the Canon on the left of Gentile’s painting—he looks up in veneration at the effigy and receives the statue’s blessing as one would in the chapel. The inclusion of the angels from the tomb reinforces this connection.

In this way the tomb of Lorenzo Giustiniani was transported to the Madonna dell’Orto, and the Canons perpetually venerated their teacher. They would have understood the three figures in the foreground as participants in two separate tableaux vivants: one, the reenactment of Giustiniani officiating at the altar with his acolytes in attendance, and the other, the reenactment of mourners at the foot of the effigy in the burial chapel. Gentile accomplished the Canons’ desire to be with Lorenzo in both life and death. The effigy of Giustiniani was reincarnated in the minds of the Canons who

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110 Giustiniani (1475): 25.
111 This panel and the other two predella panels which accompanied it are discussed in detail below.
contemplated this painting of their exemplar. What is more, they have memorialized themselves as eternally faithful to him.

One last element reinforces the idea that Gentile recreated the tomb in San Pietro in Castello for the Canons of the Madonna dell’Orto. Affixed to the painting’s corners are fictive swags that delineate the picture plane. The pieces of ribbon attached to the center of each swag seem to wave in the air as if a breeze has just come up, as likely happened during many of Venice’s outdoor parades, supporting the supposition that the Canons of the Madonna dell’Orto used the painting in devout processions. But the swags may also imitate the buntings that decorated Lorenzo’s tomb on the anniversary of his death, 8 January, which Pope Clement VII designated as his feast day in 1524.\footnote{ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523, 1248v and Tramontin (1963b): 207.}

What motivated the Secular Canons to commission a painting that evoked Lorenzo Giustiniani’s tomb at San Pietro in Castello and the Canons’ interaction with it? They did so because they had lost the right to bury Lorenzo among their brothers in their churches, despite the Patriarch’s twice-expressed dying wishes. Following his funeral, Lorenzo’s corpse remained at San Pietro in Castello and the new Patriarch commissioned the standing effigy for the tomb. The canons there wanted to retain control of his body for the edification of the Republic, recognizing that should Lorenzo eventually be canonized (as happened in 1690), the state would be in charge of his whole body, a potentially potent relic. For their part, the Secular Canons at the Madonna dell’Orto reasserted the holy man’s final wishes.\footnote{Following Giustiniani’s death, the Venetian Senate considered four men as his successor: Andrea Bondumier, Gregory Correr, Jacopo Zeno and Maffeo Contarini. Contarini won the election 125 to 41 and the Senate issued its official decree recognizing Contarini as the second Patriarch of Venice on 23 January 1456, fifteen days after Giustiniani’s death. The Canons of San Pietro in Castello were temporarily vested with the power of the Patriarchal seat during this delay. Contarini was in Brescia at San Pietro in.
buried Giustiniani’s body within the precincts of the Patriarchal church,\textsuperscript{114} the sole option left to the Secular Canons was to ask Gentile Bellini to create a painted cenotaph that replicated Lorenzo’s effigy and recalled his tomb. Given this important heritage, the canvas portrait of Lorenzo was intended to remain perpetually on view in the Madonna dell’Orto.\textsuperscript{115} And with the painted cenotaph the Canons were able, albeit symbolically, to honor Lorenzo Giustiniani’s wishes to be buried among his brethren in one of their churches.

\textit{Gian Francesco Caroto’s portrait of Giustiniani in the frame of his triptych (c.1512) in San Giorgio in Braida}

Giustiniani first appears in San Giorgio in Braida in the form of a small cult icon reminiscent of Bellini’s painted portrait in the predella of Caroto’s triptych of 1512 (Fig. 109). He is dressed in the Canons’ vestments with rays of light encircling his blue skull cap. But unlike Bellini’s image, Caroto has painted Giustiniani in the act of praying and facing in the opposite direction, towards the predella panel of the \textit{Agony in the Garden} immediately to the right. He is not part of the main field of the altarpiece, since his cult was not yet sanctioned, but in one of the images flanking the predella panels in the base of the frame.

\textsuperscript{114} Humfrey (1993): 95 and repeated by Neher (2000): 133 incorrectly stated that Lorenzo Giustiniani had been buried in Madonna dell’Orto.

\textsuperscript{115} The canvas hung at various times above the Madonna dell’Orto’s main door on the retro-façade, on a left aisle pier and in the Renier chapel. (Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 167; Ridolfi (1648): vol. I, 62; Boschini (1664): 445 and Giannantonio Moschini, \textit{Guida per la città di Venezia all’amico delle belle arti} 2 vols. (Venezia: Alvisopoli, 1815), vol. II, 18.) The banner was moved to replace Pordenone’s altarpiece of the Beato, which was taken to Paris by Napoleon in 1797. The substitution of one image of Giustiniani for the other had negative consequences for Bellini’s masterpiece. Falling rubble from the adjacent campanile severely abraded the banner and mold began to grow on its surface causing additional damage. Pordenone’s altarpiece, by contrast, is in excellent condition and is also in the Accademia. The painting suffered severe water damage during the restoration of the church in the mid-nineteenth century. The canvas was relocated to the Galleria dell’Accademia in Venice in 1852.
The evolution of depictions of Lorenzo Giustiniani after 1524

The full length sculpted representation of Lorenzo Giustiniani commissioned in 1456 by his successor as Venetian Patriarch, Matteo Contarini, codified Lorenzo’s likeness. The effigy was placed above Giustiniani’s tomb in San Pietro in Castello that resembled one made for a saint. This was one of the ways Venice and the Congregation promoted the divinity of Lorenzo Giustiniani in the years immediately following his death when the campaign for Giustiniani’s canonization was making headway. It was the first of many portraits of Giustiniani commissioned by Venice and the Congregation of Secular Canons between his death in 1456 and his canonization in 1690. Before his beatification in 1524, his painted likeness appeared only as a cult icon modeled after the sculpted tomb portrait. Gentile Bellini and Gian Francesco Caroto had to carefully adapt the funerary imagery in their paintings so that it paid tribute to the holy man without violating Church decorum forbidding uncanonized persons being represented in the guise of a saint. They did this by showing Giustiniani as an earthly, humble and ascetic man. Giustiniani’s iconography evolved over time and became more overt as the Church rewarded the Venetian with increasingly distinguished posthumous titles, starting with the title of Beatus in 1524. The legacy of the sculpted effigy and Gentile’s powerful painted memorial persisted even after Lorenzo’s iconography changed following the decree in 1524 authorizing his cult and his appearance with an aureole. In celebration of Lorenzo’s new status, artistic commissions within the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga proliferated.
Jacopo Palma il Vecchio’s Saint Vincent altarpiece (1524-5) in the Madonna dell’Orto

Lorenzo Giustiniani appeared for the first time following the 1524 decree in Jacopo Palma il Vecchio’s Saint Vincent altarpiece (Fig. 137). The painting, now in a lamentable state of conservation, was commissioned for the Valier family burial chapel in the Madonna dell’Orto. It was in its final stages when the Pope issued his decree authorizing Giustiniani’s cult. The painting, therefore, was not originally commissioned as a commemorative image of Giustiniani. In his will written shortly before his death in July 1520, Vincenzo Valier had specified that a chapel be built and decorated in his honor. He left 525 ducats for this purpose. The altarpiece was to contain the patron saints of the donor and his wife, Helena. On 21 September 1523, Palma il Vecchio was contracted by Valier’s widow and the Prior of the Madonna dell’Orto, Pietro Marin, who was acting as Valier’s executor, to paint the altarpiece which depicts Saint Vincent Deacon in the center of the composition standing upon an elevated plinth and flanked by Saints Dominic and Helena. The artist was to be paid sixty ducats. Palma probably began work on it soon after he purchased the canvas in October 1523.

The composition was well under way by 14 May 1524 when the Prior, this time acting of his own volition, instructed Palma to include the portraits of two of the Secular Canons’ most illustrious members, Lorenzo Giustiniani and Pope Eugene IV. Giustiniani appears in profile while Pope Eugene IV is in a three-quarter pose and looks

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117 Rylands (1992): Appendix F.
118 Ibid., 336.
119 For this change, Palma was compensated three ducats and four bigonzì of wine. (One bigoncia of wine was equivalent to about 32 litres.) He received an additional two bigonzì on 29 March 1526 when the work was completed. (Angelo Mercati, “Storici, critici dell’arte e documenti a proposito di una pala di Palma il Vecchio,” Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia XV, no. I-III (1939): 26; Rylands (1992): 336 and Douglas-Scott (1995): 142.
out toward the viewer. The flames of votive candles and two poorly executed restorations have severely damaged the altarpiece. Nevertheless, one can discern that both Giustiniani and Pope Eugene IV are of lesser quality than the rest of the work. This suggests that Palma instructed an assistant to insert the likenesses of the men.120 The awkward appearance of Giustiniani could also be the result of the artist’s adherence to the inherited iconography established by the Gentile Bellini’s banner that had hung in the Madonna dell’Orto since its completion sixty years earlier. Prior Marin’s request anticipated Clement VII’s *indultum* that named Lorenzo Giustiniani bishop-confessor by less than a month.121 The timing shows how anxious the Canons were to exploit the forthcoming papal decree allowing Giustiniani to be honored in altarpieces and how Bellini’s portrait of Giustiniani was employed as standard imagery.

**Girolamo Santacroce’s *Giustiniani* altarpiece (1525) for the Madonna dell’Orto**

The iconic type of imagery established by the bust and banner was superseded only after Pope Clement VII promulgated his decree on 9 July 1524. After that date the Canons began commissioning altarpieces dedicated to their beloved Lorenzo. The Secular Canons at the Madonna dell’Orto continued to show their devotion to Giustiniani and produced the first altarpiece that wholly commemorated his new status. The contract for the painting is untraced, and the painting itself was destroyed by fire in 1716.122

Several extant written sources, however, describe its various features. These sources tell

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121 *Indultum*, or an exemption granted by the pope permitting a deviation from canon law, in this case the recognition of the valid arguments presented at the previous failed *processo* of 1474, was issued on 9 July 1524. Labalme (1993): 39.
122 The Canons’ decision to move Santacroce’s painting to San Giorgio in Alga ultimately resulted in its destruction. A massive fire ripped through the church and monastic complex of San Giorgio in Alga on 11 July 1716, destroying most of its structures and contents, including the *Giustiniani* altarpiece. (Corner (1749): vol. VI, 58 and Corner (1758): 505.)
us there was an inscription at the base of the painting that described Lorenzo as a beato and the first Patriarch of Venice. It also listed the day he died, 8 January 1455 (more veneto), and identified the artist, Girolamo Santacroce (c.1480/5-1556) who was a pupil of Gentile Bellini’s, and the date the painting was completed. The altarpiece was originally displayed upon the altar dedicated to Giustiniani on the left side aisle of the Madonna dell’Orto, but it did not remain there for long.

The cult of Lorenzo Giustiniani was very strong at the Madonna dell’Orto. The profusion of commissions featuring Giustiniani demonstrates it was the “center of [his] iconographic initiative.” Nevertheless, it was a subsidiary of the Congregation’s mother church, San Giorgio in Alga, and ultimately obedient to it. The Canons at San Giorgio in Alga took possession of Santacroce’s canvas in or before 1527, the year in which Francesco Renier commissioned the new sculpted altar frame still in situ and another likeness of Giustiniani, Pordenone’s Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani with Sts. John the Baptist, Louis of Toulouse, Bernardino of Siena, Francis and two Secular Canons (1528-30; Fig. 138). Pordenone’s altarpiece shows Lorenzo Giustiniani at the center of the composition with a gold dome reminiscent of those on the façade of San Marco forming a halo directly above his head. Yet the painting’s devotional focus is really the lamb of

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123 1525: B. LAURENTIUS IUSTINIANUS PRIMUS PATRIARCA VENETIARUM DIE VIII IANUARII MCCCLLV. HIERONIMUS A SANCTA CRUCE P. MDXXV. (Rosa (1630): 29.)
126 Federico Renier instituted the altar dedicated to Lorenzo in 1527. The predella of the sculpted altar frame bears Federico Renier’s name. (ibid., 150 and Appendix III, doc. 127.)
Christ in the foreground. Therefore, Santacroce’s bold visual statement of Giustiniani’s sanctity was replaced with a more subtle treatment.

The mother church had a history of exercising its authority in this way and had earlier taken possession of a library specifically left to the Madonna dell’Orto by a local cardinal.\textsuperscript{128} It has been suggested that Santacroce’s altarpiece was removed when Renier contracted with Pordenone to paint the \textit{Beato Giustiniani and Saints}. As I shall demonstrate, though, the Canons at San Giorgio in Alga themselves likely decided to have Santacroce’s painting removed for two particular reasons. The maneuver presented Renier with the opportunity to commission an altar and a second Giustiniani altarpiece in its stead.\textsuperscript{129}

For unknown reasons, Sansovino and Martinioni omitted many of the works of art at San Giorgio in Alga, including Santacroce’s canvas, from their description of the church in 1604.\textsuperscript{130} Santacroce’s canvas was first recorded there by Tomasini in his \textit{Annales} of 1642, in which he deemed the altarpiece by “Bartholomaei de S. Cruce” in the chapel dedicated to Giustiniani as being “of great esteem.”\textsuperscript{131} Boschini was the next to describe the picture in his \textit{Le minere della pittura} of 1664. Until now his brief description of the painting was the most complete. He specified that the altarpiece was painted by “Girolamo de Santa Croce” in 1525 and contained the Beato and Saints Stephen and

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{128} Douglas-Scott (1995): 153. The library of Santi Fermo e Rustico was also relocated to another church in the Congregation in 1512. See Tomasini (1642): 583.
\item\textsuperscript{129} Cicogna (1834): vol. III, 503 and Cavalcaselle and Crowe (1871): vol. III, 445. Douglas-Scott (1995): 153 wrote that it was “difficult to establish the exact relationship of the Renier altar to the earlier foundation” and therefore the sequence of events that lead to the displacement of Santacroce’s altarpiece.
\item\textsuperscript{130} Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 240. See Appendix VII.
\item\textsuperscript{131} “altera D. Laurentio...Bartholomaei de Cruce An. MDXXV plurimum aestimata.” Tomasini (1642): 227-228. See Appendix VII.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotes}
Lawrence. He described a quadretto of the Virgin and Child by the same artist above the painting. The dimensions and format of the altarpiece are unknown, but the fact that a lunette topped it while in San Giorgio in Alga suggests the altarpiece was rectangular. The painting was in the church four years later when auditors Philippo Pizavano and Clemente Serlino wrote the document that I discovered in the Vatican archives. Their detailed account of the altarpiece’s appearance reveals a more complete picture of the altarpiece’s composition and iconography, which until now were unknown. Their description of the lost Santacroce altarpiece reads as follows:

…at the church of San Giorgio in Alga…the altar of Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani situated in its own chapel located on the left side of the high chapel. Indeed, he [the auditor] saw this altar suitably and honorably fashioned, kept and preserved and built as can be seen for many years from its front on this side, in which, namely, in the middle of the altarpiece of the altar, there is the image of the same Blessed Lorenzo sitting in a higher place, in Episcopal vestments with cope, and dressed in a miter, in the act of blessing, with a ring of rays around his head as large as the image of the Blessed; and below on his right side there is the image of Saint Stephen Protomartyr, dressed in diaconal vestments with a diadem on his head, but standing, and there is also near the said Saint Stephen, namely between him and the same Blessed Lorenzo, an image of a canon of the Congregation genuflecting and holding a patriarchal cross in his right hand: moreover, on the left side there is the image of Saint Lawrence, martyr, in the same vestments and with a posture just as is the aforementioned image of Saint Stephen, just as there is also, between him and the image of Blessed Lorenzo, the image of another canon of the congregation likewise genuflecting and holding an Episcopal staff in his hands, and above an inscription was seen located on a sort of pedestal, or rather painted with majuscule letters under the feet of Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani written in this form, and with the following content: BLESSED LORENZO / GIUSTINIANI / FIRST PATRIARCH OF VENICE / JANUARY 8, 1455 [more Veneto] / Moreover, below, another inscription is still seen, as is believed, giving a notice of the painter, who painted everything of the altarpiece and of the image written above, of the

132 Boschini (1664): 571: “La tavola alla sinistra dell’Altar maggiore, contiene il Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani, li Santi Stefano, e Lorenzo; opera di Girolamo de Santa Croce, fatta come si vedde l’Anno MDXXV. Sopra questa tavola, euei un quadretto, con Maria, che tiene il Bambino, pure dello stesso Autore.” See Appendix VII.
From this account, we now know that Bellini’s restrained blessing figure in profile, which was repeated by Gian Francesco Caroto in the frame of his triptych (c.1512) and by Palma il Vecchio in his *Saint Vincent* altarpiece (1524-5), became a Saint writ large, and that Santacroce’s altarpiece was likely the first to show Lorenzo as a front-facing intercessor (Fig. 139). Enthroned and elevated above Saints Stephen and Lawrence, Lorenzo wore his episcopal vestments with cope and miter. He was in the act of blessing, with a ring of rays around his head “as large as the image of the Blessed.” Two Secular Canons (portraits?) genuflecting between the standing saints and the base of Lorenzo’s throne bear the symbols of Lorenzo’s office: the Canon on the left held Giustiniani’s bishop’s staff and the one on the right his patriarchal cross. Santacroce followed iconography that was derived from Giustiniani’s tomb in San Pietro in Castello, though the sculpted angels that were repeated in Gentile Bellini’s canvas are missing, their roles assumed by the kneeling Canons. The epigram at the base of the painted throne exactly replicated the inscription from the sarcophagus in San Pietro in Castello, which together with the visual recognition of Giustiniani’s changed status, suggests the Canons were again responding to being denied the privilege of burying Giustiniani by commissioning an updated version of Gentile’s painted epitaph.

It was not for need of images of their spiritual founder that the mother church took possession of Santacroce’s altarpiece. Since 1497 the sacristy of San Giorgio in Alga contained an altarpiece by Cima of the *Nativity* that featured Giustiniani adoring the

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133 See ASVat, Cong dei Riti, doc. 3516, fol. 60v-62r in Appendix VII docs. 3 and 4. The altarpiece, in a gold frame, and its lunette were only listed and not described fully in the inventory made of the church in 1668. See ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 3, 60v in Appendix VII doc. 2.
Christ Child.\textsuperscript{134} The novitiate chapel had an altar dedicated to Giustiniani with an altarpiece of the Beato, and the paintings of Lorenzo Giustiniani and Pope Eugene IV that were recorded on the lateral walls of the high altar in 1668 may have been in place by then.\textsuperscript{135} But when Santacroce completed his altarpiece in 1525, San Giorgio in Alga still lacked the tomb of Lorenzo Giustiniani and an altarpiece for the altar dedicated to him. Furthermore it is clear from the contents of the chapel dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani in San Giorgio in Alga that it was the chapel of the Patriarchs of Venice, of which Giustiniani was the first. After Santacroce’s altarpiece was installed in San Giorgio in Alga, Giustiniani presided over a monument of \textit{vivo marmore} which contained the remains of two of the other three Secular Canons who served as Patriarch of Venice (Fig. 63).\textsuperscript{136} Matteo Contarini, who succeeded Giustiniani as second Patriarch of Venice (reg. 1456-60), died on 26 March 1460 and requested burial in the chapel dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani.\textsuperscript{137} Gregory Correr, Antonio Correr’s nephew, former abbot of San Zeno in Verona and the fourth Patriarch of Venice (reg. 1464), was also interred there after his death in Verona on 13 December 1464.\textsuperscript{138} Only the body of Alvise Contarini, the fourth and last Secular Canon to be elected Patriarch of Venice (the ninth Patriarch, reg. 1508), was absent. He was buried, as requested, in the Madonna dell’Orto, where he had served as prior.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{134} By 1642, Cima’s \textit{Nativity} was moved into the main body of the church and placed on the altar dedicated to the Madonna. Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 240 located in the Sacristy. Tomasin (1642): 227; Boschini (1664): 570 and Corner (1749): vol. IX, 57 located in the first altar on the right of the high altar. See also Ridolfi (1648): vol. 1, 77 and Humfrey, ed. (1983): 179-180.
\textsuperscript{135} See ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 3, fol. 60r and 62v in Appendix VIII doc. 3.
\textsuperscript{136} Tomasin (1642): 228.
\textsuperscript{137} The tomb was destroyed after the Napoleonic suppression, but the tomb stone was transferred to the Trinità. (Niero (1963): 222.)
\textsuperscript{139} Niero (1961): 54.
The Canons may have moved Santacroce’s altarpiece to San Giorgio in Alga for ideological reasons. From the start, representations of Giustiniani pushed the boundaries of protocol and artistic convention in an attempt to promote Lorenzo Giustiniani’s cult. Santacroce’s altarpiece can be viewed as the next logical step in the evolution of laudatory imagery established by Giustiniani’s sculpted tomb effigy and continued in Gentile Bellini’s canvas. In 1456, the marble likeness was carved deliberately to resemble images of saints, and ten years later, before the papal decree sanctioning the practice, Gentile outfitted Lorenzo Giustiniani with an aureole in his painted cenotaph. So, at the moment when Venice was celebrating Giustiniani’s new cult status in 1525, the Secular Canons at the Madonna dell’Orto expressed their joy by commissioning Girolamo Santacroce to paint Giustiniani as an enthroned saint with great rays of light emanating from around his head.

Beginning in the 1520s, however, as challenges to the Catholic Church escalated, the Church’s concerns about representations of uncanonized figures as saints and other imagery antithetical to church teachings began to grow, culminating with the official decree promulgated by the Council of Trent in 1563 condemning this practice.140 Could this be another reason why the mother church sequestered Santacroce’s painting to its relatively inaccessible island where only the Canons could see it? Was the imagery simply too bold and too clearly in violation of the Church’s restrictions? Without documentation, it is impossible to know.

My research suggests that members of the Congregation of Secular Canons often relocated works of art within their individual churches and between other churches in

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140 The decree, issued on 4 December 1563 during the twenty-fifth and final session of the Council of Trent, is quoted on page 285, note 3.
their network precisely for this reason. This was the case with another pair of altarpieces
dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani commissioned by the Canons for their two houses in
Verona. I assert that these paintings were transposed for the same reason Santacroce’s
altarpiece was transferred to San Giorgio in Alga: the depiction of Giustiniani in one of
them was too bold and in violation of the Church’s restrictions. More specifically, the
representation of Giustiniani violated the decrees laid out by Bishop Giberti’s Breve
ricordo di quello hanno da fare i chierci of 1530 and was replaced by the more decorous
depiction of Giustiniani.

*The Veronese Canons reconcile Lorenzo Giustiniani’s changing status in the
altarpieces they commissioned*

*Girolamo dai Libri’s Madonna and Child with Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and San
Zeno (1526)*

The third altar on the left aisle of San Giorgio in Braida in Verona (D in Fig. 99)
contains Girolamo dai Libri’s *Madonna and Child with Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and
San Zeno*, which is signed and dated 1526 (Fig. 110). The altarpiece was first
documented in the church in 1668\(^\text{141}\) and has since been called “the jewel of San Giorgio
in Braida.”\(^\text{142}\) With this painting the Veronese Canons continued the trend of propagating
Giustiniani’s sanctity in the year immediately following his beatification. While his cult
status as Beato is recognized, it is of secondary importance to the meditative message
imparted by the painting’s iconography.

Giustiniani’s physiognomy, dress and book conform to the earlier iconography
and to the Clementine decree issued just two years earlier that allowed the placement of
an eight-point aureole behind the figure’s head as a signifier of his holiness. But it is the

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\(^\text{141}\) Moscardo (1668): 120.
\(^\text{142}\) Lanzi (1809): vol. 2, pt. 1, 46.
first known example in the history of Giustiniani’s iconography that he is shown, not as a
cult figure in profile or as an enthroned saint removed from the realm of the viewer, but
as a intercessor between the Virgin and the Canons worshipping before the painting.
They were thus reminded daily of their obligations to the Virgin and to the
Congregation’s mission of spiritual purity and restraint. The Beato is turned in space, no
longer in the act of benediction (as in the two objects by the Bellini, Santacroce’s
altarpiece and Caroto’s image in the same church) and no longer the primary focus of a
sacra conversazione composition. Giustiniani stands to the left of the throne and is
subordinate to the Virgin and Child, with whom he is in quiet and direct communication.
He is placed on an even footing with the figure of San Zeno, the patron saint of Verona,
on the other side of the Virgin’s throne. These changes to the established iconography
have the effect of playing down his role as a cult icon while highlighting Giustiniani’s
capacity as scholar and writer, mystic, ascetic and intercessor—in sum, his role as the
exemplar of the Secular Canons is emphasized.143

Alongside the specific visual references to Giustiniani in his role as exemplar are
a series of more discreet visual markers that can only be understood through the lens of
Lorenzo Giustiniani’s biography, writings and mode of worship. The principal beholders
and patrons of the painting, the Veronese Secular Canons, were steeped in these
traditions and therefore could decode the subtleties of the painting’s imagery. This had
the effect of heightening their spiritual connection with Lorenzo Giustiniani and his
teachings.

143 These distinct types of imagery were explored by Gabriele Neher in her study of Moretto da
Illustrations of Giustiniani’s biography

Girolamo dai Libri captured in his painting several episodes from Lorenzo Giustiniani’s life that were recounted in the biography of Lorenzo’s nephew Bernardo Giustiniani. The serene smiling face of Giustiniani was the same one that welcomed any petitioner visiting Lorenzo during his lifetime. Even after his elevation to the Patriarchate of Venice when he had to concern himself daily with the demands of church and state, he always received those who sought him out with a smiling face. He was thought to have received the grace of God. He invited the petitioner to stay as long as needed.144

The concentration of Giustiniani’s gaze and his reverence for the Christ Child in the Virgin’s lap as seen in the painting were also in keeping with Bernardo’s statement that nothing could distract his uncle, especially when he was in prayer, and that he often was so overcome by his passion that he fell into an ecstatic trance. A Secular Canon who was attending Lorenzo on Christmas night recounted one example. Lorenzo was performing the Mass before the altar with his Secular Canon acolytes, as was his custom. As he elevated the Eucharist and fixed his gaze upon it, tears began to run down his face. He was lost in his vision of the Christ Child. That vision lasted for some time. Only after the Canon pulled on Giustiniani’s sleeve did he emerge from his dream-like state. Upon recovering, Giustiniani turned and said, “Let’s continue, brother. But what we will do for this beautiful little child? How can we leave him alone and naked in the cold?”145

The clarity of the sky and fecund tree behind the Virgin’s throne also make visible some of Lorenzo’s pious acts. In the hagiography of his uncle, Bernardo wrote that all throughout his long ecclesiastical career, Lorenzo preferred solitude and shied away from

144 Giustiniani (1475): Ch. VII, §37.
145 Ibid., §16.
speaking to large crowds because his delicate constitution denied him the strength to do so. He thrived, however, in smaller religious circles where his powerful words “did not return without fruit,” and aided by his “exquisite, brief and considered” elocution, stirred religious fervor in his audiences. One example of the authority of Lorenzo’s word was when he was preaching to the Canons seated beneath a tree outside the church of San Giorgio in Alga and the sky began to blacken and fill with flashes of lightening and claps of thunder. When the small group expressed their fear that it would rain, Lorenzo reassured them that the approaching storm was just Satan showing his displeasure with the truth of the Word of God that he was recounting to them. No sooner had Lorenzo spoken his words then the sky cleared to reveal a glorious day.

In this altarpiece, Dai Libri seems to have captured the culminating moment of the mass when transubstantiation of the Eucharist had just occurred and the body of Christ has appeared to Lorenzo. Giustiniani appears to be serene and completely absorbed in his reverence of the Christ Child and in direct communication with him. Christ extends his hand toward Giustiniani who returns his gaze. The image suggests that just prior to this moment, Giustiniani was preaching the Word of God and the sky brightened. In addition to serving as a model for the Canons’ own religious practice it appeals to the senses and emotions of the viewer and was therefore an appropriate altarpiece for the side altar dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani.

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146 Ibid., Ch. IV, §18.
147 Tomasini (1642): 229 makes particular note of this tree at San Giorgio in Alga. See Appendix VII.
148 Giustiniani (1475): Ch. IV, §19.
Illustration of his religious philosophies expressed in the Lignum Vitae of 1419

Dai Libri’s painting is also a visual manifestation of Giustiniani’s teachings as spelled out in 1419 in his Lignum vitae (Tree of Life), the first of his many treatises.

Giustiniani was already thirty-eight years old and had completed three terms as prior of San Giorgio in Alga when he took a hiatus from his administrative duties and confined himself to his cell in Sant’Agostino in Vicenza to write.\(^1\) Giustiniani modeled his conception of the mystical Tree of Life and the fruits, or virtues, it bears—continence, prudence, justice, charity, patience, obedience, hope, perseverance, simplicity, poverty, humility and prayer—after similar examples found in medieval ascetic literature.\(^2\) Giustiniani also took inspiration from the writings of Saint Anthony Abbot who described Mary as a beautiful tree of life whose fruits were purity and humility.\(^3\) The Tree in Giustiniani’s treatise also represented personal salvation as it is the Word Incarnate planted in Paradise. In short, the Lignum vitae was a small treatise on individual virtue and the rewards one can reap through rituals of Christian practice and study. It was the ideal introductory text for the neophyte canon. The appearance of the tree in Dai Libri’s canvas was the visual expression of this important piece of prose.\(^4\)

The original location of Girolamo dai Libri’s Madonna and Child

It has always been assumed that Girolamo dai Libri painted this altarpiece for its current location above the altar in the third chapel on the left of San Giorgio in Braida (D

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\(^1\) Tramontin (1960): 27-28 and 35-41.
\(^2\) See the discussion of this treatise and Lorenzo’s other earlier writings on pages 123-128.
\(^4\) This altarpiece is the first known examples of the Canons’ efforts to associate Giustiniani with the life-giving tree. The frontispieces of later publications of his writings and Vita, (bounded between fol. 759 and 760 in ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523) as well as the 1630 editions of Daniele Rosa’s Summorum, sanctissimorumque contained a large cartouche with a tree in the center.
in Fig. 99). This belief has been reinforced by recent scholarship which states the altar containing Dai Libri’s altarpiece was the only one in Verona dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani.153 At present this is true, but during the Canons’ tenure at San Giorgio in Braida, there was another altar in the city. As was the case in Venice where the Canons maintained both their mother church, San Giorgio in Alga, and the Madonna dell’Orto, the Secular Canons also officiated in two separate houses in Verona. The Canons’ other Veronese house, Sant’Angiolo in Monte (also referred to as San Michele in Monte or the Oratory of San Gabriele), contained the second altar dedicated to Giustiniani.154 It seems that Dai Libri’s painting was moved to its present location after Bishop Giberti consecrated San Giorgio in Braida in 1536. This was done in order to take the place of Francesco Torbido’s Lorenzo Giustiniani and Saints George and Archangel Michael of 1533 (Fig. 140) which did not meet Bishop Giberti’s specifications for a reformed church. After its removal from San Giorgio in Braida Dai Libri’s altarpiece was transferred to Sant’Angiolo in Monte. I shall present strong circumstantial, physical and iconographic evidence below to support my hypotheses that Dai Libri originally created his painting for Sant’Angiolo in Monte and that Torbido painted his canvas for San Giorgio in Braida.


154 The altar’s dedication to Giustiniani was first recorded in Rosa (1630): 107, n.176 and later affirmed by an inventory taken at the time of the church’s suppression in 1668 (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 3, fol. 236v) and three others taken in 1695, 1724 and 1739 (ASVr, Monasteri Maschili di Città, Santa Maria della Scala, reg. 61, c. 50v; reg., cc. 19, 102v, 110v cited by Marina Repetto Contaldo, “311. Francesco Torbido detto il Moro: San Lorenzo Giustiniani in trono tra san Michele e san Giorgio,” in Museo di Castelvecchio: catalogo generale dei dipinti e delle miniature delle collezioni civiche veronesi, ed. Paola Marini, Gianni Peretti, and Francesca Rossi (Cinisello Balsamo (Milano): Silvana, 2010), 413).
The Canons had resided at Sant’Angiolo in Monte in Verona since 1419, and only became permanent residents at San Giorgio in Braida after 1441. Therefore, they must have commissioned the sacred decorations for Sant’Angiolo in Monte well before those at San Giorgio in Braida. Indeed, the church’s high altarpiece of the *Virgin Annunciate* painted by Gian Francesco Caroto is dated 1528.\(^{155}\) This painting predated by about seven years the altarpiece of *Saint George and the Dragon* commissioned from the same artist by the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida for the high altar there. Caroto’s *Virgin Annunciate*, though, was painted two years after Dai Libri completed his *Madonna and Child with Lorenzo Giustiniani and San Zeno*. This was the first known major altarpiece of Giustiniani in Verona, and the Canons were careful to include San Zeno. This iconography shows the Canons were also cultivating their Veronese identity by including the patron saint of Verona in the painting. By contrast, Torbido’s altarpiece visually honors the dedicatory saints of both the Canons’ churches in Verona: Saint Michael the Archangel and Saint George. Giustiniani’s glance and gesture to George signify the Congregations’ sanctioning of the new church and honors the mother church in Venice.

**Francesco Torbido’s Giustiniani altarpiece (1533)**

The cult of Lorenzo Giustiniani and his iconography are well-researched,\(^ {156}\) yet Francesco Torbido’s depiction of Lorenzo Giustiniani with Saints Michael and George

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\(^{155}\) This altarpiece is now in a private collection in Bergamo and is different from the scene of the Annunciation that plays out on the two canvases on either side of San Giorgio in Braida’s chancel (Figs. 66 & 67). Enrico Maria Guzzo, “Il patrimonio artistico veronese nell’Ottocento tra collezionismo e dispersioni (seconda parte),” *Atti e memorie dell’Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona* CLXXII(1995-1996): 460, n. 301 as cited in Repetto Contaldo (2010): 413.

\(^{156}\) For Giustiniani’s cult see Rosa (1614); Rosa (1630); Antonio Niero, *San Lorenzo Giustiniani, protopatriarca di Venezia nel V centenario della morte 1456-1956* (Venezia: F. Ongania, 1959); Pietro La Fontaine, *Il primo patriarca di Venezia: vita popolare di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani*, 3rd ed., vol. 1, Collana biografica (Venezia: Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1960); Tramontin (1960); Niero (1960) and Silvio Tramontin, ed. *Venezia e Lorenzo Giustiniani* (Venezia: Comune-Ufficio affari istituzionali: Patriarcato,
(Fig. 140) of 1533, is given short shrift in the literature despite being one of only a handful of altarpieces dedicated to Giustiniani produced prior to his canonization.\textsuperscript{157}

While there have been brief references to the painting, surprisingly little critical analysis has been done.\textsuperscript{158} This means that my new evidence dates the painting’s position within the evolutionary process of Giustiniani’s iconography for the first time.

Since 1911, the altarpiece has been part of the permanent collection of the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona. Andrea Monga donated it along with more than 500 other objects.\textsuperscript{159} The painting was unknown prior to this date.\textsuperscript{160} It entered the collection without attribution and was first given to the Mantuan painter Giambattista Barca (1594-c.1650) despite the fact that the painting is inscribed with the year it was completed (1533), which was a full sixty-one years before Barca was born.\textsuperscript{161} Nevertheless the

\textsuperscript{157} The other Giustiniani altarpieces produced in the 1500s were Girolamo Santacroce’s 1525 altarpiece and Pordenone’s 1528-30 altarpiece (both for the Madonna dell’Orto), Girolamo dai Libri’s 1526 altarpiece and Moretto da Brescia’s 1545-50 altarpiece for San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia.


\textsuperscript{159} Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona., inv. 6621-1B2435. Monga was a Veronese aristocratic and dilettante archeologist most notable for rescuing Verona’s Roman Theater from under the many houses built atop it over the centuries. (Antonio Avena, “Catalogo della pinacoteca Monga,” Madonna Verona aprile-settembre, Anno VIII, n. 2-3, no. Fase. 30-31 (1914): 117.)

\textsuperscript{160} This would account for its absence in the literature except that all the materials written about Giustiniani’s cult and the development of his iconography post-dates the Monga donation of 1911.

\textsuperscript{161} The 1911 inventory of the vast collection of 586 works of art, including medals, paintings, manuscripts and sculptures that were part of Monga’s gift also noted that the painting bore the 1533 date. The erroneous attribution could have been the result of a note in the inventory that described the work as “conservatissimo” and so it was thought to be more recent based upon its condition. (Avena (1914): 117.) Vignola’s 1911 inventory confirms the visibility of the date: “Dipinto conservatissimo con epigrafe del MDXXXIII.” (Vignola (1911): n. 547.)
altarpiece retained the erroneous attribution until the late 1970s when conservators cleaned it for the first time.\textsuperscript{162}

At that point Sergio Marinelli recognized it as the work of Francesco Torbido (1482-5-1561/2), often referred to simply as il Moro, the Venetian painter whom Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti enlisted to paint the frescoes in the choir of the Duomo of Verona (Fig. 113).\textsuperscript{163} These were completed the year after the altarpiece in question. Marinelli identified Torbido by comparing the use of color and manneristic style of the Giustiniani altarpiece with analogous elements in this artist’s documented Duomo frescoes. He also pointed out the clear similarities between the composition of the Giustiniani altarpiece and Torbido’s Santa Barbara in Glory with Saints Anthony Abbot and Roch (1538-40; Fig. 141) in the church of Sant’Eufemia in Verona. Marinelli’s attribution is strengthened by recognizing the resemblance between the Giustiniani altarpiece and the Madonna and Child Enthroned between Saints Francis and George (1500-2; Fig. 142), frequently referred to as the Castelfranco altarpiece, by Torbido’s teacher, Giorgione (c.1477-1510).\textsuperscript{164} Torbido was Venetian by birth, and according to Vasari trained with Giorgione until the early 1500s when Torbido relocated to Verona and began working in the workshop of Liberale da Verona. Giorgione’s influence upon Torbido is apparent in the Giustiniani altarpiece’s softly modeled colors and shadow and in its composition, specifically the elevated central figure, triangular composition, strong diagonal on the left side and shining armor of the figure of Saint George on the right.

\textsuperscript{162} Registrar’s records at the Museo di Castelvecchio state R. Redrocco and S. Stevanato cleaned it in 1976.

\textsuperscript{163} Marinelli published his attribution and a brief analysis of the work in 1979 as a catalogue entry for Museo di Castelvecchio’s exhibition of their recently-restored paintings. Marinelli (1979): 45 fig. 22, 46 and 48.

Iconography

Torbido has placed Giustiniani upon a high throne and at the apex of a sacra conversazione the Archangel Michael on the composition’s left and Saint George on the right. The iconography of the altarpiece embodies the status Giustiniani had garnered by 1533. He is dressed as the Patriarch of Venice in the office’s emblematic crimson cope of sumptuous velvet stamped with a rose and pomegranate pattern. With his left hand he holds his bishop’s cross and two putti crown him with his miter. His likeness, with gaunt face, raised hand and the simple robes of a Canon under his cope, harkens back to the first two portraits created in Venice immediately after his death. In anticipation of his canonization, the artist has given Giustiniani a large halo that appears as diffused light emanating from behind his head; this corona is in contrast to the more defined, yet smaller haloes of the two warrior saints in the painting’s lower register. The base of the throne bears a fictive inscription that gives the date of the painting, 1533, and designates Lorenzo Giustiniani as Divine, the first Patriarch of Venice, and the founder “of this” monastery of the Canons.

On the left of the throne is the winged Saint Michael who is dressed in a blue cuirass with a green skirt and golden greaves. He stands upon and looks down towards the conquered figure of Satan whose hands have sharp claws and whose lower body resembles a sea creature. Michael’s left hand holds a balance and his other a long spear

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165 This format was a typically Venetian arrangement until the first decade of the 1500s. It was usually reserved for the Virgin and accompanying saints. For a discussion of the evolution of the format in Venetian art see Patricia Meilman, Titian and the Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10-16.
167 DIVVS LAURENTIUS JUSTINIANUS VENETIARUM PROTOPATRIARCHA / HUIUS MONASTERII / REGULORUM ORDINIS CANONICORUM VITAEQVE INSTITUTOR / MDXXXIII. The case of the pronoun huius—meaning “of this”—is worth noting because as the possessive singular form of hic it points to the monastery as if were immediately present.
which he raises aloft in preparation to plunging it into the demon underfoot. Torbido
included Michael in this composition for two possible reasons. Giustiniani was especially
devoted to him as his appearance in the altarpiece that hung across from the effigy of
Giustiniani in his burial chapel in San Pietro in Castello attests. Second, the Canons’
second house in Verona, Sant’Angiolo in Monte (also known as San Michele in Monte),
was dedicated to him.168

Saint George is positioned on the other side of Giustiniani’s throne, and also
stands upon a defeated foe, in this case, a dragon. George is bearded and dressed in a full
suit of armor with a sword on his left hip but without gauntlets and helmet. The staff of a
flowing green banner rests easily between the fingers of both his hands. The angle of the
staff across the picture plane is the mirror image of Michael’s spear on the other side of
the composition. George turns to face Giustiniani above and each returns the other’s
gaze. The two men are linked further by George’s green banner which encircles his head
and seems to flow under Giustiniani’s red cope. The primary reason the Secular Canons
were devoted to the warrior saint George was because they founded their congregation in
San Giorgio in Alga, a church that had been dedicated to this saint since the eleventh
century. George’s role as brave knight who defeated the dragon can be seen as analogous
to the Canons overcoming corruption in the Church; George also renounced all his
worldly possessions to join the Christian faith.169 The Secular Canons at San Giorgio in
Braidà were doubly dedicated to Saint George as he was the eponymous saint of their
Veronese house, and it seems likely that he was included because he personified the
church of San Giorgio in Braidà as it was the location of the altarpiece.

168 Biancolini (1749): vol. ii, 484.
169 De Voragine (1900): vol. III, 125.
**Original location of Torbido’s painting**

The inscription and iconography in this powerful representation of the Canons’ most venerated member and symbol indicate that it was created for a monastery belonging to the Canons of San Giorgio in Alga, though its original location has been debated. In his report of 1979 that attributed the altarpiece to Torbido, Marinelli noted that the painting could have been created for San Giorgio in Braida but was moved—to where he did not say—in the mid-1500s when Sanmicheli renovated the complex.¹⁷⁰ I agree that Torbido’s altarpiece was originally located in San Giorgio in Braida. But I go further and argue that it was commissioned by the Canons there in tandem with the marble frame designed by Michele Sanmicheli for the chapel dedicated to Giustiniani (Fig. 123). Furthermore, it seems probable that the frame also contained the lunette of God the Father and the Holy Spirit currently installed above Dai Libri’s painting (Fig 149), as well as three predella panels with scenes of Giustiniani’s miracles and his death (Fig. 147). I disagree with Marinelli’s assertion that the altarpiece was moved when Sanmicheli renovated the complex and instead propose that it was precisely for this renovation that Torbido produced his painting.

More recently, Marina Repetto Contaldo argued that Torbido’s *Giustiniani* altarpiece was commissioned by the Canons for their second Veronese house, Sant’Angiolo in Monte (San Michele in Monte). She based her argument upon the fact that three inventories of the church, the earliest of which was dated 1695, and several written accounts from 1720 onward consistently refer to an ancient painting containing the church’s namesake, Saint Michael, which subsequently entered the Monga

I share Repetto Contaldo’s belief that by 1695 Torbido’s painting was in Sant’Angiolo in Monte but assert that the painting was there by that date not because it was commissioned for the church but rather because it was moved there from San Giorgio in Braida after 1536. Torbido’s Giustiniani altarpiece would have been in place when Bishop Giberti consecrated the first three of the church’s twelve altars in 1536. Also by this date, Torbido’s good friend, Michele Sanmicheli, would have furnished it with the marble frame. The timing of the altarpiece would have been in keeping with the completion of the nave and the consecration by Giberti.

