

GIOVANNI BATTISTA DA CARONA, VENETIAN SCULPTOR OF THE HIGH RENAISSANCE

by Anne Markham Schulz

Since Cecchetti and Paoletti found and briefly summarized the documents pertaining to the construction and decoration of the Cappella Emiliana at San Michele in Isola, Murano, at the end of the nineteenth century¹, Giovanni Battista da Carona has been known as author of the chapel's three altars and two colossal *Saints*, carved ca. 1529. Sculptures so well documented, on the one hand, and so uniform in style, on the other, are a rarity in Renaissance Venice; if, instead of sculptures, they had been paintings, they would long ago have inspired a biography and a catalogue of works. As it is, we know very little more about Giovanni Battista da Carona today than we did a century ago. It is my aim to repair this neglect by reconstructing, where possible, the stations of his career and by identifying his other extant works in Venice.

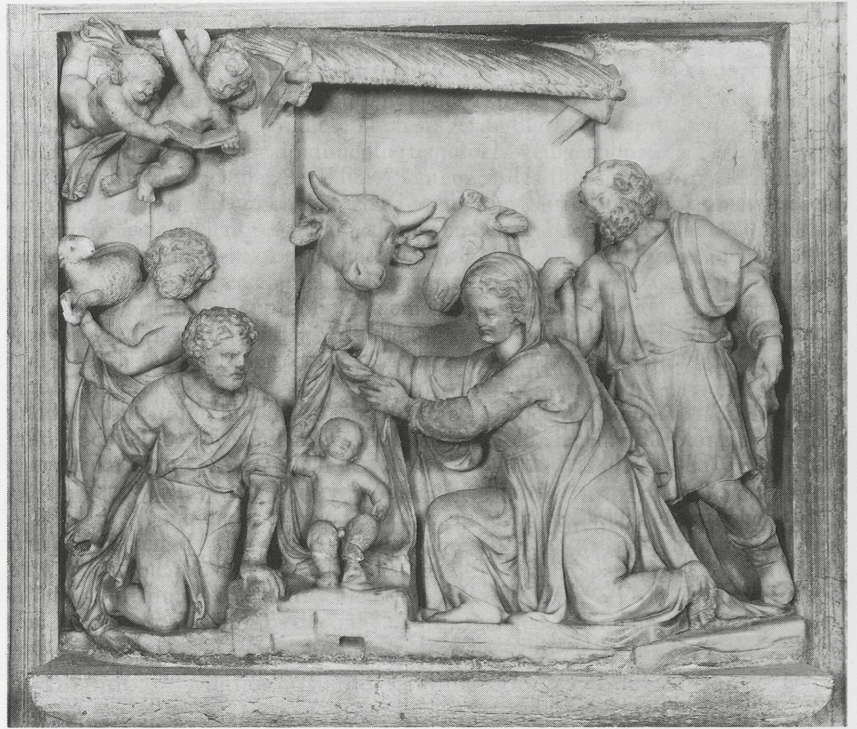
On 14 November 1532 the testament of the famous Venetian sculptor and architect, Tullio Lombardo, was witnessed by Giovanni Battista da Carona. The name of Giovanni Battista's father was given in the document as Piero.² This and Giovanni Battista's origin in the hamlet of Carona above Lake Lugano, from which so many Venetian Renaissance sculptors came³, is all that can be gleaned about our artist's life from Venetian documents.

The Cappella Emiliana, which projects from the northwest corner of San Michele in Isola, resulted from a bequest on the part of Margarita Vitturi, widow of Giovanni Emiliani.⁴ In her testament of 23 July 1427 Margarita requested that a chapel be built anew by her executors in cooperation with the Procuratori di San Marco de citra next to the church of San Francesco della Vigna, Venice. The chapel was to communicate with the street by one door and with the interior of the church by another. In addition to the main altar of the Annunciation, the chapel was to house two other altars dedicated to the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. If her burial at San Francesco della Vigna should prove unfeasible, Margarita elected to be buried at San Michele in Isola, next to her husband. For her chapel, Margarita left her residual estate, which, invested in state bonds, was to accumulate until it was sufficient for the needs of construction.⁵ The provisions cited above recur in nearly identical form in Margarita's subsequent testament of 3 June 1454.

Margarita died in 1455, but it was not until 1526 that an agreement between the Procuratori de citra and the testator's heirs concerning the new chapel was reached. On 14 January 1528 a site was ceded for the chapel⁶ and work began almost immediately.⁷ Responsibility for both the design and execution of the building was vested in Guglielmo dei Grigi from Alzano, in the *bergamasco*.