The cloister inscription is invaluable for the history of the consecration of the church and altars. In the absence of further documentation it raises more questions than it answers. But the questions that are the most perplexing regarding the history of the art in the church, and at the root of all other questions, are which two altars were “moved

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172 For instance, why does the inscription list twelve altars when the church has only eleven? Why is the altar dedicated to San Barnaba (on the right of the crossing under the cantoria) not mentioned, and does its absence mean that two of the altars consecrated by Giberti in 1536 were reconsecrated in 1543 and that the San Barnaba altar was added after 1543? If the last altar on the right of the nave was one of the first to be consecrated in 1536 (it is the only one mentioned by name in the inscription), why did it take forty-six years for an altarpiece, Felice Brusasorci’s Virgin Assunta and the Three Archangels of 1582, to be placed above its altar? Some of these questions are answered in the next chapter.

Only information contained in a document recording the event will answer these questions definitively. Unfortunately, this document has yet to be discovered in the archives, though presumably it exists since a similar decree documenting the consecration of the Madonna dell’Orto in 1542 (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, Madonna dell’Orto, 1779) was found there by Douglas-Scott. (Douglas-Scott (1995): Appendix III, doc. 28.)
afterwards from their places” following the 1536 consecration, and why?\textsuperscript{173} It is most often assumed that the fourth altar on the left (the one dedicated to Giustiniani, Zeno and Pope Sylvester that today contains Dai Libri’s altarpiece) was one of the two altars, according to the cloister inscription, that was moved after Bishop Giberti consecrated three altars in 1536. The reason it was moved, according to most scholars, was because the altarpiece’s marble frame that is now in place, replaced a temporary wooden structure after 1536.\textsuperscript{174} Scholars have argued that the second altar removed by the Canons was Gian Francesco Caroto’s \textit{Saint George and the Princess} which was on the high altar. This was because Caroto’s narrative scene of Saint George as a knight slaying the dragon lacked the power to teach and inspire the viewer at a time when the Council of Trent was instituting new church reforms.\textsuperscript{175} However, not all agree with these assumptions. Two scholars have suggested that the third altar on the right (I in Fig. 99) was one of the altars consecrated in 1536 that was moved afterwards (they did not suggest which was the second) because it was first dedicated to Saint George only to be reconsecrated to the Apostles in 1543.\textsuperscript{176} This line of reasoning is based upon the fact that the altar frame in this chapel contains a stucco image of Saint George (Fig. 143), which must reflect its prior dedication, as the frame on the altar dedicated to Mary Magdalene (K in Fig. 99) contains a stucco image of her (Fig. 144). Another historian also used the iconography

\textsuperscript{173} \textit{POSTEA LOCIS AMOTA FVERE.”} See the complete transcription and translation of the cloister inscription in Appendix III.


\textsuperscript{175} See Chapter Six.

\textsuperscript{176} Trecca (1930): 99 and Brugnoli (1954): 34.
present on the frame to determine the chapel’s previous dedication. Biancolini saw the carved image of a dove in the pediment (Fig. 184) as proof the altar was dedicated to the Holy Spirit in 1536.\textsuperscript{177} The compiler of the inventory of the church made in 1668 immediately following the Congregation’s suppression agreed with Biancolini and also read the iconography of the frame and/or altarpiece as representing an altar dedicated to the “Spirito Santo”.\textsuperscript{178} All these arguments have merit, but the high altar was already dedicated to Saint Peter, Paul and George in 1504, displayed Caroto’s \textit{Saint George and the Princess} since c.1535, was not reconstructed following Sanmicheli’s designs until the 1550s and thus was not one of the altars dedicated in 1536 that was “moved afterward.” Gian Francesco Caroto’s triptych above the third altar on the left (C in Fig. 99) was already in place and functioning by c.1512 and so that altar was not dedicated in 1536.\textsuperscript{179} I agree with Brugnoli who speculated that the third altar on the right (I in Fig. 99) was dedicated to Saint George in 1536 and rededicated to the Apostles in 1543. And I agree that the fourth altar on the left was among this group (D in Fig. 99). However, I maintain that as early as 1534 Michele Sanmicheli’s marble frame was completed and housed Francesco Torbido’s altarpiece of Lorenzo Giustiniani. This would mean that the altarpiece was not removed in order to install the marble frame as some scholars have

\textsuperscript{177} Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 488.

\textsuperscript{178} ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, I, fol. 259v. The compiler was evidently judging the dedication of the church’s altars based upon the imagery of their altarpiece in at least two other instances. He identified the altar dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani, San Zeno and Pope Sylvester, which contained Girolamo dai Libri’s \textit{Madonna and Child with Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and San Zeno} as being dedicated to the Blessed Virgin (“All’Altar dell B.V.”), and the altar dedicated to Saints Sebastian and Roch and the Holy Trinity, which contained Gian Francesco Caroto’s triptych featuring the \textit{Portacroce} in the center, as dedicated to the Body of Christ (“Altare del Corpo di Christo”). (See ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, I, fol. 258v.)

\textsuperscript{179} It was rededicated in 1543 most likely because Domenico Brusasorci’s painting of the \textit{Healing of the Child Possessed by a Demon} was installed in the existing frame.
The beauty of the marble frame, together with the iconography of Torbido’s painting, run counter to Giberti’s requirements that the worshipper not be distracted from the Eucharist and the high altar by the form or dedicant of a side altar. So that altarpiece and its predella were removed after 1536. The altar was reconsecrated in 1543 because Dai Libri’s altarpiece had been moved from Sant’Angiolo in Monte and installed in San Giorgio in Braida by then.

**Torbido’s relationships with Sanmicheli, Bishop Giberti and Girolamo dai Libri**

The Canons at San Giorgio in Braida seem to have employed Veronese artists exclusively prior to 1533. When Francesco Torbido dated his painting in that year he became the first foreign (and Venetian) artist to work in the church. His presence there is not unusual when we realize that by that date Torbido was working under Bishop Giberti as he was the artist commissioned by the Bishop to paint the Duomo frescoes that were completed in 1534. Torbido was also a close friend of Michele Sanmicheli, the architect who was charged with remaking the interior of San Giorgio in Braida. He was acquainted with Girolamo dai Libri, who had created manuscripts for the Canons, as the two had collaborated on the Saint Anne altarpiece for Santa Maria della Scala in 1518 (Figs. 100 & 101). In sum, Francesco Torbido was a part of the religious and artistic community that was operating at San Giorgio in Braida in the early 1530s and could have been introduced to the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida by any one of these men.

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182 See Chapter Two. Torbido’s painting of Saint Sebastian is now lost.
Michele Sanmicheli’s marble frame

The workmanship and preciousness of the materials used to make the frame above the Giustiniani altar in San Giorgio in Braida highlight the chapel’s significance. The frame is the only one in the nave that is so elaborately and finely carved, and the only one constructed of white and colored marble (Fig. 123). Pierpaolo Brugnoli was the first to attribute the frame to Michele Sanmicheli and to date it to the interval between 1536, the year Bishop Giberti consecrated four altars in the church, and 1543 when the rest of the altars were dedicated. He based his opinions upon the similarities between certain aspects of the frame and several projects in Verona with which Sanmicheli was engaged during that period, especially the Cappella Pellegrini. He also noted that Sanmicheli was at San Giorgio in Braida working on the cupola before 1540 when we know the Canons commissioned Moretto da Brescia and Girolamo Romanino to embellish the organ and the altar below it. I see a greater connection between Sanmicheli’s work in San Giorgio in Braida and the Pellegrini chapel in San Bernardino (begun in 1528), more than just between the balustrade and dome of the Pellegrini and the interior of the dome in San Giorgio in Braida. The frame for the Giustiniani chapel bears a striking resemblance to the main altar in the Pellegrini Chapel (Fig. 122). Both are raised on a plinth and resemble a triumphal arch containing a lunette of God the Father. In addition, they are both framed by columns with near identical Corinthian capitals similar in form to the Arco dei Gavi (Fig. 13) and to the portal of the Palazzo del Podestà, which was

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183 All the other altar frames are wood and painted to look like marble.  
constructed in 1532/3.¹⁸⁵ I agree with Brugnoli’s attribution but contend that the frame was completed earlier—by 1533—because it was needed to house the painting commissioned in celebration of Giustiniani’s elevation to Beato. If so it was the first project in San Giorgio in Braida to which Sanmicheli contributed.

Sanmicheli’s frame currently contains Dai Libri’s *Madonna and Child* altarpiece. But the painting, at 228 x 185 cm (7.48 x 6.07 ft), is too big for the opening in the frame and consequently the frame’s inner columns obscure all four of the painting’s corners, including part of the inscription in the lower register that bears the date and artist’s name (Figs. 145 & 146). This suggests one of two things: either the stonemason and painter did not ensure that the respective dimensions of their projects matched, which is highly unlikely given the importance of the chapel, or, as I contend, the frame was not built to house Dai Libri’s large painting. By contrast, Torbido’s *Giustiniani* altarpiece is one foot narrower and slightly shorter (224 x 155 cm or 7.38 x 5.09 ft) than Dai Libri’s. Therefore it would fit comfortably in the frame and between the inner columns. Two small symmetrical abrasions on both sides of the altarpiece close to its upper edge corroborate this theory since they suggest that the very edge of the impost block above the columns came in contact with the painting only at these points (Fig. 140). With Torbido’s painting inserted into the frame there would have been enough space between the base of the canvas and the altar table for a predella containing significant scenes from Giustiniani’s life to be inserted below.

¹⁸⁵ King (1996): 182. The Pellegrini altarpiece of Saint Anne by Bernardino d’India and the lunette and paintings flanking the main altar by Pasquale Ottino were designed specifically for the marble frame and were installed in the late 1500s. See also Langenskiöld (1938): 273.
Predella panels of two of Giustiniani’s miracles and his death

Predella panels of narrative scenes from a saint’s life often accompanied large altarpieces of the same saint enthroned or in a similar static pose. Torbido’s altarpiece was no exception. It was joined in Sanmicheli’s frame by three small predella panels, now in a private collection, that illustrate scenes from the life and death of the enthroned Giustiniani above (Fig. 147).

In order to be considered for canonization, one needed to have performed at least two miracles during life. Lorenzo performed many miracles, all of which his nephew Bernardo Giustiniani dutifully recorded in his Vita of 1475. Two of them were of particular significance and were the ones chosen for two of the predella panels. These panels therefore complete the life story of the titular saint above. In each Giustiniani is shown with a multi-point gold halo, which further reinforces the message of the altarpiece above, that Giustiniani should be considered a saint. Another link between the predella panels and the altarpiece above are the vestments Giustiniani wears in the altarpiece and the two panels showing his miracles. Both Dai Libri’s and Torbido’s compositions show Giustiniani in the same scarlet red robes embossed with the pomegranate but the robes worn by him in Torbido’s painting match the style of those worn by Giustiniani in the predella panels.

The first panel shows one of Giustiniani’s miracles, his exorcism of demons from a possessed woman, as described by his nephew Bernardo (Fig. 147a). This miracle demonstrated Lorenzo’s humility, power to heal and “ability to detect and catch evil spirits.” 186

186 Giustiniani (1475): §43.
There was a woman who was foaming at the mouth and gritting her teeth…Lorenzo said, ‘You have brought me this demon as if I were an apostle? Go, brothers, and find one more saintly than I, because I am only a sheep.’ The people urged him on even more and fell to their knees and said, ‘Come on, validate your faith, as it benefitted Canonites [Matthew 15: 21-28] and the Centurians [Matthew 8: 5-13].’ Lorenzo put his hand on the head of the possessed and said, ‘Why, wicked demon, have you come to torment this poor woman? Is there no end to your pride, which you had when you were expelled from heaven? Aren’t you ashamed to struggle with a simple woman? Up, leave it to be: the Lord Jesus is hunting for you.’ Lorenzo made the sign of the cross. While [he] was speaking, the arrogance and the ugliness of the crooked mouth went away and the pallid face returned to normal. She was liberated before the eyes of all the stupefied witnesses who remained in awe of God’s omnipotence.

The artist painted Giustiniani dressed in the blue robes of a Secular Canon under a white rochet, or a bishop’s knee-length white linen vestment, and surrounded by three of his brethren. Giustiniani raises his left hand and points heavenward while his right hand gestures toward the slumped woman who is being supported by two men in black vests. Above her two black, winged demons appear to have just escaped from the top of her head. The whole scene takes place indoors in a nondescript room with a high, barred window. A watery landscape with a gondolier and his boat gliding by lies just beyond the right of the wall of the room.

The second miracle illustrated in the center predella panel was Giustiniani’s mysterious appearance to a nun to whom he brought the Eucharist (Fig. 147b). In it, Giustiniani appears twice. According to Bernardo Giustiniani, this event was “rare for its importance” and demonstrated “the angelic kind of life [Lorenzo] led.” It is also the

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187 An older woman with her head shrouded in white (she could be a nun) stands behind the two men and the woman while a grey-bearded man in black cap and gown stands on the far left of the canvas with his hands raised in amazement and his back to the viewer.
second example in the *Vita* of a moment of extreme reverence when Giustiniani became lost in ecstasy while praying upon the Eucharist.\(^{188}\)

A nun lived in great sanctity for many years, she was consecrated by God and constantly dedicated herself to abstinence, vigil and prayer. On the Feast of Corpus Christi, she nor the other sisters could receive Holy Communion. This nun was most saddened of all. They sent a petition to Lorenzo who was in the area of their convent that said it was not possible for them to take communion and that at least he could decide to pray for her during the religious celebration of the divine mysteries. Lorenzo was celebrating mass in front of the congregation. He entered into ecstasy and is led by the Spirit of God to the holy nun, who was in her cell contemplating divine truth and her desire to receive the Eucharist. And he administered the holy communion [to her] in a mysterious way that only God knows. He did not have sight of the congregation until he returned himself from the ministry of the communion and he continued until the end of the sermon. The nun reported to a priest what happened, and the priest [reported the incident] to the Patriarch [Lorenzo]. Lorenzo enjoined them to give thanks to the Lord and not to him, and not to speak of it again, as long as he was alive.

The miracle, as seen in the predella, takes place in two rooms separated by a wall. The room on the right with one large bifurcated window is presumably the interior of the church since Giustiniani is shown facing the altar and praying.\(^{189}\) A wall separates this scene from the one on the left where Giustiniani appears again, this time in bust length and supported by clouds. With his left hand he is offering the Eucharist to a kneeling nun dressed in black.

The third and final predella panel shows an interior scene of the deceased Lorenzo Giustiniani laid out on his bier and dressed in his patriarchal vestments (Fig. 147c). Outside in a gondola-hearse on the right side of the composition, two Secular Canons, identified by their blue attire, gesture toward the two angels carrying Giustiniani’s spirit

\(^{188}\) Giustiniani (1475): §16 and §46.

\(^{189}\) Upon the altar is the chalice with the Eucharist upon it and next to it an open book. Giustiniani is dressed in the robes of the Patriarchate and accompanied by three Secular Canons.
heavenward. Inside the building, six more Secular Canons attend the Patriarch while four men in black berets stand at the foot of the bier. Two of the men look up and across the composition to the rising soul of Giustiniani while one looks over his shoulder and gestures upward with his left hand and the fourth man, in black and with a beard, looks out toward the viewer.

The action takes place in the church of San Giorgio in Alga. We know this was meant to be the location of the scene because of the resemblance between the fictive church retrofaçade and piazza beyond, and the known appearance of the retrofaçade of San Giorgio in Alga and the piazza opposite which had steps leading to the water’s edge (as seen in Figs. 5, 45 & 62). In the predella this is where the gondola-hearse has just disembarked. San Giorgio in Alga is not where Giustiniani died, however, nor is it where he was transported after his death, despite his dying wishes. Bernardo tells us that his uncle’s “entire testament consisted of ordering that his body, without any pomp was transported to his monastery [San Giorgio in Alga], which is two miles from the city, to be buried among his brothers.”\(^{190}\) In this predella, the holy man’s wish has been fulfilled.

Recently scholars have dated these panels to c.1500. They attribute them to Francesco Morone (1471-1529), who they say also painted the lunette of God the Father above.\(^ {191}\) This would mean that the artist painted the panels a full quarter century before the altarpiece above. I submit that Giovanni Caroto (1488-1563/6) painted the panels and left his self portrait as proof. He is probably the second figure from the left in the panel showing Giustinianii’s funeral (Fig. 147c). The figure looks out at the viewer and is the only one in all three panels to wear a beard. This man bears a striking resemblance to the

\(^{190}\) Giustiniani (1475): §57.
man in a double portrait from Santa Maria in Organo and now in the Museo Castelvecchio in Verona that is supposed to be Caroto and his wife Placida (Fig. 148). Giovanni Caroto had an established relationship with the Canons since he had worked for them on another project: “For the prior of San Giorgio [Giovanni Caroto] painted a picture of Our Lady which, as a good picture, was then as it is now in the room of the prior.”

These panels have previously been associated with the Sanmicheli frame in San Giorgio in Braida. But the scholars who made this argument believed the panels were meant to accompany Dai Libri’s painting, not Torbido’s. They argued that they must have accompanied an altarpiece dedicated to Giustiniani and, thinking the altar in San Giorgio in Braida was the only one in Verona dedicated to Lorenzo Giustiniani, concluded that the panels originally must have been below the altarpiece on this altar. Following this line of thinking, the panels would have to have been located below the painting in the narrow space currently covered by a strip of wood painted white with grey rectangles to resemble the marble inlay of the pediment and the column bases cover the space between Girolamo’s work and the marble retable below (Fig. 145). This would have been a tight, if not impossible fit since the predella panels each measure 32 x 56 cm (12.5 x 22 in) and the space below dai Libri’s painting is less than that height. Torbido’s canvas is only a little shorter, but enough to accommodate the predella panels below it in

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194 Friedländer (1925): n. 4 as cited in Peretti (2006): 348. Peretti based his argument upon the Veronese provenance of the panels and the belief that this altar was the only one in town dedicated to Giustiniani. See also Molteni (2002): 158.
the frame. Furthermore, the predella panels’ propagandistic message was not consistent with the meditative nature of Dai Libri’s altarpiece that some propose the predella once accompanied.

**Lunette of God the Father**

As was the case with Santacroce’s now-destroyed *Giustiniani* altarpiece in San Giorgio in Alga, a lunette also surmounted Torbido’s painting of the enthroned Lorenzo Giustiniani (still *in situ*; Fig. 149). But instead of the Madonna and Child, the lunette in San Giorgio in Braida contains God the Father with his hands raised in the position of an orant, palms toward the viewers as if he has just released the Dove of the Holy Spirit to the altarpiece below.195 Unlike the case in San Giorgio in Alga where Santacroce painted both the lunette and the *Giustiniani* altarpiece below, the lunette in Verona was painted by a different artist.196 Scholars often assert Gian Francesco Caroto’s pupil, Domenico Brusasorci (1515-1567) painted the lunette between 1536 and 1543,197 though Francesco Morone (1471-1529) has also been proposed.198 If, as I maintain, the lunette was painted in tandem with Torbido’s *Giustiniani* altarpiece, then it must date to 1533 and Domenico may have been the author. But God the Father, the Dove and the clouds in the lunette are almost identical to Francesco Morone’s *Altarpiece of the Trinity* for the Fumanelli Chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria Nuova in Verona from c.1529 (now in the Museo di

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195 The lunette measures 100 x 200 cm (3.28 x 6.56 ft).
196 It was common practice in Verona for artists to collaborate on artistic commissions. For example, Girolamo dai Libri and Francesco Morone produced the predella and altarpiece, respectively, for the Cappella di San Biagio in SS. Nazaro e Celso and this pair of artists collaborated on the organ doors for Santa Maria in Organo.
Castelvecchio, Verona; Fig. 150), suggesting Morone painted the lunette at the very end of his life.

God the Father emerges from an opening in a bank of clouds that is ringed by the heads of seraphim. All of the altarpieces in San Giorgio in Braida contain some intercessory figure or the Dove of the Holy Spirit in their upper register, but this is the only instance where the heavenly entrant appears painted on a separate canvas that was mounted above the main altarpiece. Torbido painted Lorenzo Giustiniani in the act of benediction, but he is also gesturing toward God the Father above while Saint George is looking up to Giustiniani who is interceding on his behalf. Therefore, the narrative of Torbido’s altarpiece would be more clearly articulated with the lunette of God the Father above it.

The lunette of God the Father was intended to surmount Torbido’s Giustiniani altarpiece, and not Dai Libri’s; two further elements support this pairing. One is the stylistic and perspectival differences between the lunette and Dai Libri’s painting.199 The second is the clouds that seem to have come from beyond the upper limit of the composition billowing behind Giustiniani. They also encircle the two angels crowning Giustiniani. If one imagines the lunette placed above, one realizes that the clouds surrounding God are the source of those in Torbido’s composition and that the clouds in the lunette and altarpiece are one and the same. The clouds are the element that unifies the two canvases and symbolizes the divinity of God and the notion that he has ordained the proceedings.

199 Ibid., 157-158 says all through the 1800s only two scholars mention the lunette: Giovanni Maria Rossi, Nuova guida di Verona e della sua Provincia (Verona: a spese dell’autore (Tip. Frizierio), 1854), 273 and Cavalcaselle and Crowe (1871): 496 (who says the painting lacks liquidity because it was largely repainted).
Perhaps the most compelling evidence suggesting that the lunette was not intended to accompany Dai Libri’s canvas is the truncated tree behind the Virgin’s throne (Figs. 110 & 151). Knowing that the tree in this painting is meant to symbolize Mary, the Tree of Life and Giustiniani’s first religious treaty *Lignum vitae*, it is doubtful that the Canons would have allowed such an important symbol to be rendered in an abbreviated way. I assert that Dai Libri’s altarpiece originally occupied a round-headed frame and that the top of the apple tree, the base of which is visible behind the throne, filled its upper register. This motif would have been in keeping with Dai Libri’s custom of painting behind the throne of the Virgin enormous trees filled with symbolic meaning, such as in his *Madonna and Child* of c.1520 (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fig. 152)\(^{200}\) or in his *Madonna dell’Ombrello* of c.1533 (now in the Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona; Fig. 153).\(^{201}\) I contend that Dai Libri’s altarpiece was originally in Sant’Angiolo in Monte. But when it was relocated to San Giorgio in Braida it was cut down in order to fit it into the marble frame originally containing Torbido’s painting. The switch was made after Bishop Giberti’s consecration in 1536 and instruction that the decorative program of the nave, in this case the altarpiece of the enthroned Giustiniani, not outshine the high altar.\(^{202}\)

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\(^{200}\) The altarpiece’s complete title is the *Madonna and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria, Leonard, Augustine, and Apollonia and Angels*. It was painted for the Augustinian church of San Leonardo nel Monte outside Verona in c.1520. Giorgio Vasari described it at length in his *Vita* of Girolamo dai Libri. He especially admired the landscape and enormous laurel tree, which when juxtaposed with the dead tree next to it, symbolized Christ’s resurrection. (Vasari (1568): 327-331.) See also Bryson Burroughs, “The Acquisition of a Girolamo dai Libri,” *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* xv, no. 6 (1920).

\(^{201}\) The altarpiece’s complete title is the *Madonna and Child with Saint Joseph and Archangel Raphael and Tobias*. It was painted for the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Verona. Castiglioni and Peretti, eds. (2008): 112-115 and *Museo di Castelvecchio: catalogo generale dei dipinti e delle miniature delle collezioni civiche veronesi*. vol. I. Dalla fine del X all’inizio del XVI secolo (Cinisello Balsamo (Milano): Silvana, 2010), 358-359.

\(^{202}\) This decree prefigured Council of Trent’s December 1563 decree forbidding an altarpiece featuring an un-canonized figure, which is reproduced in part on page 285, note 3.
**Conclusion**

Giustiniani’s iconography evolved over time as the Church rewarded the Venetian with increasingly distinguished posthumous titles. Within the context of the Congregation, Giustiniani’s presence in each of its houses was evidence of a desire for the organization’s glory and a symbol of the power and sanctity of its orthodoxy. In Verona specifically, Giustiniani’s imagery suited the needs of the audience in each original location.

In 1526, Lorenzo Giustiniani had been recognized as a Beato for only two years, and the Canons at Sant’Angiolo in Monte were still in the midst of outfitting their church with devotional imagery and had Girolamo dai Libri paint his *Madonna and Child with Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and San Zeno* for the chapel in that church dedicated to Giustiniani. The painting’s iconography commemorated Giustiniani’s changed status and aided the Canons’ assimilation into their new surroundings by honoring the local patron saint. But because it was intended for the Canons, the painting mainly emphasized Lorenzo’s biography, writings and the mode of worship practiced by the Canons themselves.

By contrast, Francesco Torbido’s *Giustiniani* altarpiece was much more overt in promoting Giustiniani’s sanctity and was placed in the nave of one of the largest and wealthiest churches in Verona. In 1533 when the altarpiece was completed, Giustiniani was still only a Beato but he was shown as a canonized saint who is interceding on behalf of canonized saints.203 Three predella panels visualized two of Giustiniani’s miracles and

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203 Giustiniani is shown blessing Saints George and Michael, the two saints for whom the Canons’ church in Verona were named. This pose may have been the same one used by Santacroce in his *Giustiniani* altarpiece for the Madonna dell’Orto. Though the Vatican description indicated that Lorenzo was enthroned and above the two kneeling Canons and Saints Stephen and Lawrence, this altarpiece was
his death and the Eternal Father ordained the enthroned figure of Giustiniani. All these elements reinforced the message of the altarpiece and were contained within the elaborate marble frame designed by Michele Sanmicheli that, through its magnificence, highlighted Giustiniani’s importance to an even greater extent.

Torbido’s painting was likely in place when three altars were consecrated by Bishop Giberti in 1536, the fourth altars on the left and the right and the third altar on the right. It seems, then, that after this ceremony Bishop Giberti ordered Torbido’s altarpiece to be removed because its iconography was so unorthodox; the Canons replaced it with Dai Libri’s *Madonna and Child* and the altar in San Giorgio in Braida was reconsecrated in 1543 as a result. Torbido’s painting was ten placed above the altar in Sant’Angiolo in Monte that had been left empty.

There were precedents for moving altarpieces among the Congregation’s churches and within San Giorgio in Braida. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the Venetian Canons transferred Santacroce’s *Giustiniani* altarpiece from Madonna dell’Orto to San Giorgio in Alga around 1527. Sometime before 1642, they relocated Cima’s *Adoration with Lorenzo Giustiniani* from the sacristy in San Giorgio in Alga, where Sansovino destroyed so we are unable to determine Giustiniani’s exact pose. Could he, like Torbido’s Giustiniani, have been acting as intercessor between these saints and the Virgin and Child above in the lunette? This is impossible to know, but he very well may have been since the artists were known to have looked to earlier images of Giustiniani for their inspiration. Perhaps Torbido copied this pose from Santacroce in the same way he coopted the other elements from his teacher Giorgione.

It was common in Verona during this period for two or more artists to collaborate on church decorations, such as chapels, organs and altars. One instance where many artists worked together is in the Chapel of San Biagio in Santi Nazaro e Celso. Francesco Bonsignori painted the altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child in Glory and Saints Biagio, Sebastian and Guliana* and Girolamo dai Libri painted the predella. The walls and dome of the chapels were frescoed by a number of Veronese artists including Bartolomeo Montagna, Domenico Morone, Falconetto and Paolo Cavazzola. See Federico Dal Forno, *La Cappella di San Biagio nella Chiesa dei Santi Nazaro e Celso a Verona* (Verona: Associazione regionale Veneta mutilati della voce, 1989).

The third altar on the left was decorated and functioning by c.1512. So with the consecration of these additional three altars, the front half of the church was fully functional by 1536.
recorded it in 1581,\textsuperscript{206} to the chapel of the Virgin where Tomasini saw it.\textsuperscript{207} And in San Giorgio in Braida, the Veronese Canons moved paintings at least twice: Paolo Veronese’s *Martyrdom of Saint George* replaced Gian Francesco Caroto’s *Saint George and the Dragon* around 1566 and his *San Barnaba* altarpiece replaced Moretto’s *Santa Cecilia* under the organ.\textsuperscript{208} Therefore, the Canons would have viewed the exchange of Torbido’s painting in San Giorgio in Braida for Dai Libri’s altarpiece in Sant’Angiolo in Monte as a normal practice. Moreover, if Santacroce’s painting was moved away from the general public and reform-minded objectors to the secluded safety of the island of San Giorgio in Alga because its inscription prematurely labeled Giustiniani as a Beatus and the composition showed him enthroned with a huge halo, then it is not outrageous to assume that Torbido’s altarpiece suffered a similar fate. Torbido’s altarpiece was replaced by Dai Libri’s more decorous depiction of Giustiniani because Giberti demanded the side altars not outshine the high altar where the Host was kept, and because he recognized the controversial nature of an altarpiece of an uncanonized saint.

**Images of Giustiniani and the Council of Trent**

The transformations taking place in the Church during the first years of the Council of Trent necessitated a rethinking of Lorenzo’s portrayal as a canonized saint. Thus, Giustiniani’s iconography became more muted and the altarpieces dedicated to him took on a more subtle appearance. The best example is Moretto da Brescia’s *Madonna in Glory with San Giovanni Evangelista, Lorenzo Giustiniani and Divine Wisdom* of c.1545

\textsuperscript{206} Sansovino and Martinioni (1604 (1663)): 86b.
\textsuperscript{207} Tomasini (1642): 227.
\textsuperscript{208} Chapter Five examines in depth the histories of these two paintings by Paolo Veronese.
for the altar dedicated to Giustiniani in San Pietro in Oliveto, Brescia (Fig. 154). The aureole that surrounded Lorenzo’s head in most previous paintings (the golden half dome surrounding Giustiniani’s head in Pordenone’s canvas for the Madonna dell’Orto was a creative solution to saint-making without overstepping the protocol of decorum) is now a gentle glow. Giustiniani has returned to his role as a scholarly mystic and shares the stone bench with Divine Wisdom and Saint John the Evangelist who is engaged in writing. Giustiniani himself is writing and has looked up mid-pen stroke to meditate on the Virgin and Child to whom Divine Wisdom is pointing. Giustiniani has also shed his Patriarchal accoutrements and is dressed as a Canon, the bishop’s miter and staff resting behind him are the only reminders of his ecclesiastical office. New commissions for altarpieces of Lorenzo Giustiniani abruptly stopped the year Moretto da Brescia completed his work. Only after the Council of Trent promulgated the decrees from its twenty-fifth session in early December 1563 did the Canons again pay tribute to their most venerated former member, this time in the guise of Saint Lawrence.

Giustiniani’s likeness flourished in the art produced in Venice, the Veneto and as far afield as Portugal after the sanctioning of his cult. This was most notable in the years leading up to his canonization in 1690 after which time he became the local and principal saint of Venice along with Saint Mark and the Virgin Annunciate. Lorenzo Giustiniani’s influence was so widespread that many religious organizations outside the

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210 Schroeder (1941): 215-217. The second decree is well known to art historians as it was concerned with the invocation, veneration and relics of saints, and on the use of sacred images. The effects of this decree on the art in San Giorgio in Braida is explored fully in the next chapter. See page 285 note 3.


Congregation’s administration commissioned works to honor Giustiniani, especially after he was invoked against the plague that devastated Venice in 1630.\textsuperscript{213}

\textsuperscript{213} Niero (1980): 289-290.
Chapter Five: Immediate effects of the Council of Trent (1545-1568)

Between 1545 and 1563, the Council of Trent convened twenty-five times and promulgated more than fifty decrees dealing with all aspects of public and private piety. By its conclusion the Council had “equipped the Church with a solid body of defined doctrine and a code of reform that provided the essential inspiration for the Catholic renewal in early modern Europe.”\(^1\) Much of the “defined doctrine” and “code of reform” were prefigured by the constitution of the Congregation of Secular Canons written in 1424 by Lorenzo Giustiniani and the program of reform formulated in the late 1520s by Gian Matteo Giberti for his Veronese diocese. The Secular Canons, therefore, had already assimilated many of the Council’s demands into their religious practice and artistic commissions. Even so, the Canons and their art were dramatically affected in the post-Tridentine period. This chapter encompasses the Council of Trent (1545-63) and concludes in 1568, the year Pope Pius V required the Canons to take monastic vows.\(^2\) It focuses primarily upon the five years immediately following the Council’s conclusion because this was the period of the most concentrated artistic activity at San Giorgio in Braida when four major altarpieces and as many as nine smaller paintings were completed.


\(^2\) Pius V’s predecessor, Pope Pius IV (reg. 1559-65) was responsible for the lag between the Council’s conclusion and the enactment of the decrees of Trent. (Mullett (1999): 111.) Despite his contribution to the successes at Trent, Pius IV did not personally take up the reins of reform and continued to practice nepotism and to conduct himself more like a secular prince than the head of the Church. With Pius V’s election in January 1566, the papacy and the Church once again resumed the mission of reform and implementation of the Council’s decrees.
Section One: Evolution of scenes of martyrdom in San Giorgio in Braida

One of the Council’s decrees issued during its twenty-fifth and final session in 1563 greatly influenced the appearance of religious art and was the impetus for the altarpiece’s transformation. It demanded that art be clear and accessible, renewed the veneration and invocation of saints and asserted their effectiveness as intercessors. It also instructed bishops to remind the faithful of the benefits of reflecting upon the mysteries represented in the images. This order did not affect the functionality of the altarpiece as the backdrop to the mass but significantly altered its iconography and composition. It therefore changed the way the worshipper connected with the imagery.

In contrast to polyptychs and single-field sacre conversazioni that encouraged contemplation and dominated the altarpiece format in the early 1500s, the post-Tridentine altarpiece typically consisted of a single field and presented a dramatic, didactic narrative. The most popular choice among patrons was a scene of martyrdom. This was because these narratives had the power to inspire faith. Titian seems to have been the first artist to break from the earlier models with his Peter Martyr Altarpiece of 1530 for Santi

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3 Twenty-fifth session, 4 December 1563: “…[A]ll bishops and others who hold the office of teaching…instruct the faithful diligently in matters relating to intercession and invocation of the saints, the veneration of relics, and the legitimate use of images, teaching them that the saints who reign together with Christ offer up their prayers to God for men, that it is good and beneficial suppliantly to invoke them and to have recourse to their prayers, assistance and support in order to obtain favors from God through His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who alone is our redeemer and savior…[L]et the bishops diligently teach that by means of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption portrayed in paintings and other representations the people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be borne in mind and constantly reflected upon; also that great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and gifts bestowed upon them by Christ, but also because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may give God thanks for those things, may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety…If any abuses shall have found their way into these holy and salutary observances, the holy council desires earnestly that they be completely removed, so that no representation of false doctrines and such as might be the occasion of grave error to the uneducated be exhibited…such zeal and care should be exhibited by the bishops with regard to these things that nothing may appear that is disorderly or unbecoming and confusedly arranged, nothing that is profane, nothing disrespectful, since holiness becometh the house of God.” (Schroeder (1941): 215-217.)
Giovanni e Paolo (Fig. 155). It was one of a few anomalous examples, however, until the trend of depicting narrative scenes in the main field of the altarpiece became common practice following the Council’s decree of 1563. In the altarpieces created at San Giorgio in Braida, this shift in composition and devotional focus appears to have happened at once.

Three altarpieces created between 1545 and 1568 illustrate the evolution of this trend that permeated Italian ecclesiastical decoration for the next century. They all highlight the triumph of Christianity over paganism and represent saints receiving the palm of martyrdom and communicating with their divine saviors. Paolo Veronese’s *Martyrdom of Saint George* (Fig. 163), commissioned by the Canons for San Giorgio in Braida’s high altar, is among the most studied post-Tridentine altarpieces and the one work of art given the majority of attention in literature related to San Giorgio in Braida. This is because it is considered among the first works of art to have responded to the requirements of the Council’s decree of December 1563. It is also because it is one of Veronese’s finest paintings and first scenes of martyrdom and it is credited with laying the groundwork for similar church decorations in Venice. But two altarpieces in San Giorgio in Braida also depict scenes of martyrdom: Gian Francesco Caroto’s *Saint Ursula and her retinue* of 1545 (Figs. 156 & 157) and Sigismondo de Stefani’s *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* of 1564 (Figs. 160 & 161). They predate the more famous

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4 For bibliography related to this painting see Terisio Pignatti and Filippo Pedrocco, *Veronese*, vol. 2 (Milano: Electa, 1995), vol. 1, 255-256.

5 Kenyon Cox singled out the painting as, “worthy of a high place among the world’s greatest masterpieces, both for nobility of conception and perfection of execution.” (Kenyon Cox, *Old masters and new: essays in art criticism* (1905), 73.) Veronese’s first known altarpiece to show a martyrdom was his *Martyrdom of Sts. Primo and Feliciano* altarpiece of 1562. It was one of a pair of works that originally flanked the high altar of Santa Maria di Praglia. After 1565 Veronese painted six scenes of martyrdom as well as four narrative scenes of saints. Two altarpieces for San Giorgio in Braida and another for the Canons’ church in Rimini are among this group. (Meilman (2000): 160 and 163.)
painting of the high altar and influenced Veronese’s composition and mode of storytelling. Taken together, these three altarpieces illustrate the evolution of scenes of martyrdom and how the Canons remained true to their visual identification while responding to the decree of 1563.

**Gian Francesco Caroto’s *Saint Ursula and her Retinue* (1545)**

Prior to 1563, Verona was void of altarpieces that featured martyrdom as their main subject, though the graphic final moment of a martyr’s earthly existence could be relegated to fresco cycles where there were multiple scenes, to the background of altarpieces featuring an iconic devotional image of the saint or to the predella. Such was the case in San Giorgio in Braida in the chapel dedicated by the Greek Bishop Dionisio to Saint Ursula and her Retinue on 2 August 1543 (A in Fig. 99). Gian Francesco Caroto signed and dated the altarpiece for this chapel in 1545. Saint Ursula and her Retinue (Fig. 156) is Caroto’s last signed painting and among his best canvases. Three predella panels depicting *The Fleet or Sailing Ships at Sea*, *The Martyrdom of Saint Ursula and her Retinue*, and *The Dream of Saint Ursula* (Figs. 157a, b & c) accompany it.

By the time he received this commission Caroto had painted as many as five works of art for the Canons. The Canons hired the Veronese artist again in 1545 despite the presence at San Giorgio in Braida during the 1540s of numerous Canons from Brescia.

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7 It is signed and dated on the base of the plinth beneath Ursula’s feet: FRANCISCUS CAROTUS / P. A. D. MDXXXXV.


9 He had painted and signed two altarpieces, the *Annunciation* for the high altar of San Michele in Monte, which he dated 1528, and the *Triptych of Saints Sebastian and Roch* in San Giorgio in Braida from c.1512. According to Vasari he also painted an image of the Madonna for the altar of the Prior. The *Saint George and the Dragon* (c.1535) for the high altar of San Giorgio in Braida (discussed below) and the *Annunciation* on either side of the chancel may have also been by Caroto’s hand.
and their understandable preference for painters from that town. The shift away from Brescian talent likely occurred because Anselmo Canerio, a native of Verona, was elected Prior in 1543 and wished to continue employing local artists as the Canons had done for the last half century. It may also have been a way for the Canons to pay tribute to Bishop Giberti, who had died in Verona in December 1543, since Caroto was his favorite artist.

A fifth-century inscription inside the church in Cologne built in Ursula’s honor is the first written account of her existence; the *Golden Legend* of 1275 was the first to recount the details of her life. Ursula was the daughter the King of Britain. She was an extremely devout woman who betrothed herself to Christ, but whom the pagan prince Ethereus wanted to marry. She agreed to the match with the prince on two conditions, she could first take a three-year pilgrimage to Rome to devote to her purity, and the prince would be baptized and taught the lessons of the church. All parties consented and she set out with 11,000 other virgins, all of whom she had converted to Christianity, and many bishops gathered by Ursula’s father. They miraculously sailed across the sea to the mainland in one day. Soon after, the group arrived in Cologne where an angel appeared

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10 Terraroli (1988): 268. Caroto chose the unusual composition for his *Saint Ursula* in order to heighten the altarpiece’s devotional properties, but it may also have been a way to challenge Moretto da Brescia whose *Santa Cecilia* altarpiece had hung in the church since 1540. Both artists modelled their compositions after Raphael’s painting in Bologna. Caroto had direct contact with Raphael’s oeuvre via the *Sistine Madonna* and the *Madonna della Perla*, and also referenced Marcantonio Raimondi’s prints based upon various saints and apostles by Raphael. (Giuseppe Fiocco, “Appunti d’arte veronese,” *Madonna Verona* (1913).) Moretto, too, clearly modelled the saints in his Cecilia altarpiece upon Raphael’s painting of the same subject from 1514 for the Church of San Giovanni in Monte in Bologna, which he knew through Raimondi’s prints. (Chiara Parisio, “Alcune indicazioni sulle fonti figurative del Moretto,” in *Alessandro Bonvicino: Il Moretto*, ed. Gian Alberto Dell’Acqua (Bologna: 1988) and Terraroli (1988): 280-286.) The similarities between Caroto’s figural types in his Saint Ursula and Moretto’s in his Santa Cecilia, completed five years prior, are undeniable. Caroto, the older artist by about twenty years, seemed to be responding to the challenge put forth by the younger foreigner, Moretto, who was commissioned to paint the Santa Cecilia because of his Brescian kinship with the new Prior of San Giorgio in Braida, Leone Bugatto. And in doing so had displaced Caroto as the preferred artist at San Giorgio in Braida.

to Ursula in a dream and foretold her martyrdom in that city. From Cologne, Ursula and her retinue proceeded to Rome on foot where Pope Ciriacus, who was born in Britain, joined their pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{12} Two pagan princes, Maximus and Africanus, took notice of Ursula and her entourage when they were in Rome. The men doubted their devotion and saw to it that the group was eliminated. The princes sent word to the Huns that they were to gather in Cologne and besiege Ursula and her followers when they returned to the city on their way back to England. Upon arriving in Cologne, everyone in Ursula’s retinue was beheaded except for Ursula herself. The pagan prince of the Huns shot her with an arrow when she refused to marry him.

Ursula was already a popular saint by the fifteenth century but became even more venerated during the era of reform in the late-fifteenth century because of her steadfast piety, formidable ability to convert, and willingness to die for her faith.\textsuperscript{13} This was especially true in Venice, providing another link between the Canons’ Veronese house and the city of the Congregation’s birth. In addition to Vittore Carpaccio’s comprehensive narrative cycle of the \textit{Legend of Saint Ursula} painted in the mid-1490s for the \textit{scuola piccola} dedicated to her,\textsuperscript{14} the saint appeared among the saints in Antonello da Messina’s \textit{San Cassiano Altarpiece} painted in 1475-6 (Fig. 158) and Giovanni Bellini’s \textit{Sacra Conversazione} of 1490 (Fig. 159). In Antonello’s painting, Ursula held the white

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\textsuperscript{12} Ciriacus was said to be the nineteenth pope but is absent from the Church’s official register.

\textsuperscript{13} Because of her piety and chastity she was also a model for pious women during the same period, such as Angelo Merici. (See Montgomery (2003): 39.)

\textsuperscript{14} Ludovico Zorzi, \textit{Carpaccio e la rappresentazione di Sant’Orsola: ricerche sulla visualità dello spettacolo nel Quattrocento} (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1988).
banner of victory emblazoned with a red cross, while in Bellini’s painting, she holds her other attribute, the arrow that was responsible for her martyrdom.

Unlike these earlier depictions of Ursula where she appeared as a secondary participant in a sacra conversazione, the Canons made her the main protagonist in the center of Caroto’s composition. Ursula stands frontally, triumphantly elevated upon a marble plinth. Behind her the long line of virgins winding up the hillside, and the pope, cardinal and bishop to Ursula’s right refer to her pilgrimage and bond with the papacy and the clergy. The arrow, palm and white banner of victory in her hands allude to her bloody martyrdom at the hands of the pagan Huns. But Caroto confined the dramatic scene of her demise to the predella, along with representations of her miraculous sea voyage and prophetic dream. Caroto included the storytelling elements of Ursula’s life and death, but he minimized them in favor of focusing upon Saint Ursula as a devotional figure and her power to evangelize and convert. She is pure, pious and in direct communication with Christ in the upper register. He is supported on a bank of clouds and surrounded by seraphim. He is kneeling on his right leg and extends his left one forward. His arms are spread wide and dispatches the Dove of the Holy Spirit to Ursula below. His open arms together with his extended left leg allude to the shape of the cross. The

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15 The altarpiece was cut into pieces in the seventeenth century and the section containing the flag is now missing.

Council’s decree of 1563 affected this type of iconic presentation by encouraging images to be more inspirational and didactic.

**Sigismondo de Stefani’s Martyrdom of San Lorenzo (1564)**

After 1563, the earliest known altarpiece depicting a scene of martyrdom in Verona was painted for San Giorgio in Braida by the Veronese artist Sigismondo de Stefani (c.1520-1574). He signed and dated his painting, the *Martyrdom of San Lorenzo* (Fig. 160), in 1564.17 This altarpiece was the first painting in San Giorgio in Braida to respond to the Council’s final decree, and, seems to have been intended to commemorate the decree since it adheres to its requirements to the letter. Scholars have largely disregarded this painting in favor of the *Martyrdom of Saint George* (Fig. 163) even though it predates Veronese’s canvas by as much as two years. The Greek Bishop Dionisio dedicated the chapel to Saints Lawrence, Stephen, Vincent, and Christopher on 31 July 1543, yet the Canons commissioned De Stefani to paint an altarpiece promoting the cult of Saint Lawrence. I submit that the Canons chose to feature Lawrence as the protagonist as a way of honoring Lorenzo Giustiniani in the more turbulent post-Tridentine period of the Reformation when uncanonized saints were deemed unfit for altarpiece imagery. Another reason they chose the martyrdom of Saint Lawrence as the altarpiece’s subject is because Titian painted the same subject in c.1548/49 for the Gesuiti in Venice (Fig. 162), who, like the Canons, were early proponents of the Council’s demands.18

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17 Tua (1912): 167. The painting is signed SIGISMUNDUS DE STEFANI VERON PIXIT MDLXIII along the front edge of Saint Lawrence’s grill.

Saints Lawrence, Stephen and Vincent were among the first deacons of the Roman church and were martyred for their faith. Lawrence met his end by being grilled alive under orders of Emperor Valerian. In De Stefani’s painting, the sacrifice of the saint is no longer confined to the predella, as it was in Caroto’s painting, but plays out across the canvas’ entire surface. Lawrence receives redemption through his communion with God. His heavenward gaze meets that of Christ in the upper register of the painting. Christ is bare-chested and displays his wounds to Lawrence and the worshipper to show that he too suffered and was resurrected. His left arm is extended and his palm is open. His right hand, with the nail hole on the back clearly visible, pulls at the wound made in his right side by the lance. Two other dedicatees of the chapel, Saints Stephen and Vincent of Saragossa (Fig. 160), flank Christ on his right and left. Each holds a palm of martyrdom, is dressed as a deacon, and can be identified by their other attributes, Stephen by the stone embedded in his head and Vincent by the noose around his neck and the closed book in his hand.

The living creatures that represent the four Evangelists accompany Christ and Saints Stephen and Vincent in the painting’s upper half. The Angel of Matthew is on Christ’s left, the Lion of Mark and Ox of Luke on the right and the Eagle of John at Christ’s feet. All the creatures, except the Lion of Mark which is visible between Stephen and the Ox, hold open a book inscribed with the opening lines of their Gospels.

19 The martyrdoms of these two saints appear in the predella (Figs. 161a & 161c). Saint Christopher appears only in the center predella panel (Fig. 161b).

20 The Book of Luke is inscribed: IN DIEBUS HERODIS REGIS FUIT. The complete verse of Luke 1:5 reads: Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Iudaeae sacerdos quidam nomine Zaccharias de vice Abia et uxor illi de filiabus Aaron et nomen eius Elisabeth. (In the time of Herod king of Judea there was a priest named Zechariah, who belonged to the priestly division of Abijah; his wife Elizabeth was also a descendant of Aaron.) The Book of Matthew is inscribed: LIBER GENERATIONIS IESU CHRISTI FILII. The complete test of Matthew 1:1 reads: Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii David filii Abraham. (This is the genealogy of Jesus the Messiah the son of David, the son of Abraham.)
Book of John is centrally located and at the forefront of the large cloud that supports Christ and his entourage. The opening line of John’s text, “In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and God was the Word,” is clearly visible on the first two pages. The role model offered by the saints suggests that the path to salvation is through contemplation of this emotionally charged episode from the life of Lawrence. He serves as our intercessor to Christ above. Through the image of the Eucharistic Christ the painting stresses the Holy Sacrament’s role in achieving salvation. It is also attainable through study of scripture, especially the Gospels of the Evangelists. These were all the devotional models emphasized by the Council of Trent.

**Paolo Veronese’s Martyrdom of Saint George (1566)**

Paolo Veronese was evidently concerned about the placement of the De’ Stefani’s scene of martyrdom in the same church when he was working on his own canvas (Fig. 163). The painting’s rhetorical gestures and fictive architecture have similar qualities, but Veronese tried to surpass De Stefani’s painting by highlighting the power of saintly intercession while moving away from the graphic aspect of the event.

Paolo Veronese could have received the commission for the canvas from the Canons when he was still living in Verona in 1550 (though he could have painted it in Venice), and completed it only in 1566. Scholars have speculated that the Canons

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21 The complete verse of John 1:1 reads: In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum. The open book bears the words, “IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM, ET VERB[UM].” The letters of the remaining parts of the verse can be seen on the following page.

22 Aliberti Gaudioso (1988): 222. The artist was supposed to have returned to Verona in 1565 to marry Elena Badile the daughter of his teacher, Antonio Badile, who had died six years earlier. Elena and Paolo married in the church of Santa Cecilia on 29 April 1566. (Arch. S. Cecilia, *Computum ecc.* as cited by Tua (1912): 67, n. 65. Diana Gisolfi, “The School of Verona in American Collections,” *Artibus et Historiae* xxxiv(1996): 189 postulated that the Prado *Christ Preaching in the Temple* (1565-70) may have been painted in Verona during this same excursion. William R. Rearick, ed. *The Art of Paolo Veronese, 1528-1588* (Washington: Cambridge University Press, 1988b), 89 expanded the bracket to between 1549-
ordered the painting as a replacement for Gian Francesco Caroto’s *San Giorgio and the Princess* (Fig. 164), thought to date to c.1535.\textsuperscript{23} The decision to replace Caroto’s painting predated the decrees of the Council of Trent and therefore suggests that the decision was an outgrowth of Giberti’s master plan formulated in the late 1520s. And while it may seem remarkable that the Canons would have chosen to remove Caroto’s altarpiece from the high altar only fifteen years after the painting’s completion, this practice seems to have been accepted by the Canons as a matter of course and as an easy way for them to free the church of potentially unorthodox imagery.\textsuperscript{24}

Gian Francesco Caroto’s *San Giorgio and the Princess* was commissioned during the first phase of renovations to the apse, which began in 1504 with the laying of the first stone.\textsuperscript{25} Caroto portrayed a scene from the life of Saint George described by Jacopo da Voragine in *The Golden Legend*. The saint is mounted on horseback and slays the dragon while the princess flees towards the city in the background. The Virgin and Child, and Saints Peter and Paul preside over the whole scene from above. The iconographic choice of a battle scene between the warrior saint and the dragon emphasizes George’s role as soldier defending against evil and as protector of Catholic orthodoxy. These were central

\footnotesize{50 and 1568. Given the volume and merit of the scholarship connected to Veronese’s painting, I shall only summarize pertinent literature here in order to show how the altarpiece responded to the Council’s decree.  
\textsuperscript{23} The *San Giorgio and the Princess* was first attributed to Caroto by Giuliana Ericani in the 1988 (Ericani (1988a): 267). This attribution was seconded by Marinelli (1990): 323. This painting was relocated to the church of San Giorgio in Marega di Bevilaqua (Verona), where it remains today, before 10 May 1569 when Agostino Valerio, Bishop of Verona and the diocese, visited San Giorgio in Marega and ordered the repainting of the high altar dedicated to Saint George.  
\textsuperscript{24} See Chapter Four, Section Two for a fuller discussion of this hypothesis.  
\textsuperscript{25} ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, doc. 12648. Construction progressed slowly, though by the early 1520s work was nearly completed or finished and the Canons commissioned decorations for the space. The form of the apse and gothic pinnacles on the exterior of the church, which correspond to the threshold between the nave and the apse, are the products of the first renovation project. For this phase of the improvements, in addition to Caroto, the Canons employed an unknown painter to fresco the walls of the apse, the remains of which are still visible below and on either side of the frame surrounding Veronese’s altarpiece and on the exterior of the apse.
themes of the church and a fitting reference for the Canons whose mission was to battle corruption within the Church.

The consensus among scholars is that the Canons wanted to replace Caroto’s painting because its iconography, while venerating George and fitting the mission of the reforming Canons in the first half of the 1500s, was too profane. It seemed more like a representation of Perseus and Andromeda than a sacred representation of the church’s and Congregation’s patron saint. Furthermore, its composition was outmoded by the 1550s and it may have suffered extensive, yet unspecified damage. By this date plans may have been underway to replace the existing altar frame with Sanmicheli’s new design. Regardless of the reason, Caroto’s canvas was removed from San Giorgio in Braida sometime between 1552 and 1569 and relocated to the church of San Giorgio in Marega, where it was first documented and where it remains today.

The painting that took the place of Caroto’s interpretation of the legend of Saint George is a sacred image of the penultimate moment of George’s martyrdom that also relied upon the Golden Legend for its iconography. Paolo Veronese’s Martyrdom of Saint George has been heralded as an exemplary post-Tridentine work of art, but it was not Veronese’s original design. Three preliminary sketches dating to c.1550-2 are believed to represent the first iteration of Veronese’s altarpiece (Figs. 165, 166 & 167). The

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27 On 10 May 1569, Agostino Valerio, the Bishop of Verona, visited San Giorgio in Marega. (Marega is a village two miles from Bevilaqua in the Veronese province.) He ordered the repainting and relining of the altarpiece on the high altar because it was in such bad condition. This is the first and only known mention of the painting in the documents. (AAVr, vol. XIII, c. 390: ‘repingatur palla altaris maioris. Ematur tela coperienda dicta palla’ as cited by Ericani (1988a): 267.)
29 All three drawings are reproduced in Marinelli (1990): 326-328, figs. 260-262. The first is a drawing in the Louvre (Cabinet des Dessin, n. 4839) thought to be Paolo Farinati’s copy of Veronese’s first altarpiece. The second drawing in the Uffizi (Gabinetto dei Disegni, n. 12845 F) is of George slaying the dragon and is paired with another drawing in the Louvre (Département des arts graphique, n. 4816) of the
drawings roughly correspond to Caroto’s composition and duplicate his imagery, including the saint slaying the dragon and the Virgin and Saints in the upper register. These similarities suggest the Canons did not originally ask Veronese to change the altarpiece but to make it in his own style. His composition so closely resembled Caroto’s painting, however, that it has been suggested as the reason his first version was rejected.30

Around 1552, Veronese modified his first design. A drawing of The Apotheosis of Saint George (Fig. 168) is considered to be the new composition.31 It retained the rectangular format of the altarpiece by Caroto, but Veronese devised an illusionistic architectural space that incorporated elements from the new apse and high altar frame (Figs. 4 & 169) that Michele Sanmicheli modeled after his Giustiniani altar of 1533 (Fig. 123).32 It was completed by 9 December 1563.33 On that date Daniele Barbaro (1514-1570), the Venetian aristocrat, Cardinal and Patriarch of Aquileia visited San Giorgio in Braida. He admired the elegant structure that Bernardino Brugnoli had built following the designs of his uncle, Sanmicheli, who had died four year earlier.34 Vasari himself saw the fluent, architectonic frame after its completion and described it in his 1568 Vite:

…[it] bends to make a niche and is of the Corinthian order with composite capitals, double columns in full relief with pilaster strips behind them. Similarly, the pediment above, that covers everything, also bends with

Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and Paul. The last two drawings are considered studies for the bottom and top sections of the altarpiece. Rearick dates these three drawings to 1550 (Rearick, ed. (1988b): 36-38); Sergio Marinelli dates them to 1551-1552 (Marinelli (1990): 324). Cocke rejected both the study of George and the dragon and the Madonna and Child as by Veronese (Richard Cocke, Veronese’s drawings: a Catalogue Raisonne (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), 348 and 378).

31 The drawing is now in a private Roman collection. See Marinelli (1988); ibid.; Rearick (1988b) and Marinelli (1990): 329.
32 See Chapter Four.
33 The exact date of the frame is uncertain though an analysis of the wood behind the altar space suggests it was cut in 1555. (Aliberti Gaudioso (1988): 228.)
great skill following to the niche below, and it has all the trappings that
cape that order.35

The architecture in the *Apotheosis* is an extension of the altar frame’s concave colonnade. Both the real and fictive architecture have Corinthian capitals atop plain columns. The dentilated entablature seen in the upper left corner of the *Apotheosis* is derived from the cap of the entablature in the altar frame. Had Veronese used this drawing as the model for his final altarpiece, George’s ascension would have appeared to take place just beyond the picture plane but within the confines of the high altar’s row of columns.

Veronese placed the altar’s two other dedicatory saints, Peter and Paul, alongside one of the Theological Virtues, Charity, in the lowest register. Two angels lift George and are flanked by the other Theological Virtues, Faith and Hope. The group ascends toward the Madonna and Child who are surrounded by music-making angels. A horse observes the scene from the right while the head of the slain dragon rests in the lowest center point of the composition.36 The implication is that George was moments before sitting among the Saints and Virtue, holding his sword and displaying the head of the dragon. This composition would have met with the Canons’ approval because it promoted the saint’s traditional Venetian and Catholic hagiography. Yet it was not executed. It has been proposed that the Canons rejected it because they were “culturally unprepared” for the novel, proto-baroque composition.37

However, I agree with Richard Cocke that the *Apotheosis* was created, not in 1552, when the altar frame was still under construction, but in 1564. Cocke based his date

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upon the presence of certain elements from the *Apotheosis*, such as the horseman, in another drawing dated 1564, now in Rotterdam (Fig. 170).\(^{38}\) If the *Apotheosis* is from 1564, then the Canons could have rejected it because they were being more “attentive to the requirements of the Council on devotional images” and decided a scene of martyrdom was more fitting.\(^{39}\)

Marinelli has put forth that given the timing, it is likely that the Canons received advice from Daniele Barbaro during his visit to the church on his way back from Trent.\(^{40}\) Barbaro was accompanying his friend Bernardo Navagero back to Verona where Navagero was serving as the city’s bishop (reg. 1562-1565). Veronese and Barbaro had been associated since at least 1560-1 when Veronese frescoed the interior of Barbaro’s Villa Maser, and Veronese painted Barbaro’s portrait in the late 1560s.\(^{41}\) For Sergio Marinelli these various personal connections made it, “unimaginable that Daniele…would not have known the problems with the new iconography [in the *Apotheosis*] and would not have intervened in the discussion between the artist and the Canons of San Giorgio in Braida or with Bishop Navagero or probably with all three parties.”\(^{42}\) He interpreted the prominence of the Theological Virtues in the final painting, whose presence was in accordance with the emphasis on martyrdom, as proof of the prelate’s intervention.

\(^{40}\) Barbaro had served as Venetian representative at the Council since early 1562.
\(^{41}\) See Pignatti and Pedrocco (1995): vol. 1, 148-156 and 174-228 for the Villa Maser and John Garton, *Grace and grandeur: the portraiture of Paolo Veronese* (London: Harvey Miller, 2008), cat. 14, 199-200 for the Barbaro portrait that is today in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Another portrait by Veronese thought to have been Barbaro but now considered an anonymous nobleman is in the Pitti Palace in Florence. (ibid., cat. 8, 192-193.
\(^{42}\) Marinelli (1990): 326.
Scholars agree that the *Martyrdom of Saint George* hanging above the high altar in San Giorgio in Braida today was created after the December 1563 decree by the Council of Trent that prompted the Canons to change the iconography to the more suitable subject of the saint’s martyrdom. Another drawing that shares figures in common with the Rotterdam drawing of 1564 is now in the Getty (Fig. 171). It is universally accepted as Veronese’s study for the final canvas of the *Martyrdom of Saint George*.\(^43\)

Despite the painting’s title, it does not show the gory moment in George’s life when he was beheaded under orders of Emperor Dacian. It conflates two different moments just before.\(^44\) The Emperor, on horseback on the right side of the canvas, ordered George to renounce his God and to offer incense to the pagan statue of Apollo standing on a green marble pedestal on the composition’s left. Saint George is shown in the moment just after he has shed his armor and military trappings and is crying out, “All your gods are but demons, and our God alone is the Creator of the heavens and the earth!”\(^45\) Following these events, Dacian ordered George to be killed through a series of different, and ultimately unsuccessful, methods.

Romanino illustrated some of these tortures on the interior and exterior of San Giorgio in Braida’s organ doors in 1540 (Figs. 125a-d).\(^46\) That is likely the reason

\(^{43}\) It is believed that the painting was originally mounted on a curvilinear frame that conformed to the contours of the architectural frame of the altar, and was remounted on a flat stretcher only after it was removed from the altar and brought to Paris during the Napoleonic spoliation. A curved armature would better correspond to the curve of the altar frame but recent restorations to the altar determined that there is not enough room behind the altarpiece for a concave frame to fit inside. Aliberti Gaudioso (1988): 228.


\(^{45}\) De Voragine (1900): 237.

\(^{46}\) On the interior of the organ doors (open position) are two episodes of the martyrdom. On the left is *Saint George on the Wheel* and on the right is *Saint George in the Cauldron*. When the doors were closed they created one unified field depicting *Saint George Paying Tribute to Diocletian* (also called *Saint George before the Judge* and Saint George’s Self Defense). All three of these works date to 1540. Veronese
Veronese chose not to duplicate any of that imagery. Veronese painted a small medallion with the sign of the cross attached to George’s belt that refers to his actions during these tortures. George rebelled against his captors by making the sign of the cross. This resulted in his miraculous recoveries from the numerous different Roman attempts to kill him. The last narrative moment illustrated by Veronese is the final episode in George’s life when, after tricking Dacian into thinking he would sacrifice to his idols, he prays to God to destroy the temple. God caused the temple to go up in flames; after which Dacian ordered his beheading. These moments, before and after George’s tortures, are conflated to create a single synoptic narrative instant when his acts of faith in God are rewarded. In sum, the title of the painting is a misnomer. The worshipper is not seeing George’s martyrdom but rather the defiance and steadfastness that brought it about. In this way, Veronese’s painting is similar to Caroto’s from about twenty years earlier.

Veronese took into account the viewer and the surrounding architecture in his final composition. The event seems to be occurring just beyond the edge of the altar frame. But because the canvas is elevated and not meant to be viewed straight on, the axis upon which the action takes place angles back into the upper section of the picture plane. The result is that the narrative appears to take place slightly above the heads of the viewer, a “di sotto in sù” perspectival technique that Veronese used often. This compositional slight of hand reinforces the connection between the altarpiece, the backdrop to the mass, and the altar below, where the mass is said and where the transubstantiation of the host occurs. The Canons’ focus and the object of their veneration was still the church’s titular saint, despite the triple dedication of their altar to Saints

returned to the imagery of the organ doors when he painted the high altar of San Giorgio in Alga depicting Saint George before the Emperor.

47 De Voragine (1900): 235.
George, Paul and Peter. The aforementioned perspectival manipulation forces the gaze to enter the composition in the lowest register, first noticing George’s red stockings. His gesture of supplication draws attention to his partially nude body and highlights his sacrifice for God, as Christ sacrificed himself for the sins of humanity. The uplifted gaze of George leads the worshipper’s eye beyond the palm-bearing putto to George’s Marian and Christological vision that occupies the whole upper half of the painting. His glance meets the eyes of Hope who is in an attitude of prayer. Continuing along that same straight line, his eyes finally meet the gaze of Mary, and the act of intercession is complete. Additionally, Faith, dressed in white on the left, gestures towards George, and on his behalf, petitions Saint Peter who is seated opposite her. This reference emphasizes the Canons’ belief that, through faith and the church, salvation is possible. The ultimate result of George’s prayers is the palm of martyrdom and crown of glory occupying the center of the altarpiece and lying at the intersection of the two internal diagonals, exactly bridging the gap between the heavenly and terrestrial spheres.

Comparing Veronese’s painting with De Stefani’s Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence (Fig. 160) from about two years earlier makes the contemplative nature of Veronese’s canvas come into clearer focus. Both artists used architecture to fix their narrative in space and employed gesture to convey the emotions of the participants. The heavenly vision of divine intervention in both paintings is revealed only to the saint and the viewer while the executioners and surrounding motley crowds are unaware of the forthcoming heavenly intercession. In De Stefani’s painting, Lawrence is shown being grilled, not the less gruesome moment before. His pain and suffering are palpable as the red and white-hot flames lap at his legs through the metal grate and the executioners press their forks
forcefully into the saint’s shoulder and leg. De Stefani chose to focus on the brutality and suffering of the saint. Veronese’s martyrdom is more introspective and gives equal weight to the terrestrial and the heavenly. Indeed, Veronese roughly divided the composition of his rectangular altarpiece into two registers. The lower, earthy realm is dominated by the centrally placed, over life-sized figure of Saint George kneeling in close proximity to the picture plane. The Virgin and Child, Saints Peter and Paul and all the Theological Virtues occupy the painting’s heavenly realm. The visual and metaphoric link between these spheres is the winged putto in the center of the composition. He delivers the palm of martyrdom and the crown of glory to George who gazes upwards, directly into the eyes of Hope and Mary, just beyond. The terrestrial gravity of the lower register is expressed by the use of a more somber palette and contrasted with the heavenly, salvational exuberance of the upper area that seems to glow from within.

**Conclusion**

The three scenes of martyrdom in San Giorgio in Braida illustrate the development of that theme during and after the Council of Trent. In the altarpiece commissioned the year the Council opened, Ursula is a devotional figure. The artist emphasized her deeds but not her suffering, which is present in the predella and not the subject of the main body of the canvas. De Stefani deviated from this static model. His altarpiece is meant to appeal to the senses and solicits a visceral reaction from the worshipper and the inspire piety. The brutality of the saint’s demise and his desperation are contrasted with the calm figure of the Eucharistic Christ above and the personification of the texts of the Gospels. Veronese absorbed the lessons from these two paintings. He moved away from the gore of De Stefani’s martyrdom and returned to a contemplative
treatment of the subject. It is a narrative like De Stefani’s, but more erudite and sophisticated. The viewer must be familiar with the story of George in order to understand the nuances of the iconography. All three of the altarpieces discussed in this section were meant to be accessible spiritually and intellectually to the Canons. While saints had always been role models for the faithful, the Council of Trent reasserted their character and emphasized their functions as intercessors for the faithful. The altarpieces painted after the conclusion of the Council of Trent reflected this shift in focus.

Section Two: Transept decorations

At San Giorgio in Braida, the decrees of the Council of Trent did more than just give rise to altarpieces of martyrdoms, they caused the Canons to create didactic imagery of a different type and for a different reason. They commissioned Paolo Veronese to paint a second canvas, this one depicting San Barnaba Healing the Sick Man (also known as The Miracle of San Barnaba; Fig. 172). It has received far less attention than Veronese’s Martyrdom of Saint George, most likely because it portrayed a highly unusual narrative that spawned few imitations. It is also no longer in San Giorgio in Braida, and its original location is subject to debate (this aspect of the painting’s history is discussed in detail below). Some scholars say this painting is contemporary with The Martyrdom of San Giorgio and therefore from 1566. Others consider it to be from as early as 1560-
1562 or as late as 1569.\textsuperscript{50} I propose the picture was executed in 1566 not simply because its style is similar to the \textit{Martyrdom} but because it was the Canons’ visual response to Pope Pius V’s aggressive post-Tridentine initiatives enacted soon after his election in January of that year.

Since the founding of their organization by the future Pope Gregory XII in 1402, the Secular Canons had a strong spiritual connection to Rome and the papacy. Over the next century, their loyalty grew as former members filled the ranks of the Curia, such as when Gabriele Condulmer was elected Pope Eugene IV in 1431. But fundamentally their allegiance was to Venetian authority as they were members of a secular Venetian organization and tied politically to the city, their administrative center and hometown of many of their brethren. Furthermore, the Venetian Republic believed it had jurisdiction over ecclesiastics because its power over Rome was ordained from its inception.\textsuperscript{51} Lorenzo Giustiniani’s appointment as the first Patriarch of Venice and head of the Venetian See in 1451 cemented this belief into the Venetian psyche. The Canons had always managed to balance delicately their dual allegiances, but beginning in 1566, this status quo was threatened by Pope Pius V (reg. 1566-72). He took steps to enforce the Council’s edicts that necessitated more centralized control of the Church in order to protect against heresy, which included the regulation of the religious orders (especially


\textsuperscript{51} This belief was championed in the early seventeenth-century by the Servite friar Paolo Sarpi in his \textit{Sopra l’officio dell’Inquisizione} of 1613. (Prodi (1973): 410-411, esp. n. 419 and Mullett (1999): 145-146.)
the secular ones) by bringing them within his purview. The Pope’s zeal eventually resulted in Venice being placed under interdict in 1606, but in 1568, it meant the Secular Canons were forced to relinquish their secular status, sever their organizational ties to Venice, and take monastic vows. It was against this backdrop of changing political and religious supervision that the Canons rethought the decoration of the transept of their church and had Veronese paint his San Barnaba altarpiece.

**Paolo Veronese’s Miracle of San Barnaba (1566)**

The Canons probably commissioned Veronese to paint the San Barnaba altarpiece in 1566 for the altar located under the organ on the left, or north side of the church (E in Fig. 99 & Fig. 120) which had displayed Moretto da Brescia’s Santa Cecilia for a quarter century. This premise has been put forth before, but the reasons why the Canons would have made this change have never been addressed. I contend that they did so in order to reaffirm the efficacy and authority of their mission as secular canons in the face of mounting suspicion. In this way they paralleled the move of Tomasini who manipulated his account of the Congregation’s founding in order to support its sanctity. Veronese’s painting was also one more way for them to express their loyalty to Venice before their bonds to the city were weakened. I further argue that the altar under the cantoria on the right side or south side of the church where the nineteenth-century copy of Veronese’s San Barnaba is displayed today (G in Fig. 99 & Fig. 117) was the location of the original

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52 After his election in 1566, Pope Pius V began to implement the Council’s regime of reform, which his predecessor, Pius IV, had neglected to do. His advocacy for monastic reform was rooted in his own values since he himself had begun his ecclesiastical career as a Dominican monk and maintained strict personal piety as he attained higher ranks in the Church. (Mullett (1999): 113-114.)


54 See Chapter Two.
cloister entrance. Therefore, in its intended position on the left side of the church, Veronese’s *Miracle of San Barnaba* faced the cloister entrance and was the first image the Canons encountered when they emerged from their private quarters and into the body of the church. Several pieces of documentary, physical, and circumstantial evidence support my hypotheses.

Though the Bible describes San Barnaba’s life and vocation, Veronese and the Canons again turned to the *Golden Legend* for his painting’s narrative.\(^5\) Born in Cyprus, San Barnaba is the island’s patron saint. During his life he was known for his wisdom, patience and devotion to the poor. Together with his companion Saul (who would become Saint Paul), he travelled to Antioch where the pair converted many of the residents. God then spoke to them both saying they must continue their apostolate beyond that city and instructed Saul to go to Jerusalem and Barnaba to return to his native Cyprus. There Barnaba began healing the sick armed only with the Gospel of Matthew. This is the miracle Veronese illustrated. Aided by his cousin John Mark, who is traditionally identified as Saint Mark the Evangelist,\(^5\) Barnaba cured the infirm by placing the text upon their heads and reading its verses. For this miracle Barnaba came to be venerated for his powers to heal. Barnaba was so identified with Matthew’s book that when his remains were unearthed in Cyprus, the Evangelist’s hand-written copy was said to have been among Barnaba’s bones.\(^5\)

In Veronese’s canvas, the miracle unfolds outdoors in front of a small round temple of the Corinthian order. Barnaba wears a belted dark blue tunic with contrasting

^{57}\) De Voragine (1900): vol. 5, 71-75.
orange lining. His form is monumental and fills the center third of the canvas. Saint Mark is also wearing a dark blue tunic. He stands behind and holds up the bare-chested crippled man whose discarded crutch in the foreground alludes to his imminent cure.\(^{58}\) With Mark supporting the man, Barnaba is able to place Matthew’s Gospel on his head. An older woman wearing a blue turban stands behind this group of three men and holds a lighted four-wick candle. The large candle is not needed to illuminate the scene because it takes place in the full light of day, as the blue sky and shadows cast by the columns and Barnaba’s book indicate. Veronese seems to have included it as a metaphor for the crippled man’s miraculous recovery. The candle appears to sprout from the open text and a breeze from the left suddenly stirs its flames. On the far right of the canvas, another sick person in the arms of a bearded man wearing red awaits Barnaba’s intervention. A young black boy in the lower left of the composition holds an unlit candle in his hand.\(^{59}\) He looks across to the second sick figure and seems to be readying the candle for the moment Barnaba restores him to health.

The Canons chose Barnaba as the subject of the altarpiece because he evoked their previous relationship with the charitable Ospedale di San Barnaba.\(^{60}\) The hospital had been linked with the church of San Giorgio in Braida since the twelfth century. At first it admitted only females.\(^{61}\) For that reason, Pope Urban III ordered the nuns of San

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\(^{58}\) A drawing of *A Seated Nude Young Man, Looking Upwards and Seen from Below, and a Detail of the Legs of Another Figure* is a preparatory study for the figure of the infirmed. See the figure in Rearick, ed. (1988b): n. 50. This drawing was sold to an unknown buyer on 25 January 2006 at Sotheby’s New York Old Master Drawings Sale (N08161, lot 47) for $39,000.

\(^{59}\) A drawing in the Louvre of the *Head of a Negro Boy* is the preparatory drawing for this figure. See the figure in ibid., n. 51.

\(^{60}\) For hospital of San Barnaba in Verona, see Tommasi (1774); Fainelli (1962); Pastore, ed. (1996) and the ten registers in the Antichi Archivi Veronesi (AA. VV.) related to the Compagnia dei SS. Alessio, Barnaba e Concordia.

Martino d’Avesa, who were in residence at the church, to take charge of the patients in 1186.\textsuperscript{62} Under their direction the hospital fell into ruin necessitating it be turned over to Guglielmo da Quinzano to manage in 1279.\textsuperscript{63} Donations to the hospital continued through the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{64} By 1332, the hospital was again without proper governance, so the nuns decided to rent it out in order to allow the hospital to continue serving the poor.\textsuperscript{65} In 1446, the Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Braida became sole custodians of the hospital by the papal decree issued by one of their former members, Pope Eugene IV.\textsuperscript{66} This permitted them to take full control of the organization and to begin serving the physical needs of the local community while continuing to tend to their spiritual ones inside the church. This diversification of their activities was another part of their strategy for assimilating into their new hometown.

The Canons were in charge of the facility for only a short time, however, because in 1516 a fire damaged it during the War of the League of Cambrai.\textsuperscript{67} In 1517, the Venetians intentionally destroyed what remained to make way for new city walls to be built as part of Venice’s initiative to improve the fortifications on the terrafirma.\textsuperscript{68} The ruined hospital provided ready building materials for the construction of the Porta San Giorgio, which was erected not far from the façade of the church and completed by 1525,
the date inscribed on the exterior of the gate (Fig. 173).\textsuperscript{69} Before its destruction, the hospital was adjacent to the church on the \textit{Borgolecco di San Giorgio} and may have been attached to the church.\textsuperscript{70} This fact further supports the hypothesis that the Canons placed the canvas of San Barnaba’s miracle on the left (north) side of the transept because the altar was among those closest to the hospital’s former site. By reviving their connection with this charitable organization, the Canons reminded themselves and those in the Curia of a part of their mission for reform, their commitment to assist the Veronese people with their spiritual and physical needs.

Contemporary accounts of the interior of San Giorgio in Braida and other sources suggest \textit{The Miracle of San Barnaba} was originally on the left (north) side of the transept (E in Fig. 99 & Fig. 120) and that the door to the cloister was closed and the painting was moved to the right (south) side of the transept (G in Fig. 99 & Fig. 117) some time between 1648 and 1668. Raffaello Borghini, in his \textit{Riposo} of 1584, was the first to note Veronese’s picture in the church. When discussing the artist’s oeuvre, he listed his two paintings in San Giorgio in Braida. Although he located the \textit{Martyrdom of Saint George} on the high altar, he did not specify the exact location of the \textit{San Barnaba}.\textsuperscript{71} The first time the canvas was described in a specific place was by Carlo Ridolfi in his \textit{Le Meraviglie dell’Arte} of 1648. He stated that the painting was located “under the organ,”\textsuperscript{72} though in another section of the book, he mentioned that Moretto’s painting was in an

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{69} Erik Johan Langenskiöld, “Michele Sanmicheli, was he the architect of the Porta di S. Giorgio in Verona,” \textit{Palladio} X, no. gennaio-giugno (1960): 49.
\item \textsuperscript{70} A document dated 13 October 1176 recorded the location of an unknown object as “\textit{su le porticu hospitalis sancti Georgis in Braida}.” (AA.VV., \textit{Arch. di S. Martino d’Avesa}, rot. n. 8 orig. as cited by Fainelli (1962): 50.)
\item \textsuperscript{71} Raffaello Borghini, \textit{Il Riposo, in cui della pittura, e della scultura si favella, de’ più illustri pittori, e scultori, a delle più famose opere loro si fa mentione, e le cose principali appartenenti a dette arti s’insegnano} (Fiorenza: Marescotti, 1584), vol. IV, 561; see Italian text transcribed in Appendix VI.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Ridolfi (1648): vol. I, 305; see Italian text transcribed in Appendix VI.
\end{itemize}
unspecified part of the church. In 1718, Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo confirmed in his *Le Vite de’ Pittori, degli Scultori et Architetti Veronesi* that the *San Barnaba* altarpiece was under the organ. But upon closer inspection of his text one finds that Dal Pozzo’s account reproduced Ridolfi’s description of 1584 almost exactly. The only difference is that Dal Pozzo specified the painting was “under the left organ” and not simply “under the organ” as Ridolfi stated. By the time Dal Pozzo put pen to paper, Veronese’s painting had occupied the altar on the right side of the church for at least forty years, so his inclusion of the directional adjective implies that he had objective knowledge of the painting’s prior history. In 1668, the Canons’ organization was suppressed and Ludovico Moscardo wrote his *Historia di Verona*. In it he stated that *The Miracle of San Barnaba* was in place on the south side of the transept “under the choir” and Moretto’s canvas was back in its original location under the organ. An inventory taken of the church the following year confirms this arrangement.

However, there is one description of the church’s interior from 1642 that confuses matters considerably and raises several questions. In his *Annales*, Tomasini stated:

Under [the dome of San Giorgio in Braida] on each side two organs of the most praiseworthy craftsmen, polished by hand, are supported on four columns of bright marble, on which are placed two magnificent altars, remarkable for the painting of the most celebrated painters, Paolo Farinati and Alessandro Moretto. One of [the organs] is next to the choir, the other rises to an immense pediment, with bifold doors likewise gilt and painted, which defend the pipes of diverse mode from the injury of air.

73 Ibid., vol. I, 265; see Italian text transcribed in Appendix VI.
74 Pozzo (1718): 240; see Italian text transcribed in Appendix VI.
75 Moscardo (1668): 120; see Italian text transcribed in Appendix VI.
77 Tomasini (1642): 257; see Latin text transcribed in Appendix VI.
This passage states that the church contained two organs instead of just the one on the left of the church. If this were true, then Veronese’s canvas could have been under the organ on either side of the transept. But this is uncertain. By the time Tomasini wrote his Annales, a fire in 1601 had destroyed the original organ. Enrico Girardi stated that the one built in 1604 by the German organ builder Oppelt replaced the one on the side of the “cornu Evangelii,” or on the north side of the church (Fig. 120). (See the explanation of this terminology later in this chapter.) An inventory of the church made after its suppression in 1668 also made mention of two organs, but it implied that the main organ was found on the loft on the left along with the keyboard, bellows and body with the painted doors; the other was on the right, though it may only have been a set of pipes. This last hypothesis is corroborated by a document dating to 1778 that stated the loft on the right contained the organ’s expressive and recitative pipes.

Another issue raised by Tomasini’s description concerns the presence of paintings by the Veronese painter Paolo Farinati (1524-1606) and Alessandro Moretto in the transept. In light of my hypotheses, this notation is indeed problematic. Regarding the painting by Moretto, Tomasini neither specified on which side of the transept the painting

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78 Ibid., 644.
79 Enrico Girardi, Gli organi della città di Verona (Alba: Edizioni Paoline, 1968), 12. It appears that San Giorgio in Braida had four separate organs: the original 1500s organ installed by the Canons, the 1604 replacement by German Opelt, the 1779 replacement by Italian Callido, and the 1890 replacement by W. George Trice which was refurbished in 1928 by Domenico Farinati. For elaboration see ibid., 12-32 and Pierpaolo Brugnoli, “Un Organo di Gaetano Callido per San Giorgio di Verona,” Vita veronese XVIII(1965).
80 “Due organi dall’Ali di detta Chiesa cioè un’grande con organetto, ove si pasano li cantori l’altro nel coro di rimpetto al p.o ove cantano conventualmente di Padre” (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, doc. 1, fol 260r.)
81 “In questa cantoria, dietro la era il coro ove si raccoglievano i monaci, è posto l’organo Espressivo ed il Recitativo, dopo l’intervento di G. Callido del 1778, che dotò la chiesa di un doppio organo, secondo le direttive della siperiora delle Terziarie agostiniane de S. Maria de Reggio, proprietarie della chiesa dal 1669.” (Sopr. Verona Scede 51793 as cited by Brugnoli (1965): 359.) The double organ in this entry referred to the fact that it had two keyboards. (See Girardi (1968): 14.)
was located nor its subject. So one cannot be certain his observation is correct, especially
given his reference—a unique one—to a painting in the transept by Paolo Farinati. Did
Tomasini simply confuse artists’ names? Is his account meant to allude to Paolo
Veronese’s San Barnaba? Tomasini was familiar with Veronese’s painting since a few
lines later he wrote that the high altar, “was erected on a splendid order of columns, [and]
vividly shows the martyrdom of George by the hand of Paulo Veronese, a painter of great
name.”

The Canons had commissioned Farinati to paint one of the large canvases in the
chancel in 1600 (Fig. 182). Did they also ask him to paint a picture for the transept? An
entry in Paolo Farinati’s Giornale may shed light on the matter. The artist recorded in the
section dedicated to San Giorgio in Braida that he painted a panel for the door of the
church for the sacristan don Matio Bruno on 15 November 1603; he decorated it with an
image of Saint George.

Lionello Puppi, who published and edited the Giornale in 1968, noted that the panel was for the front door of the church. Was the panel of Saint George instead intended for the door into the cloister from the nave?

The written accounts of The Miracle of San Barnaba in San Giorgio in Braida end
in 1797. That year Napoleon removed the canvas from the church along with the Martyrdom of Saint George, and brought them to Paris as part of his personal
collection.

The San Barnaba never returned from its French sojourn as the Martyrdom

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82 Tomasini (1642): 257.
83 This commission is discussed in detail in Chapter Six.
85 Napoleon ordered the original canvas removed from its stretcher and folded for transfer to the Louvre in Paris on 18 May 1797; it arrived there on 27 July 1798. Both were displayed together in the Louvre where they greatly influenced the French painters, especially Delacroix who made copies of these and other paintings plundered from Italy. (See Pierre Rosenberg, “Fragonard à Véron. Fragonard et Véronèse,” Verona Illustrata ii (1989).) The San Barnaba was listed in the catalogue of works taken to
did in 1815. Today a nineteenth-century copy of the picture hangs above the altar opposite the organ in the church (Fig. 117) while the original is on display at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Rouen, where it has been since 1803. It is worth noting what two nineteenth-century chroniclers had to say about The Miracle of San Barnaba. Giovan Battista Da Persico in 1820 and Carlo Belviglieri in 1898 both noted that Moretto’s Santa Cecilia was “under the organ” on the north of the church at the time of their writing, but more importantly they concurred that at some point before Veronese’s San Barnaba was taken to France, it had replaced Moretto’s painting.

Internal evidence in the San Barnaba altarpiece is further confirmation of the painting’s placement on the left side of the church. Contemporary documents describing church interiors and those concerning San Giorgio in Braida specifically often used the terminology “à Cornu Evangelii” and “à Cornu Epistolae” to report the location of objects in the church. This nomenclature derives its meaning from the location on or near the altar of the church where specific liturgical activities took place. “À Cornu”

France by Napoleon as S. Barnaba che legge l’Evangelico sopra il capo d’un malato and as by the School of Paolo Veronese. Napoleon also took scores of paintings, sculptures, antiquities, books and manuscripts, and various curiosities and natural materials from all over Italy. See Catalogo de’ capi d’opera di pittura, scultura, antichità, libri, storia naturale, ed altre curiosità transportate dall’Italia in Francia, (Venezia: Presso Antonio Curti, 1799), XVII for complete list of plundered items.

Giacomo Scherli was the first to record the absence of Veronese’s paintings from San Giorgio in Braida. He wrote that “sotto l’Organo si vede la pala d’Alessandro Bonvicino detto il Moretto con S. Cecilia posta in mezo alle S.S. Vergini Lucia e Caterina Barbara et Agnese miranti in a lto la Santissima Vergine cinta di Serafini ...” but makes no mention of the San Barnaba in the church. (Scherli (XVIII century): c.86; see complete Italian text transcribed in Appendix VI.

...sotto l’organo, recente lavoro del Calido, veneziano, so ha la Vergine col Bambino, le ss. Lucia, Cecilia, ec. coll’epigrafe: Alexander Morettus Brix. MDXL Moretto, come ognun sa, fu soprannome del Bonvicino. Questa tavola fu sostituita a quella di s. Barnaba, originale di Paolo, non ritornaci da Parigi” Da Persico (1820-1821): 92-93; see Italian text transcribed in Appendix VI.

“Sotto l’organo, la bellissima tavola colle Sante Lucia, Cecilia, Caterina, Barbara, Agnese, è opera di Alessandro Del Moretto (Bonvicino) bresciano (1540), porta scritto il nome e l’anno. Questa tavola fu sostituita a quella di S. Barnaba di Paolo Caliari, rapita, e non più tornata da Parigi.” (Giovanni Belviglieri, Guida alle chiese di Verona (Verona: F. Apollonio, 1898), 72; see Italian text transcribed in Appendix VI.

ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, doc. 1, fol. 259r.
literally means “on the horn” and describes the side or corner of the altar in relation to the cross over the altar. The term that follows indicates the type of text that was read from the respective location: the Gospels of the Evangelists on the left and the Epistles on the right. Therefore, “à Cornu Evangelii” is on the side of the altar when facing the apse from where the Gospels of the Evangelists were read, i.e. “on the left side of the church.” Similarly, “à Cornu Epistolae” translates to “on the right side of the church” because it is on the side of the altar when facing the apse where from the Epistles were read. San Barnaba’s divine remedy for curing the sick was Saint Matthew’s Gospel. Thus, liturgically, it belonged on the left side of the church (Fig. 174). When the Canons read the Gospels of the Evangelists from the left side of the altar, they too were healing the souls of worshippers with their words. In this context, it makes sense that Veronese’s painting was situated in San Giorgio in Braida “à Cornu Evangelii” or on the left side of the altar from where the Gospels were read.