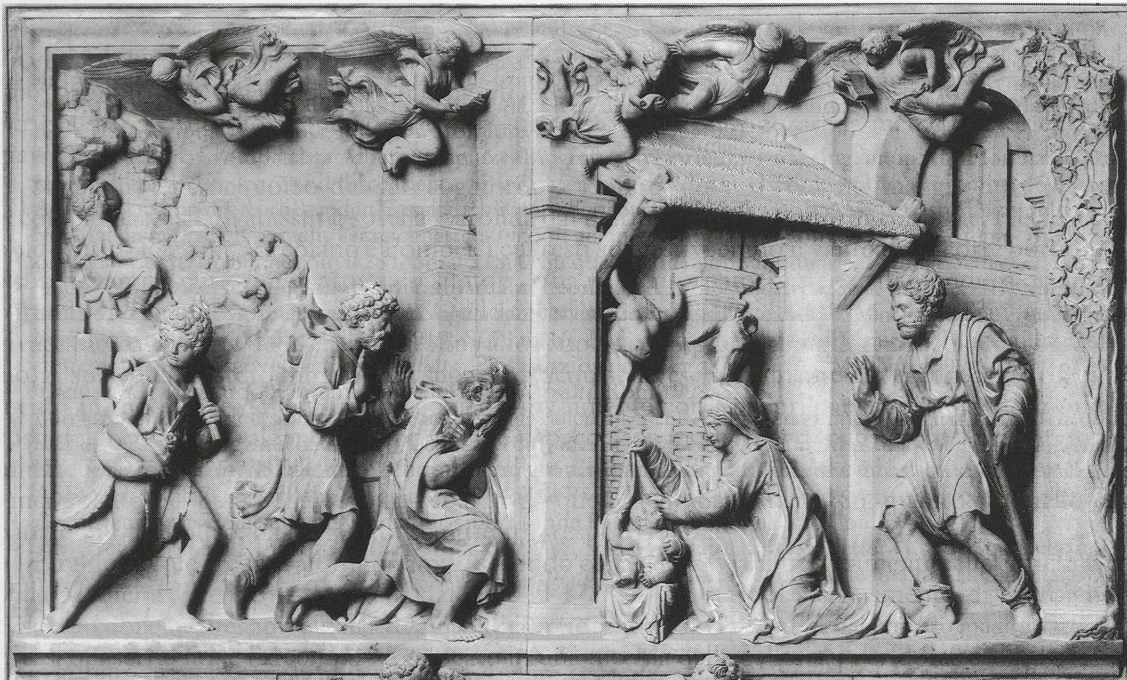
Through Guglielmo's mediation, a contract was made with Giovanni Battista da Carona for the three altars and two figures destined for the exterior niches, on 8 December 1528. The sculptures were to follow the clay or wax models which Giovanni Battista had made, unless the procurators should ask for changes. Specified in the contract were the marble figures of the *Annunciate Virgin* and *Angel* of the main altar, as well as a marble *God the Father* in a medallion to go above the altar; two smaller marble altars in high relief with scenes of the *Nativity* and the *Adoration of the Magi*; two full-length figures of *SS. John and Margaret*, about 6 feet tall (208.2 cm.) and carved, not from marble, but from another kind of live stone. All stone would be supplied by the procurators. For the work Giovanni Battista was promised 130 ducats, which he would receive in instalments in accordance with the progress of the work.⁸

1 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Shepherds. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



2 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Magi. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.





3 Andrea Sansovino, Adoration of the Shepherds. Loreto, Basilica, Santa Casa.

Not quite a month later, on 3 January 1529 (st. c.), Giovanni Battista received his first payment of 24 ducats; clearly, it was intended as a deposit. On 7 March 1529, the sculptor received another 10 ducats. From 1 May 1529 until 2 February 1530 he received 5 ducats regularly every month for a sum total of 84 ducats. On 28 February 1530 (st. c.) Giovanni Battista was paid an extra 6 ducats for work not envisioned in his contract — a figure of *St. John the Baptist* with hillocks and water, approximately 2 feet high (69.4 cm.), made from marble supplied by the procurators and destined for the holy water font in the chapel's vestibule; the figure does not survive. Payments for the altars and exterior figures resumed on 16 June 1530; from then until 8 September 1530, Giovanni Battista again received 5 ducats each month. On 13 November 1530 and 29 January 1531 he was paid another 5, and on 4 April 1531, he received a further 8. His final payment of 8 ducats for the three altars and two *Saints* was made on 19 November 1531; it brought Giovanni Battista's combined payments for the altars and colossal statues to 130 ducats, the sum he had been promised.⁹ By 4 June 1540, when a voucher was drawn up listing all the relevant expenses, the altars had been installed in the chapel. Supervisor of the work was not the stonecarver Giovanni Antonio di Bernardino da Carona, as is widely assumed, but the mason Giovanni Antonio di Bartolomeo, whose place of origin is not recorded.¹⁰