Moreover, if The Miracle of San Barnaba were in situ on the left of the transept, the painting’s internal architecture and light source would be consonant with the surrounding architecture and the church’s natural and spiritual illumination. Though they are capped with Corinthian instead of Ionic capitals, the unfluted columns in Veronese’s painting would mimic the smooth one on the altar under the organ. The painted shadows would appear to be cast by light coming from the direction of the high altar and the windows of the apse. This commission would not have been the first time Veronese carefully considered the real architecture of San Giorgio in Braida when formulating his composition. He did so for The Martyrdom of Saint George. Recall that the action in the

preparatory drawing of *The Apotheosis of Saint George* took place in a fictive niche that appeared to be enclosed by the colonnade that began from the real frame of the high altar.

In 1543, there was no altar under the cantoria on the right side of the church, a fact confirmed by the cloister inscription in which this site was not mentioned among the altars consecrated in 1536 or 1543.\(^9^0\) It was not mentioned because it was the location of the original cloister entrance. An arched doorway is still visible in the narrow hallway behind the altar containing the copy of Veronese’s painting. The opening is now walled up but the depression left in the wall is deep enough to hold fuse boxes and switches for the church’s interior lights (Fig. 175).

Besides this physical evidence of the door to the cloister is the internal evidence of some of the paintings in the transept. Bernardino India painted the two pairs of figures flanking both altars. The pair of martyrs on the left of the church are tentatively identified as Saints Fermo and Rustico, but it has been proposed that they are Cecilia’s brother and husband and therefore directly linked with the altarpiece between them (Figs. 176 & 177).\(^9^1\) The figures on the right are Saints Pope Gregory I and Jerome (Figs. 178 & 179). All four figures by India date to the early 1560s. At that time Moretto’s altarpiece was still in place and the martyrs flanking that canvas engaged with the composition as they do today (Fig. 120). Their gazes are directed toward the Virgin and Child *in nimbus* in the upper register. Saints Gregory I and Jerome on the other side of the transept do the opposite (Fig. 117). Neither man engages with the painted imagery between them because they both turn away from the action: Gregory looks toward the high altar and Jerome looks heavenward. This suggests that an altarpiece was absent when these lateral

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\(^{90}\) See transcription and translation of the cloister inscription in Appendix III.

\(^{91}\) Trecca (1930): 51.
paintings were commissioned. If we imagine instead that the doorway to the cloister occupied the space between the images of Gregory and Jerome, these figures become sentinels guarding the private quarters of the Canons. They also become divine protectors of the Canons themselves since Saint Pope Gregory I embodied Pope Gregory XII, the founder of their Congregation, and Jerome was the erudite protector of scholars, and after Trent, the author of one of the only authorized version of the Bible.\footnote{Peter Humfrey, “Altarpieces and Altar Dedications in Counter-Reformation Venice and the Veneto,” \textit{Renaissance Studies} 10, no. 3 (1996): 377-378. See also Elizabeth Pilliod, “Alessandro Allori’s “The Penitent Saint Jerome”,” \textit{Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University} 47, no. 1 (1988) and Eugene F. Rice, \textit{Saint Jerome in the Renaissance} (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) for Jerome’s significance in the Renaissance.}

Veronese’s \textit{Miracle of San Barnaba} was first installed opposite the entrance to the cloister (Fig. 174 & E in Fig. 99). The Canons were the painting’s primary audience because it was the first image they saw when they emerged from their private quarters into the body of the church. In this capacity as church frontispiece it spoke directly to the Canons and reminded them of their mission. The miracle-working Saint Barnaba is dressed in robes of dark blue that mimic the Canons’ vestments. He holds the text of Saint Matthew and uses it to heal as the Canons used the Gospels and other canonical texts to reform the clergy and to instruct the populace. Barnaba’s presence also invoked the hospital of San Barnaba and reminded the Canons of their connection to that pious institution.

Veronese seems to have produced this altarpiece after completing his \textit{Martyrdom of Saint George} and after the promulgation of the Council’s decree of 1563 discussed \footnote{India’s image of Jerome was not the only one in San Giorgio in Braida. Gian Francesco Caroto painted his likeness in the predella of his \textit{Triptych} of c. 1512 and in 1668 the sacristy contained “Un quadro grande con Crocifisso, e S. Gerolamo à piedi d’esso.” (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, doc. 3, 260v.) Imagery of Jerome pervaded the Congregation’s other churches. The most well-known example being Parmigianino’s \textit{Vision of Saint Jerome} painted in 1527 for San Salvatore in Lauro, Rome. (See Mary Vaccaro, “Documents for Parmigianino’s ‘Vision of St Jerome’,” \textit{The Burlington Magazine} 135, no. 1078 (Jan. 1993).)
earlier in this chapter. So it is noteworthy that for his second canvas for San Giorgio in Braida, the Canons chose as his subject not Barnaba’s martyrdom by stoning, nor his mission of preaching in Antioch, nor a scene where he serves as intercessor between the worshipper and Christ or Mary above in the heavenly realm. Barnaba is instead an heroic and earthly figure in the act of performing a miracle and helped by Saint Mark, the patron saint of Venice. Mark also wears the *turchino* of the Canons as if to show solidarity with them. His presence is a graphic illustration of the Canons’ allegiance to the city of Venice in a time of turmoil between the Church and Venice.
Chapter Six: The last 100 years of the Canons’ tenure at San Giorgio in Braida (1568-1668)

Introduction

For more than a century and a half, the Secular Canons successfully carried out their strategy of reform as secular canons.¹ In the wake of the Council of Trent, however, all the orders were looked upon with suspicion because of their secular nature. This was especially true of organizations operating in northern Italy; on account of their proximity to the site of Luther’s revolt they were considered most vulnerable to Protestant influences. Allegations of corruption within the regular orders began to circulate and pressure mounted for the Roman Church to regulate the religious organizations by exerting greater control over them.² As discussed in depth in the previous chapter, the Council’s decrees, specifically the one issued on 3 December 1563, were already having an effect on the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida and the art they commissioned between 1545 and 1568. Yet the Canons did not fully implement the Tridentine program of reform until 1568. That year Pope Pius V (reg. 1566-72) pushed the Canons to take vows and to adopt officially the Rule of Saint Augustine, which they selected as it was closest to the character of their religious practices.³ Thus compliant with the post-Conciliar Church, the Secular Canons’ organization became known as the Congregation of Augustinian Regular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga.

¹ Though from the founding of the Congregation some members were ordained priests and others remained unordained.
³ Pius V’s 17 November 1568 bull obligated the Canons to take vows. It is reproduced in Tomasini (1642): 537-540 and Tomassetti, Cocquelines et al., eds. (1857-1872): vol. VII, 725s. Only after this date can the Canons rightly be referred to as Regular Canons. It has been assumed that the priests took monastic vows from the inception of their organization, and consequently they are sometimes mistakenly referred to as the Regular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga or the Augustinian Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga (Neher (1999): 115).
This chapter examines the art commissioned by the Canons for San Giorgio in Braida during the last 100 years of their tenure, from the year they took monastic vows until 1668. This was when Pope Clement IX (reg. 1667-69) suppressed the religious organization and sold its assets in part to fund the war against the Turks. The art from this period can be divided into two separate groups each with its own coherent decorative scheme that responded to the Council’s demands. The remaining decorations for the chancel were filled with iconography that underscored the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist and reaffirmed the role of the priest in the mass. The altarpieces and their frames on the nave’s right side promoted the life of Christ and the cult of Mary above the cults of their titular saints. These two artistic initiatives demonstrate how even as Regular Canons, they continued to adhere to their systematic visual campaign a century and a half after the first commissions at San Giorgio in Alga.

Section One: Chronology of the completion of San Giorgio in Braida’s art and architecture

The reconstruction and decoration of San Giorgio in Braida were “prolonged because of the vast labor and heavy expenses for its appearance” and still were incomplete in 1568 when all the chapels on the right side and the sidewalls of the apse remained bare. Yet progress had been made by 1585 when the Veronese stonemason Ludovico de Guardo laid the final marble stones in the pavement of the apse. By that

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4 ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1, fol. 252r-253v. At that time San Giorgio in Braida contained forty Canons with an annual income of 14,000 ducats, which was valued at 25,000 ducats in 1749. (Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 448-488.)
5 Tomasini (1642): 256.
6 De Guardo signed and dated the floor on the first step into the apse: LUDOVICO DE GUARDO VERONAE / STRAGULATUM OPUS MDLXXXV. (Brugnoli (1954): 36.)
year altarpieces for the two chapels on the nave’s right side dedicated to the Archangels and Mary Magdalene (H & K respectively in Fig. 99) were complete.

In the first five years of the 1600s two events temporarily slowed progress at the church. A fire damaged almost half the church, including its organ and Sanmicheli’s dome, and relations between Venice and the Papacy began to be hostile. The organ and dome were made whole again in 1604. The German organ builder Oppelt travelled from Regensburg to build the new instrument that was “very esteemed at the time,” and the dome was fixed by 26 October of that year as recorded by the inscription along its base.

Venice’s relationship with Rome was not so easily repaired. Throughout the two previous centuries the secular rulers of Venice continually challenged the authority of the Papacy and appointed their own nominees to benefices within the Republic. There were attempts at a workable solution to the ongoing conflict, such as the bull issued on 15 September 1561 by Pius IV renewing Venice’s right to propose candidates for the patriarchate of the city, but the Holy See retained the exclusive right to appoint. After a series of escalations, including the arrest of two priests by Venice, the situation came to a head in 1606. In April, Pope Paul V, the pope who had forced the Canons to take monastic vows,
placed Venice under interdict. This meant all public worship was prohibited, and the citizens of Venice and its inland empire were excommunicated and prevented from partaking in any of the sacraments. Ironically, the restrictions of the interdict only made people more pious and attend Mass in greater numbers.\textsuperscript{11} A peaceful solution was reached a year later with the help of Henry IV of France, and the Pope rescinded the injunction.\textsuperscript{12} The mending of the fire damage and the threat of excommunication hampered the Canons’ progress on the last of San Giorgio in Braida’s decorations, but only briefly. The two large paintings for the lateral walls of the chancel were commissioned in 1600 and completed around 1606.

The election of Candidus Peroti as Prior of San Giorgio in Braida in 1618 spurred the completion of the last of the nave’s decorations.\textsuperscript{13} They included the altarpieces for the remaining two chapels on the right of the nave dedicated to all the Apostles and to monastic Saints Anthony Abbot, Benedict, Maurice and Abbot Bernard (I & J respectively in Fig. 99). The Canons installed the large canvas of the Baptism of Christ over the main entrance on the retrofaçade, the two bronze holy water fonts with sculptures of Saints John the Baptist and George, and the six bronze sculptures of the Evangelists, Saints George and Zeno and Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani on the low iconostasis separating the chancel from the transept by 1625. The interior decorative program could be considered complete by this date.

\textsuperscript{11} Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder, 1923), vol. XXV, 112 and vol. IV, 192.
\textsuperscript{13} ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 12876(1).
Section Two: Remaining Chancel decorations

The completion of the two canvases on either side of the chancel in the first years of the 1600s marked the culmination of the transformation of the high altar into the Chapel of the Sacrament begun by Bishop Giberti in the 1520s. Giberti had emphasized the doctrine of the Eucharist and the miracle of Transubstantiation, and these were the motivating factors for his architectural renovations of the apse. In the wake of the Council of Trent, the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist was the doctrine most attacked by the Protestants. And so after taking monastic vows, the Canons commissioned a program of canonical imagery for the apse that contained overt visual affirmation of this dogma. The imagery also prefigured the Holy Sacrament. In addition, the Canons outfitted the chancel with new wooden stalls on either side of the space and a new elaborate tabernacle to contain the Holy Sacrament (Figs. 4, 180 & 181). As the exclusive domain of the clergy the art and architecture of the chancel were adapted to suit this select audience and their role as administrators and protectors of the Sacrament, which the Council of Trent had reaffirmed.

In his Giornale the Veronese artist Paolo Farinati (1524-1606) recorded the commencement of this new painted initiative. On 28 July 1600 the Prior of San Giorgio in Braida, Michelangelo Zanardo, commissioned Farinati to paint a large canvas depicting the “miracle of the bread and fishes” for the “space above the seats of the high altar” on the right wall of the chancel and paid him 400 ducats “da grossi treuno per duchato.”14 (This is the only known written record for a commission of a painting in San

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14 Biblioteca Communale in Verona contains Paolo Farinati’s diary. It was first studied and transcribed in sections by Luigi Simeoni, “Il giornale del pittore veronese Paolo Farinati,” Madonna Verona II, no. 2 (1909a). Lionello Puppi was the first to transcribe it in its entirety. Farinati ((1573-1606)
Giorgio in Braida.) The fact that the Prior himself specified the subject matter and location, and paid for the painting confirms that at least for this one commission the Canons were indeed controlling all aspects of the artistic production in their church. The Veronese artist and son of Domenico Brusasorci, Felice Brusasorci (1539/40-1605), and the poet and classicist Flaminio Borgheto were present during the transaction. In 1580, Brusasorci had painted an altarpiece for the chapel dedicated to the Archangels on the nave’s right side (discussed below). Perhaps his prior association with the Canons was the reason he was there and brought his friend Borgheto with whom he became acquainted as a fellow member of the Accademica Filarmonica.\(^1\)\(^5\) I contend instead that Borgheto was there acting as the official witness given his previous civic duties.\(^1\)\(^6\)

Furthermore, Brusasorci was at hand because at the same time the Prior commissioned Farinati to paint his canvas of *the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes* (Fig. 182) for the chancel’s right side, he commissioned Brusasorci to paint its pendant, *the Fall of Manna from Heaven* (Fig. 183), for the left wall.

Medieval theologians routinely invoked stories from the Old Testament as a way to emphasize consistency of scripture and the longevity and antiquity of the Church of Rome. Renaissance theologians, such as the Canons, used this strategy to defend themselves against Protestant incursions. Another reason they choose to pair the Old Testament allegory of the receipt of the Eucharist, *the Fall of Manna from Heaven*, with

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\(^{15}\) Flaminio Borgheto was described by Scipione Maffei as a member of the Accademia Filarmonica in 1588 (Maffei (1731): vol. iii, 404). Diego Zannadreis identified Felice Brusasorci as a member of the Accademia Filarmonica and tells us that Felice’s portrait and that of his father Domenico hang in the halls of the Accademia. (Zannandreis (1891): 145.)

\(^{16}\) Flaminio Borgheto was described by Alessandro Canobbio as *Signore Governatore* in 1576 and 1581 (Alessandro Canobbio, “Historia della Gloriosa Imagine della Madonna posta in Campagna di S. Michele Fuori delle Mura di Verona,” (München: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (V. SS.), 1587), 77).
the New Testament story of its fulfillment, *the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes*, was to emphasize the continued miracle in the bread of the Eucharist. Because of the persuasive nature of this pairing of biblical scenes, chapels with these typologies were among the “most complex [and] distinctive, and one of the most popular forms of decoration for sixteenth-century chapels.”

The canvases of Farinati and Brusasarici are iconographically linked, and they are compositionally and physically similar, too. One hundred dynamic figures of all ages populate each lush outdoor scene set against a mountainous background framed by large trees. The paintings are of equal size. At roughly twenty-six by twenty-four feet each, they were the largest either artist had ever painted. (The canvases are still the largest in Verona.) Their dimensions were no doubt the reason Prior Zanardo ordered them painted *in situ*. The fire in San Giorgio in Braida the year after the paintings were commissioned seemed to have slowed both artists’ progress. We do know that Farinati took almost two years to begin work on his painting because on 11 March 1602 he recorded that the raw canvas and stretcher for his painting were delivered to the chancel by eight porters. Paolo Farinati worked quickly, signing and dating the finished composition in 1603. His speed is all the more striking when we realize he was seventy-nine the year he completed the painting, as the inscription tells us.

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18 According to the object files on record at the Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio storico artistico ed etnoantropologico per le province di Verona, Vicenza e Rovigo in Verona, the *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes* measures 800 x 750 cm and the *Fall of Manna in the Desert* measures 850 x 750 cm.


20 A.D. MDCIII / PAOLUS FARINATUS DE / UBERTIS F. AETATIS SUAE LXXIX. The inscription appears to be carved upon a marble block in the painting’s left foreground.
his earlier works before he died in 1605.\textsuperscript{21} His pupils Alessandro Turchi (1578-1649), also known as l’Orbetto, and Pasquale Ottino (1578-1630) completed the painting.\textsuperscript{22}

The account of the Fall of Manna from Heaven is told in Exodus 16:1-21. At the beginning of the story, Pharaoh had finally released the Israelites from captivity. They departed Egypt en route to the Promised Land under the leadership of Moses and his brother Aaron. When the food they had brought with them finally ran out they called to their leaders asking why they had left Egypt where they had plenty of food only to wander in the desert and starve to death. God, hearing their cries, said to Moses, “Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you; and the people shall go out and gather enough for that day. In this way I will test them and see whether they will follow my instructions…Tell [the children of Israel] that…in the morning you shall be filled with bread; and you shall know that I am the Lord your God.” The next morning the Israelites awoke to find the wilderness covered in a fine frost-like coating of manna. It had fallen from heaven in abundance great enough to feed them all. Moses said to the masses, “This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat.” He then instructed them to collect as much as they needed to feed each person, and they were saved from starvation and recognized God’s power.

\textsuperscript{21} One comparison that can be done in San Giorgio in Braida are between the poses of the figures in trees in \textit{The Manna} with the angels on either side of the Virgin in Brusasorci’s \textit{The Three Archangels and the Virgin} of c.1580. Also, the more muscular figures in the lower register of \textit{The Manna} more closely resemble Ottino’s figural and facial types. Again, within San Giorgio in Braida the similarities can be seen between the face of the Virgin in Ottino’s \textit{Assumption of the Virgin with Sts. Benedict, Maruo, Bernardo and Anthony Abbot} of 1625 and the face of the standing figure wearing a pink turban and carrying a large gold vessel on the extreme left of \textit{The Manna} who looks out toward the viewer. A. M. Calcagni Conforti, “Profilo di Pasquale Ottino,” \textit{Arte Veneta} XXIII(1969): 156 sees the portrait of Ottino in this same figure.

\textsuperscript{22} Maffei (1731): vol. 4, 250; Belviglieri (1898): 71; Zannandreis (1891): 147 and 236; Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 488. This may have been Ottino’s first major commission, though \textit{Mysteries of the Rosary} (Engazzà, parish church) of 1613 is his first securely-dated work. Trecca (1930): 67 and Brugnoli (1954): 46 see the portrait of Brusasorci in the face of the muscular man in blue in the center foreground who is helping his wife and the portraits of Brusasorci’s students, Ottino and l’Orbetto, in the two men seated with their heads together behind this central group.
Felice Brusasorci’s *Fall of Manna from Heaven* in San Giorgio in Braida remains true to this account. The only exception is Brusasorci’s event takes place in a lush wooded setting at the base of a low mountain range, reminiscent of the landscape just beyond the walls of the church, instead of in the desert of the Sinai. Moses is a key element of the story as the agent through whom God spoke to the Israelites. He is readily identifiable in the painting by the rays of light emanating from his head and the staff outstretched in his hand. But he is relegated to the far background in spite of his important role. The Israelites therefore become the protagonists. Great emphasis is also placed upon the manna piled up in the foreground of the painting. The hungry people try to gather the Heaven-sent gift any way they can. Some string up sheets in the trees to catch it before it hits the earth while others collect it from the ground with their hands and put it in elaborate golden vessels of all sizes that are suggestive of tabernacles and ciboria. The main message of the canvas is not the actual consumption of the manna, since only one figure, a boy in the center left of the composition with his foot in the stream, is shown eating it. Rather, emphasis is placed upon the Israelites’ realization of the miraculous appearance of the God-sent food and their need to collect it for themselves.

A group of three figures in the center of the composition, but set apart from the bustling crowd, bring the miracle and its significance into high relief. A nearly nude figure sleeps with an empty vessel to his right. The implication is that unless he wakes up and collects his share of the manna, he will starve. Luckily, he is being shaken awake by the hand of a man with blonde curls. This towheaded figure holds a staff in his right hand. He is Moses’ brother, Aaron, and the God-appointed messenger to Pharaoh.
Seemingly incongruous to the scene is a dog immediately to Aaron’s right that defecates into the river.

The Canons sitting across the chancel from this painting would have viewed this grouping of two men and the dog as a visual summary of their mission within the Catholic Church. The sleeping man represents the masses that have not yet awakened to the miracle surrounding them. God’s messenger, Aaron, represents the priesthood, and the Canons themselves, whose duty it was to awaken the people to the presence of God in the bread of Holy communion. The defecating dog under Aaron’s staff is a kind of warning against the consequences of not performing this duty.23

The extraordinary appearance of manna prefigured the communion bread and the coming of Christ. It is Old Testament evidence of the validity of the Eucharist and therefore defense of the miracle of Transubstantiation. The reason for the development of the “sacramental iconography of the Fall of Manna, and for that matter, the reason for the increasing use of this subject during and after the Council of Trent,” was, according to Maurice Cope, because, “this episode in Exodus came to be thought of not merely as a

23 This is especially true when we realize Brusasorci’s dog is identical in pose, proportion and breed to that in Titian’s woodcut of the Submersion of Pharaoh’s Army in the Red Sea of 1549 in which the artist placed a defecating dog on the banks of the Red Sea with the Israelites and directly under the staff of Moses. Brusasorci has even duplicated the collar and tag hanging around Titian’s dog’s neck. (Una Roman D’Elia, “The Decorum of a Defecating Dog,” Print Quarterly XXII, no. 2 (June 2005) reproduces the image and detail of the dog.) The similarities in posture and context are too striking for Brusasorci’s decision to include Titian’s dog in his own composition to be a mere coincidence. Beyond simply copying a fellow artist’s artistic motif, it seems Brusasorci wanted to duplicate the dog’s symbolic meaning by placing it amid throngs of Israelites and under the staff of Aaron, but further research is needed to ascertain the exact nature of the association.

David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro interpreted the motif of the defecating dog in Titian’s woodcut as part of an allegory of the Venetian’s defeating the army after the League of Cambrai. They saw the dog as the Israelites issuing a sign of disrespect to Pharaoh’s drowning troops in the same way the Venetians bared their bottoms to the retreating army. (David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, Titian and the Venetian Woodcut (Washington, D.C.1976), 72-73.) Una Roman D’Elia agreed with this interpretation of the symbolism, but went on to argue that Titian included the crude motif in his woodcut because it illustrates “an alternative heroic mode” and therefore “serves as an extreme emphasis of the nature of Titian’s high style.” (D’Elia (June 2005): 122.) In the case of the Titian woodcut, I agree with these scholars’ assessments of the dog. It seems to take on further meaning, however, when it is examined together with the dog in Brusasorci’s painting in San Giorgio in Braid.
type of Last Supper (as it had been considered for many centuries), but as one of the
demonstrations of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament.\textsuperscript{24}

This idea is further reinforced through the pairing of Brusasorci’s painting with its
pendant on the right side of the chancel. Paolo Farinati’s painting is an interpretation of
another miraculous feeding from the Bible: the \textit{Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes}, also
known as the \textit{Feeding of the 5,000}. All four Evangelists recounted the story in their
Gospels.\textsuperscript{25} Jesus and his disciples sailed across the Sea of Galilee in search of solitude
following the beheading of John the Baptist. Many people heard of his journey and came
to join him. When night began to fall, the disciples became concerned about the scarcity
of food and asked Jesus to send the people back to their towns. Jesus said that was not
necessary and that he would provide them with something to eat. Then, according to John
6:8-11:

\begin{quote}
…one of [Jesus’] disciples, Andrew, spoke up, ‘Here is a boy with five small barley loaves and two small fish, but how far will they go among so many?’ Jesus said, ‘Have the people sit down.’ There was plenty of grass in that place, and they sat down (about five thousand men were there). Jesus then took the loaves, gave thanks, and distributed to those who were seated as much as they wanted.
\end{quote}

Farinati, like Brusasorci, remained true to the narrative. And though Farinati necessarily
included the fishes, which remain on the plate, he, like Brusasorci emphasized the bread
because of its connection to the Eucharist and the Body of Christ. The disciples are also
active participants in the miracle and represent the role of the priest in the Mass. They are
shown carrying large baskets of bread and distributing their contents to the multitudes.
The hungry men, women and children are seated on the lush grass along the shores of the

\textsuperscript{24} Cope (1979): 212-213.
Sea of Galilee. The boats used by Christ to cross the Sea are moored in the background. In the center of the composition, a small boy dressed in orange presents the loaves and fishes to Christ who has taken one of the loaves and broken it in half. A bearded man wearing yellow whose face may be a self-portrait of the artist accompanies the boy.²⁶

Paolo Farinati’s inclusion of the boy is proof that the Canons specifically instructed him to use the Gospel of John the Evangelist as the textual basis for his painting. John was the only Evangelist to identify a boy as the source of the food. Beyond the obvious connection between a scene of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes and its place within a chapel of the Sacrament, Farinati’s choice of texts is significant for two reasons. First, only John’s account is followed in the Bible by Christ’s disclosure to the faithful that the Fall of Manna from Heaven was God’s gift. This passage links Farinati’s canvas directly to the one opposite. And second, only in John’s account does Christ himself disclose that he is the Bread of Life: “Very truly I tell you, it is not Moses who has given you the bread from heaven, but it is my Father who gives you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is the bread that comes down from heaven and gives life to the world...I am the bread of life. Whoever comes to me will never go hungry.”²⁷ Therefore, in these verses Christ has explained in his own words that the manna from Heaven was a prefiguration of his arrival on earth, and he has personally attested to the Real Presence of God in the Eucharist. The connection between this painting and the physical manifestation of the body of Christ is reinforced by the gaze of

²⁶ Scholars have proposed three possible portraits of Farinati: the old man in yellow with the white beard and his arms around the boy presenting Christ with the basin and two fish (Belviglieri (1898): 71; Trecca (1930): 87), the bearded man on the right wearing pink and distributing bread to the masses (Zannandreis (1891): 153), and the figure in the lower left wearing black garments and a white headress (Da Persico (1820-1821): 91). The latter, however, is clearly a female.
²⁷ John 6:25-35.
the woman in the lower left of the painting dressed in the garb of a mother superior.\textsuperscript{28} She looks not to Christ in the center of the composition, but to the tabernacle containing the Eucharist upon San Giorgio in Braida’s high altar.

In light of Protestant disputation over the validity of the Eucharist and Transubstantiation, it is no wonder that decorations in churches faithful to the Roman Church became clear visual affirmations of these very doctrines.\textsuperscript{29} Nowhere was this truer than in the adornment of the high altar at San Giorgio in Braida. Bishop Giberti first dictated that the apse’s decorative complex center on the primacy of the Eucharist and accordingly ordered San Giorgio in Braida’s architecture to be modified in order to open the nave to the masses. This mandate was later taken up and made general by the decrees of the Council of Trent. The canvases of the \textit{Fall of Manna from Heaven} and \textit{The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes} were the final pieces of the iconographic program that centered upon the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist at the moment of Transubstantiation. Their massive size and placement are visual proof of the importance of their imagery to the Canons and therefore within the church’s overall iconographic program.

\textit{Section Three: Decoration of the four chapels on right side of nave}

The push for uniformity within the post-Tridentine Church that caused the Canons to take monastic vows in 1568 also resulted in the reorganization of many church interiors. Marcia Hall examined the dramatic effects of this trend upon the largest mendicant churches of Florence: Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce. In 1565, Duke

\textsuperscript{28} The woman’s dress and physiognomy also resembles the sitter in a painting by Farinati’s workshop who is presumed to be the poetess Veronica Gambara. The painting is now in the Museo Castelvecchio (inv. 5240-1B1912). It is reproduced in black and white in Giorgio Marini, Paola Marini, and Francesca Rossi, eds., \textit{Paolo Farinati, 1524 - 1606: dipinti, incisioni e disegni per l’architettura} (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005), 21, fig. 22.

\textsuperscript{29} Cope (1979): 212-213.
Cosimo de Medici ordered Giorgio Vasari to remove the churches’ monumental choir screens and to reorganize their high altars in order to open the nave and to make the Eucharist accessible to the laity. He also ordered Vasari to regularize the nave altars, “because things which lack order and good proportion cannot be entirely beautiful,” and therefore he “ordered that chapels [in both churches] be made in one or two styles” and placed in alternating fashion between the pillars of the nave.\(^{30}\) The initiative to reorganize the space of a church’s interior to direct devotional focus toward the high altar and the Eucharist was not, of course, a new one. As I have shown above and in Chapter Four, as early as the 1530s, Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti described the proper decorum of the church interior and called for its redesign in order to emphasize the vital role of the Sacrament.\(^{31}\) And the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida had begun the redesign of their church in the 1530s following these principles. Their decision in the first decade of the 1600s to decorate the high altar with Old and New Testaments typologies of the Real Presence of Christ is proof of the Canons’ continued commitment to using art and architecture to emphasize the sacramental nature of the Mass centered on the Eucharist. The Canons applied this methodology to the rest of the church decorations.

All the lateral chapels on San Giorgio in Braida’s right side were consecrated by 1543. But after 1568 they remained unadorned. This provided the Canons the opportunity to unify the entire right side of the church at once. They commissioned decorations for


\(^{31}\) Bishop Carlo Borromeo’s treatise published in Milan in 1577 gave these principles broader attention in the post-Tridentine environment.
the chapels that in style and content formed a cohesive visual group. Each chapel contains a single-field rectangular altarpiece unaccompanied by predella panels and enclosed by a frame in one of two designs. One frame design (Fig. 184) features sculpted references to the Eucharist in the frieze and pediment and closely resemble the campanile which was being constructed around this time (Fig. 3). The other frame design (Fig. 185) contains the Dove of the Holy Spirit in the pediment. As one advances down the length of the nave, the chapels contain alternating frame styles. This alternation creates a visual rhythm (ABAB; Cfr. Figs. 116 & 186) that subtly moves devotional focus from the main entrance and down the nave toward the high altar where the Eucharist was reserved. This systemization of the nave’s right wall was the same approach employed by Vasari in 1565 in the two Florentine churches. Vasari visited the church of San Giorgio in Braida in the 1560s. The similarities between the projects make it possible that Vasari proposed the new configuration to the Canons during his visit.

As in the chancel where biblical typologies were chosen specifically to respond to Protestant challenges, the imagery in the altarpieces on the right of the nave was also selected as a direct reaction to the Protestant’s denial of the Real Presence of Christ and

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32 For a discussion of the development of coordinated altarpieces in Venice see Peter Humfrey, “Co-ordinated Altarpieces in Renaissance Venice: The Progress of an Ideal,” in The Altarpiece in the Renaissance, ed. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Humfrey stated that the desire for uniformity in church interiors during the second half of the 1500s was often in conflict with the reality in the churches at that time. The chapels were often very different from each other since the individuals or confraternities who owned the patronage rights to them expressed their individuality in the altarpieces they commissioned as a way to distinguish their chapel from the neighboring ones. In San Giorgio in Braida, this was less of an issues because, as I have sought to show throughout this dissertation, the Canons were the ones making the creative decisions and so they did not have to accommodate the wishes of outside patrons when they decorated the right aisle of their church. Furthermore, the chapels on that side of the church seem to have been bare when the Canons began their campaign to unify their appearance.

33 It is worth noting that all the chapels on the left side of the nave were originally decorated with altarpieces accompanied by predella panels. This is one more reason why Francesco Torbido’s Giustiniani altarpiece and predella of the miracles and death of Giustiniani was original to the fourth chapel on the left.

34 Langenskiöld (1938): 179.
in response to their rejection of the cult of Mary. Peter Humfrey has shown that the didactic function of the altarpiece format over time affected its legibility because certain imagery, especially Christological imagery with eucharistic connections, overtook the hagiography of a chapel’s dedicant (or dedicants).\footnote{Humfrey (1996): 375-377.} No longer the primary object of veneration, the titular saint was carefully assigned a lesser role as intercessor between the viewer and the dominant figure of Christ, as in Domenico Brusasorci’s 
\textit{Cristo Portacroce and Saints} (1547) for the high altar of Santo Stefano (Fig. 187). The titular saint became less central, or was eliminated from the main field of the altarpiece altogether. This shift in emphasis applies in San Giorgio in Braida–the iconography of each altarpiece on the right of the nave still reflected the dedication of the individual altars, but the dedicatory saint (or saints) was no longer the protagonist of the narrative scene but subordinate to the didactic Christological and Marian imagery.

\textit{Christological Imagery:}

\textbf{Francesco Montemezzano’s \textit{Noli Me Tangere} (c.1580)}

At San Giorgio in Braida, the first example of this iconographic shift is found in the altarpiece for the first chapel on the right of the nave (K in Fig. 99) dedicated in 1543 to “Mary Magdalene, Martha and her brother Lazarus.” It should be noted that later, in 1606, the Arte degli Speziale (Spicers and Apothecaries Guild) for whom the Magdalene was their patron saint, acquired this altar, but by 1652, for unknown reasons they had moved the locus of their devotion across town to Santa Maria della Scala.\footnote{Scarcella (1948): 7. This is evidence that San Giorgio in Braida was accessible to the laity.}

The life of Mary Magdalene is derived from both scriptural and legendary sources. The three biblical scenes with which she is identified—\textit{The Raising of Lazarus}
(John 11:1-44), *Supper in the House of the Pharisee* (John 12:1-11), *Noli Me Tangere* (John 20:17)—appeared most commonly in art produced during the late medieval period. In the sixteenth century, the legendary material also became quite popular because it emphasized her penitence. Titian’s series of Penitent Magdalenes produced between the 1530s and 1560s was the product of this trend as was the small sculpted image of the Penitent Magdalene in the frame below the altar in San Giorgio in Braidà (Fig. 144).

Given the specific dedication of the altar to the Magdalene and her siblings, Martha and Lazarus, and the Canons’ preference for canonical texts, one would expect the altarpiece to depict a scriptural scene featuring all the chapel’s dedicatees. John the Evangelist’s accounts of *The Raising of Lazarus*, which prefigured Christ’s own rebirth, and *The Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, which showed Mary Magdalene’s moment of conversion and established her as a penitent par excellence, meet this requirement.37

The Canons may very well have intended the altarpiece to portray one of these subjects when they consecrated the altar in 1543. In the 1570s, however, they commissioned an altarpiece of the *Noli Me Tangere* (Fig. 188), the third scriptural story of Mary Magdalene and the only one that excludes her siblings. The Canons selected the scriptural narrative featuring Christ’s resurrection because their objective in the post-Tridentine

37 Matthew 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-11 and Luke 7:36-50 also describe the episode of the *Supper in the House of Pharisee*, but their accounts do not note the presence of Martha or Lazarus. Images of the *Raising of Lazarus* and the *Noli Me Tangere* were often commissioned together throughout history. Examples are found in Giotto’s Arena Chapel, Duccio’s *Maestà* and in the Magdalene stained glass window in Chartre Cathedral. This was because Mary Magdalene was the witness to both miracles and because the Christ’s miraculous raising of Lazarus from the dead prefigured Christ’s own resurrection. Ruth Wilkins Sullivan, “Duccio’s Raising of Lazarus Reexamined,” *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 3 (Sept 1988): 379, n.319. See Ruth Wilkins Sullivan, “Correction: Duccio’s Raising of Lazarus Reexamined,” *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (Dec 1988): 716 for a full image of the window. The *Supper in the House of the Pharisee*, also known as the *Feast in the House of Simon* (Matthew 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-11; Luke 7:36-50; John 12:1-11), also became quite a popular subject for artistic commissions in the sixteenth century. The Canons choose this as the subject for the refectory at San Giacomo in Monselice outside of Padua. Moretto da Brescia painted the canvas and dated it in 1543. After the Congregation’s suppression, the canvas was transported to Venice to the church of the Pietà in 1740. It was later moved to the Museo Diocesio or Patriarcale in Venice. See Guazzoni (1988): 268.
period was to affirm the divinity of the body of Christ in explicit visual terms.

Furthermore, the *Noli Me Tangere* was in keeping with the Canons’ tradition of depicting scenes from Christ’s life while still including the primary dedicant of the chapel.

Francesco Montemezzano (1540-1602) completed his painting of the *Noli Me Tangere* by 1580 and signed it in the lower right corner.\(^{38}\) The episode occurred after Mary Magdalene had looked into the tomb of Christ and saw two angels sitting upon the open and empty sarcophagus. The large empty tomb is in the background on the right. One of the angels described in the Bible sits upon the empty sarcophagus while the second has alighted on the top step of the tomb’s exterior. Mary had turned from the tomb wondering where Christ had gone only to encounter him after he had risen from his grave but had yet to ascend to heaven. At first she mistook him for a gardener (the shovel in Christ’s right hand in the altarpiece alludes to this misidentification) and asked what had happened to the body. Montemezzano’s painting depicts the moment Mary finally recognized Christ. The Magdalene reaches out to touch him, but he warns her, “Touch me not [*noli me tangere*], for I have not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my brethren and say to them, ‘I am ascending to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.’” Thus the Magdalene became the first to behold Christ’s reincarnated physical presence and the one charged by him with spreading the word of his resurrection.

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\(^{38}\) Lanceni (1720): 199; Scherli (XVIII century): 85. The artist’s signature, *F[...] MEZZA*, was uncovered during the course of the painting’s restoration in 2006. Montemezzano was born in the parish of San Giorgio, so San Giorgio in Braida was his parochial church. This is the only painting by Montemezzano that resides in his hometown of Verona. Montemezzano was apprenticed in the workshop of Paolo Veronese, though his style often associated him with Paolo Farinati. Chiara Rigoni, “La Bottega dei Caliari a Verona,” in *Veronese e Verona*, ed. Sergio Marinelli (Verona: Fedrigoni, 1988), 88; Raffaello Brenzoni, *Francesco Montemezzano (Monte Mezzano) (Pittore veronese della II metà del XVI sec.) Documenti per la biografia e genealogia familiare del pittore*, vol. lxii (Milano: L’Arte, 1963?), 299 and Raffaello Brenzoni, *Dizionario di Artisti Veneti. Pittori, Scultori, Architetti, etc. dal XIII al XVIII Secolo* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1972), 209.
In light of the Canons’ choice of iconography and its intended message in the context of the post-Conciliar Church, two other specific elements in the painting are worth noting: the color of the Magdalene’s garb and the angels in the painting’s upper register. Mary Magdalene traditionally wears crimson garments when she appears in biblical narratives. Yet in the altarpiece in San Giorgio in Braida she is dressed in a dark blue garment closed with a checked sash and covered by a voluminous orange shawl. This ensemble closely resembles that worn by Paolo Veronese’s figure of San Barnaba from 1566 discussed in the previous chapter (cfr. Fig. 172). As in the painting of San Barnaba, the saint’s clothing mimicked the Canons’ vestments and invoked their mission as priests. In this scene, the Magdalene was a witness to the reconstitution of Christ’s blood and body, and was instructed to spread the news of his resurrection. Dressed in garb that closely resembles the distinctive dress of the Canons, she becomes a metaphor for the Canons’ role in the miracle of transubstantiation of the Host on the high altar and their duty to spread the Word of God.

Two angels accompanied by three smaller winged putti descend from the heavens in the painting’s upper left corner. They carry several implements of the Passion and the flag of Resurrection. A fourth putto holding the switch used to flagellate Christ watches the interaction of Christ and Mary Magdalene from atop the empty tomb on the painting’s right side. Because the Resurrection is proof of Christ’s divinity, the narrative of the *Noli Me Tangere* has over the centuries appeared in polyptychs and fresco cycles together

39 There are many examples in the history of art that show her dressed this way. For example, on the of the panels in Duccio’s *Maestà* (1308), Correggio’s *Noli Me Tangere* in the Prado (1525), and Titian’s painting of the same subject in the National Gallery in London (1511). She is shown clothed only in her own hair in the legendary telling of her penitance in the desert.

40 Given the unusual color of the Magdalene’s clothing and its close resemblance to Veronese’s earlier figure one can assume that Montemezzano was in Veronese’s workshop when *The Miracle of San Barnaba* was being painted.
with scenes of Christ’s Passion, such as the Crucifixion. In Montemezzano’s canvas, the implements of Christ’s demise represent the story of the Passion. In the context of the nave of San Giorgio in Braida and the emphasis on Christological imagery that reinforces the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the insertion of this narrative into the main field of an altarpiece depicting the *Noli Me Tangere* is entirely appropriate but also highly unusual in the history of art.41

**Marian Imagery**

The Canons had revered the Virgin Mary with great ardor since the founding of their organization in 1404. Indeed, their vestments were made from dark blue cloth in imitation of the color of the Virgin’s mantle. The three remaining altarpieces on the right of San Giorgio in Braida’s nave reflect the Canons’ reinforced allegiance to her cult after 1568 even as the Protestants rejected it. In contrast to Girolamo dai Libri’s static depiction of the enthroned Virgin in the Giustiniani altarpiece of 1526 (Fig. 110), the portrayals of Mary as protector and intercessor in the three remaining altarpieces are much more dynamic and reflect the stylistic developments of the sixteen century.

**Felice Brusasorci’s *Virgin Assunta and the Three Archangels* (1578/80)**

Bishop Giberti consecrated the last chapel on the right on 27 April 1536 (H in Fig. 99). It was the only chapel identified by name in the cloister inscription and dedicated “in the name of Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael the Angels,” the only three archangels

41 Other examples of scenes of the *Noli Me Tangere* that include such overt allusions to the Passion in the altarpiece’s main body may exist, but to date I have been unable to identify any.
mentioned in canonical scripture. Presumably this chapel was functional by 1536 but it seems to have remained unadorned for an unknown reason for over fifty years. The first time Felice Brusasorci’s *Virgin Assunta and the Three Archangels* was recorded above the altar was in 1580 (Fig. 189). The canvas, though, probably dates to just after the artist’s return from Tuscany in 1577 and is contemporary with Montemezzano’s *Noli Me Tangere* in the chapel at the opposite end of the nave.

Based upon the chapel’s triple dedication, Brusasorci could have chosen a composition for his altarpiece that presented all three angels as equal participants in the narrative. He would have known one example of this model in his native Verona. Gian Francesco Caroto painted *The Three Archangels* for Sant’Eufemia in c.1520-30 (Fig. 190). He placed Archangel Raphael in the center of the composition with Michael to his right and Gabriel to his left. The angels are identified by their attributes, but appear to be alike in importance and stature. Brusasorci was in residence in Florence in the 1570s so he also would have been exposed to the numerous altarpieces of the archangels in that city where in the fifteenth century the citizens were especially devoted to them. Among the examples he could have seen are Sandro Botticelli’s panel from c.1470 in the church of Santo Spirito (now in the Uffizi; Fig.191) and the similar horizontal composition with lyrical figures painted in c.1485 by one of Botticelli’s pupils, Filippino Lippi (now in the

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42 The reason why this altar was the only one identified in the inscription as consecrated in 1536 is unknown. It is worth noting that this was one of the first altars to be consecrated by one of the last to receive an altarpiece. See Appendix III.


Galleria Sabauda in Turin; Fig. 192). Both artists arranged the angels in the same order as in Caroto’s canvas in Verona. Similarly, no one angel is honored above another.

The Canons could also have chosen to commission an altarpiece for the chapel in San Giorgio in Braida that gave Archangel Michael pride of place. This would have been appropriate because the Canons’ second house in Verona was dedicated to Michael and because in his guise of the Church Militant, Michael embodied the Canons’ mission as defenders of the faith. An example of an altarpiece that features Michael in this way is the one painted by a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci’s, Marco d’Oggiono (1467-1524), for Santa Marta in Milan in 1516 (now in the Brera; Fig. 193). Michael is in flight in the center of the canvas. He spreads his large red wings to fill the upper half of the composition and holds aloft in his right hand a large sword. He is about to bring the sword down upon Lucifer as he tumbles through a hole in the earth at the bottom of the composition. Gabriel and Raphael stand passively upon the ground on either side of the hole. Both are deprived of their attributes so one cannot determine who is who.

The Canons decided to feature Marian imagery first and foremost, so Brusasorci had to deviate considerably from these earlier precedents. He looked to two other models for his inspiration instead. The artist likely came into contact with Giulio Romano’s Regina Angelorum of c.1570 (Fig. 194) during his travels through Tuscany. As the title of the work states, Giulio portrayed Mary as the Queen of the Angels. She holds the Christ Child at her knee and looks down from her throne of clouds to Gabriel, Michael

45 Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 488 thought that the altar was dedicated to only Saint Michael.
and Raphael in the lower half of the composition. They, in turn, focus entirely upon her presence. Gabriel strides across the left side of the composition with his right hand raised indicating the Virgin above. He looks toward Michael in the center who is in the process of slaying Lucifer. Michael and Lucifer have paused in their struggle and turned their gazes toward Mary. On the right, Raphael kneels and shelters Tobias in his arms. Both look heavenward. In fact, their gazes meet those of the Virgin and Child. Unlike Caroto’s angels, who look placid and detached from the others, or the Florentine models where the angels elegantly process across the composition, Giulio’s angels are dynamic and emotional. They interact with each other but are subordinate to the Virgin and Child and are not the primary focus of devotion. This composition perfectly balanced Marian iconography with that of the three archangels. Therefore, when the Canons commissioned the altarpiece for the chapel dedicated to the Archangels in the late 1570s, this arrangement suited their needs perfectly.

Brusasorci placed the three archangels in the painting’s lower register, but has made the Virgin Mary and the Dove of the Holy Spirit the altarpiece’s devotional foci. Archangel Michael is in the center of the trio of angels as he was in d’Oggiono’s canvas, but he is in the bottom register. His stance and dress closely resemble Giulio’s figure: he is dressed in a pink cuirass with a green skirt, red and green greaves. But unlike Giulio’s Michael, Brusasorci’s wears a red helmet topped with a golden pelican in reference to the Resurrection of Christ. Michael’s pose also resembles Giulio’s figure: he leans upon a sword as tall as he is and bears a balance in his right hand. He is armed as the embodiment of the Church Militant. In this way he is related to Saint George, the church’s and the Canons’ namesake. He dominates Lucifer by pressing his right foot onto
his head in contrast to Giulio’s design where Lucifer’s body is parallel to the picture plane and Michael subdues him with his lance and left foot. Michael is looking to Archangel Gabriel on his right, who returns his gaze. Gabriel cradles a white lily, the symbol of the Annunciation, in his left arm and gestures towards the worshipper before the altarpiece with his right hand as if recommending them to Michael. Gabriel, therefore, deviated from Giulio’s model where Gabriel turns from the viewer and gestures towards the Virgin above. Kneeling in the lower right of Brusasorci’s composition is Archangel Raphael who encircles the small human figure of Tobias with his left arm. Tobias looks toward Lucifer but cowers away from him into Raphael’s arms. He comforts Tobias by indicating the Virgin above who will provide protection from the demon under Michael’s foot.

The Virgin in the upper register of Brusasorci’s painting engages Raphael and Tobias below as she does in Giulio’s composition, but all other aspects of the upper register depart from this precedent. For this segment of his design Brusasorci referred to an artistic model closer to home. A drawing for the top portion of the painting shows some of angels and the Virgin in reverse (Fig. 195), but the pose of the Virgin in the final painting—hands clasped in prayer, head inclined toward the action in the bottom right of the canvas—is clearly derived from the figure of the Virgin in Titian’s *Assumption of the Virgin* for the Cartolari-Nichesola chapel in the Veronese Duomo (Fig. 196). Titian began the painting in 1530 and completed it by December 1532 when it was recorded for the first time. Brusasorci’s Virgin wears a red tunic with a blue mantle instead of the white one worn by Titian’s figure. Both artists created a halo of golden light around the

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48 Terence Mullaly, ed. *Disegni veronesi del Cinquecento*, vol. 32, Istituto di Storia dell’Arte (Vicenza: Pozza, 1971), 75, fig. 89.
49 It was discussed in a letter recounting a visit to the Duomo. Serafini (1998): 56-57, esp. 94.
Virgin, but the Holy Spirit, in the form of a white dove at the top of Brusasorci’s work seems to be the primary divine source for that light. In drawing on Titian’s work, Brusasorci assimilated the Venetian’s style. By looking to his regional contribution rather than to an altarpiece in Venice, Brusasorci filtered the external influence through this local artistic idiom. Furthermore, Titian’s figure represents the moment of the corporal assumption of the Virgin made possible because she was free of original sin. Brusasorci grafted Titian’s Virgin Assunta into his own painting thereby infusing the same meaning into his image of the Virgin.

**Domenico Tintoretto’s Pentecost (1619)**

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the election of Candidus Peroti as Prior of San Giorgio in Braida in 1618 seems to have been the impetus for commissioning the last two altarpieces for the nave’s right side. Soon after Peroti’s election, Domenico Tintoretto (1560-1635) completed his painting of *The Pentecost* (Fig. 197) for the third altar on the right of the church (I in Fig. 99). Domenico was the second native Venetian hired by the Veronese Canons to adorn their church. There are several possible reasons why he was selected for this commission at this time, but two seem most likely. First, Domenico was the son of Jacopo Tintoretto. Between 1552 and 1577 Jacopo had worked extensively with the Canons at their second Venetian house, the Madonna dell’Orto. So

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50 The *Ade* or outer wing of Verona’s Arena shown on the canvas’ right side visually links the Virgin’s heavenly realm to the terrestrial domain of the archangels below and further roots the painting in the local surroundings.

51 The painting is not dated. The object files in the Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio storico artistico ed etnoantropologico per le province di Verona Vicenza e Rovigo note that the painting was completed in 1619.

52 Francesco Torbido was the first.

perhaps Candidus Peroti was a Canon at the Madonna dell’Orto some time during Jacopo’s tenure there and became acquainted with Domenico when he was in his father’s employ.\textsuperscript{54} Also, Domenico Tintoretto was a close friend of the painter and writer Carlo Ridolfi (1594-1658). Ridolfi was at work on two canvases (Figs. 198 & 199) for the Canons at Santi Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo around 1620 and he may have recommended his friend for the work in Verona.\textsuperscript{55}

The style of the frame surrounding Domenico Tintoretto’s altarpiece is identical to the one containing Montemezzano’s \textit{Noli Me Tangere} in the Mary Magdalene chapel. The only difference is the \textit{Noli Me Tangere} frame contains the Penitent Magdalene in the lower portion while the \textit{Pentecost} frame contains a small carved figure of Saint George (Fig. 143).\textsuperscript{56} George stands frontally, wears armor and holds a shield with a cross upon it and a lance, though the lance’s top and George’s right hand are now missing. This figure is a curious aspect of the frame. As the carved figure of the Penitent Magdalene was indicative of one of that chapel’s dedicants, the presence of the diminutive figure of George in the frame of the other chapel leads one to conclude the chapel was originally dedicated to that saint. When this information is coupled with the inscription in the cloister that stated “two of [the three altars consecrated in 1536 by Bishop Giberti] were moved afterwards from their places” and the knowledge that the chapel was dedicated to all the Apostles in 1542, one could also conclude that the chapel containing the \textit{Pentecost}

\textsuperscript{54} According to a list compiled Douglas-Scott, Peroti was not among the church’s Priors between 1546 and 1566. But his list is incomplete. See Douglas-Scott (1995): 357. Don Peroti’s name appears in no other known document. Therefore his birth and death dates are unknown as are any details about his life.

\textsuperscript{55} The \textit{Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani in Glory} and the \textit{Triumph of Saint George}, both from 1622, are Ridolfi’s earliest dated paintings.

\textsuperscript{56} Trecca (1930): 99 considers it to be made of stucco.
was likely one of the two “moved afterward.” Yet there is no known record of an altarpiece in this chapel before Tintoretto’s, and the frames were commissioned in the latter part of the sixteenth century, after the chapel was consecrated to the Apostles in 1542. Therefore, the figure of George may be a vestige of the chapel’s previous identity, or the Canons may have included it simply as another tribute to their patron saint since it would have been impossible to carve likenesses of all twelve Apostles in such a small area.

An altarpiece depicting the story of Pentecost is an appropriate subject for a chapel dedicated to the Apostles as they are the main protagonists of the scriptural account (Acts 2: 1-6). On the day of Pentecost, or the fiftieth day after Passover, the twelve Apostles gathered together awaiting the fulfillment of Christ’s promise that he would give them the ability to represent him everywhere and begin their missionary activity. Then suddenly, according to the Bible:

...a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven and filled the whole house where they were sitting. They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them. Now there were staying in Jerusalem God-fearing Jews from every nation under heaven. When they heard this sound, a crowd came together in bewilderment, because each one heard their own language being spoken.

Tintoretto depicted the Apostles seated in two equal groups in the lower half of the painting. They look toward the Dove of the Holy Spirit, which appears twice—once in painted form before a bright ball of light and surrounded by angels and seraphim at the top of Tintoretto’s composition, and again carved into the pediment of the frame above.
the altarpiece. The Holy Spirit has touched each of the Apostles, as indicated by the “tongues of fire” upon the crowns of each of their heads, and given them universal speaking ability. This is their divine directive to preach and spread the Christ’s teachings. In light of the Protestant challenge, it was visual affirmation of the sanctity of the priesthood.

The artist painted this sacred gathering of Apostles as the Bible described it—with one exception. Mary is featured prominently in the center with her arms outstretched and her gaze turned heavenward. Her inclusion in the Pentecost narrative departed from the Biblical text, but as the figurative tabernacle of Christ and the symbol of the Church she is the vital intercessor and the agent through which the Apostles received the Holy Spirit. Her appearance in an image of the Pentecost narrative is not unique and examples abound in the history of art, especially when the popularity of her cult was in ascendancy. What is unusual is how Tintoretto emphasized her vital role. He employed a perspectival construction that makes the room’s dimensions appear to splay outward thus allowing the devout observer to look down upon the Apostles while simultaneously looking up at Mary and the heavenly vision above her. Tintoretto also emphasized the linear progression from the terrestrial to the divine by placing Mary at the intersection of the two and by situating other key narrative elements along the center line of the picture. The foreground is bare except for the keys and open text representing the Gospel of John at the base of Mary’s elevated dais. Those objects belong to Saints Peter and John, the two

58 Furthermore, the prominence of the Dove of the Holy Spirit in the altarpiece and its frame lead Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 488 to conclude that the chapel was dedicated to the “Santo Spirito.”

59 Among the numerous examples are scenes of the Pentecost found in the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, Florence and in Duccio’s Maestà.
Apostles seated closest to Mary. Directly above is the Virgin and through the heavenly sphere is the Dove of the Holy Spirit.

For the Canons, this painting served as their mission statement in the tumultuous years following the Council of Trent when they became avowed priests without altering their devotional practices. They, like the Apostles, were charged with spreading the word of God. For them to communicate with the divine (represented by the Dove of the Holy Spirit), they looked to the Church in Rome (embodied in the keys of Saint Peter), studied canonical texts and venerated the Virgin as the tabernacle of Christ. Furthermore, the Dove of the Holy Spirit was one of the basic elements of the Congregation’s visual identity, as it was among their primary devotions, but it also symbolized their founder, Pope Gregory XII. So the painting served as an homage to him as well.

One Canon in particular seems to have inserted himself into this context in quite a literal way. On the far left of the canvas just above the bearded Apostle in dark green and rose-colored garments is a man who appears to be about thirty with very distinct facial features and the beginnings of a five o’clock shadow. He wears the dark blue vestments of the Canons and presses his left hand to his chest as he gazes adoringly at the Virgin. He bears the flame of the Holy Spirit but is the only figure without the glow of a halo behind his head. I propose that this figure is Candidus Peroti, the Prior of San Giorgio in Braida when this painting was commissioned and the pious exemplar for the Canons under his care.

*Pasquale Ottino’s *Assumption of the Virgin and Saints* (1625)

All the side chapels were finally complete when the Canons installed the altarpiece in the second chapel on the right of the nave (J in Fig. 99) dedicated in 1543 to
“Saints Anthony, Benedict, Maurice and Abbot Bernard,” four saints associated with monastic life and its organization. Pasquale Ottino painted the *Assumption of the Virgin and Saints* (Fig. 200) for this chapel in 1625. This painting exhibited Ottino’s preference for monumental figural forms and fondness for dramatic chiaroscuro illumination. His style developed these characteristics after he studied the art of Caravaggio and other Roman painters during his sojourn to that city in c.1612 and the art of Bolognese painters Guido Reni and the Carracci in Veronese collections.

All four of the monastic saints to whom the chapel was dedicated stand in the lower register of Ottino’s painting. Benedict of Nursia (c.480-543), the founder of western monasticism and patron of scholars, is on the far left. His dark vestments, tonsured head and crozier identify him. His gaze is directed toward the Virgin while the gesture of his left hand presents the figure kneeling in the foreground to her. To Benedict’s left is Anthony Abbot (c.251-356), the renowned ascetic and father of all monks. He is bearded, dressed in brown vestments and carries his walking stick topped with the Tau cross. The pig that was his constant companion can be seen peeking from behind Anthony while the bell used by Anthony to call the faithful animal lies on its side at the bottom of the painting. Anthony turns to look at Benedict to his right, and raises his right hand in a sign of blessing. Saints Maurice and Bernard are paired on the painting’s right side. Maurice was a follower of Benedict, and in emulation of him, he too is tonsured and wears blue vestments. Maurice gazes outward serving as the worshipper’s

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60 The inventory taken in 1669 (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 3, 259r. See Appendix VII doc. 1) stated the chapel was dedicated to “gli Abbati”. Biancolini (1749): vol. II, 488 wrote that the chapel was dedicated to only Saint Bernard. Trecca (1930): 101 believed that because the frame has the Lamb, and the symbols of the Eucharist in the metope that the altar must have been dedicated to Christ.

interlocutor. He holds a closed book in his left hand and with his uplifted right hand
directs the viewer to the Virgin above. His hand intersects the leg of one of the angels
supporting the Virgin above thus forming the visual link between the terrestrial and
heavenly spheres. Saint Bernard (1090-1153), the Abbot of Clairvaux, is the figure
reading and dressed in white vestments to Maurice’s left. He cradles a crozier in the
crook of his left arm, holds an open book with both hands and rests his right leg upon the
vanquished figure of Lucifer in the bottom right of the composition. Bernard began his
ecclesiastical career as a Benedictine monk and went on to found the Cistercian order. A
devout ascetic and scholar, Bernard was especially devoted to the Virgin, and a major
force in monastic reform during the eleventh century.

All four of these men were scholars and dedicated themselves to living a
disciplined monastic existence. Three of them were Benedictine monks while the fourth,
Anthony Abbot, predated Benedict but lived according to principles that anticipated those
enacted by Benedict a century and a half later. Particular emphasis is placed upon the
Benedictine order and its way of life in Ottino’s painting for three reasons. First, this
painting’s iconography harkened back to San Giorgio in Braida’s earliest history. It was
established as a Benedictine institute by Peter Cadalus in 1046 and thrived as one of the
most powerful religious institutes in Verona for the next century. 62 Second, the writings
of three of these men—Anthony Abbot, Benedict and Bernardo—informed Lorenzo
Giustinian’s own religious treatises, which the Canons used during their daily worship.
And lastly, the iconography’s emphasis upon monastic discipline and scholarly pursuits

62 For the complete history of the church’s founding, see Chapter One.
further reminded the Canons of their own vocation as reforming Canons and their
methods for achieving change.

Notwithstanding the Canons’ kinship with the figures in the lower half of the
painting, however, the titular saints are again subordinated to Marian imagery. Here the
Virgin Assunta is the altarpiece’s devotional focus. Ottino’s altarpiece is the only one on
the right of the nave to portray the Virgin unaccompanied by the Dove of the Holy Spirit.
She is a monumental figure who clasps her hands in prayer as she is crowned the Queen
of Heaven by two flying putti. A large bank of clouds supports her, her three angel
escorts, and the multitude of music-making angels to her left and right. In subject and
style, the Assumption of the Virgin and Saints closely resembles the massive Assumption
of the Virgin and the Apostles (Fig. 201) that Ottino painted in c.1619 for the chancel of
the Canons’ church in Padua, Santa Maria in Vanzo. Like this earlier work, the Virgin is
the painting’s main subject and the object of devotion of the pious audience in front of
the painting as well as the internal participants.

In the canvas in San Giorgio in Braida there is one especially devout figure that
kneels in prayer and communicates directly with the Virgin. Scholars have speculated
that this is Anselmo Canerio, the prior of San Giorgio in Braida mentioned in the cloister
inscription or Saint Anselmo, Canerio’s patron saint. However, this figure wears the
pomegranate-embossed scarlet and gold vestments that were exclusive to the Patriarch of
Venice. The man who held this position when Ottino painted his canvas was the Venetian

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63 Ottino’s collaboration in 1619 with Marcantonio Bassetti and Alessandro Turchi on the Chapel
of the Innocents in Santo Stefano also informed his composition of the Assumption of the Virgin and Saints.
Specifically, Marcantonio Bassetti’s Five Bishop-Saints was particularly influential. When Ottino was
formulating his altarpiece in San Giorgio in Braida in 1625, he included a kneeling figure in the foreground
that closely resembles the kneeling Bishop-Saint in the foreground of Bassetti’s composition. The kneeling
figure in Ottino’s painting, however, is not one of the chapel’s dedicants.
former Archbishop of Udine, Giovanni Tiepolo (1571-1631; reg. 1619-1631). Tiepolo’s exact relationship with the Canons is unclear. But as the Patriarch of Venice, his jurisdiction was the whole Venetian See, which included Verona and San Giorgio in Braida. He would therefore have known the Canons. The more compelling evidence of the man’s identity is the fact that Tiepolo was a prolific scholar whose extensive writings dealt with the importance of venerating saints in general, and the Virgin Mary in particular. 65 Therefore, if indeed it is Tiepolo who is represented in Ottino’s altarpiece, then it would affirm that he and the Canons knew each other and shared a common devotion to the Virgin and belief in the centrality of her cult to the Christian faith.

Section Four: Final Details

After 1625, the last religious works of art were installed in San Giorgio in Braida. Jacopo Tintoretto’s *Baptism of Christ* (Fig. 202) still hangs above the main door on the retrofaçade of San Giorgio in Braida as it has been since at least 1642 when Giacomo Tomasini recorded its location in his *Annales*. 66 It is unknown exactly when the work was painted or if Jacopo Tintoretto was wholly responsible for its production, though one writer dated it to 1576 and attributed it to Tintoretto but the figure of the Baptist to Gian Francesco Caroto. 67 Restorers of the work in 1998 discovered underdrawings of black carbon, which were typically used by the master when he worked quickly, and believed

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66 See note 70 below.
67 Belviglieri (1898): 70.
the painting was executed by Tintoretto’s workshop using the master’s designs. The two most complete monographs of Tintoretto omitted this work.

This painting was not commissioned by the Veronese Canons, but was given to them, according to Tomasini, by Prior Nicolò Bruno, “to whom the [church] owes a great part of its expansion and decoration.” At the same time Bruno endowed the sacristy with silver liturgical instruments and vestments and the high altar with a marble tabernacle encrusted with stone. Tomasini did not give the date of this donation, so when Prior Bruno was so munificent is unknown. Tomasini and Bruno, however, were contemporaries and served in administrative roles within the Congregation during the same period. Furthermore, records on file at the Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici e per il paesaggio in Verona state that the tabernacle in the church dates to circa 1625 (Fig. 4). Therefore, one can deduce that Bruno donated the sacristy items, tabernacle and Tintoretto’s painting to San Giorgio in Braida around that time. This donation shows

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68 Alessandra Zambaldo and Mattea Legnaghi, Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio storico artistico ed etnoantropologico per le province di Verona Vicenza e Rovigo. Scede di Restauro: 1663.
70 Tomasini (1642): 256: “Templi frons mirabili artificio è vivo lapide superioribus annis erecta, D. Nicolao Bruno Veronensi Rectore sedulo procurante, qui sacrarium in splendidiorem formam reduxit, argenteis ac preciosis vestibus ditavit, maiori arae tabernaculum cum statuis ex candido marmore & rarioribus lapidibus compactum addidit. Templo tabulam donavit, quae Iacobi Tentoreti pictoris Veneti celeberrimi artificio sacrum SERVATORIS nostri lavacrum piis animis repraesentat. Vir sanè splendiddus & magnificus, cui coenobium magnam incrementi ac ornamenti partem debet.” (English translation by Jeremy Thompson: “The façade of the church was erected with marvelous craftsmanship from vivo lapide in later years, when Nicolò Bruno of Verona, the assiduous Rector, was procurator, who brought the sacristy back to more splendid form, enriched [it] with silver and precious cloths, added to the high altar a tabernacle composed of statues from bright marble and quite rare stones. He gave the church a painting, which by the craftsmanship of Jacob Tintoretto, the very celebrated painter of Venice, represents for pious souls the sacred bath of our Savior. Truly, a splendid and generous man, to whom the coenobium owes a great part of its expansion and ornament.”)
71 Tomasini served as visitatores in 1641 (ibid., 708) and signed documents in an official capacity in 1638 (ibid., 702). Bruno served as visitatores in 1628 (ibid., 694). The document is dated MDCXXXVIII (1638), which is likely a typographical error. Tomasini’s Annales proceeds chronologically and the document falls between others dated 1627 and 1629, so it is logical to assume that the date of Bruno’s election to that position took place in 1628 instead. He retired from that position in 1637 (ibid., 708).
72 Scede di Catalogo Generale: 51763-51766.
that even in the final years of the Canons’ efforts to decorate the interior of their church that Prior Bruno, and by extension the Veronese Canons, were still adhering to the Congregation’s overall visual plan by placing an image from the Life of Christ, in this case the Baptism of Christ, over the main entrance on the retrofaçade of their church, the only wall space on the interior that would have been empty at that moment in the church’s history.\textsuperscript{73} It also suggests that Bruno had been in residence at the Madonna dell’Orto where he became acquainted with Jacopo Tintoretto while he was painting canvases for the church’s apse, nave and organ.

In 1625, eight bronze sculptures were installed in the nave of the church. Two of them were placed upon the holy water fonts on either side of the main entrance. As you enter, \textit{Saint George} (Fig. 203)\textsuperscript{74} by Angelo De Rossi is on the right while \textit{Saint John the Baptist} (Fig. 204)\textsuperscript{75} by Giuseppe Levi is to the left. Angelo de Rossi also created the six bronze sculptures affixed to the balustrade separating the chancel and the transept. They are, from left to right, of \textit{San Matteo}, \textit{San Zeno}, \textit{San Luca}, \textit{San Marco}, \textit{San Lorenzo Giustiniani}, and \textit{San Giovanni} (Figs. 205 a-c, 206a, 206b & 129). While Tomasini suggested that Nicolò Bruno was responsible for completion of the façade in “\textit{vivo lapide},” the reality is it was still incomplete when the order lost its status as a sanctioned religious organization.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{73} Pasquale Ottino would have just completed the last of the church’s altarpieces, his \textit{Assumption and Benedictine Saints: Benedetto, Mauro, Bernardo, and Anthony Abbot}, in 1625.

\textsuperscript{74} Inscribed on the base: ANGELVS DE RVBEIS IN[VENTO].

\textsuperscript{75} Inscribed on the base: IOSEPH DE LEVI F[ECIT or -USE].

\textsuperscript{76} Sanmicheli, Sansovino and Vicenzo Scamozzi have all been suggested as the designers of the lower portion of the façade, which was not completed until the seventeenth century. (Brugnoli (1954): 21.) See image of the incomplete façade and bell tower in Onofrio Panvinio, \textit{Antiquitatum Veronensium} (Padua: Paolo Frambotti, 1648).
On 7 December 1668, Pope Clement IX authorized the suppression of the Congregation of Augustinian Canons from San Giorgio in Alga.\textsuperscript{77} This was done, in part, to help finance Venice’s ongoing war with the Turks, specifically the doomed Siege of Candia that ended in 1669 with Venice’s loss of the strategically-important island of Crete.\textsuperscript{78} The one hundred and twenty three Canons who were left at the Congregations’ ten remaining churches were given two options: enter into another approved order or remain unaffiliated priests and receive an annual pension.\textsuperscript{79} All the assets of the entire Congregation were then catalogued and sold at public auctions.\textsuperscript{80} The monastery of San Giorgio in Braida was purchased by the nuns of Santa Maria di Reggio of Verona for 10,500 ducats in 1669.\textsuperscript{81} The documents tell us that this price did not include the church or the campanile and its sacred furnishings, but that the nuns were allowed full use of them.\textsuperscript{82} At the time of the suppression, San Giorgio in Braida’s land holdings produced

\textsuperscript{77} With the same bull, the Pope suppressed the Gesuati and the Augustinian Friars from San Gerolamo in Fiesole. (ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1, 246r.)

\textsuperscript{78} Tramontin (1975): 158.

\textsuperscript{79} Brugnoli (1954): 12-13. At the time of the Congregation’s suppression, ten avowed monks, three lay brothers and three unprofessed clerics resided at San Giorgio in Alga in Venice; fourteen avowed monks and five lay brothers resided at the Madonna dell’Orto in Venice; twelve avowed monks and three lay brothers resided at Santa Maria in Vanzo in Padua; ten avowed monks and four lay brothers resided at San Giacomo in Monselice; two avowed monks and one lay brother resided at Sant’Agostino in Vicenza; six avowed monks and two lay brothers resided at San Rocco in Vicenza; seven avowed monks resided at SS. Fermo e Rustico in Lonigo; five avowed monks resided at Sant’Angiolo in Monte in Verona; fourteen avowed monks and two lay brothers resided at San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia. San Giorgio in Braida contained the largest population in 1668 with sixteen avowed monks and four lay brothers in residence. (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 8, fols. 4r-6v.) It is unknown to me how many of these men opted to enter into another order and how many remained unaffiliated and took a pension, or for that matter, who funded the pensions.

\textsuperscript{80} ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1-14 contain inventories of the houses and details of the sales.

\textsuperscript{81} ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1, 246r-v and Brugnoli (1954): 12-13. An inscription on the pilaster to the left of the chancel commemorates this transfer: M.D.C.LXIX ADI XV AGOSTO / MONSIGNOR ILL.MO E RMO / LORENZO ARCHV. / TROTTI NONTIO / APLICO / CON L’AUTORITÀ DELLA / SANTA / SEDE HA CONCESSO QUESTO CONVENTO / ALLE MONACHE DI SANTA MARIA DI / REGGIO CON ANNUO OBBLIGO IN PERPETUITÀ / DI MESSE NUMERO XIII / ECON. MONS. / RMO. ANDA SBADACCHIA / D. DI. S. T. PROT. APLICO CAN. E TES.

\textsuperscript{82} ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1, fol. 255r-262v; Biancolini (1749): 485-488 and Brugnoli (1954): 13-14. It is unclear who retained control of the church, but presumably it remained in the hands of the
an annual income of 14,000 ducats. They were sold separately in 1669. Sabbione, which had been part of the original donation by Cadalo in 1046, was purchased by the nuns at San Zaccaria in Venice; the castle and properties of Orte, given by Milo in 1046 were acquired by the Monastery of Santa Caterina in Venice for 47,000 *ducati d’argento* and the lands near Trevenzuolo as well as the Canons’ second Veronese house, Sant’Angiolo in Monte, were acquired by the monks of San Michele di Murano in Venice.

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83 Biancolini (1749): 487.
Conclusion:

This study has taken a new approach to the artistic commissions at the religious complex of San Giorgio in Braida by looking at them as an organic whole rather than as individual works of art removed from their patronal, physical and historical context. By doing so I was able to demonstrate that the Secular Canons of the Congregation of San Giorgio in Alga fashioned a visual identity that reflected their spirituality, their devotion to specific saints, and their Venetian character. I discovered that the Canons formulated this identity at the mother church of San Giorgio in Alga in the early 1400s. They put it into widespread use when their Congregation became more established and commenced reforming churches on the terraferma, including San Giorgio in Braida in Verona, in tandem with Venice’s conquest of new territories.

This dissertation attempted to sketch a fuller picture of the Canons’ spiritual profile to understand better its connections to the Canons’ art. This was done by analyzing the iconography in the Canons’ artistic commissions, the writings of their spiritual founder, Lorenzo Giustiniani, and the contents of San Giorgio in Braida’s and San Giorgio in Alga’s libraries and sacristies via the inventories of 1668. I concluded that the Canons’ spirituality depended in large part upon the writings of Lorenzo Giustiniani, which, in turn, drew upon the ideologies of Saints Bernard and Augustine. Giustiniani emphasized devotion to the Virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit and the Holy Sacrament, and routinely referred to Divine Wisdom in his numerous sermons and treatises.

My examination of the Canons’ spiritual profile had its limitations since only one chronicle of the Congregation is known to exist. It was written by a member Giacomo Filippo Tomasini in 1642 and did not cover the last twenty-six years of the Congregation’s existence. Further self-examination became very difficult after the
Congregation’s suppression in 1668 because its few remaining members were assigned to
other orders and its libraries and archives were dispersed or destroyed. So while some
general studies exist, a modern, comprehensive analysis of all aspects of the 266-year
history of the Congregation of Secular Canons, its spirituality, and its reform ideologies
has yet to been written. My assessment of the Secular Canons’ spiritual profile has taken
steps towards remediing this gap. This state of affairs is in contrast to the closely related
Cassinese Congregation which continues to thrive and whose erudite members are well-
schooled in the order’s spirituality and liturgical practices. Many, including the prolific
scholars Gregorio Penco and Francesco Giovanni Trolese, continue to mine the order’s
ancient archives and libraries for insights into, among other things, the order’s origins,
monastic culture in Italy, and the links between monasticism and humanism in the
Renaissance.¹

Many other associations between the Congregation of Secular Canons and the
Cassinese Congregation emerged in the course of this study since both had their roots in
the reform movements of northern Italy during the early 1400s and because many of the
same men–Angelo Correr (Pope Gregory XII), Lorenzo Giustiniani, Gabriele Condulmer
(Pope Eugene IV), Antonio Correr and Ludovico Barbo–were fundamental to the
founding of both. The greatest innovation of this group of men (and one of the
requirements for admission into either of the above-mentioned religious organizations)
was the elimination of the system of holding churches in commenda that had hastened the

¹ Their publications include Gregorio Penco, Storia del Monachesimo in Italia nell’Epoca
Moderna (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1968); Trolese (1983); Penco (1984); Francesco Giovanni Trolese,
Studi di storia religiosa padovana dal Medioevo ai nostri giorni : miscellanea in onore di mons. Ireneo
Daniele, Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padovana (Padova: Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica
padovana, 1997) and Francesco Giovanni Trolese, Il monachesimo italiano nell’età comunale: atti del IV
Convegno di studi storici sull’Italia benedettina: Abbazia di S. Giacomo Maggiore, Pontida (Bergamo), 3-
decline of many monastic communities in the 1300s. Though it is unclear exactly who formulated this idea first, I proposed, based upon circumstantial evidence, that Angelo Correr and Lorenzo Giustiniani were the driving forces. Likewise, the administrative systems of both organizations were so similar that they too seem to come from the same source. Yet the Cassinese Congregation blossomed into one of the largest reform movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and continues to prosper today while the Congregation of Secular Canons consisted of less than a dozen houses at its largest point and was suppressed in 1668. Although this dissertation was not designed to consider this dichotomy, it has raised questions for later study.

The decorative programs of all of the Canons’ churches relied upon the iconographic program born at the mother church of San Giorgio in Alga as their basis. This was done as a way to unify their religious organization. Some of the iconography found there and in other houses of the Congregation was typical of many monastic and mendicant orders, such as the scenes of stories from Christ’s life or representations of the Virgin. The Canons, however, employed various artistic methods to make it specific to their devotional needs. For example, at San Giorgio in Braida the Canons set the narrative of the Crucifixion against the background of Verona in order to root it in the local landscape and to transport symbolically the Canons to Jerusalem, the land of Christ’s death. Furthermore, this imagery was chosen as a way for the Canons to remind themselves of the Benedictines’ earlier reform of the church because a scene of the Crucifixion frequently adorned refectories of reformed Benedictine monasteries in the beginning in the ninth century. The Canons’ pervasive use of Eucharistic imagery was not unique but in their case was directly tied to the writings of Lorenzo Giustiniani,
which placed great emphasis on the Holy Sacrament, such as *De corpore Christi*, a sermon composed for the feast of the Corpus Christi.

Saint George appeared with great frequency in the Canons’ art. The entire Congregation was dedicated to him and the saint’s triumph over the dragon could be read as an allegory of the Church’s victory over heresy. He was the saint to whom San Giorgio in Braida was dedicated and was thus the subject of the altarpiece on the church’s high altar. As I discussed in Chapter Five, Gian Francesco Caroto’s *Saint George Killing the Dragon* (c. 1535) was displayed there until the Canons’ changing devotional concerns necessitated different imagery. Paolo Veronese’s painting of the *Martyrdom of Saint George* (c. 1566) was the result.

The Congregation’s founding fathers were also vital parts of the Canons’ iconographic program. Angelo Correr, who was elected Pope Gregory XII in 1406, was embodied in the Dove of the Holy Spirit because it was the emblem of Correr’s papal namesake, Pope Saint Gregory I (c. 540-608). Lorenzo Giustiniani, whose biography was less controversial than Correr’s, became the Congregation’s primary symbol: his likeness appeared numerous times in each of the Canons’ houses. The Canons’ focus on Saint Michael, monastic saints such as Anthony Abbot and Benedict, and Saint Lawrence further points to the Canons’ reliance upon Giustiniani since he was particularly devoted to these saints and wrote sermons in honor of their feast days. The iconography of the now-lost altarpiece from Giustiniani’s original burial chapel and the iconography of several of the paintings in San Giorgio in Braida also affirm the connection between Lorenzo Giustiniani and these saints. The Canons devotion to female saints also seems to have been another sort of link to Lorenzo’s duty to promoting female piety.
The iconography of the altarpieces in San Giorgio in Braida also highlighted the Canons’ erudition, use of canonical texts in their liturgy. Books were included in many of the paintings. Some were meant to refer to a specific Gospel, such as the Gospel of Saint Matthew used by Barnaba to heal the sick in Paolo Veronese’s painting or the open texts of all four Gospels in the upper register of Sigismondo de Stefani’s scene of Saint Lawrence’s martyrdom. Others, such as the books held by Mauro and Bernardo in Pasquale Ottino’s painting of the Assumption of the Virgin with Benedictine Saints, were meant to allude to specific writings of the men in the painting who are holding them. Two paintings in the church were meant to be read as visualizations of spiritual writings of two particular men. Girolamo dai Libri’s Madonna and Child alluded to the first of Lorenzo Giustiniani’s many treatises, the Tree of Life. Ottino’s painting, if one accepts my suggestion that the kneeling figure is Patriarch Giovanni Tiepolo, represents Tiepolo venerating the Virgin Mary, a practice he enthusiastically espoused in his copious writings. Together these scholarly references suggested the bond between the Canons and Divine Wisdom since she is said to have appeared to Lorenzo Giustiniani and convinced him to devote his life to pious pursuits.

Another of the goals of this dissertation was to begin to shed light upon the modes of patronage used by the Canons at San Giorgio in Braida, and by extension, the system of patronage used by the Congregation as a whole. My research uncovered a considerable amount of evidence that suggests the patrons of San Giorgio in Braida’s art and architecture were the Canons themselves and that they generated funds internally for the decorations. This was despite the fact that copious data implied San Giorgio in Braida was the local parish church and was therefore associated with many potential lay
The evidence also seems to indicate that the practice of relying solely upon internal patrons differed from other religious organizations and from other houses within the Congregation’s network, which makes the Veronese Canons’ patronage style quite unusual. Furthermore, the Congregation’s system of patronage that I detected appears to have been highly structured and tied to its administrative system. This connection is another indication that the Canons were directly involved in the production of all of the complex’s embellishments.

One factor that naturally limited lay patronage opportunities at San Giorgio in Braida was the church’s lack of burial chapels, even though the testaments I uncovered prove there was demand by the laity for burial within San Giorgio in Braida’s sacred perimeter. As I demonstrated in Chapter Four, this was the outcome of one of the guidelines promulgated by Bishop Giberti in 1530 for churches in his diocese that prohibited the Canons from having tombs in their church. The lack of burial chapels was not a Congregation-wide norm since other churches in the network, most notably the Madonna dell’Orto in Venice, contained multiple burial chapels decorated by external patrons. Therefore, this element of San Giorgio in Braida’s interior seems to have been atypical within the Congregation. Additionally, burial chapels were abundant in churches of other religious organizations, such as the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The laity

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2 The documents I discovered included sixteenth-century testaments of laymen that described their authors’ desires to be buried in the cemetery to the north of San Giorgio in Braida (See Chapter One, Section Two) and inventories describing liturgical equipment for specific ceremonies involving the laity, such as a white damask altar covering used during weddings or a hymnal designated for funerary rituals. (See the inventories in Appendix VII docs. 1 and 2). Furthermore, the massive size of San Giorgio in Braida strongly suggests the church was intended for use by more than just a small population of Canons.

3 One example of lay patronage in the Madonna dell’Orto is the Valier Chapel. This commission is described in Chapter Four, Section Two. The Reiner and Contarini Chapels are other examples. San Giorgio in Alga contained the Pisani Chapel and the tombs of Antonio Correr, Gregorio Correr and Matteo Contarini. See Fig. 63 and descriptions of the interior of the church in Appendix VIII doc. 2.
regularly acquired the patronage rights and paid for the decoration themselves, highlighting further this unusual aspect of the church of San Giorgio in Braida.

Despite the fact that San Giorgio in Braida was free of burial chapels, lay patrons still could have commissioned art for the church. But other evidence presented in this study continued to sustain my hypothesis that the Canons were the ones directing and paying for the art in the church. Generally speaking, when a patron paid for a chapel’s decorations, they made most of the creative decisions, such as which saints to include or which artist to hire. They also often left visible markers of their personal involvement in funding the work of art; two of the most noticeable are coats-of-arms and donor portraits. The scarcity of either of these in San Giorgio in Braida’s artistic patrimony suggests that the Veronese Canons commissioned the artistic projects themselves and limited, if not outright prohibited, lay participation.

Moreover, the few examples of coats-of-arms and donor portraits that I did tentatively identify in San Giorgio in Braida pointed to the Canons themselves as the commissioners and authors of the imagery. I cited three possible examples of coats-of-arms belonging to outside patrons in two of the Canons’ paintings.4 I concluded that two of them were meant to evoke Saint George and to honor former Secular Canon don Cardinal Latino Orsini di Brecciano and his donation of San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome to the Congregation of Secular Canons. The other, I suggested, was not a coat-of-arms but a representation of the instruments of the Passion. I then identified two possible donor portraits in San Giorgio in Braida’s art and proposed that they belonged to members of the Congregation based upon several factors, including the location of the figures within

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4 One is in the predella of Gian Francesco Caroto’s Triptych of c. 1512 (Figs. 104c & 108) and two are in Michele da Verona’s Crucifixion of 1501 for the Canons’ refectory (Figs. 81, 94 & 95). See Chapter Three, Section Two for discussion of both paintings.
the composition and connection to the Virgin, as well as their dress. Furthermore, three of the church’s altarpieces, including the high altar, portrayed their chapel’s titular saint (Barnaba, Mary Magdalene and George) wearing the dark blue tunic, or *turchino*, that was the Canons’ ecclesiastical garb. This makes it very likely that the Canons made the creative decision to dress the saints in such a way. Taken together, these examples imply the Canons were wholly responsible for the production of works of art at San Giorgio in Braidal.

In addition to appearing to be the exclusive patrons of the San Giorgio in Braidal’s art, the Veronese Canons’ approach to patronage seems to have been remarkable for another reason. As I discussed in Chapter Three, the Canons’ early use of local artists was one of their methods for assimilating into new surroundings. They continued, however, to show preference for native-born artists throughout their renovation campaign and right up until its conclusion in 1625, when they commissioned the Veronese artist Pasquale Ottino to paint the last of the church’s altarpieces. They did this despite the fact that the prevailing trend during this period in *terraferma* towns under Venice’s rule was to turn relatively quickly to the artists of Venice for their commissions. In fact, all through the course of their long renovation of San Giorgio in Braidal, the Canons hired at least seventeen different painters and architects; all but four—Francesco Torbido, Gerolamo Romanino, Moretto da Brescia, and Domenico Tintoretto—were Veronese by birth. When the Canons did hire an artist from another city, it seems to have been the case that the artist was recommended by another Veronese artist.

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5 The figure dressed as a Canon in Tintoretto’s *Pentecost* (Fig. 197) and the kneeling figure in the garb of the Patriarch of Venice in Ottino’s *Virgin Assunta and Benedictine Saints* (Fig. 200). See Chapter Six, Section Three.

6 The exception is Padua where they continued to commission local artists until the sixteenth century when they turned increasingly to Venice when soliciting artists for their commissions. See McHam (2007): 214-233.
significant choice of one patron rather than a change in what can be viewed as the Canons’ overarching patronage strategy. For example, as I discussed in Chapter Four, in 1533 the Canons likely commissioned the Venetian painter Francesco Torbido (who, incidentally, had moved from Venice to Verona) because of Bishop Giberti and Michele Sanmicheli’s influence. My finding, therefore, necessitates a more nuanced interpretation of the traditional center-periphery model where the larger city is usually perceived as the de facto principal force (in this case concerning artistic matters) and the smaller, subjugated city as reliant upon it.

Another noteworthy aspect of the Canons’ patronage practice was their sharing of artists. My research revealed that priors often first employed local, “untested” artists to create small, private works of art, presumably for their private use. It seems that only then did the prior give the artist a larger commission. 7 I then proposed that to ensure visual continuity, this prior recommended his “pre-approved” artist to his colleague at a sister church who employed the artist later to recreate the same imagery for the new location. 8 The framework of the Congregation’s administrative system appears to have sustained a more immediate method of artistic cross-pollination. The Canons’ constitution limited the term of a prior to one year, but did not prevent priors from being elected head of a different church immediately after. So, a prior could bring the artist or artists with whom he had worked previously to his new congregation and then commission art in the second

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7 One example of this practice cited in Chapter Three is Michele da Verona’s production of a small scene of the Nativity for a prior at San Giorgio in Braida, after which time he received the commission for the enormous Crucifixion.

8 For example, Michele da Verona was commissioned to paint the Crucifixion for the refectory of San Giorgio in Braida in 1501. He then produced an almost exact copy for Santa Maria in Vanzo in Padua in 1504 that had Padua’s urban landscape as its background. Pasquale Ottino, who first worked for the Veronese Canons completing the Miracle of Manna in the Desert in c.1603, was recommended to paint a massive Assumption for the choir of the Paduan church before 1619. He then returned to Verona to execute a smaller Assumption for a side chapel in San Giorgio in Braida in 1625.
church from that artist. These various intra-monastic exchanges took place for at least a century and a half and resulted in the Canons’ churches having similar iconography.

It also emerged from this study that the Canons frequently relocated art (and other movable goods such as books) to suit their needs. Sometimes they moved art within the walls of a single church, such as when the Canons at the Madonna dell’Orto repeatedly relocated Gentile Bellini’s banner of Lorenzo Giustiniani. At other times they moved a work of art to another of their churches, such as when the Canons from San Giorgio in Alga took Girolamo da Santacroce’s Giustiniani altarpiece from the Madonna dell’Orto or when the Veronese Canons switched Francesco Torbido’s altarpiece in San Giorgio in Braida with Girolamo dai Libri’s altarpiece in Sant’Angiolo in Monte. The practice of moving paintings was not unique. What makes the Canons’ system highly unusual indeed is that they sometimes moved a work of art not long after it was completed. I put forth that the Canons had the authority to take these actions because they were the commissioners of the art.

My research into the Congregation’s intricate web of patronage and its norms has raised many new questions and a fuller study of these issues is still needed. Nevertheless my important initial findings presented in this dissertation will serve, I think, as the basis for future studies.

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9 As I discussed in Chapter Four, Leone Bugatto did this in 1540. He was in residence at San Pietro in Oliveto in Brescia in 1539 where he had commissioned Girolamo Romanino and Moretto da Brescia. When he became prior of San Giorgio in Braida the following year, he brought these artists with him. He then hired Romanino to paint its organ doors and Moretto to paint an altarpiece of Santa Cecilia and other martyred female saints.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Work of Art</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini</td>
<td>Altarpiece of Saints Peter and Paul</td>
<td>1452?</td>
<td>Second altar on the right (I in Fig. 63)</td>
<td>Sansovino (1604): 240; \textit{Tommasini} (1642): 228; \textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, fol. 60v (1669)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini</td>
<td>Altarpiece of Saint Mark</td>
<td>1452?</td>
<td>Second altar on the left (D in Fig. 63)</td>
<td>Sansovino (1604): 240; \textit{Tommasini} (1642): 228; \textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, fol. 60v (1669)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco de' Franceschi</td>
<td>Altarpiece of Saint Catherine with four saints in niches</td>
<td>1452?</td>
<td>First altar on the left (E in Fig. 63)</td>
<td>Sansovino (1604): 240; \textit{Tommasini} (1642): 228; \textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, fol. 60r (1669)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Bellini (Antonello da Messina?)</td>
<td>Christ on the Column; Flagellation</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Sacristy</td>
<td>Boschini (1664): 571 (att. Antonello); \textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, fol. 60r (1669)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini</td>
<td>Eternal Father, Mary and Saint John and other small angels with the mysteries of the Passion</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Sacristy; Eternal Father above and the others below the image of Christ on the Column</td>
<td>Boschini (1664): 571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorato Veneziano</td>
<td>Crucifixion (See Fig. 65)</td>
<td>c.1475-1500?</td>
<td>Refectory; Currently in the upper room of Scuola di San Marco</td>
<td>Boschini (1664): 571; Coronelli (1698): 570-572; \textit{Niero} (1984): 161; \textit{Save Venice Newsletter} (2007): 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cirrò (Giovanni Battista da Conegliano)</td>
<td>Nativity featuring Lorenzo Giustiniani</td>
<td>1497</td>
<td>Sacristy (Sansovino) later moved to the third chapel on the right (J in Fig. 63)</td>
<td>Sansovino (1604): 240; \textit{Tommasini} (1642): 227-228; Boschini (1664): 570; \textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, fol. 60r. (1669); Coronelli (1698): 570-572; Humphrey (1983): 179-80; \textit{Niero} (1984): 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girolamo da Santacroce</td>
<td>Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani between Saints Lawrence and Stephen</td>
<td>1525</td>
<td>Third altar on the left (C in Fig. 63)</td>
<td>\textit{Tommasini} (1642): 227-228; Boschini (1664): 571; Coronelli (1698): 570-572; Tramontin (1956): 36; \textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, fol. 60r (1669); \textit{Niero} (1984): 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Veronese</td>
<td>High altarpiece of Saint George Disputing before Emperor Diocletian</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>High altar (A in Fig. 63)</td>
<td>\textit{Tommasini} (1642): 227-228; Boschini (1664): 571; Coronelli (1698): 570-572; \textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, fol. 60r (1669) (attrib. to Monteverziano); \textit{Niero} (1984): 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasquale Ottino(?)</td>
<td>Lorenzo Giustiniani &amp; Pope Eugene IV</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Flanking high altar (B in Fig. 63)</td>
<td>\textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, f. 60r (1669)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Altarpiece of Mary Magdalene</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>First altar on the right (H in Fig. 63)</td>
<td>\textit{ASVat, FVI}, doc. 3, f. 60r (1669)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II: FAMILY TREES

The men whose names are in bold were members of or were affiliated with the Congregation of Secular Canons of San Giorgio in Alga. These family trees are significantly abbreviated. Information about these and other family members can be found in V. Capellari, Campidoglio veneto (Venice, c.1741), M. Barbaro, Genealogie delle Famiglie Patrizie Venete (Venice, 1723), and the Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

Correr/Barbarigo/Barbo/Condulmer Family Tree

Giustiniani/Querini Family Tree
APPENDIX III: CLOISTER INSCRIPTION

V. CAL MAIAS M.D.XXXVI
AD DEI OPT MAX GLORIAM EVVSQ. MARTY GEOR. ÆDE HANC
ALTARIAQ. III E QVIB. DVO POSTEA LOCIS AMOTA FVERE
RELIQVVM TITVLO MICH. GAB. RAPH. CETEROR. Q. ANG. IO.
MATH. GIB. EPS. VERON. ALIA IX SEPTENNIO POST DIONYS.
GRÆC. CHIRON. ET MILOPOT. ANTISTES MAXIMUM EIVSD.
MARTY ET APOST PET ET PAVLI AB ORGANI LATERA I
VIRG. ET MARTY CAÆCILIE CHA., AGN. ET LVCIÆ II BEAT. LAVR.
PROTOPATR. VENET. ZEN. SYL. MART. PONT. III SANCTISS
TRINIT. SEB. Q. ET ROCHI IIII LAV. STEPH. VINC. ET CHRISTOPH.
MAVRTY V VRSULÆ ET SOC. PRID. CAL. AVG. ET MOX III
NO. HÆC E REGIONE OMN. APOST. INDE. ANT. BENED. MAV. ET
BERN ABB POSTREM MARLÆ MAGD. MARTHÆ FRATR. Q.
LAZ. PRÆSVELS AMBO PIIS CONSECRARVNT
ANSELMO CANERIO VERON PRIORE MERITISS.¹

ENGLISH TRANSLATION by Ryan Fowler

On 27 April 1536, for the glory of God most high and mighty and his martyr
George, Gian Matteo Giberti consecrated this church and three altars of which
two of these were moved afterwards from their places and in the name of the
Angels Michael, Gabriele and Raphael. In the seventh year afterwards [on 31 July
1543] Dionysius, bishop of Chaeronea in Greece and Milopotamos, [consecrated]
another nine [altars], the largest of them [i.e. the high altar] [in the name of] the
same Martyr [George] and Apostles Peter and Paul; on the side of the organ [i.e.
the left side] the first [altar] to the Virgins and Martyrs Cecilia, Catherine, Agnes
and Lucy; the second to Beatus Lorenzo [Giustiniani] first patriarch of Venice,
San Zeno and St. Silvester the martyred Pope; the third to the Holy Trinity and
Sts. Sebastian and Roche; the fourth to the martyrs Sts. Lawrence, Stephen,
Vincent, and Christopher; the fifth to St. Ursula and her retinue. The second of
August [Dionysius the Bishop also consecrated] on the other side [of the nave, an
altar] to all the Apostles; thence to [the altar dedicated to] Sts. Anthony, Benedict,
Maurice and Abbot Bernard; the last [altar] to Mary Magdalene, Martha and her
brother Lazarus. Anselmo Canerio of Verona most praise-worthy prior.

The Latin inscription was first published in 1930 by Trecca.² His transcription, however, was incomplete
and lacked the seventh line: MARTY ET APOST PET ET PAVLI AB ORGANI LATERA I. Beltramini
pointed out Trecca’s mistake but went on to omit part of the inscription herself.³ Specifically, she neglected
to list the third dedicant of the chapel of San Zeno and Lorenzo Giustiniani: Saint Sylvester the martyred
pope. And she also incorrectly referred to Giustiniani as “Santo” (his title after 1690) rather than “Beato”
(as the inscription reads).

¹ See Figure 124.
² Trecca (1930): 91.
APPENDIX IV: PARTIAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF ANSELMO CANERIO OF VERONA

11 November 1529: Anselmo, Prior of S. Giacomo in Monselice

22 April 1532: Philippus de Monticellis and Anselmo of Verona elected visitatores

10 April 1534: Anselmo of Verona and Leono Bugatus elected visitatores

27 April 1536: Bishop Giberti consecrated three altars in San Giorgio in Braida

19 July 1541: Anselmo, Prior of Madonna dell’Orto

13 February 1542: Anselmo, Prior at the Madonna dell’Orto

17 May 1542: Anselmo, Prior of Madonna dell’Orto

6 October 1542: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida a villa in Orti and lands from Alessandro Spolverimo for 100 ducats

21 October 1542: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida land in Buonvicono from San Angelo (16 capi x 17 domegie) for 123 ducats

23 October 1542: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida a villa in Orti and lands from Jacopo Spolverimo for 382 ducats

11 March 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida a villa in Orti and lands from Alessandro Spolverimo for 25 ducats

4 April 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida lands called La Portella and two others pieces from Alessandro Spolverimo for 200 ducats

31 July 1543: Anselmo, Prior of San Giorgio in Braida

2 August 1543: Anselmo, Prior of San Giorgio in Braida

7 August 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida land in Zumella from Francesci Cardo for 19 ducats

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1 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1289.
2 Tomasini (1642): 442.
3 Ibid., 444.
4 Cloister inscription. See Appendix III.
5 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1319.
7 ASVat, Fondo Veneto I, 1780.
8 ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 828, unnumbered doc.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Cloister inscription. See Appendix III.
14 Ibid.
7 October 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida land in Orti from Maria Domenici and her sister Madalena for 8122 ducats.

8 October 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida land with a house Zumella from Giovanni e Benedetto Fruitti.

10 October 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida land in Orti from Hercules de Sesta (2 campi x 14 domegie) for 52 ducats.

13 October 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida land in Horti from Piero for 12 ducats.

23 October 1543: Anselmo of Verona Prior of San Giorgio in Braida.


29 October 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida land from Calia da Sorta for 40 ducats.

19 November 1543: Anselmo purchased for San Giorgio in Braida land from Antonio Nalimi and his nephew for 17 ducats.

3 May 1544: Elections: Lucas Picenus Rector General; Visitatoribus: Anselmo de Verona and Isidoro Paltone.

21 November 1545: Anselmo of Verona Prior of San Giorgio in Braida.

13 May 1546: Elections: Maximum Vicentinum Rector General; visitatores Anselmo Veronese and Pacificum de Sancta Euphemia.
## APPENDIX V: BISHOPS OF VERONA UNDER VENETIAN RULE UNTIL 1668

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1406-1408</td>
<td>Angelo Barbarigo²⁷</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1409-1438</td>
<td>Guido Memo</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1438-1453</td>
<td>Francesco Condulmer²⁸</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1453-1471</td>
<td>Ermolao Barbaro²⁹</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1471-1503</td>
<td>Giovanni Michel³⁰</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1503-1524</td>
<td>Marco Corner</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1524-1543</td>
<td>Gian Matteo Giberti³¹</td>
<td>Sicilian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1544-1548</td>
<td>Pietro Lippomano</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1548-1558</td>
<td>Luigi Lippomano</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1558-1559</td>
<td>Agostino Lippomano</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1561-1562</td>
<td>Girolamo Trevisani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1562-1565</td>
<td>Bernardo Navagero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1565-1606</td>
<td>Agostino Valier</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1606-1630</td>
<td>Alberto Valier</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1631-1649</td>
<td>Marco Giustiniani</td>
<td>Venetian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1653-1668</td>
<td>Sebastiano Pisani I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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²⁷ First Venetian Bishop of Verona; nephew of Pope Gregory XII.
²⁸ Secular Canon and nephew of Pope Eugene IV who served as Prior of San Giorgio in Braida.
³¹ Arrived in Verona in 1528, after Sack of Rome.
APPENDIX VI: WRITTEN DESCRIPTIONS OF SAN GIORGIO IN BRAIDA

This chronological list is not exhaustive. It includes only descriptions of San Giorgio in Braida and its works of art that are referred to in this dissertation.

1. GIORGIO VASARI (1568)

…ed altre opere che fa [Sanmicheli] in verina ed altrove riesce eccellente, e massimamente nell’ornamento e cappella maggiore di S. Giorgio di verona, la quale è d’ordine composito, e tale, che per grandezza, disegno, e lavoro, affermo i Veronesi non credere che si trovi altra a questa pari in Itali. Questo’opera, dico, la quale va girando secondo che fa la nicchia, è d’ordine corintio con capitelli composti, colonne doppie di tutto rilievo, e con i suoi pilastri dietro. Similmente il frontespizio, che la ricopre tutta, gira anch’egli con grande maestria, secondo che fa la nicchia, e ha tutti gli ornamenti che cape quell’ordine; onde monsignor Barbaro eletto patriareja d’aquileia, uomo di queste professioni intendentissimo e che n’ha scritto, nel ritornare dal concilio di Trento vide non senza maraviglio quello che di quell’opera era fatto, e quello che giornalmente si lavorava; ed avendola più volte considerata, ebbe a dire non aver mai veduta simile e non potersi far meglio: e questo basti per sgaiio di quello che si può dall’ingegno di Bernardino, nato per madre de’Sanmicheli, sperare.

2. RAFFAELLO BORGHINI (1584)

In Verona entro la chiesa di S. Giorgio vi sono di sua mano due tavole: quella dell’altar maggiore, dimostrante il martirio di San Lorenzo [sic]: e quella, dove si vede un miracolo di San Bernaba.

3. GIACOMO FILIPPO TOMASINI (1642)


NUMINI SANCTO PROPITIATO
DIVI GEORGII
POLLENTIS, POTENTIS, MERENTIS
PIÈ, RITÈ, SOLEMNITER
SACRUM, DICATUM ESTO.

Ingredientes tessulati operis pavimentum variatum excipit. Tholus sublimis patentibus fenestris undique lucem spargit, quem exiles columnae ambient musicis concentibus locum praebentes. Sub eo bina ute urbinque organa laudatissimorum artificum manu perpolita quatuor columnis candidi marmoris innixa, quibus binæ magnificae arae celeberrimorum pictorum Pauli Farinacij & Alexandri Moreti penicello conspicue

4. CARLO RIDOLFI (1648)

vol. I, 265: Life of Moretto
Per la Città di Verona dipinse in oltre tre celebri tavole, l’una in San Giorgio di Santa Cecilia, posta nel mezzo delle Sante Verginelle Lucia, Caterina, Barbara & Agnese, che in gentili attitudini mirano la Vergine in un Cielo, cinta da molti Serafini.

vol I, 270: Life of Romanino
In San Giorgio di Verona i portelli dell’Organo, ove nel di fuori è il Santo Cavaliere dinanzi all’Imperadore, cinto da soldati, che hanno habiti bizarre; e nel di dentro è il Santo in una caldaia; & in altra parte arrotato da ministri.

vol I, 305: Life of Veronese
Ma la belezza di si rari oggetti non ci ritardi il vedere le opere di Verona. Nella Chiesa di San Giorgio fece Paolo nell’Altar maggiore da’ Sacerdoti ad offerir incensi all’idolo di Apollo, nel cui volto dimostra l’animo inuitto, che non teme la minaccie del Tiranno, inuigorito in mirando nel Cielo la Vergine posta trà le Virtù Teologali.

Sotto l’organo è S. Barnarda Apostolo collocato nel seno d’una Tribuna, che risana un’infermo leggendovi sopra l’Evangel, e vi assistono huomini e donne con torchi in mano, che fanno oratione; altri conducono infermi al Santo, acciò gli risani.

vol. II, 317: Life of Felice Brusasorci
In san Giorgio fu effetto dell’opera sua la tavola degli angeli Michele, Raffaele e Gabriele, i quali abbelli di graziose capigliature accconcic in anella, e con vaghe spoglie.

5. LODOVICO MOSCARDO (1668)
Historia di Verona 1668, 119-120.

…Questa Chiesa di S. Giorgio si ritrova adorata di maravigliose pitture, che oltre la sua Architettura la rendono insigne per gli eccellenti huomini, che vi hanno operato, trà quali è Paolo Caliari Veronese, che vi dipinse la Palla dell’Altar maggiore, & quella, che è sotto al Choro: il Romanin Bresciano dipinse le porte
dell’organo, sotto al quale si vede una bellissima palla del Moretto pur’anche’esso Besciano: Dominico Brusasorzi, e Felice suo figliuolo vi lasciarono anch’essi memorie del loro sapere in due palle, e parimente Francesco Carotto, e Girolamo da i Libri ve dimostrarono quanto volessero i loro pennelli.

6. GIACOMO SCHERLI (18th c.)

In S. Giorgio –
Si vedono diversi pale e pitture d’eccellenti pittori,…

Detto il Veronese in Verona, l’Anno 1532 il di lui padre si chiamava Gabrielle fù celebre scultore, gli insegnò da fanciullo i principi dell’arte sua, avanzandolo a far modelli di cera, ma vedutolo più inclinato a dipingere, che allo scolpire lo pose sotto la disciplina d’Antonio Badile suo zio, il quale con grido di chiaro pittore con grido di chiaro pittore dipingeva in Verona, le cui opere furono tutte di una gentil maniera, che fù Accresciuta in bellezza e nobiltà da Paolino, che con tal nome allhora per mezzo si chiamava.

Doppo molte opere fatte tanto publiche quanto private in diversi paesi e città se ne passò a Venetia, parendo la sua virtu indegna delle Solitudini, jui dunque stabili l’abitazione, hebbe occasione di farsi conoscere qual era, e benche vi si vedesero le singolari pitture di Titiano, e quelle del Palma il Vecchio, e del Tintoretto, che allhora fiorizza non gli mancorono degni tratenimenti –

Le pitture sparse nelle Galerie più famose dell’Europa testificano etiandio il gusto universale ch’hanno havuto i maggiori Principi e Signori di questo chiaro pittore, havendo eglino con eccesive spese fatto di quella, numerosa racolta, non parendo adovno qualsisia palazzo, ove non entri alcuna pittura di questa mano –

Correva l’Anno 1588 quando Dio terminò di levarlo dal mondo nell’età sua ancor virile, mentre intervenendo ad una solenne procesione per l’indulgenza conceduta da Papa Sisto V viscaldatosi per lo viaggio fù assalito d’acuta febre e si morti d’Anni 56. La seconda festa di Pasqua di Risurrezione, fù il suo corpo con funebre pompa del fratello, e da figiuoli fatto sepellire in S. Sebastiano nel mezo dell’opere sue, essendogli sol degno Sepolcro quel teatro di gloria che co’ suoi pennelli formato s’haveva età canto all’organo gli eressero l’effigie maestravolmente da Camillo Bozzetti scolpita che indi a qualche tempo fù da Gabrielle ultimo figlio fatta rinoverare da Matteo Carneri con questa inscrizione: Paulo Caliario Veronensi Pictori Natura Amulo Artis Miraculo Superstite Dactis Fama Victuro – E sopra la pietra che ricopre l’ossa sua posero questa breve Memoria – Paulo Caliario Veron. Pictori Celeberrimo – Filii Et Benedictus Frater Pienis – Et sibi Posterisque Posvere. Decesit xii Kal. Maii MDLXXXVIII –

Nella seguente capella la pala con li tre Angeli Michaele, e Raffaello, e Gabrielle d’angelico Aspetto con la gloria di sopra opera eccellente del celebre Felice Brusacorzi –

Nella terza capella la discesa dello spirito santo sopra gli Apostoli nel cenanolo, stando in mezo a loro la Santissima Vergine, sopra una tribuna, opera del Tintoretto il figlio –

Nella quarta S. Bernardino, et altri Santi Vescovi, con la gloria d’Angeli di sopra, opera di Pasqual Ottino –

Nella quinta capella Christo, che comparisse alla Maddalena sotto forma d’hortolano. Opera bella stidiata da Francesco Montemezzano fu discepolo di Paolo Caliari fatta nell’Anno 1580 –

Sotto l’Organo si vede la pala d’Alessandro Bonvicino detto il Moretto con S. Cecilia posta in mezo alle S.S. Vergini Lucia e Caterina Barbara et Agnese miranti in alto la Santissima Vergine cinta di Serafini –

Quindi alzando il guardo a portelli dell’organo alla parte esteriore vedesi S. Giorgio, et il tirano imperadore che lo condanna alla morte –

Alla parte interiore vedesi il detto santo bollito in una caldaia, et in altra figura arrostito da Monigoldi. Opera bella di Girolamo Romanino –

Nella seguente capella di S. Lorenzo Giustinianino, dipinse Girolamo dai Libri nell’Anno 1529 – [sic]
Nella terza capella dipinse Francesco Carotto un S. Roco, e S. Bastiano entro a due portelle stando in quella di mezo Cristo con la croce in spalla, imagine di molta divotione, e di più antica mano. Evvi di sopra un ovato, opera studiata e di mirabile disegno di Dominico Brusasorzi –
La meza luna che sta sopra l’ovato è del detto Carotto –
Nella quarta capella dipinse Sigismondo de Stefanis un S. Lorenzo arrostitto con manigoldi che lo rivolgano sopra la graticola.
Nella quinta et ultima capella fece il memoratto Carotto S. Orsola con la schiera delle Vergini –
Finalmente alzando l’occhio sopra la porta della chiesa, si vede Christo al Giordano d’una parte, e S. Gio. Battista dall’altra che lo Battezza opera eccellente di Giacomo Tintoretto –
Di questa bella chiesa ne fù l’Architetto Michel Sanmicheli ove fece la bella cupola grande di 38 piedi di diametro –

7. BARTOLOMEO DAL POZZO (1718)
*Le Vite de’ Pittori, degli Scultori et Architetti Veronesi*, Italica gens; n. 73. (Bologna: A. Forni, 1718): in the Life of Paolo Veronese.

Sotto l’Organo sinistro è S. Barnaba Apostolo collocato nel seno d’una Tribuna, che risana un’infermo leggendovi sopra l’evangelo, e n’assistono huomini, e donne con torci in mano che fanno orazione. Altri conducono Infermi al Santo, acciò li fisani; E benche l’Autore raremente si portasse nella primiera tavola, in questa mondimeno pare a ‘Professori che s’avvantaggiasse in certo che di maniera; nè quell’attione può rappresentarsi con maggior pietà, e devotione, dimostrado Paolo in sì degne pitture l’affetto suo verso la Patria, che fatto haveva si poca stima di lui.

8. GIOVAN BATTISTA LANCENI (1720)

San Giorgio Monache Agostiniane.
Detta Nobilissima Chiesa è stata Dissegno di Michele Sanmicheli. All’Altar Maggiore la pregiatissima, ed insign Pala di Paolo Caliari Veronese, fu la quale è il Martirio di S. Giorgio, esposto con grand’intelligenza, ed è veramnete mirabile.
Nell’altro dirimpetto, gran Quadro con il Miracolo del Salvatore, il quale con poco Pane, e due Pesci faziò le fameliche Turbe nel Deserto: Ooera di gusto fatta Paolo Farinati in età di 79 anni.
SS. Rocco, e Sebastiano, e nel mezzo il Salvatore con Croce in spalla: Opera del Carotto. Sopra il detto un
Ovato stimatissimo con molte figure di Domenico Brusasarzi. Altra mezza Lunetta sopra al detto di
Francesco Carotto.

Appresso altro Altare di S. Lorenzo arrostito, li manigoldi che lo rivolgono sopra la Gratiola: Opera di
Sigismondo de’ Santi. Nell’ultimo la Pala di Sant’Orsola con le sue Ss. Vergini: Opera del medesimo
Carotto. Sopra la Porta della Chiesa. S. Gio: Batista al Fiume Giordano in atto di Battezzare il Salvatore:
Opera di Giacomo Tintoretto Veneziano.

Segue altro Altare con la Maddalena davanti a Cristo capparelle in forma d’Ortolano, ec. Opera di
Francesco Montemeziano fatta nel 1580. Altro di S. Bernardo, con Ss. Vescovi, Angeli in alto: [200] Opera
In altro, li Ss. Michele, Raffaello, e Gabriele: Opera di Felice Brusasorzi. Sotto all’Organo la Pala di San
Barnaba Appostolo in atto di benedire un’Infermo, ed altri ivi condotti: Opera insigne di Paolo Caliari.

Ne’lati di questa, come dell’altra dirimpetto del Moretto, vi sono per adornamento cinque figure de Santi
per cadauno Altare dipinti da Bernardino India.

Vi sono molte Statue delle quali, le piccie sono di Bronzo; come quelle d’Lavelli dell’Acqua Santa;
queste sono Opera di Angelo Rossi Inventor, e Giuseppe Levi Fonditore. L’altra sono di Autore ignoto.

9. SCIPIONE MAFFEI (1731)


Il Tempio di S. Giorgio per conto di piture è una galleria, alla quale non sarà si facile ch’altra possa
paragonarsi. Nel primo ingresso dà nell’occhio, benché in tanta distanza, la superba tavola ch’è all’altar
grande, col Santo che vien fuor della tela; ma facendo principio a man destra entrando, la prima pala è del
Montemezani; la seconda di Pasquale Ottino, lavorata nel gusto di Tiziano, e non inferiore a quelle di
Tiziano; la terza è di Domenico Tintoretto; la quarta è di Felice Brusasarzi, co’ Santi Michele, Raffaello e
Gabriele: Angeli non furon mai fatti, che più paresser Angeli. La susseguente è una delle più belle cose che
uscissero mai dal pennello di Paolo: per li professori vi è da osservare per una giornata. Le figure adiacenti,
come altresì le dirimpetto, sono dell’India. La Nunziata fuori della maggior cappella è del Caroto. Passando
all’altar grande si vedrà un portento dell’arte nel martirio di S. Giorgio di Paolo: tante riflessioni si
potrebbero anche qui fare, che darebbero materia a un trattato. Il laterale a man sinistra, che rappresenta il
miracolo delle turbe pasciate dal Salvatore nel deserto, è di Paolo Farinati: l’altro a destra, che figura gli
Ebrei nel raccoglier la manna, è di Felice, ma supplito dopo la sua morte, e terminato da Pasquale.
Pochi quadri si troveranno che arrivino come questi a ventiquattro piedi Veronesi di larghezza, e a ventitré di
altezza, e pochi parimente che abbiano si gran numero di figure lavorate da così eccellenti pennelli: posson
dirsi due Poemi per la quantità e varietà delle cose che contengono. Proseguendo dall’altro lato, la prima
tavola è del Moretto, e l’Organo dentro e fuori del Romanino, celebri Pittori Bresciani. La seguente è di
Girolamo da i Libri fatta nel 1529. La terza di Francesco Caroto, fuorchè l’ovato, ch’è opera bellissima di
Domenico Brusasarzi. La quarta è di Sigismondo Stefani. Nell’ultima torna il Caroto. Il battesimo del
Salvatore sopra la porta è del Tintoretto. Converrebbe che il Publico vegliasse alquanto più sulla
conservazione di questi tesori; mentre pochi anni fa ci fu per fino chi si prese licenza di schiodar la tela del
gran quadro di Paolo, che fu poi malamente rimessa, il che dovea castigarsi come atroce delitto.

10. GIAMBATISTA BIANCOLINI (1749)

*Notizie Storiche delle Chiese di Verona.* 8 vols. (Verona: Per Alessandro Scolari, 1749):

...PITTURE.

All’ Altar Maggiore il Martirio di S. Giorgio opera insigne di Paolo Caliari.
Il quadro laterale dell’ Evangelio è opera principiata da Felice Brusasarzi, e terminata da Pasqual Ottino e
da Alessandro Turchi: l’altra rimpetto a questo è opera di Paolo Farinati.
Vicino alla Sacristia all’Altare di Santa Cecilia, la detta Santa opera di Alessandro Bonvicini detto il Moretto.
Sulle bandine dell’Organo il Martirio di S. Giorgio: opera di Girolamo Romanino.
Nel seguente Altare S. Lorenzo Giustiniano ec. opera di Girolamo dai Libri.
Nel vicino S. Rocco ec. opera del Carotto; e di sopra un ovato di Domenico Brusasorzi, con altra pittura di Francesco Carotto.
Indi all’Altare di S. Lorenzo, il di lui Martirio: opera di Sigifmondo de’ Stefani.
Nell’ultimo Santa Orosia ec. opera dal suddetto Carotto.
Sopra la porta della Chiesa il Battesimo di Gesù Cristo: opera di Jacopo Tintoretto.
Dall’altra parte l’Altare di Santa Maria Maddalena: opera di Francesco Montemezzano.
Indi l’Altare di S. Michele ec. opera di Felice Brusassorci.
Appresso questo quello di S. Barnaba: opera stupenda di Paolo Caliari.
Nei lati di queslo Altare e dell’altro rimpetto vi sono, cinque figure per ciascuno Altare: opere di Bernardo India.

11. SAVERIO DALLA ROSA (1803)

S. GIORGIO
Chiesa, e Monastero di Monache dell’Ordine di S. Agostino

A descrivere, come si conviene quello, che trovasi di bello in questo Tempio altra pena ci vorebbe, ed altro tempo. Egli è vero, che al presente ha perduto le due gioie più rispettabili, che formavano il di lui preggi maggiore, non perciò resta di non essere degno dell’osservazione de’ dotti, de’ Studenti, e de’ Curiosi; dalle copie non spregievali, che sono state sostituite alle due superbi Originali dell’immortale nostro Paolo Caliari, passati ad adornare il Museo di Parigi in eterno monumento del merito singolare, e della somma stimazione, in cui erano presso tutti, potranno gli osservatori argomentare quanto dovizioso, e pregevole era questo Tempio fortunato possessor per quasi tre Secoli di opere così sublimi

Ora, poiché il piangere tal perdita è inutile cosa, facciamoci ad osservare, e studiare quel che vi è restato di buono, che ora passo a descrivere

È stato questo Tempio ripfabbricato sull’antico, adornandolo, ed aggiungendovi la superba Cuppola, e la facciata di marmo tutto sul bel dissegno del nostro Architetto

Michel San Micheli

Le due Statue di marmo sulla facciata rappresentanti S. Giorgio Martire, e S. Lorenzo Giustiniani Patriarca di Venezia, ed Istitutore de’ Canonici Regolari, che qui abitavano, e fecero questo Tempio con tanta spesa, e magnificenza, postevi nel 1712, sono del Negrì

*Entrando in Chiesa a mano destra*

Trovasi il primo altare. Il Salvatore rissorto, che accenna alla Maddalena di non toccarlo, con vaghi Angeli al monumento, ed è opera fatta nel 1580 dal Veronese Franco Montemezzano


Nel terzo. La discesa dello Spirito Santo sopra gli Apostoli nel Cenacolo con la Vergine nel mezzo trà loro sedente sopra una tribuna di Dom.co Tintoretto

Nel quarto. Li tre Angeli. Michele, Raffaele, e Gabriele, delli quali fu detto, che non furono fatti mai, né si possono fare Angeli, che più pajano Angeli
Sotto l’Organo da questa parte

Eravi un tempo su questo altare una superba opera nella quale era effigiato S. Barnaba Appostolo in atto di leggere l’Evangelio sopra un’infierro, mentre altri gli venivano recati tra un ben disposto gruppo di figure. Pittura ammirata, e da molti anco più stimata di quella del S. Giorgio, e certo al padri di quella fresca, e ben conservata. Io disi, che ambo figlie di un Padre sono egualmente belle, ma che questa era come una quieta giovinetta, l’altra tutta spirito, e brio; ciascuno giudicherebbe secondo il suo genio, certo quest’opera stà tra le più belle, che sieno sorte dal pennello di Paolo. La copia sostituitavi di egual grandezza è discretamente buona
d’Incerto

Lateramente vi sono grandi al naturale dipinti lì SS:ti Gregorio Papa, e Gerolamo Cardinale di Bernardo India

Nella capella Maggiore

L’altare magnifico e per marmi, e per intagli è disegno di Bernardino Brugnoli

Le tré Statue grandi finto bronzo sopra il suo fastigio, che rappresentano il S. Girogio Martire, e li SS:ti Vescovi Agostino, e Nicolò d’Incerto


Se nel Museo di Parigi sarà questa Pittura giudiziosamente collocata in buon punto, ed in buon lume, e veduta, non resterà ad alcun’altra inferiore, e renderà estatici li riguardanti. E’ tradizione che Paolo l’avesse ritoccata sul luogo, e certo le risoluzioni, per le quali faceva il ben’effetto è difficile saper proporzarle fuori del sito, ond’è, che resterà l’opera tradita, se non avvengagli di sortire un luogo eguale a quello per cui fù fatta, e ritoccata

La Copia sostituitavi è grande equamente, ma manca di tutta la parte superiore, ossia della gloria d’Incerto

Nella Presbiterio

Sono rimasti da ammirare, e studiare due gran quadri di piedi 24 Veronesi di largezza; sopra 23 d’altezza, cioè a destra

La Manna raccolta dagl’Ebrei nel deserto, con un’infinità di figure di uomini, donne, e fanciulli, atteggiata in varj vaghissimi modi, è inventata, disegnata, e disegnata, ed in gran parte colorita da Felice Bruscazorzi

Ed essendo per la di lui morte restata imperfetta, fù poi supplita tanto bene, che nulla lascia a desiderarsi da Pasquale Ottino, e dall’Orbetto
difficilmente si può trovar quadro di varj autori, che faccia si bene, e corrisponda al tutto perfettamente così
Dirimpetto il miracolo delle turbe pasciute dal Salvatore nel deserto con poco pane, e pesce, è prodigiosa invenzione del vecchio Paolo Farinati che la fece in età d’anni 79 nel 1604, ove sé, e la sua famiglia ritrasse


La Vergine Annunziata da un lato, e l’Angelo Gabriele dall’altro ne’quadro trà gl’intercolumnj di Gio: Franco: Carotto

Sopra le Cantorie

Stanno ora collocate due per parte le quattro portelle antiche dell’Organo, nelle quali da una vedesi S. Giorgio, ed il Tiranno Imperadore, che lo condanna a morte; nelle altre due il detto Santo a bollire posto in una Caldaja; ed il detto Santo posto ad arrostire sopra una graticola dai manigoldi, opera tutte di Gerolamo Romanino Pittor Bresciano

Un’occhiata alla Cuppola, e poi una al pavimento di marmo, fatto nel 1565, ed eseguito dal Veronese Leonardo Guado

Tutto in questa Chiesa merita osservazione

Vicino alla Sagrestia, assia sotto l’Organo nuovo

Sull’altare. La tavola con la Vergine in alto col bambino, e sotto le Sante Cecilia, Lucia, Catterina, Barbara, ed Agnese Vergini, e Martiri, opera bellissima di Aless:o Bonvicino dì: il Moretto

Leteralmente vi sono due Santi, cioè S. Giorgio, ed altro Santo Martire vestiti da Guerrieri - per accompagnamento di Bernardo India

Nella prima Capella

La Vergine trà li SS:ti Agostino, e Lorenzo Giustiniani con Angeli sotto, che cantano, opera fatta nel 1529 da Gerolamo dai Libri

Nella Seconda

Le due figure de’ SS:ti Rocco, e Sebastiano di Gio: Franco: Carotto

Il Cristo con Croce in Spalla nel mezzo, è di più antica mano d’Incerto

Nell’Ovato di sopra assai stimato. Il Salvatore, che sazia le turbe di Dom:co Brusasorzi

La Lunetta superiore con altro prodigio del Salvatore fig: pic: del Carotto

Nella terza

Il S. Lorenzo arrostito sulla graticola da manigoldi di Sigismondo de Steffani

Nella Quarta

S. Orsola, con la schiera innumerabile delle Vergini, opera fatta nel 1545 del Carotto

Sopra la Porta della Chiesa

Il Salvatore battezzato nel Giordano dal Battista da Giacomo Tintoretto

Sulle pille dell’Acqua Santa

Le due Statuette di bronzo, che sono S. Gio: Batta: e S. Giorgio Martire, sono invenzione di Angelo Rossi, e ne fù poi il fonditore Giuseppe Levi

Le Statue delle quattro virtù sopra le Colonne finte bronzo d’Incerto

È mirabile, benché non terminato il bel Campanile, disegno di Michel San Micheli
Nel Refettorio

Evvi la Crocefissione del Signore, quadro grande, e copioso di figure
di Michele Veronese

come vi stà scritto Per me Michaelen Veronensem MCCCLXCI Die 11 Junij. Del qual quatore, che
si conosce, perché ebbe l’avvertanza di scrivervi il proprio nome abbiamo altra opera nella Chiesa
di Santa Lucia con l’adorazione de’Maghi, non trovandosi di lui fatta menzione nelle vite
de’Pittori Veronesi, benché sia Pittore di merito non ordinario

12. INDICAZIONE… (1815)
Indicazione delle fabbriche, chiese, e pitture di Verona o sia Guida per il forestieri.
(Verona, 1815): 11-13:

Era delle Monache Agostoniane, e prima dei Canonici di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani, credesi disegno del
Sansovino da molti, ma della maggior parte del Sanmichelli, cui tutti attribuiscono, almeno la facciata, la
Cupola, e la Torre: l’Altar maggiore è architettura del Brugnoli nipote del Sanmichelli, qui s’ammirava
l’insigne opera del Caliari, che fu portata a Parigi. Dai laterali la manna nel desero fu incominciata da
Felice Brusacorzi, e poi terminata dall’Ottino, e dall’Orbetto; la moltiplicazion dei pani fu dipinta da Paolo
Farinati già vecchio di 79 anni; S. Barnaba sotto l’organo dei Caliari, e il Santo laterali sono dell’India; la
Madonna con S. Lorenzo Giustiniani è opera ammirabile di Girolamo Dai Libri; il Cristo portante la Croce
con li Santi Rocco, e Sebastiano di Francesco Carotto, e la pittura nell’ovato mostra un bell’istudiato lavoro
di Domenico Brusacorzi, come nella mezza luna la pittura del Carotto; il S. Lorenzo arrostito è singolar
opera di Sigismondo de Stefani; la S. Orsola è del Carotto; sopra la porta il battesimo di Cristo, è opera
forte del Tintoretto; alla parte dell’Epistola sono del Bonvicino, detto il Moretto le SS. Cecilia, Lucia,
Catterina, Barbara, e Agnese. Li tre Angeli sono una sforzo dell’arte di Felice Brusacorzi, e quest’opera
gareggia con quella di Raffaelo; la discesa dello Spirito Santo e di Domenico Tintoretto, e li SS. Bernardo,
Cristo da ortolano apparso alla Maddalena e del Monte Mezzo[13]zana; il Romanino ha dipinto le portelle dell’organo, Leonardo Guado disegnò il pavimento, e
Angelo Rossi è il fondatore delle Statue di bronzo sui Lavelli, e delle sei all’Altar maggiore.

13. GIOVANNI BATTISTA DA PERSICO (1820-21)
Descrizione di Verona e della sua Provincia. 2 vols. (Verona: Società tipografica
editrice, 1820-1821): Part II. 88-97

S. GIORGIO MAGIORE. / Forse a nessun’altra delle costre chiese toccò di avere tanti cambiamenti, si
come a questa, che di S. Giorgio in Braida dicevasi, e il suo fondo il qualche antico documento è detto
Prato Domenico. Chiesa con monache qui ci avea fin dal 780. Quindo l’anno 1046, o in quel torno, ad uso
de’Benedettini vi fu riedificato il monastero, e la chiesa col campanile, di cui resta parte, da Cadalo o
Catalo, che Cadolao, e Cadeolo vien anche nominato dagli scrittori latini, e fu, giusta l’Ughelli, non
veronese, ma della famiglia de’Zanachi, e, secondo altri, de’ Pallavicini di Parma, dove era vescovo, poi fu
cancelliere dell’imperator Corrado I, e antipapa col nome di Onorio II. I Benedetti vi stettero poco tempo,
sapendosi per antichi documento, che lor succedettero alcune monache. Levate per queste vi sottentraron
l’anno 1127 i canonici della congregazione di S. Giorgio in Alga rimascrivi sino al 1668. L’anno seguente
si alienò il monastero, e colla chiesa ne fu conceduto l’uso alle monache Agostiniane di s. Maria di Reggio,
uscitene per la general soppression l’anno 1810.

Riguardo alla fabbrica, già sino dall’anno 1477 erasi rifatto chiesa e convento nel modo, che ancora in parte
vede. Dico in parte, perché quasi tutto il magnifico monastero, testè atterratossi, v’è diviso in piani ad uso di
orti. La facciata della chiesa non è già in tutto del buono stile. Discordini o abusi di architettura, e di ornati,
tristo corrodo del decather de quest’arte, dicon pur chiaro che non è tutta del Sansovino, ne tutta del
Sanmichelli, come altri dice, quantunque in parte esser potrebbe dell’uno e dell’altro. Il degeno dell’interna
struttura, che la rende pur una delle singolari chiese dopo il risorgimento delle belle arti, qualche scrittur di
guide lo dice assolutamente del Sanmichelli, e qualche altro ne vede in esso tutto lo stile del Sansovino. In
questo fatto però nè dell’uno dell’altro nulla dice il Temanza nelle Vite, che di lor ci ha lasciate, e nulla il
Milizia nelle Memorie degli Architetti. Qualunque però ne sia stato l’autore, tutta d’un colpo vi apprende
l’anima la sua bellezza al primo entrarvi dalla porta maggiore. Le colonne e pilastri, le statue, le cappelle, gli archi, gli altari, le fasce, la volta, e tutte altre parti mirabilemente si legano insieme, ergendosi, come a centro dell’unità, l’altare maggiore nello sfondo del magnifico presbiterio. Gli abbassamenti, che sostengono le due cantorie, non so, se meglio potevano immaginarsi: tanta è la grazia e la proprietà, onde si ben confanossi allo spaccato della cupola, che arditamente s’innalza. Un qualcheduno però, troppo sottile e vago, ci vorrebbe, anche a questi due lati, due piccioni sfondi; ma l’architetto la intese così. Dell’ardita e maravigliosa struttura per rassicurare la detta cupola contro la continua azion della sovrastante mole, e della specifica gravità immaginò il Sammicheli quattro esterni pilastroni in sui lati, con piramide, ognun chiuso in quadro, e serrato per quattro facce superiormente ad angolo acuto. Soggiunse però il Temanza (f. 178 Vit. Sammich.) che non posa immediatamente la cupola sopra li quattro archi tra i finestroni; ma bensi sopra un tamburo, ossia muraglia, che gira d’intorno con varie finestre, onde illuminare la chiesa. A tale sostegno affidò il Sammicheli questo edificio, che nessun altro s’attentava innalzare. Quindi mormorarono gli emuli a loro posta, quand’è lo murava, tacciando l’opera di troppo ardita da non poter reggere in piedi. Mostra per’ò il fatto che travedevan essi, e non il Sammicheli, se non si voglia addurvi in contrario il sostegno delle chiavi di ferro, appostovi posteriormente, come alcun crede. Mirabile è pure il contorno, e l’alzato dell’altare maggiore, disegno, giusta il Vasari, di Bernardino, figlio di Luigi Brugolini, nipote del Sammicheli. Questo altare è d’ordine composito, e mosse in linea curva, secondo la nicchia maestrevolmente. Più mirabile però, starei per dire, nè il lavoro dello scarpe, per la finezze degli ovoli, fogliami, cornici, meandri, ed altre parti degli ornamenti: peccato che le fasce e ‘listelli più bassi ne restino ingombri, e sopraffatti dalla mensa dell’altare, o piuttosto dai troppi apparati! Che si faccia più dappresso a considerare si squisite bellezze troverà ragione di più maraviglia e dilettto.

Potrà però l’Osservatore intrattenersi di queste sculture, senza che a pari tempo gli scorra l’occhio nelle attrattive della gran tavola del s. Giorgio, ritornata da Parigi, la quale tutta a sè ne rapisce? Il designo, il colorito, le forme, gli aggiunti, tutto è pur vivo; ma vivissime le carni, e più viva la fede, e la sicurtà, che mostra in sul viso, stando assorto a mirare la Vergine in cielo, tra le virtù teologali, sì che sacerdoti e conosciuti, ed amatori delle belle arti. Chi volesse d’ognuna dimostrar le respettive bellezze, avrebbe abbiam qui raccolte, quante sono le tavole, di cui fornirono questa lor chiesa i valentuomini Regolari, a loro portato, e in tutte le quali ognun d’essi rappresenta nel suo soggetto. Se i loro autori non sono nè concorsi, ed amatori delle belle arti. Chi volesse d’ognuna dimostrar le respettive bellezze, avrebbe materie da farne un volume.

Dai lati dell’altare maggiore v’ha due poemi, dirò così, di pittura; tanta è la vastità, la magnificena, e l’unità delle idee pittoriche, le quali ognun d’essi rappresenta nel suo soggetto. Se i loro autori non sono né Tiziano, né Paoli, hanno però in sè dell’arte contanto da non venir meno al confronte di qualche altro famoso emulator della natura. Del terzo Paolo veronese, dico del Fariniti (che il secondo fu il Cavazzula) è tutto l’immenso quadro della multiplicazione de’pani. Fu operato da lui nell’anno 1603, non nel 1604 come dal Ridolfi copiò il dal Pozzo; e, quello ch’è più mirabile, nel ricordato suo copiatore (f. 178 Vit. Sammich.) che non posa immediatamente la cupola sopra li quattro archi tra i finestroni; ma bensi sopra un tamburo, ossia muraglia, che gira d’intorno con varie finestre, onde illuminare la chiesa. A tale sostegno affidò il Sammicheli questo edificio, che nessun altro s’attentava innalzare. Quindi mormorarono gli emuli a loro posta, quand’è lo murava, tacciando l’opera di troppo ardita da non poter reggere in piedi. Mostra per’ò il fatto che travedevan essi, e non il Sammicheli, se non si voglia addurvi in contrario il sostegno delle chiavi di ferro, appostovi posteriormente, come alcun crede. Mirabile è pure il contorno, e l’alzato dell’altare maggiore, disegno, giusta il Vasari, di Bernardino, figlio di Luigi Brugolini, nipote del Sammicheli. Questo altare è d’ordine composito, e mosse in linea curva, secondo la nicchia maestrevolmente. Più mirabile però, starei per dire, nè il lavoro dello scarpe, per la finezze degli ovoli, fogliami, cornici, meandri, ed altre parti degli ornamenti: peccato che le fasce e ‘listelli più bassi ne restino ingombri, e sopraffatti dalla mensa dell’altare, o piuttosto dai troppi apparati! Che si faccia più dappresso a considerare si squisite bellezze troverà ragione di più maraviglia e dilettto.

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vangelisti in piccole belle statue di bronzo, con altre due sopra le balaustrade, per esse di buon lavoro, e de' nostri migliori marmi, ma non di buona forma in tutto, e fors' anche mal qui allogate. Di sotto scolpita in fronte al primo gradino, donde s' entra al presbiterio, v' ha una epigrafe, che ci conserva la memoria d'un nostro artefice, e fu Lodovico del Guardo, autore del bel selciato di tutta la chiesa. La soggiungi, perchè non si di leggere si può leggere, e qualche scrittore di Guide tal notizia ne ha già sformata, cambiatovi nome, cognome, ed anno: Ludovici de Guardo Veronae strangulatum opus MDLXXXV. Si corregga anche il dal Pozzo, che lo dice Guado, e vi appon l'anno 1565.

Di qua proseguendo alla destra sotto l'organo, recente lavoro del Calido, veneziano, so ha la Vergine col Bambino, le ss. Lucia, Cecilia, ecc. coll'epigrafe: Alexander Morettus Brix. MDXL Moretto, come ognuna, fu soprannome del Bonvicino. Questa tavola fu sostituita a quella di s. Barnaba, originale di Paolo, non ritornataci da Parigi. Sono di Bernardino India i due santi martiri dai lati di questo altare. Di qua passa a vedervi la maraviglia di Girolamo dai Libri in quegli angeletti, che cantano, e suonano sotto la gran Vergine in isgabello, tra'ss. Agostino e Lorenzo Giustiniani. Vedi immagine d'ideale bellezza nella grazia del loro viso! Tale e tanta n' è l'illusione, che ti parrà or si, or no intendere la parole, e in dolci suoni armonizzare le cetere. Questa ha l'epigrafe, divisa ai due lati, che ben vi si legge: MDXXVI men. mar. XXVIII. Hieronymus a Libris pinxit; e non 1529, che mal vi lesse il Lanzi; il quale però, mosse da alto stupore, la disse giojello di questa chiesa, concluendo a sua laude coll'ingegnoso motto, che vi si può conoscere in certo modo il miniatore, che dipinge, o il pittore, che monia; (l.c. f. 60 T. III.) A tanta eccellenza però non la perdonar l'altrui irragionevolezza, volendovi tener addosso una specie di tabernacolo, da usarne poi in tutto, che solo una volta l'anno, o poco più. Ma passa ad altra spezie di bellezze, che ti s'appresta a mirare unite nella seguente tavola in più partimenti. Il suggetto principale n' è il Salvatore, a fresco; che son di più antico autore l'altre pitture dai lati, e dabbasso; quelle rappresentano i ss. Rocco e Bastaino, questo, a pissiole figure, l'orazion di Cristo nell'orto, Nicodemo, che lo rivolge nella sindone, e la Risurrezione, con quattro santi nel frammezzo di queste tre tavole, tutte opere bellissime del Caroto, di cui è pure nella lunetta di sopra la Transfigurazione. Gli apostoli, intesi e liberare un ossesso, sono di Domenico Brusasori. Al seguente altare sottotira il martirio di s. Lorenzo, opera di Sigismondo de'Stefani, il quale nella gamba destra del santo martire fece uno scorci mirabile, e di rarissimo esempio. Su d'un [94] lato della grada vi segnò l'epigrafe: Sigismundus de Stephanis de Veron. pinxit MDLXIII, se altri non leggendo LXIII. Qui sotto in tre tavole, in piccole figure, opera di anonimo non ancor ricordata, v' è dipinto il martirio di s. Stefano, un s. Cristoforo con Gesù in ispalla, e s. Lorenzo flagellato ad un tronco. La s. Orsola colle sue compagne all'ultimo altare è pur del Caroto, che seppe anco per questa pittura a tempera mostrare, quanto valesse in ogni argomento, non accagionando lui dell'errore di storia, in questo fatto, quasi comune a tutti i pittori. Ha pur essa l'epigrafe senza il prenome di Giovanni: Franciscus Carotus P. A.D. MDXXXV. Sopra la porta quel s. Giovambatista, che battezza il Salvatore, dipintovi di qua dal Giordan, e quello di là, è di Jacopo Tintoretto, opera, che ricorda il grandioso e forte immaginare e disegnare di Michelangelo, da esso lui proposti di seguire. AL primo altare dall'altro lato l'apparizione di Cristo alla Maddalena, o, come si dico, il Noli me tangere, è di Francesco Montemezzano, scolare di Paolo, che in alcune parti il rappresentò bene, ma non così nel colorire, debole e tardo, come lo difinì il Lanzi (l.c. T.III.f.179). Dicesi avervi il nome, e l'anno 1580, ch'io peròm né altri con me non vi seppe mai ritrovare. Il Ridolfi la disse studiata fatica, in senso però di lode. Segue l'altro altare, detto dei quattro Fondatori, ma altri non legga LXIII. Qui sotto in tre tavolette a piccole figure, opera di anonimo non ariocordata, v' è
Rubeis in., e l’altro Joseph de Levi F. Di buona forma sono le quattro grandi statue a color bronzino sui pilastri, e rappresentano le quattro virtù cardinali. Altre cose v’ha ancora di metallo, e di marmo, di più, o di minor mole e pregio, dentro e fuori della chiesa, e colonnete ad intagli quasi tutte di buon’ arte, e di bel lavoro, che l’amatore di si fatte bellezza può di per sè roconoscere nelle parti, e nel tutto di questo tempio.

Uscendo alla fine, si consideri la solida e bella architettura del campanile, che gli sta dallato, scoperto alla comun vista nel rifacimento della pubblica via. Dalla porzione, che ne fu eretta, si può bene argomentare a qual grado di struttura e di forma doveva tutta riuscirne la mole. Vi ebbe a por mano il ricordato Brugnoli per riordinare la costruzione priva, che aveva dato il Sammicheli, contraffatto poi da quegli arditi manovali, che mai non mancano di arruffare, e di adulterare, quanto è da loro, le pregiate invenzioni degli eccellenti architetti. L’uso de’ sacri arredi nelle metope, adottato dal Sammicheli, dove l’edificio sia sacro, o a sacra persona appartenga, è pur qui rinnovato, e si stan già meglio le croci e’ alici, che le scuri, i teschi, ed altri segni, convvenevoli a riti del gentilesimo. Una palla sovrapposta ad ognuno dei quattro lati ne termina la quadrangolare forma, che ha finestroni, e sopra il loro fregio. Sarebbe opera di molta briga, stante la multiplicità de’ pensieri, a proporre il preseguimento, e a così fatta parte si confaccia. Dà però esso, anche in tal modo, assai splendore e grazie alla nuova strada.

Questa va a metter capo alla Porta, che appunto di s. Giorgio si dice. Da questa parte fosse pur essa anche degna di si nobili aggiunti! Dovendosi un di costruire, staria pur bene che entrasse in capo, a cui tocchi, l’ordinarla di forma, che colla simmetria dell’esterna si convenisse, riordinando tre aperture anche l’interna sua facciata, per fornire così il più spedito, e sicuro passaggio degli animali, e de’ carri. Infattanto, checehè ne sia per essere di dentro, l’esterno di essa porta è pur bello, costrutto in marmo di solida forma tra il toscano e il dorico, ed ha l’anno MDXXV. Non trovai ancora che ne sia stato l’architetto, il quale pur valente se ne fa riconoscere. Il 18 Ottobre 1805 ebbe questa porta un assalto fortissimo dai Francesco, usciti del Castel vecchio nella battaglia di Campagnola, e vi si veggono ancora le memorande impronte.

14. ROSSI (1854)

_Nuova guida di Verona e della sua Provincia._ (Verona: a spese dell’autore (Tip. Frizierio), 1854): 269-274

S. GIORGIO MAGGIORE

(Oratorio sussidiario di S. Stefano)


L’interno è d’ignoto architetto. Le colonne incassate la mostra di scuola fiorentina. La cupola vi fu imposto con ardimiento notabilissimo dal Sammicheli [sic], che non vi fortificò i fianchi come soggiunse il Vasari, e nè meno caricò il tempio di chiavi di ferro apparenti, chè di questo ripiego non si conoscono segni, nè contemporanei, nè posteriori alla fabbrica della cupola. Si riconosce bensì costrutta con tutta arte onde renderla leggera, aprendovi nicchie e finestrelle nel tamburo, e vuotando possibilmente i cassettoni della volta. Egregiamente vi si sono pur conformati gli abissamenti che sostengono le due cantorie. Il pavimento sotto la ridente cupola seconda il riparto de’ suoi rosoni, ed è malore che il bel marmo azzurrino soggiaccia all’umido ed al deperimento.

Il battesimo del Salvatore sopra la porta maggiore interna della chiesa, è di Jacopo Tintoreto.

Le due statuette di bronzo sopra le pile dell’acqua santa ostentano il nome dei loro fondatori.
Le quattro virtù cardinali a color bronzino in alto sopra le colonne incassate alla fiorentina, non sono spregiuvoli, ma di una mole per quel sito eccessiva.

Al primo altare a destra, la tavola colla Maddalena in colloquio col Salvatore, è opera di Francesco Montezemmanno, uno degli scolari di Paolo veronese.

All’altare che segue, la tavola colla vergine in alto, e nel piano i ss. Romualdo, Antonio abate, Mauro e Bernardino, è rara opera di Pasquale Ottino.

La discesa dello Spirito Santo fra gli apostoli al terzo altare, è di Domenico, figlio di Giacomo Tintoretto. La tavola al quarto altare rappresentante i tra Arcangeli, è la più pregiata opera di Felice Brusasorci.

La Vergine da un lato e l’angelo dall’altro sopra gli’intercolumni fuori del presbiterio, sono del Caroto. Nella fronte del primo gradino donde s’entra al presbiterio, è scolpito il nome dell’autore del bel selciato di tutta la chiesa: LUDOVICO DE GUARDO VERONAE STRAGULATUM O PUS MDLXXXV. [1585]

Non is conosce l’autore delle belle sei statuette di bronzo, fra le quali vi sono i quattro evangelisti, che si vegono sopra le balaustrate, i cui marmi sono tutti delle migliori cave della nostra provincia.

La Vergine da un lato e l’angelo dall’altro sopra gli’intercolumni fuori del presbiterio, sono del Caroto. Nella fronte del primo gradino donde s’entra al presbiterio, è scolpito il nome dell’autore del bel selciato di tutta la chiesa: LUDOVICO DE GUARDO VERONAE STRAGULATUM O PUS MDLXXXV. [1585]

Non is conosce l’autore delle belle sei statuette di bronzo, fra le quali vi sono i quattro evangelisti, che si vegono sopra le balaustrate, i cui marmi sono tutti delle migliori cave della nostra provincia.


Chi portà mai non gittar qui gli occhi sopra la gran tavola di s. Giorgio, ritornatasi da Parigi, e chi potrebbe dipartirsene senza portar con seco la memoria di si stupendo lavoro, e l’incitato desiderio di ricordarne tutti i pregi e di rivederlo? Pochissimi sono i dipinti che possiede Verona di questo insigne pennello di Paolo; ma nel quadro presente abbiamo però quanto basta per non sapere che desiderare più oltre. Quest’opera si può ben chiamare il miracolo di Paolo veroense. Quell’ forza delle tinte, quella floridezza delle carnagioni, quel tocco magico e franco; la sorprendente sua prospettiva, la magnifica architettura, e sovra tutto la limpidezza del cielo, la potenza dovunque d’inarrivabile colorito, costituiscono di questa tavola d’altare uno dei più bei capi lavori della scuola italiana. Chi vide mai tante e si variate sublimi espressioni in quella turba de’ sagrificatori e de’ circostatni; chi tanta singolare spontaneità, che par quasi opera della mano del divin creatore? Quell’angelico e sereno aspetto del martire protagonista, tutta ci fa sentire nell’anima la sollecita sua brama di partecipare alla celeste gloria, che in alto divinamente il circonda e l’aspetta. Le fede poi del martire e la sua fermezza, sono così espresse, e si al vivo dipinte, che non vi è umano sapere che le possa degnamente lodare. Credesi che in quel capitano a cavallo, che si mostra di scorcio a destra di chi guarda, abbia effigiato il pittore il proprio ritratto. Con questo lavoro volle Paolo per certo mostrare a’ suoi concittadini, sebbene operando a Venezia avesse presenti i superbi lavori di Tiziano, di Palma e di Tintoretto, che il suo genio era veramente original e sublime, e che grande era pure l’amore che sentiva per la sua dilettissima patria.

15. BELVIGLIERI (1898)


Detta S. Giorgio in Braida e fu eretta sopra un fondo denominato Prato Domenico, Chiesa con monache sino dal 780.
Nel 1046 passò ad uso dei Benedettini, fu riedificato il monastero e la Chiesa con parte del campanile da Cadalo o Catalo, non veronese ma della famiglia De Zanachi e secondo altri dei Pallavicino di Parma, dove era Vescovo poi cancelliere di Corrado I. e antipapa col nome di Onorio II., ma I Benedettini poco soферmarono e tornarono le monache, che levate nel 1127 subentrarono i canonici della Congregazione di S. Giorgio in Alga fino al 1668.

Nel 1669 monastero e Chiesa vennero in mano alle Agostiniane di S. Maria di Reggio, soppresse nel 1810.

Nel 1477 venne eretta allo stato attuale con architettura ne tutta del Sansovino ne tutta del Samicheli, del quale è la bellissima e ardita cupola, ed il campanile non compiuto per viste militari (esistono però I disegni del Dalla Rosa per completarli). La facciata, che non si può dire di buono stile, è tutto in marmo bianco. – Le due Statue S. Giorgio e S. Lorenzo Giustiniani, sono dello scultore Ceola Giacomo (n. 1696) perfezionate dopo un Secolo da Lorenzo Muttoni discepolo del Ceola e qui collocate nel 1741, come dalla iscrizione:

Quae supre saeculorum informes jacuerant Maria Scolastica Tosetti colectis Monialium votis perfecit, et in prospectum erexit A. D. MDCCXLI. [1741]

L’interna struttura è ricca ad armonica, gli altari sono disposti in nicchioni divisi alternativamente da pilastri e lesene, e da mezze colonne in marmo rosso e lesene in bianco, con poderosi basamenti a marmo bianco, grigio, e rosso, e il tutto fa capo e si lega mirabilmente col sontuoso altar maggiore d’ordine composito, a linea curva.

Sopra la porta maggiore è appesa una tela rappresentante, il battesimo di Gesù Cristo, di Jacopo Tintoretto (Robusti 1576) è la figura al là del Giordano, quella al di quà è di Francesco Caroto (1470-1546).

I. altare: La tavola, apparizione di Cristo sotto veste di ortolano alla Maddalena (noli me tangere) è di Francesco Montemezzano (dicepolo di P. Caliari) morto, si crede, avvelenato nel (1600), sembra sia stato dipinto nel 1580. L’ara è in marmo bianco, l’altzato è in legno.


III. altare: La discesa dello Spirito Santo nel cenacolo, è di Robusti minor detto Tintoretto.

IV. altare: La B.V. in gloria ed I tre arcangeli, è opera di Felice Brusasorci, Riccio, (1540-1605) che lo esegui di ritorno dalla Toscana, sotto la diezione di Jacopo Ligrossi.

V. altare: Sotto la cantoria, mirabile è il partito adottato, quattro colonne scanalate d’ordine jonico, l’altare di ricchi marmi con ai lati due balaustre. La tavola sull’altare rappresenta S. Barnaba che risana un’infermo, è opera di ignoto copia da Paolo V. I due laterali S. Gregorio e S. Girolamo sono di Bernardino India (fl. 1570).


L’autore vi dipinse il suo ritratto nel vecchio colla cuffia bianca che presenta al Salvatore il bacile coi due pesci.

L’altro magnifico quadro a sinistra, che rappresenta la Manna nel deserto, è opera di Felica Brusasorci la parte superiore, e morto lui nel 1605, fu ultimato dal Turchi (Orbetto) e dall’Ottino suoi valenti discepoli.

Buoni sono gli stalli del presbiterio in noce, con lesine e riquadri scolpiti.

Bella e maestosa è la balaustrata con pilastri fregiati a candelabro, sormontati da seipresiose statuette in bronzo, non ve è inciso alcun nome ma si attribuiscono ad Angelo Rossi, e dello stesso probabilmente erano I sei candelabri di bronzo che decoravano l’altar maggiore, e che malauguratamente e fraudolentemente vennero da tempo venduti ad un rigattiere.

All’esterno sui lati del presbiterio sono appese le due bellissime tele, l’Angelo e l’Annunciata, opere di Francesco Caroto (1470-1546) forse appartenevano all’organo.
Ai lati dell’organo sono appese altre due bellissime tele di Girolamo Romanino bresciano, rappresentanti fatti del martire S. Giorgio, come quelle che abbiamo vedute ai lati della cantoria di fronte. Anche l’organo, di cui parleremo poi, è sostenuto col medesimo partito della canoria, con quattro colonne e l’altra decorato ai lati da balaustrate in marmi.

VII. altare: Sotto l’organo, la bellissima tavola colle Sante Lucia, Cecilia, Caterina, Barbara, Agnese, è opera di Alessandro Del Moretto (Bonvicino) bresciano (1540), porta scritto il nome e l’anno. Questa tavola fu sostituita a quella di S. Barnaba di Paolo Caliari, rapita, e non più tornata da Parigi. Di Bernardino India sono le tele con due martiri ai lati.

VIII. altare: Di Girolamo Dai Libri (1472-1555) è la vaga tela, la B.V. su sgabello tra S. Agostino e S. Lorenzo Giustiniani, ai piedi di Maria stanno tre angoletti che suonano e cantanono, qualcosa di celestiale, vi è ai piedi il breve: MDXXVI. men. mar. XXVIII. Hieronymus e Libris pinxit. Sulla lunetta è dipinto il Padre Eterno. Buono per forma e per marmi è l’altare.


Dalla portina a sinistra di questo altare si entra in una Chiesetta così detta del Cristo, per un’affresco rappresentante Cristo che porta la croce. È pia tradizione che un soldato della Repubblica Veneta nel 1445, dipingesse sopra l’intonico d’un baluardo questa immagine, è tutta verde perché il buon soldato adoperò nel condurle succo di erbe, la giustezza dei contorni fanno supporre una qualche cognizione nella nobilissima arte. – Molte vicende subì questa venerata immagine da raffermarne il culto.


Sulla Storia, vicende e miracoli di questa sacra immagine pubblicò un’opuscolo interessante nel 1895 coi tipi G. Zannoni, il M. R. zelante e coltissimo arciprete di S. Giorgio, Don Gaetano Masotti.


Sulla Chiesa, vicende e miracoli di questa sacra immagine pubblicò un’opuscolo interessante nel 1895 coi tipi G. Zannoni, il M. R. zelante e coltissimo arciprete di S. Giorgio, Don Gaetano Masotti.

X. altare: Di Sigismondo De Stefani (1564) è la bella tavola il martirio di S. Lorenzo, ammirabile e raro è lo scorcio della gamba destra. – Sull’asta longitudinale della graticola si vede il nome e l’anno – MDLXIII. – Sul gradino dell’altare tre tavolette rappresentano a piccole figure, il Martirio di S. Stefano, S. Cristoforo con Gesù, S. Lorenzo legato ad un tronco e flagellato, di autore ignoto. L’altare è di legno, l’ara in marmo bianco.

XI. altare: Qui ammirarsi la tela rappresentante, S. Orsola e le sue compagne – opera insigne di Francesco Caroto e porta il breve – Franciscus Carotus P. A. D. MDXXXXV. Sul predellino di legno sono tre quadretti di antico ignoto il primo con delle navi – ne mezzo una battaglia con molte figure – il terzo un paesaggio.


Il magnifico pavimento della Chiesa è opera di Lodovico Dal Guardo 1585.

Prima di chiudere è bene dire qualcosa anche sull’organo veramenta previevo di questa Chiesa insigne.

Fina dal 1779 esisteva in questa Chiesa un’organo del celebre Callido, veneto, ma ormai troppo deperito, o da mani barbarhe rovinato. – Nel 1890 il reputatissimo fabbricatore Sig. Trice Giorgio di Genova, conservando il più possibile dell’organo di Callido cioè: il principale di otto piedi, l’ottava, e qualcosa del ripieno, fabbricò il nuovo organo che venne solennemente inaugurato in quell’anno col grandi concerti dati dal Professore Sig. Filippo Cappocci di Roma, e dal nostro valent concittadino maestro Achilli Saglia.

Si tratta di un’organo veramenta liturgico a sistema elettro-pneumatico, diviso in due parte, l’una di fronte all’altra: l’organo espressivo conta 16 registri, l’organo grande ne conta 9, è fornito di tre tastiere, una delle quali è destinata a servire per un’organo corale da collocarsi in alto sulla famosa cupola del Sanmicheli, e speriamo di potere in breve termine sentire l’eco armoniosa, e l’effetto divino, che deve produrre il classico
concerto. È opera che grandemente onora l’artefice, e quello cui venne il lodevole pensiero di farli costruire. Si può dire cosa veramente perfetta, prova ne sia che dopo otto anni dacchè fu inaugurato si mantiene come il primo giorno, e chi vuole gustarne i concerti si rechi nel mattino dei giorni festivi alla Chiesa di S. Giorgio.

Sarebbe desiderabile che l’esempio servisse d’incentivo a ripristinare la vera fabbrica organaria italiana, forse troppo negletta per non dire abbandonata, tale speranza non sarà vana quando si pensi che il sistema Trice viene continuato dal Sig. Domenico Farinati veronese, che ebbe la sua istituzione nella fabbrica dello stesso Trice, ove lavorò per molti anni.
APPENDIX VII: WRITTEN DESCRIPTIONS OF SAN GIORGIO IN ALGA

This chronological list is not exhaustive. It includes only descriptions of San Giorgio in Alga and its works of art that this dissertation cites.

1. FRANCESCO SANSOVINO


Et nella sagrestia i pastori adoranti Giesù, con Paesi assai vaghi & gratiosi furono di Giovan Battista da Coniglione, allievo di Gian Bellino, l’anno 1497.

2. GIACOMO FILIPPO TOMASINI


[in margin: Templi S. Georgii descriptio.] ...Templum est magnificum, si priora tempora spectes; uno fornice eminet tabulato, laquearibus elegantissimè depictis. Longitudo pedum est fère CXIV latitudo XLV. In medio choros est pensilis sex columnis ex albo lapide subnixus, ubi patres in divinas laudes die noctuq. statis horis conveniunt. Choro adhaeret Organum coloribus auroque variatum, cui vicinum est horologium. Interiori facie sacellum est amplum, cuius ara D. Geor gii martyrium repræsentat in pavimento ANTONII Corrarii Cardinalis corpus depositeum. A dextera maioris altaris sacre reliquie tali inscriptone asservantur. RELIQVIARUM LOCVS IN QUO SVNT PRÆCVPÈ SPINA DE CORONA, DE VESTE INCONSVTILI, ET DE LIGNO CRVCS DOMINI NOSTRI IESV CHRIStI. PES S. GEORGII MARTYRIS, ET CORONA D. MARCI EVANGELISTÆ ANNO MDLXXXIX.


3. MARCO BOSCHINI


Isola di San Giorgio in Alga, Padri.

Nella Capella alla destra dell’Altar maggiore, vi è Christo adorato da Pastori, con il Beato Lorenzo Giustinianio, Angeli, con un bellissimo paese, di Giovanni Battista da Conegliano.

La travola dell’Altar maggiore, con S. Giorgio avanti a Diocleziano, che disputa per la Fede di Christo, con gran numero d’astnato, è opera bellissima è singolare: basta a dire che sia della scuola di Paolo.

Sonoui anco sotto tre Ovati per traverso, ne’ quali si vedono molte cose appartenenti alla vita del Santo, & il suo martirio, pure della stessa mano.

La tavola alla sinistra dell’ Altar maggiore, contiene il Beato Lorenzo Giustiniano, li Santi Stefano, e Lorenzo; opera di Girolamo de Santa Croce, fatta come si vede l’Anno MDXXV.

Sopra questa tavola, euui un quadretto, con Maria, che tiene il Bambino, pure dello stesso Autore.

Sacrestia

La Tavola dell’altare, ha nel mezo Christo alla Colona, meza figurea, è tenuta da molti per Antonella da Messina; tuttovolta, vi sì vede scritto sotto Ionnes Bellinus; ma sì giudica, che non sii scritto dall’Autore.

Nella stassa Tavola, vi sono altri compartimenti, cioè di sopra il padre Eterno, più à basso Maria, e S. Giovanni, & alcuni Angeletti, con misterii della Passione; opera del Vivarini.

Refettorio:

La Passione di Christo, con le Marie, soldatesche, e molto numero di astanti, quadro Grande: opera con tutta diligenza, fatta da Donato Veneziano.
APPENDIX VIII: DOCUMENTS

**DOC 1.** THE 1669 INVENTORY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE CHURCH OF SAN GIORGIO IN BRAIDA, VERONA.
ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1, fol. 257v-262v .................................................................392

**DOC 2.** THE 1669 INVENTORY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE CHURCH OF SAN GIORGIO IN ALGA, VENICE.
ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 3, fol. 60r-62v .......................................................................397

**DOC 3.** DESCRIPTION OF THE ALTARS DEDICATED TO LORENZO GIUSTINIANI IN SAN GIORGIO IN ALGA, VENICE. COLLECTED IN 1616 AS PART OF A NEW PROCESSUS FOR CANONIZATION.
ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3516, fol. 60v-62v .................................................................400

**DOC 4.** DESCRIPTION OF LORENZO GIUSTINIANI’S BURIAL CHAPEL IN SAN PIETRO IN CASTELLO, VENICE. COLLECTED IN 1616 AS PART OF A NEW PROCESSUS FOR CANONIZATION.
ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3516, fol. 62v-64v .................................................................403

**DOC 5.** TESTIMONY OF THE VENETIAN PAINTER MATTEO VENETUS. TAKEN ON 19 OCT 1622 AS PART OF A NEW PROCESSUS FOR LORENZO GIUSTINIANI’S CANONIZATION.
ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523, fol. 1133r-1137v .................................................................405
Introduction:

Documents 1 and 2 are inventories that were taken systematically in 1669. The compilers began with the high altar then progressed around the church in counterclockwise fashion. They continued beyond the confines of the nave and recorded the contents of the sacristy, convent, archive and chapel of the novitiate, as well as the treasury and refectory. The works of art, liturgical instruments and furniture were listed in the order in which they were encountered, giving the modern reader some sense of the physical context of each object. At San Giorgio in Alga, the chapels were identified only by their location in the church (i.e. “a’ Cornu Evangelii” or “in Capo alla Chiesa”), though other inventories of the Canons’ churches identify the chapels by the name of the saint to whom their altars were dedicated, and others, such as San Giorgio in Braida’s inventory, identify some of the chapels by location and dedication (i.e. “altar di San’Orsola nel fine dello Chiesa a’ cornu Evangelii”). (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, doc. 1, 259r.) From time to time the notaries included tantalizing details in their reports of the churches, such as possible attributions, iconography and dates. At San Giorgio in Alga, for example, there is a “pala di S. Giorgio, che disputa avanti Diocletiano Imp., dissero esser di mano di Montemezzano” (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, doc. 3, 60r) and “un’altare con palla di legno con suo Christo passo, fu’detto di mano di Zan bellino, Madonna e due Angelettì in tavole con tela per coprire.” (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, doc. 3, 61r.) But for the most part the laundry-list style entries are frustratingly vague and leave much room for interpretation, as the entry for “altare di S. Marco [in San Giorgio in Alga] con pala d’orata mano antica con altri due santi per parte” illustrates. (ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, doc. 3, 60v).
DOC 1. THE 1669 INVENTORY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE CHURCH OF SAN GIORGIO IN BRAIDA, VERONA.
ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 1, fol. 257v-262v

Nella Chiesa
Al’Altar maggiore
Una Pala di S. Giorgio nel martirio con molte figure in tela opera di Paolo Veronese, e di grandiss(im)a
stima, e prezzo
Sopra la Pala vi sono tre figure grandi si stucco
L’Altare stauato dal muro tutto di pietra viva con scalinata
Il Tabernacolo di pietra viva, diverti colori colli grandi per li Candellieri di legno dipinto
Illmed.o. tabernacolo è ornato di quattordei figurine dei rilievo di bronzo con Croce nella sommistà d’esso
con Crocifisso Mevat d’otton
Nel tabernacolo una Pisside mezana argentoutto d’oro
Sei Candellieri di bronzo grandi adornati di figurine nel piede
Quattro Candellieri merzani di legno dorato
Le tavolette Secrete dell’evangelio, e dello lavabo in cornici di nogara
Una tovaglia intovagliata grande con sigi grandi
Sotto tovaglie due piccoli, e necchie
Tela per coprir la Pala
Un palio seda diverti colori vecchio
Un sopra palio velludo pavonazzo vecchio con Croce d’oro
Dalle parti dell’Altare due Angelo legno dorato, che tengono due lampade dottone.
Un’tavolino per l’ampoline con tavoletta intavogliata e parapetto corrido
Due Cerforali grandi di nogara intagliata
Due quadri grandi che capiscono le ale dello Coro a’ destra, e Sinistra
Sopra la Ballaustradura dello Coro dell’Altar Maggiore Sei figure di Vescovi e Santi di bronzo

All’Altar di S. Cecilia nel corpo della Chiesa a’ Cornici Evangelii
Pala dell’istotta Santa, et altre Sante in Tela.
Croce di legno con Crocifisso Avolio
Due Candellieri legno
Le tavolette delle Secrete
Due tovaglie piccole intavogliate
Parapetto di pietra
Tela per la Pala

All’Altar dell B.V.
Palla della med.a in tela con due ghirlande argento
Sei candellieri grandi d’ottone
Due simili piccoli
Una Croce di nogara con Crocifisso di rilievo simile
Una tovaglio grande con pizzi, e franze dalli cavi pure intavogliata
Due sotto piccole vecchie
Parapetto di pietra viva
Una tori[a?] di due lire incirca per offerta
Una lampada bronzo dorato grande
Una tavoletta della serata

Altare del Corpo di Christo
Pala in legno antica con pittura di diversi Santi
Una Croce legno dorato con Crocifisso di legno
Palio di Coridoro
Una tovaglia intavogliata con pizzi grande
Una piccola di sotto
Due candellieri piccoli di legno
Una lampada piccola ottone
Un’Cossin Coridoro

Altar di San Lorenzo

Pala dell’istesso Santo in tela
Due Candellieri legno piccoli
Una Croce con Crocifisso di legno nera
Un Cossino di Coridoro
Una tovaglia grande con pizzi
Una n[v?]ecchia di sotto intavagliata
Un Palio Coridoro
Tela per coprir la Pala
Una lampedina piccola ottone

Altar di San’Orsola nel fine dello Chiesa a’ cornu Evangeli

Pala in tela
Croce Crocifisso e due Candellieri legno
Una tavola delle Secrete con Cornisi legno nero
Una tavaglia grande con pizzi intorno intavagliata
Una tavaglia sotto vecchia
Un Palio di Coridoro
Un’lampedin piccolo d’ottone
Un Cossino Coridoro

Altar di S. Maria Mad.na nel fine della Chiesa a’ cornu Evangelii [sic]

Pala in tela
Croce legno dorata
Due Candellieri legno nero
Tela da copri la Pala
Lampada piccola ottone
Cartiella della Secrete con Cornici di legno nero
Tovaia grande con pizzi intovagliata
Una voto [?] piccola vecchia
Un Cassin Coridoro
Palio Coridoro

Altar detto degli Abbati

Pala in tela
Tela da Copri l’Altare
Croce con Crocifisso, e due Condellieri di legno
Tavoletta delle Secrete con Cornice legno nero
Tovaglia grande con pizzi intovagliata
Una sotto piccola necchia
Un Cossin Coridoro
Un’Palio Coridoro
Una lampedua piccola ottone

Altar dello Spirito Santo

Pala in tela
Tela da Coprirla
Croce con Crocifisso e due Candellieri legno
Cartella delle Secrete con Cornici legno nero
Due tavaglie grandi intovagliate
Una piccola sotto
Un cassino Coridoro
Palio Coridoro
Lampada piccola ottone forato inargentato

Altar degli Angeli

Pala in tela
Tela da coprirla
Croce con Crocifisso Mevato, e due Candelliari segno dorato
Cartella dalle Secrete con cornice legno nero
Tovaglia grande con pizzi
Due sotto toviglie
Un’Cossin, e
Palio di Coridoro
Lampada ottone

Altare di S. Barnaba, che vien Mer il p.o a’cornu Evangelii
Pala di Paulo Veronese in tela dal med. Santo, e molte figure di grandissimo stima, e prezzo.
Tela da coprirla
Croce legno con Crocifisso Avoilio
Due Candelliari ottone
Una tavaglia grande con pizzi
Due tavaglie sotto piccole
Parapetto di pietra viva

Sopra la Porta mag.la della Chiesa del di dentro
Un quadro grande in tela con Cornici di legno di San Giovanni Battista Battierante di grandissima stima
Nel corpo della chiesa sopra quattro Colone della parti quattro gigure grandi di stucco
Quattro Banchi di noghera da ingenochiarti
Due lavelli d’Acque Santa pietra viva con due statue bronzo
Due organi dall’Ali di detta Chiesia cioè un’grande con organetto, ove si pasano li cantori l’altro nel coro di
rimpetto al p.o ove cantano conventualmente di Padri

Nella sacrestia

Una Pisside con coppa tutta di rame dorato
Borse nostro is. da Calici feriali di diversi colori vecchie tra quale tre nove due bianchi, e pavonarre, et una
bianca tutta
Velli da Calice diversi colori 36
Corporali VS
Anime da Calice undeci
Un’Calice con patena tutto d’argento dorato
Messali da unico N.S.
Uno da morto
Un quadro grande con Crocifisso, e S. Gerolamo à piedi d’esso
Un calice piccolo con patena tutto rame per li morti
Un Armaro di nogara con Calti
Tre pavaroni per il tabernacolo seta di diverti colori
Due velli bianchi vecchi per il sepulcro
Una tavola di perro
Due tapeci vecchi da tavolin
Una banca perro con calti
Due finestre [cancelled: con] e due occhi con sue ferial, e fruri
Un banco perro attaccato al muro
Una tavolletta coll’obblighi di messe

Nella Sacristia grande presso alla pa.

Un Armaro grande presso intagliato con otto portille e calti
Quattro con entro l’infratte robbe
Cossini d’Altar diversi di seta cio è due simili novi rassadi a’ fiori et oro, e quattro deci usati
Un’vello sopra l’humeredale di seta schietto
Tre campanelli piccoli d’Altar
Un’mortaro di bronzo piccolo con suo pilor di ferro
Piviali di seda, e velludo dodien cioè
   Due di velluto Cremese fodrati di tela
   Uno bianco, e giallo di seta fodrati di tela
   Tre bianchi, e rossi à fiori seta rasati come sopra
   Un’nero, merro velluto à fiori fodrato come sopra
   Un’pavonarre seta rasata fodrata di tela
   Un verde, e Canollin di seta à fiori fodrato come sopradetto
   Un’bianco di Metta oro vecchio
   Un’bianco, e giallo di seta fodrato come sopradetto
Paramenti in terzo n. otto cioè
   Uno di teletto d’oro rosso, compassamano d’oro fodrato di lendal turchino
   Un’bianco fondo d’oro usato à fiori con ricamo d’oro fodrato tela
   Uno rosso, e bianco fatto à fiori con passaman d’oro fodrato lendal color di foco nuovo
   Uno di velluto cremese usato ricamente con figure d’oro fodrato tela
   Uno di velluto verde con ricami d’oro fodrato tela
   Un verde, e giallo à fiori senza fodrato tela
Pianete feriale verde seda no. 3. usate colle sue stole, e manipoli
   Una Pianeta verde, e gialla seda à fiori fodrata tela con stola e manipolo
   Una di damasco bianco vecchia con passaman vecchio ang.te con li suoi pezzi
   Una Pianeta tela argento facita à fiori vecchia con passa mano oro fodrata tela bianca con li fiori pezzi
Pianete bianche vecchie seda fodrate tela tre senza pezzi
   Una pianeta di operetta crema vecchia con fiori vecchia a’ fiori fodrata à tela con li pezzi
   Due dette rosso Vecchio fodrate di tela colli fiori pezzi
   Pianete parconarre cinque, cio è due ormesino à onda con passaman’oro fodrate di tela vecchia colli pezzi
   Due altre Damaschetto vecchie fodrate come sopra con li pezzi
   Un di raso foderato di tela con li pezzi
   Due pavonarre e lalle di damaschino vecchie fodrate di tela con pezze
   Due Pianete rosse feriali di seda à fiori vecchie colle pezzi
   Una da rossa e lalla per li morti vecchia
   Due dette vecchie nere lambello stampato colle suoi pezzi
   Una nera tutta in pezzi
   Una coperta di Damasco Cavolin, che li lette sul banco in occasione di matrimonii
   Due tappedi grandi vecchi da Altare
   Tappedi piccoli sette vecchie e rotti
   Una coperta per la cassa da morto di seta
   Due passin verdi figurati per il sepolcro
   Un Baldachino seda bianca e rossa nere his opera damasco
   Una fogara di rame col suo piè di ferro, e mogietta
   Un ferro per far osbie [?]
   Un Christo avorio con Croce ebano con fiorami argento col pie di palangone e tavoletta delle secrete
     attacata alla Croce con Cornice di legno
   Tovaglie grandi da Altar intavogliate quindici
   Tovagllette piccole strazzate sei
   Corte di filadin due vecchie
   Camiti ordinarii no. otto
   Arniti conque
   Cordoni sei
   Cordoni di seta due
   Carsielle dalle secrete indorate due
   Purificatorii da Calice cinquanta
   Una perro Cassa senza chiave
Una Cassa nogara con chiave
Una detta di perro con parmo verde
Un Christo grande
Un’Scagno senza pose
Steiche per le forie due
Forzine per staccar piviali due
Palii per l’Altarino dell’Altar grande, ove si mettono
l’Ampolle no. due di seda rosse
Un Cristo grande per il sepolcro
Due finestre con le sue feriate

Un’altra Sacrestia grande contigue salle sodette
con banchi intorno di perro grande vecchie

In un banco dellì sopraddetto
Un’palio de seta verde per l’Altar grande
Un detto di raso rosso ricamato di seda per il d.
In un’altro banco
Un palio seda bianca con argento vecchio
Un palio velluto cremese a’pelo con recamo oro
Un’palio rosso e bianco seda con passaman d’oro
Tutti per l’Altar grande
Item un’altra banca
Palii per l’Altar della Madonna cioè
Un’paglio bianco teletta argento vecchia
Un palio lalo e bianco damasco vecchi

Nel Camerino, ove si lavano le mani e li prepara la messa
Genuflessorii di perro dipinto no. due
Un’scagno nogara
Un quadro della B. Vergine
Due casse con Cornici perro nero per pa preparatione
Una Cornice perro da Drappi, et ampoline con Croce sopra
Una fenastrella colla sua vedriada
Il loco dell’oglio Santo in Sacristia con vaso argento in scatola di pero e Borsa di seta bianca

Un Camarinetto contiguo alla Sacristia
Un’genuflessorio perro con tapeado strizzato
una Catrega di Bulgaro vecchia
Una Carta per la preparatione

Sotto l’Altar del Corpo di Christo in Chiesa
Vi è un’Armaro con chiave colle robbe infratte
Quattodeici Cossini seda rossa, e bianca à fiori colli suoi fichi per l’Altari nuovi
Palii sette nuovi, e simili alli Cossini

Nell’Archivio o’ sia Tesoreria nel Dormitorio
Due Candellieri di legno argento
Vasi di legno inargentato quattro con fiori
In una cassa fodrata di ferro con due chiavi in sono le robbe (fol. 263r) infrascritte
Un Calice grande con patena grande tutto d’argento dorato con copa grande guarnita di fiorami, manico guarnito con quattro figure, e piedi simili tutti dorato
Un’altro Calise tutto con guarnitione, et intagli d’argento con la sua patena d’argento dorata
Un’altro Calice con patena con guarnitione, et tesse d’argento colla sua patena d’argento dorato
Due altri Calici con le patene simili all’ultimi due
Due ampolline con sua bainetta tutto argento intagliato, e con l’arma in mezzo di S. Zorzi
Un messal coperta di velluto Cremose con piattre argento con fibia
Un missale coperto raso vecchio cremese
Un’vello sopra humerale sete crinata con pizzo d’oro
Vello bianco ricamato con perle con la sua borsa compagna buoni
Un vello cremesa ormesino con perle ricamato con la sua borsa compagna buoni
Un vello bianco, e rosso à fiori con rigetto oro attorno colla sua borsa compagna nuovi
Un vello bianco ormesin ricamato con sigetto oro attorno colla sue borsa compagna
Vello ormenin Cremese con le punte ricamate, e nel mezzo un Jesus ricamato con borsa tutta oro rosso
con Croce oro brionii
Un vello ricca mato ormetin con ligetto oro intorno solo senza borsa
Un Sevtiaetto d’argento col suo asperges argento piccoli
Un churribul[?] argento colla sua navicello saecorati
Una Croce cristallo di montagna grande col pie di bronzo orato, e tutta guarnita simile di bronzo dorato con
una parte staccata
Due Candellieri Compagni in tutto simili alla da. Croce
Croce di Cristallo piccolo simile alla grande rota
Due Religuarri colli suoi piedi stalli legno dorato colli suoi Cristalli
Camiti numeri cinque usati di lambrà stoccata
Una croce d’argento grande indorata con Christo di rilievo da una parte e S. Giorgio di relieve d’altra tutta
d’argento massiccio con cinque bottoni di cristallo montagna e li altri mancano
Una croce d’argento dorato fatta a’ fiorami e figure di basso rilievo d’argento da tutte le parti con Christo di
rilievo grande da una parte e con San Giorgio a Cavallo con la Donzella, e Grago tutto di relieve
d’argento d’oro.

Nel Coro Conventuale per mezzo d’organo grande
Libri per Salmeggiar ditti morte sorti ciòè
In un’banco di nogara
Sei librarri grandi di Carta coperta con figure, pitture, e noce d’orate, coperti di legno, lame d’ottone
Un libro basso di carte capreta con Antifone coperta di loroame tale
Un libro basso di Carta capretta
Un’altro vecchio de Anni coperto di Cartone
Un messal vecchio
Cinque fenestrine colle sue feriate
Un’martirollo • Un campanello
Una carta grande con Cornici indulisase con la nota ditti santi correnti nell’anno

Item in un’altro Armadio
Sette libri grandi di carte capretta da Salmeggiar con figure e pitture e note dorate con coperta di legno con
lame dorate
Due grandi di Carta ord.(ea) da Canto figurato uno coperto con fe. li grande e l’altro ordinariame
Uno piccolo di Carta ord.(a) di Canto figurato
Intorno al Coro vi sono di sotto, e di sopra li suoi sedili di nogara

Antonius Rothaius V. Can.rius M.to

DOC 2. THE 1669 INVENTORY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE CHURCH OF SAN
GIORGIO IN ALGA, VENICE.
ASVat, Fondo Veneto II, 3, fol. 60r-62v

In Chiesa all’Altare Maggiore
Il tabernacolo di legno dorati con sua Crocetta di legno coperta con colerina di ferandina fondi bianco, e
diversi colori, entroni la Piside indorata con cucchiavento d’argento dorato.
Un’Crocefissio d’armorio sopra Crose di pen.
Candallieri d’ottone num. otto, cio è Sei grandi , e due piccoli
Tavolera della Secret.e, e dell’evangelio di S. Giovanni con cornici dorato
Una Tovaglia con altre due sotto
Parapetto da Altar da Canevarro di diversi colori con Coscini Compagni, e con form.in.to di legno dorato.
Altro Parapetto di Corami dorati sotto il detto.
Pala di S. Giorgio, che disputa avanti Dioecletiano Imp., dissero esser di mano di Montemezzano
Una Coltrina[?] grande di tela per coprire l’Altare
Un’Altario per servitio della messa con suo Parapetto di Corame, e Tavaglia
Sopra il detto Altario un’Capitello di legno con dentro un’Vaso d’argento con gli ogli Santi
Dall’Altare parte Capitello di pietra viva con dentro le Reliquie che sono descritti un lett.e intagliate sotto il medi.mo Capitello riposte in Reliquarii, due di cristallo, e quattro d’argento parte dorati antichi
Due Ceroferei di legno dorati vecchi con sue pietre
Due quadri un per parte, cio è B. Lorenzo Giustinian, e d’Eugenio Papa IV.

Nel mezzo
Un crocifissio sopra l’Architrave. Un’ Cerendello d’ottone

A’Cornu Evangelii [sic]
Capella con Altare. Pala di Cristo adorato di mano di Gio. Battista di Conegliano in tavola con form.in.to dorato antichissima.
Quattro Candellieri e Croce d’ottone.
Tovaglie con due altre sotto, et un’altra tovaglia sopra il scalino
Parapetto di Corami d’oro. Due Coscini rossi; e bianchi di seta con Rom.a falsa
Tavole delle Secret.e, et Evangelo di Gio. Con Cornici dorato
Un’Casendeletto d’ottone trasforato

Altra Capelletta con Altare
Un Croce di legno grande a piedi un’Cristo morto pur legno
Due Candellieri di legno. Tavola per le Secret.e.
Una Croce ottone con Crocifisso su pedidi di legno
Una tavoglia con due Cossini di seta vecchi. Altra tavaglia sotto il Christo [written: xpo] morto
Un’Parapetto di Corami d’oro

Dalla parte della stessa Capella
Un’quadro della Madonna con altri tre santi per parte
Altare di Santi Pietro e Paolo con pala di legno antica dorata.
Due candellieri di legno rossi. Una Tavaglia, e hio Parapetto di Cuoio d’oro.
Altare della Madalena con pala simile. Una Tavaglia.
Due Candellieri di legno. Un’Parapetto di Cuoio d’oro
Un Cossino di Borghetto si seta vecchio

In Capo alla Chiessa
Una Capella, dissero di Ca’Pisani
Un’quadro di tela con Christo, e li due Santi Francesco d’Assisi e di Paolo delle parti
Un Crucifisso d’ottone con piede di legno. Due Candellieri di legno vecchi
Tre tavaglie, et un’altra piccola sopra il scalino
Un Cossino di Borgo di seta vecchio
Un Parapetto di seta fondi bianco, et opera verde

A’Cornu Epistlei [sic]
Capella del B. Lorenzo Giustinian con Pala di tela del detto Beato con Cornici d’Oro vecchie, e sopra da pala, un’quadro della Madonna di mano di Girolamo SantaCroce con sua tela torchina per coprire Quattro Candellieri d’ottone. Un’Crocifisso d’ottone con suo piede
Un Parapetto di Cuoio con l’euffige del med.o Beato
Una Lampada d’ottone trasforato
Due Cossini di ferandina in opera bianchi con passamano falso da una parte, e dall'altra di raro rosso. Una sticca per le Corie, e due pietre da Ceroxferaii. Altare di S. Marco con pala d'orata mano antica con altri due santi per parte. Due Candelieri vecchi. Una Croce dorata vecchia.

Un Cossino di Borgo di seta vecchio. Una tavaglia. Un'Parapetto di Cuori……Cuori d'oro. Altare di Cattarina di Siena con pala d'orata antica vecchia con altre due sante per parte. Una tavaglia, Cossino di Borghetto vecchio, et un'Parapetto di Cuori d'oro –

Nel Corpo della Chiesa

Sei Ingenochiatrii in una banca vecchia

Nella Sacrista

Un faroletto di rosso con morli da spalle
Una di sabin bianco a fiori con mirlo d’oro all’intorno
Due Cossini grandi sopradetto l’Altar massiore di ferandina bianca da una parte e raso rosso dall’altra
Due di [miluso?] pavanarro da una parte, e borghetto verde dall’altra rotti
Un Pallio l’Altar mag.e di Zambell’otto nero vecchio solido ad operarti il giorno de morti.
Una coperta di Zambellotto nero coprire il catafalco il giorno de morti
Pavinnrino per tabernacolo di ferrandina bianca sorto
Un detto pavanarro, e verde di ferandina con frange di seta compagne
Veli da Calie di Zendal rosso con m[...]letto d’oro n. quattro [4]
Due altri di Zendal rosso rotti
Due detti d’ormesino nero con morletti compagni
Altri detti quattro di Znedal nero vecchi
Sei detti di Zendal bianco con morletti due buoni, e gli altri rotti
Tre detti di velo di diversi colori vecchissimo
Tre detti di velo huunto uno con oro, e l’altro senza vecchi
Borse da Calice di diversi coloir no. 18
Purificator diversi tra buoni e rotti no. 40 corporali di detti n. 15
Arrimetti no. 18. Un Armaro grande coperto di cuoio doveso ripone vano le hide[?] robbe. Sopra detto
Arman una sbriscia di cuoro d’oro sopra il muro di due pelle d’altezza compresi due friti
Un’brazo di bronzo [?] Cerio. Una lampada d’ottone tra forata

Nel Luogo interiore della Sacristia, ove si lavano le mani
Una cassa d’Albeo vecchio con due Cossini di ferandino bianchi et una Pianeta rossa di ferandina vecchie
Un Armaro d’Albeo con dicosse ampolline, e Vasetti dia.– Quattro sugamani.
Un’secchio di rame vecchio – Un’Inginochoatorio con Careghe di secchi vecchie
Un’Campanello alla porta della Sacristia – Messali no. tre

Nel Choro
Bancon di Nogara con suo lettornino sopra con due congie, e contraposi di bronzo con Crocetta, e ferro per il hume.

Contro detto Banco
Dieci libri grandi di Canto ferme e salmi, e messe. Due messali vecchi
Un libro di falso bordon, et un’altro d’Hinni[?] vecchi – Due Brevarii vecchi
Un’Martirologio vecchio

Sopra da. Choro
Un Crucifisso grande con parmo[?] verde, dietro un’duirno[?] vecchio
Due lettornini di nogara vecchi piccoli – Una Campanella
Un organo grande con due portelli dipinto in tela dell’una, e l’altra parte con figure, e di sopra un’quadro della Madonna

Fuori d’esso Choro
Un’Secchiel[?] d’Acqua Santa d’ottone
Un’trabello d’Albeo vecchio con Careghe di Strecchi. Un lettornino vecchio –

Nell’Archivio luogo dell’Argentaria n. 33
Una casselletta di legno dorata con dentro alcuni fragmenti di Reliique
Due Messali antichissimi di Pergamina con due coperti di meluso.
Un’libro di bergamina di Privilegi di Papa Paolo Terzo coperta con Catoni d’ottone
Una Cassa di nogara usata con tre chieavi. Un scrignesto di ferro voto con ferratura senza chiave.

Nel luogo contiguo
Un Baldachino di brocatello giallo e fiori rossi
Un’fornimento di brocatello cremosino, e giallo per la Capella della n. 19 [?] Spaglierie per la Capella della Madonna pezzi num. 9–
Una Pianeta di raso panonarro con sue tonicelle, stole, e manipoli con sua fran.a
Un Paramento in terzo di raso bianco con lite[?] ricamate con suoi fornimenti
Un Piviale di Cabin fondi bianco, e fiori rosso con franza de seta e galon d’oro
Un Paramento di durante nero a opera in terzo.
Un detto di veluso rosso antico con fiori verdi ricamati d’oro
Un detto bianco di Damaschettio in opera vecchio con sue Romana antiche ch’e di seta
Una tonicella antica bianca di Cabin con oro. Sapeti vecchi ordi.ii n. 9
Una Portiera vecchia di cuoio d’oro.

In Nella Capella sopra Scala del Novitiato
Un’altare con pala in tela dal B. Lorenzo Giustiniano.
Quattro Candellieri di legno dorati – Due Angeletti dorati di legno.
Un’Crocifisso di mettal sopra Croce di legno. Una tavaglia
Parapetto di Cuoio vecchio. Due ingenochiatori vecchi d’Albeo
DUE Scagni alla Romana vecchie. Una banca longa d’Albeo.
Due Careghe di Strecchi
Un quadro grande in tela della Guiditico Uniche vecchio

DOC 3. DESCRIPTION OF THE ALTARS DEDICATED TO LORENZO GIUSTINIANI IN SAN GIORGIO IN ALGA, VENICE. COLLECTED IN 1616 AS PART OF A NEW PROCESSUS FOR CANONIZATION.
ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3516, fol. 60v-62v

Die suprascripta Mercurii Nona
Mensis martii 1616 hora vigesima
Prima mi circa

[IN left margin: Die 9 martii 1616 Ill.mus Primicerius in exeq.ne decreti hobie facti accepit cuius Not’o ad ecc.a S.ti Georgii in Alga, ibisque, recognsuit Altare Beati Laurentii, et confirmia, et oia in ea existin descripta in foliis subsequinvidit]

BEATVS • LAURENTIVS
IVSTINIANVS
PRIMUS • VENETIARUM PATRIARCHA
DIE • VIII • IANVARII
M • CCCC • LV•

Inferius vero adhoc alia Inscriptio videtur, ut creditur, dans notitia[m] Pictoris, qui d. Ancona ac omnia Imaginis suprascriptas pixit huius modi continentis ul[t]rum

HIERONYMVS • DE • SANCTA • CRVCE
P[ICTOR] • MDXXV


B[EATUS] • LAURENTIVS
P[RIMUS] • PATRIARCHA • V[ENETIARUM]

In alio vero loco eiusdem Ancona[e] extat alia Inscriptio equentis continentiae videlicet:

1497. Joannes Bapta’ Coneg[lan]’

que ut creditur indicat nomen Pictoris et tempus Confectionis p’tae Picturem, qu[em] Picturae apparat valda antiqua, et optima forme. Relatum que fuit a Patribus della Congregationis ibidem astantibus, hanc esse propriam figura[m] eiusdem Beati Laurentii Justiniani, prout ex relatione aliorum Patrum Praedecissorum ad ipsorum notitiam pervenisse asserverunt.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION by Jeremy Thompson

….at the church of San Giorgio in Alga of Venice of the Congregation of the Canons Regular of the same San Giorgio in Alga located on an island near the city of Venice; and there he [the auditor] identified and inspected the altar of Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani situated in its own chapel located [the chapel, that is] on the left side of the high chapel. Indeed, he saw this altar fashioned suitably and so as to render honor, kept and preserved and built as can be seen for many years from its front on this side, in which, namely, in the middle of the altarpiece of the altar, there is the image of the same Blessed Lorenzo sitting in a higher place, in episcopal vestments with cope, and dressed in a miter, in the act of blessing, with a ring of rays around his head as large as the image of the Blessed; and on his right side in a lower place there is the image of Saint Stephen Protomartyr, dressed in diaconal vestments with a diadem on his head, but standing, and there is also near the said Saint Stephen, namely between him and the same Blessed Lorenzo, an image of a canon of the Congregation genuflecting and holding a patriarchal cross in his right hand: moreover, on the left side there is the image of Saint Lawrence, martyr, in the same vestments and with a posture just as is the aforementioned image of Saint Stephen, just as there is also, between him and the image of Blessed Lorenzo, the image of another canon of the Congregation likewise genuflecting and holding an episcopal staff in his hands, and above an inscription was seen located on a sort of pedestal, or rather painted with majuscule letters under the feet of Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani written in this form, and with the following content:

blesSed LORENZO
giustiniani
FIRSt PAtRIARCh OF VEnICE
JANUARY 8, 1455

Moreover, below, another inscription is still seen, as is believed, giving a notice of the painter, who painted everything of the altarpiece and of the image written above, of the following kind of content:

GEROLAMO DA SANTACROCE
P[AIINTER] 1525

From there, in the sacristy of the said church, on a very old altar standing in the middle of the same sacristy, dedicated to the most Blessed Virgin Mary in honor of the Nativity, he [the auditor] saw another image of Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani genuflecting and adoring the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which image were likewise seen rays of light painted in a ring around the head of the same Blessed Lorenzo;
Blessed Lorenzo himself is in the vestments of the Canons Regular of the Congregation, but with the same miter, near the feet, before which miter is an inscription of the following sense, namely,

B[LESSED] LORENZO
F[IRST] PATRIARCH OF V[ENICE]

Moreover in another place of the same altarpiece, there is another inscription of the following content, namely:

1497. Giovanni Battista da Conegliano

which, as is believed, indicates the name of the painter and the time of the completion of the painting, which painting in fact appears very old and most excellent in form. It was related by the fathers of the Congregation who stood on the same spot that this was the very face of the same Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani, just as they claimed to have attained to this very piece of knowledge from a report of other fathers who preceded them.

**DOC 4. DESCRIPTION OF LORENZO GIUSTINIANI’S BURIAL CHAPEL IN SAN PIETRO IN CASTELLO, VENICE. COLLECTED IN 1616 AS PART OF A NEW PROCESSUS FOR CANONIZATION.**

ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3516, fol. 62v-64v

Die Jovis decima mensis martii
1616 hora xvii in circa

[in left margin: Die 10 martii 1616 Ill.mus Primicerius in exeq.ne decreti dei estima facti cio Not’o accispit ad ecc.a Patricalim Venetiaram ibisque recognovit Capp.a in honore et pro servando corpore Beati Laurentii edificata a multi annism, qua vidit cio omnibus circastantii in sequen foliis descriptis]


B • LAURENTIVS • IUSTINIANVS
PRIMVS • VENETIARUM • PATRIARCHA
DIE • VIII • IANVAR • MCCCCLV
In pavimento autem inferiori della Capellem inter Altare ptum Michaelis Archangeli, et Arcam elevator[m] dicti Beati Laurentii Justiniani extat alia | ima tamen | sepultura lapide marmoreo cooperta, in quo quidem lapide marmoreo sculpta sunt Verba infrascripta maiusculis litteris incisa ultrim

BERNARDVS • IVSTINIANVS
LEONARDI • PROCVRATORIS
FILIVS • BEATI • LAVRENTII
PATRIARCHAE • NEPOS • MILES
ORATOR • ET • PROCVRATOR

et insuper visa fuit appensa lampas medio della Capelle ex altiori loco pendens, que inservit tamen Altari p’to S.ti Michaelis Archangeli, que sepulchro, et Imagini Beati Laurentii suprascriptis.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION by Jeremy Thompson
The most illustrious and reverend primicerius of Saint Mark, apostolic executor, made subdelegate, written above this, later proceeding to the execution of the decree made the day before, as [written] above, came together with me the chancellor and notary, written above, to the patriarchal church of Venice, subtitled/called San Pietro in Castello, and there he recognized and inspected a chapel built some many years ago in honor of and for preserving/keeping the body of Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first patriarch of Venice, which [the chapel] he saw honorably constructed with marble stones, and in it [the chapel] a marble altar in honor of Blessed Michael the Archangel and of the saints Lawrence, martyr, and Benedict, abbot. And located above the same altar he saw above the same Blessed Michael the Archangel and Saints Lawrence and Benedict, a marble reliquary constructed on the altar itself of the altar and prepared for storing, as is believed, and as is also claimed, the body of Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani But on the opposite side, and opposite the view/sight of the same altar there is a raised stone sepulcher, fashioned in a projecting place in the shape of an altar without lower steps, in which sepulcher, there is indeed – as is claimed \[ab o’ib~\], and is believed for certain – the body of the same Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani. Moreover, above the marble sepulcher as large as the altarpiece there is a marble image in white color of the same Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani standing in the act of blessing, dressed in a rochet [vestment resembling a surplice, but whose sleeves have a different shape], and having on either side two marble angels likewise in white color, of whom one holds a miter, while the other shows a gesture of holding a staff, or perhaps a cross, which (either staff or cross) is missing, lost, as is believed, on account of the course of time, or perhaps destroyed or removed. And near the image of the mentioned Blessed Lorenzo standing there are in a marble seat more recent, painted wooden tablets (i.e., small painted ex voti) and also very old, on which tablets there is seen and there is painted an image of Blessed Lorenzo as if a blessed, or rather a saint, and in which there are also painted images of people lying on beds who [pray to?] the aforementioned Blessed Lorenzo from infirmities, so that they might recover, which tablets in fact show miracles, as is said, following upon the intercession of the same Blessed Lorenzo. And in the same place, near the marble image of Blessed Lorenzo there are other waxen and silver candles hung, and under the feet of the marble statue or rather image of the aforementioned Blessed Lorenzo, there are words sculpted, written below, incised in larger letters, namely,

B[LESSED] LORENZO GIUSTINIANI
FIRST PATRIARCH OF VENICE
JANUARY 8, 1455
B[ERNARDO?] I[USTINIANI?]

But on a lower pavement of the chapel, between the painted altar of St. Michael the Archangel, and the raised arca of the aforementioned Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani, there is another, but lower, sepulture covered in marble stone, on which marble stone in fact are words written below, incised in majuscule letters, as follows:

BERNARDO GIUSTINIANI
SON OF LEONARDO, PROCURATOR
NEPHEW OF BLESSED LORENZO, PATRIARCH
SOLDIER, ORATOR AND PROCURATOR
And above was seen a lamp hanging in the middle of the chapel from a higher place, yet which serves the painted altar of Saint Michael the Archangel, which serves the sepulcher and image of Blessed Lorenzo, described above.

DOC 5. TESTIMONY OF THE VENETIAN PAINTER MATTEO VENETUS. TAKEN ON 19 OCT 1622 AS PART OF A NEW PROCESSUS FOR LORENZO GIUSTINIANI’S CANONIZATION.

ASVat, Cong dei Riti, 3523, fol. 1133r-1137v

Die Mercurii Decima nona mensis octobris millesimi sexcentesime vigesimi secondo. Post vesperas hora vigesima prima venetiis in Palazio Apostolico supradicto. ~

Coram praedictis illustrissimis et Reverendissimis Dominis Nunzio Apostolico et Epistopo Tercellano executoribus Apostolicis subdelegatis sedentibus pro tribunalis absentibus supra: dictis illustrissimis et Reverendissimis dominis Electo Patriarcha Aquileiense et Primicerio Ecclesiae sancti Marci Veneziarum –

Ibidem praesense et assistente suprascriptae ad modum Reverendo et excellente Domino Nicolao Noale junis utiusque doctore Protonotario Apostolico tamque examinatore ut supra depretazo Alerno camera examinatore absentium~

In presentia mei Cancellarii et Notarii supradictis omnia fideliter scribentis da mandato

Civitus Compavit Dominus Dominicus Mapheius Venetus filius quondam Maphaei de Mapheis Veronensis, et quondam Lauren Sigismunde de Schledo Vicentinae dicocesi est pictor, et Bombardanius, Aetis annorum quadragina sex in circa de Contrata sanctissima trinitatis Venetiarum testis ut supra productus, monitus et juratus, pro ut juravitum tactis

Interrogatus juxta primum interrogatorium sibi lectum et interpretazion – [1]

Respondit son qui per dire la giustissima verità tanto quanto fossi dinanzi al signore iddio, Come reputo di esser

Interrogatus juxta secundum interrogatorium – [2]

Respondit ut supre Ho cento et cinquanta ducati del mio all ‘anno di entrata, et poi vivo anco della mia industria per esser pittore et bombardino et Cape della fusta dell ‘eccleso Consiglio di Dieci –

Interrogatus juxta tertium interrogatorium – [3]

Respondit io mi confesso da Padre della chiesa dei frati che da quello mi confessai anco questa pasqua passata, et mi communicai del mio sacristano di Santa Trinita mia parocchia et cosi faccio ogni anno

Interrogatus juxta quartum interrogatorium – [4]

Respondit io non son stato mai altrimente scomminicato che io sappia ma fui processato gia sedeci anni in circa Cuiminalmente per imputatirne di haver ammazzato un Comito Grego della Gallia di un Privli, mentre che essendo io capo et bombardino di detta fusta et esendomi molte altre galere, salutando io il General come facennon li altri gallere, fui imputato di haver lo ammazzato, ma conosciuta la mia innocenza fui assoluto dalli eccellentissimi Capi dell’ecce.llso Consiglio de Deici, et fui rimandato al mio Carico, nel quale Contuo fino all ‘hora presente.

Interrogatus juxta quintum interrogatorium – [5]

Respondit Negative –

Interrogatus juxta sextum interrogatorium – [6]

Rispondit io ho inteso universalmente da tutti a dire che fu al mondo il Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani, il quale fu anco primo patriarcha di Venezia et ho anco veduto il suo epirafo, dove è la sua sepoltura a San Pietro di Castello, et lo vento per mi divozo da sette anni in qua à fine et effesto che si discorne della sua santità
piu volte in chiesa et fuori di chiesa in piu luochi et particularmente l’ho sentito a nominar dal Reverendo Missior pre Nicolo Caopena prete et Cottadino di Venezia il quale mi ha raccontato gran Cose della vita di questo Beato –

Interrogatus juxta septimeum interrogatorium – [7]

Respondit io non so’altro che questo, se nonche il Beato Lorenzo era della famiglia nobile Giustiniana di Venezia, che fu frate della Madonna dell’Horto, et primo Patriarcha di Venezia il che ho inteso generalmente da tutto la Città–

Interrogatus juxta octavum interrogatorium – [8]

Respondit Per quello che mi è stato detto era Charizativo ClemOSIziO[?] et faceva santa vita et questa cosa la so’ per relatione, che ho havuto da molti altri assassime volte, Con occasione di raggionar di questo santo et delle gratie, et Beneficii che ho havuto per la sua intercessione.

Interrogatus juxta novum interrogatorium – [9]

Respondit io so che il Beato Lorenzo é morto et che il suo Corpo é sepolto nella chiesa di Castello, havendo io piu volte visitato et veduto al sua sepoltura, che é di marmo sostenita da doi Leoni marmorei et sopra la sua sepoltura, vi é la sua effigie di marmoro in Piedi; et andai a visizarla per la devozione che havero a questo benedetto santo, et per le grazie che ho ricevuto mediante la sua intercessione del signore iddio. Et non é opinione solamente mia particolare, ma é opinione et existimatione di tutta la città che sia amico di Dio, et Santo. Et ho veduto a visi par frequentemente la sua sepoltura nella chiesa de Castello é sopra in altar nella chiesa di San Martin, alla qual immagine é statta fatta una Capella, nella qual Capella si trovano molte tavolette per miracoli fatti et grazie ottenute, et vado anno spesso a visitar detta Capella per esser più vicina a Casa mia come vado anco a San Luca per tutto il mese della devozione di Santa Agnese, dove vi é parimente un altro Altar dedicato al Beato Lorenzo con la sua effigie grande di legno come un’humano, dipinta et adornata dove ho fatto oratione et ho veduti diversi voti et tavolette votive Con la sua immagine su la tavoletta, rappresentato in pittura le gratie ottenute, et li miracoli fatti vedendo io anco in quelle chiesa molte persone a far l’istesso ad accendervi Candelle et fare oratione dinanzi l’immagine di detto Beato–
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Fig. 1: San Giorgio in Braida, Verona

Fig. 2: Dome of San Giorgio in Braida
Left: northern exterior from campanile; Right: interior with north at the top
Fig. 3: Campanile of San Giorgio in Braida

Fig. 4: High altar of San Giorgio in Braida

Fig. 5: San Giorgio in Alga, Venice
Fig. 6: Gentile Bellini, *Lorenzo Giustiniani*, signed and dated 1456, oil on canvas, Galleria dell’Accademia, Venice (ex-Madonna dell’Orto, Venice)
Fig. 7: Angelo Correr (c.1335/45-1417), Pope Gregory XII (reg. 1406-1415)

Fig. 8: Gabriele Condulmer (1383-1447), Pope Eugene VI (reg. 1431-1447)

Above images from d’Onofrio Panvinio, Veronensis Fratris Eremitæ Augustiniani XXVII Pontificum maximorum Elogia et imagines accuratissime ad vivum æneis typis delineatae, Rome, 1568.

Fig. 9: Map of Verona and Northern Italy
Fig. 10: Map of Verona showing the location of Roman ruins

Fig. 11: The Porta Jovia, or Borsari (A in Fig. 10)

Fig. 12: Remains of the Porta Leoni (B in Fig. 10)
Fig. 13: Arco dei Gavi (C in Fig. 10)

Fig. 14: Piazza Erbe, site of the Roman Forum (D in Fig. 10)

Fig. 15: Arena with the Ala (the remaining section of the exterior wall) visible on the left (E in Fig. 10)

Fig. 16: Ponte della Pietra (F in Fig. 10)
Fig. 17: One of the engravings from Giovanni Caroto’s 1540 survey of Verona’s Roman remains.

Fig. 18: Colle San Pietro from San Giorgio in Braida. The remains of the Roman amphitheater (G in Fig. 10) are at the base of the hill in the center of the photo. The façade of Santo Stefano (Fig. 19) is visible in the break in the trees just left of center. The Ponte Pietra (Fig. 16) is visible spanning the Adige River just right of center.

Fig. 19: Façade of Santo Stefano, Verona.
Fig. 20: Eleventh-century relief of Theodoric being chased into the Gates of Hell, right lower façade of San Zeno

Fig. 21: Church of San Zeno, Verona

Fig. 22: Andrea Mantegna, *San Zeno* altarpiece, 1457-60, oil on canvas, high altar of San Zeno

Fig. 23: Façade of Santa Maria Matricolare, the Veronese Duomo
Fig. 24: View of Verona from the Colle San Pietro. The Duomo and its campanile are on the left. San Giorgio in Braida, identified by the dome and campanile, is along the bank of the Adige River on the right.

Fig. 25: Castelvecchio and the Ponte Scaligero

Fig. 26: San Giorgio in Braida: existing structures in 1441

A: Sacristy
B: Tufa tower
C: Church walls
D: Chapter room
Fig. 27: Sacristy entrance from cloister

Fig. 28: Sacristy exterior from cloister

Fig. 29: Northern flank of San Giorgio in Braida. The tufa tower is B in Fig. 26. The interior façade of the Porta San Giorgio (Fig. 173) can be seen on the far right.
Fig. 30: Gian Francesco Caroto, *Triptych of Saints Sebastian and Roch*, c.1512, oil on panel and fresco. Photo illustration of the Triptych’s original configuration and appearance
Fig. 31: Gian Francesco Caroto, *Triptych with Saints Sebastian and Roch*, c.1512, oil on canvas and panel. Current configuration and appearance
Fig. 32: *Anonymous, Portacroce (former center panel of Triptych), fourteenth century(?), fresco*

Fig. 33: *Antonio Recchia, Saint Joseph, 1882, oil on canvas*

Fig. 34: *Removal of Portacroce from wall during 1978 restoration.*

Fig. 35: *Anonymous, Archangel (under Portacroce, center panel of Triptych), thirteenth century(?), fresco.*
Fig. 36: Southern flank of San Giorgio in Braida from the cloister courtyard (C in Fig. 26)

Fig. 37: Gothic tracery on exterior of Chapter Room (D in Fig. 26)

Fig. 38: Anonymous Venetian soldier, *Miracle-working Portacroce*, 1445, fresco a secco, San Giorgio in Braida (ex-Oratory del Portacroce)

Fig. 39: Map (B.C.Vr., Mss. Cl. Storia, Ubic. 90.8) of the Borgo San Giorgio that includes the cemetery that bordered the northern side of San Giorgio in Braida.
**Fig. 40:** Frontispiece of Giacomo Filippo Tomasini’s *Annales Canoniconorum Secularium Sancti Georgii in Alga* (1642)

**Fig. 41:** San Nicolò in Lido, Venice

**Fig. 42:** Location of San Giorgio in Alga in the Venetian lagoon
Fig. 43: San Giorgio in Alga, modern aerial view

Fig. 44: San Giorgio in Alga, modern view from the Fusina Canal

Fig. 45: San Giorgio in Alga, remains of the church
Fig. 46: San Giorgio in Alga, remains of church (left) and refectory (right)

Fig. 47: San Giorgio in Alga, interior building, 1979 view
Fig. 48: Sant’Agostino, Vicenza

Fig. 49: Santi Fermo e Rustico, Lonigo

Fig. 50: San Giacomo, Monselice

Fig. 51: San Pietro in Oliveto, Brescia

Fig. 52: Madonna dell’Orto, Venice

Fig. 53: Santa Maria in Vanzo, Padua
Fig. 54: San Rocco, Vicenza

Fig. 55: Santi Gregorio e Siro, Bologna

Fig. 56: San Salvatore in Lauro, Rome

Fig. 57: Seventeenth-century image of the Secular Canons’ ecclesiastical garb or *Turchino*
Fig. 58: Original configuration of Pope Gregory XII’s tomb in Recanati Duomo

Fig. 59: Current appearance of Pope Gregory XII’s tomb in Recanati Duomo

Fig. 60: San Pietro in Castello, Venice (exterior)

Fig. 61: Current appearance of the apse and high altar of San Pietro in Castello, Venice. Lorenzo Giustiniani’s tomb was installed upon the high altar and the apse was decorated with scenes from his life after his canonization in the seventeenth century.
Fig. 62: Frontispiece of Coronelli’s *Isolario, descrizione geografico-historica, sacro-profana, antico-moderna, politica, naturale e poetica* (1696)

Fig. 63: Possible configuration of San Giorgio in Alga, Venice and location of paintings in the church

A: Paolo Veronese, *Saint George before Diocletian*
B: Pasquale Ottino(?), Lorenzo Giustiniani and Pope Eugene IV
C: Girolamo Santacroce, *Giustiniani Altarpiece* with lunette of *Madonna and Child*
D: Vivarini, *Saint Mark Altarpiece*
E: Francesco de’Franseschi, *Saint Catherine Altarpiece*
F: Pisani Chapel and tomb
G: Entrance to Canons’ living quarters
H: *Mary Magdalene Altarpiece*
I: Vivarini, *Saints Peter and Paul Altarpiece*
J: Cima, *Nativity with Lorenzo Giustiniani*
K: Tomb of Antonio Correr
L: Tomb of Gregory Correr and Matteo Contarini
M: The *barca*
N: Campanile
O: Sacristy
P: Refectory
Fig. 64: The barca of San Rocco, Vicenza

Fig. 65: Donato Veneziano, Crucifixion, c.1475-1500, oil on canvas, Scuola di San Marco, Venice (ex-refectory of San Giorgio in Alga, Venice)
Fig. 66: Gian Francesco [or Giovanni] Caroto, *Gabriele of the Annunciation*, c.1508, oil on canvas

Fig. 67: Gian Francesco [or Giovanni] Caroto, *Virgin Annunciate*, c.1508, oil on canvas
Fig. 68: Michele da Verona, Pietà, 1501, fresco, Chapter Room of San Giorgio in Braida

Fig. 69: Michele da Verona, Pietà, 1501, fresco, in situ

Fig. 70: Michele da Verona, Pietà, 1501, fresco, inscription
Fig. 71: Divine Wisdom from Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* (1618)

Fig. 72: Master of the Registrum Gregorii, *Saint Gregory inspired by the Dove of the Holy Spirit* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 171/1626 from c. 986)

Fig. 73: Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d’Alemagna, *Madonna and Child with Saints*, 1446, tempera on canvas, albergo of the Scuola della Carità, Venice
Fig. 74: Pasquale Ottino, Lorenzo Giustiniani and Saint George, flanking the high altar of the Martyrdom of Saint Julian by Paolo Veronese in San Giuliano, Rimini

Fig. 75: Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento, ex-Cappella Memo, Verona Duomo

Fig. 76: Fra Giocondo, Loggia del Consiglio, Verona, 1474-93
(left) Fig. 77: Detail of a column in the cloister of Santa Maria in Organo, 1517

(above) Fig. 78: Cloister of San Giorgio in Braida

Fig. 79: Detail of a column in the cloister of San Giorgio in Braida

Fig. 80: Michele da Verona, *Madonna and Child*, c.1490, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fig. 81: Michele da Verona, *Crucifixion*, signed and dated 1501 at the base of the columns, oil on canvas, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan (ex-San Giorgio in Braida refectory)
Fig. 81a: Christ on the Cross, detail of Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion*

Fig. 81b: Good thief, detail of Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion*

Fig. 81c: Mary swooning, detail of Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion*

Fig. 81d: Centurion praying at the base of the cross, detail of Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion*
Fig. 82: Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion* with Ponte della Pietra (left), Castel San Pietro (center) and Castelvecchio and Ponte Scaligeri (right) highlighted.

Fig. 83: Verona as seen in Michele da Verona’s *Crucifixion*.
Fig. 84: Piero della Francesca, *Discovery of the True Cross*, 1450, fresco, San Francesco, Arezzo

Fig. 85: Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Miracle of the Notary’s Son*, 1485, fresco, Santa Trinità, Florence

Fig. 86: View of San Giorgio in Braida by Pietro Maria Ronzoni, 1818. (Reproduced in P. Brugnoli, *San Giorgio*, Monumenti di cultura d’arte veronesi (Verona: Banca popolare di Verona, 1986): 22.)
Fig. 87: Paolo Cavazzola, *Passion Polyptych* (central panel of the *Deposition*), c.1517, oil on canvas, Museo del Castelvecchio, Verona (ex-church of San Bernardino, Verona)

Fig. 88: Girolmao dai Libri, *Deposition with Saints*, 1490, oil on canvas. Santo Stefano, Malcesine (ex-Santa Maria in Organo, Verona).

Fig. 89: Michele da Verona, *Crucifixion*, 1505, oil on canvas, Santa Maria in Vanzo, Padua (ex-refectory)
Fig. 90: Andrea del Castagno Last Supper and Crucifixion, 1450, fresco, refectory, Sant’Apollonia, Florence

Fig. 91: Moretto da Brescia, Supper in the House of Pharisee, 1544, Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra, Venice (ex-refectory San Giacomo in Monselice)

Fig. 92: Moretto da Brescia, Marriage at Cana, 1544, Collegio Leone XIII, Milan (ex-refectory Santi Fermo e Rustico, Lonigo)
Fig. 93: Francesco Salviati, *Marriage at Cana*, 1550, fresco, refectory, San Salvatore in Lauro, Rome

Fig. 94: Conti coat of arms(?); banner of Saint George

Fig. 95: Orsini coat of arms

Fig. 96: Nicolò Orsini da Pitigliano
Fig. 97: Giovanni Bellini, *Resurrection*, 1475-9, oil on canvas transferred from poplar panel, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

Fig. 98: Nicolò Orsini da Pitigliano tomb and detail of Orsini coat of arms, right transept of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice
Fig. 99: Plan of San Giorgio in Braida’s consecrated altars, the saints to whom they were dedicated (according to the cloister inscription) and when

A: Saint Ursula and her retinue (1543)  
B: Saints Lawrence, Stephen, Vincent and Christopher (1543)  
C: Holy Trinity and Saints Sebastian and Roche (1543)  
D: Lorenzo Giustiniani, San Zeno and Pope Saint Silvester (1536 and 1543)  
E: Virgins Cecilia, Catherine, Agnes and Lucy (1543)  
F: Saints George, Peter and Paul (1504 and 1543)  
G: no recorded consecration  
H: Michael, Gabriele, Raphael and the Angels (1536)  
I: Saint George (1536); all the Apostles (1543)  
J: Saints Anthony, Benedict, Maurice and Abbot Bernard (1543)  
K: Mary Magdalene, Martha and her brother Lazarus (1543)
Fig. 100: Paolo Cavazzola, *Saint Roch* (left panel of *Saint Anne triptych with Saints Sebastian and Roch*), 1518, oil on canvas

Both above National Gallery of Art, London (ex-high altar of Santa Maria della Scala)

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Fig. 101: Girolamo dai Libri, *Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child* (center panel of *Saint Anne triptych with Saints Sebastian and Roch*), 1518, oil on canvas

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Fig. 102: Girolamo dai Libri, *Saints Sebastian, Roch and Giobbe*, 1510-12, oil on canvas, San Tomaso Cantuariense, Verona
Fig. 103: *Gian Francesco Caroto, *Transfiguration*, lunette of *Triptych*, c. 1512, oil on panel

Fig. 104a: *Gian Francesco Caroto, *Christ Praying in the Garden of Gethsemane* or *Agony on the Garden*, left of *Triptych* predella, c.1512, oil on panel

Fig. 104b: *Gian Francesco Caroto, *Deposition of Christ*, center of *Triptych* predella, c.1512, oil on panel
Fig. 104: Gian Francesco Caroto, *Resurrection of Christ*, right of *Triptych* predella, c.1512, oil on panel

Fig. 105: Domenico Brusasorci, *Healing of the Child Possessed by a Demon*, inserted below the lunette of Caroto’s *Triptych* after 1540, oil on panel

Fig. 106: Gian Francesco Caroto, *Saint Roch* (right panel of *Triptych*), c.1512, oil on panel
Fig. 107: Gian Francesco Caroto, *Saint Sebastian* (left panel of *Triptych*), c.1512, oil on panel

Fig. 108: Gian Francesco Caroto, *Putto with Shield* (right-most panel in base of *Triptych* frame), c.1512, oil on panel

Fig. 109: Gian Francesco Caroto, *Lorenzo Giustiniani* (left-most panel in base of *Triptych* frame), c.1512, oil on panel
Fig. 110: Girolamo dai Libri, *Madonna and Child with Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani and San Zeno*, 1526, oil on canvas
Fig. 111: Girolamo dai Libri, *Centrego Madonna*, 1488-1502, oil on canvas, Sant’Anastasia, Verona

Fig. 112: Liberale da Verona, *Choir of Celestini in an initial “C”*, c.1490-95, tempera on parchment, private collection (ex-San Giorgio in Braida)

Fig. 113: Michele Sanmicheli, *tornacoro* and Francesco Torbido, fresco decorations, 1534, Duomo, Verona

Fig. 114: Michele Sanmicheli, lower façade of Santa Maria in Organo, Verona
Fig. 115: San Giorgio in Braida, façade

Fig. 116: Right (south; “à Cornu Epistolae”) aisle of San Giorgio in Braida toward the main entrance
Fig. 117: Right (south; “à Cornu Epistolae”) side of the transept of San Giorgio in Braida. Location of the cantoria.

Fig. 118: Transept, dome and chancel of San Giorgio in Braida

Fig. 119: Original configuration of the chancel and high altar of San Giorgio in Braida
Fig. 120: Left (north; “à Cornu Evangelii”) side of the transept of San Giorgio in Braida. Location of the organ.

Fig. 121: Left (north; “à Cornu Evangelii”) aisle of San Giorgio in Braida toward the high altar
Fig. 122: Michele Sanmicheli, Cappella Pellegrini, begun 1529, San Bernardino, Verona

Fig. 123: Michele Sanmicheli, frame of Giustiniani altar, c.1533 (D in Fig. 99)
Fig. 124: Inscription on the northern wall of the cloister commemorating the consecration of the church’s altars in 1536 and 1542. (See Appendix III for transcription and translation.)

Fig. 125a:* Gerolamo Romanino, Organ doors interior left, *Saint George on the Wheel*, 1540, oil on canvas. Now located to the left of the organ. See Fig. 120.

Fig. 125b:* Gerolamo Romanino, Organ doors interior right, *Saint George in the Cauldron*, 1540, oil on canvas. Now located to the right of the organ. See Fig. 120.
Fig. 125c: Gerolamo Romanino, Organ doors exterior left, *Saint George Paying Tribute to Diocletian*, 1540, oil on canvas. Now located to the left of the cantoria. See Fig. 117.

Fig. 125d: Gerolamo Romanino, Organ doors exterior right, *Saint George Paying Tribute to Diocletian*, 1540, oil on canvas. Now located to the right of the cantoria. See Fig. 117.
Fig. 126: Moretto da Brescia, The Virgin, Saints Cecilia, Catherine, Agnes and Lucy, 1540, oil on canvas.
Fig. 127: Jacopo Ceola and Lorenzo Muttoni, Lorenzo Giustiniani, 1741, marble, façade to the right of the main entrance

Fig. 128: Lorenzo Muttoni, Lorenzo Giustiniani, 1740s, stucco or marble(?), above high altarpiece frame on the right

Fig. 129: Angelo Rossi, Lorenzo Giustiniani, 1625, bronze, right balustrade, far right
Fig. 130: Anonymous, *Lorenzo Giustiniani*, c.1456, marble, Lando Chapel, San Pietro in Castello, Venice (ex-burial chapel of Lorenzo Giustiniani)
Fig. 131: Bregno, Tomb of Benedetto da Pesaro, c.1505, Frari, Venice

Fig. 132: Antonio Rizzo, Tomb of Doge Tron, 1476, Frari, Venice

Fig. 133: Memorial of Vicenzo Cappello, 1552, façade of Santa Maria Formosa, Venice

Fig. 134: Pietro Lombardo, Tomb of Doge Moncenigo, 1476-80, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice
Fig. 135: Possible reconstruction of Giustiniani burial chapel in San Pietro in Castello, Venice.

Fig. 136: Gentile Bellini, Portrait of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, c.1478, tempera on canvas, Museo Correr, Venice.

Fig. 137: Palma il Vecchio, Saint Vincent Altarpiece, 1525, oil on canvas, Madonna dell’Orto, Venice.

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