In Giovanni Battista's contract of 1528, the procurators had charged that the *Nativity* and the *Adoration of the Magi* should contain "molte figure et animalj di gran rilievo". It is therefore very likely that Giovanni Battista's models already showed an abundance of descriptive detail depicted in high relief. In this, the *Nativity* (fig. 1)¹¹ and *Adoration* (fig. 3)¹² exemplified a type of relief not previously seen at Venice. Narrative reliefs altogether are not abundant in Venetian Renaissance sculpture and, apart from the frieze of small reliefs in the Cappella Giustinian in San Francesco della Vigna and the predella of its altar, very few of those that do exist are as circumstantial — as



4 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Shepherds (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

5 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Shepherds (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



6 Andrea Sansovino, Annunciation. Loreto, Basilica, Santa Casa.

rich in their cast of characters, in their setting, costumes, and attributes — as ours; nor are they carved in such high relief. As it happens, there is only one relief comparable in these respects to the narratives of the Cappella Emiliana — Giambattista Bregno's *Visitation* of ca. 1500 in the Duomo of Treviso — and it looks completely different. In 1993 Davis observed that the sculpture of the Cappella Emiliana was indebted to the Santa Casa at Loreto:¹³ indeed, Andrea Sansovino's reliefs of the *Annunciation* (fig. 6), the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 3) and the left half of the *Marriage of the Virgin* (fig. 20), carved between 1518 and 1526¹⁴, prove upon examination to have inspired Giovanni Battista's art.

In the first place, and most importantly, Giovanni Battista has not represented a Nativity, as Margarita Vitturi's testament had charged, but rather a scene of greater iconographic complexity, in which the holy family is joined by adoring shepherds. In this regard, he has reproduced the iconography of Andrea Sansovino's relief for the Santa Casa, despite the fact that the field allotted to him was proportionately little more than half as wide as Sansovino's and therefore far less hospitable to the expanded narrative. By augmenting his cast of characters, however, Giovanni Battista created a scene which allies itself more closely with its pendant. For the composition of his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, he adopted the thatched-roofed shed of Sansovino's *Adoration of the Shepherds*, represented from the outside and turned at an angle of 45 degrees with respect to the plane of the relief, so that both the front and proper right side of the exterior, as well as the left interior wall, are visible at once. By this means, both sculptors were able to convey considerable information about the setting as a whole, while depicting only a small part of it. The ox and ass, posed identically in the two reliefs, inhabit the shed, while figures occupy a plane in front of it. In view, pose, gesture, and costume, Giovanni Battista's Madonna and Child copy Sansovino's figures: although Joseph has been turned forward very slightly by Giovanni Battista and his staff has been shifted to his right hand, his pose and dress are clearly due to Sansovino's prototype. Flying angels in the upper corner of Giovanni Battista's relief, like those in Andrea Sansovino's panel, sing from open song-books.

No doubt, Giovanni Battista's *Adoration of the Magi* is less indebted to the Santa Casa reliefs simply because there existed no model by Sansovino for it. The setting of the Cappella Emiliana *Adoration of the Magi*, nevertheless, is derived from Sansovino's *Adoration of the Shepherds*. In both, the front corner of the shed, its low thatched roof supported by criss-crossing beams, occupies a position very near the scene's central vertical axis. In pose and view, Giovanni Battista's second king imitates the eldest shepherd in Sansovino's relief. By contrast, the poses of the Madonna and Child in Giovanni Battista's *Adoration of the Magi* are loosely based on the Madonna and Child from Palma Vecchio's *Sacra Conversazione* of 1518-20 in Sant'Elena at Zerman (Mogliano Veneto), while the disposition of the Christ Child's arms reflects Titian's *Pesaro Madonna* in Santa Maria dei Frari, installed in 1526.¹⁵ It has been suggested that the shepherd on the observer's left of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* was derived from Bacchus in Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* of 1520-22 in the National Gallery at London¹⁶, but, in fact, Giovanni Battista's figure is closer to Titian's supposed source, the figure of Orestes from a sarcophagus then in front of the church of San Stefano in Cacco in Rome.¹⁷

The narrative reliefs of the Santa Casa are so long that two marble slabs of nearly the same width were combined to form a single scene. Since a focus located at the center would have been divided by a seam, the protagonists in Sansovino's reliefs were shifted to the spectator's right. Although Giovanni Battista did not face the problem of conjoining separate slabs, he, too, diverted attention from the center of his compositions by his placement of the Madonna on the right: in the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, in fact, the central vertical axis is straddled by the group of the Madonna and Child, as well as by the ox and ass. Neither at the Cappella Emiliana, nor at the Santa Casa, however, do highly asymmetrical and uncanceled compositions result in disequilibrium, for the force of directed movement and the massing of figures and architectural elements — denser, to be sure, in the narrower reliefs of the Cappella Emiliana — are carefully calibrated to produce a balance between right and left.

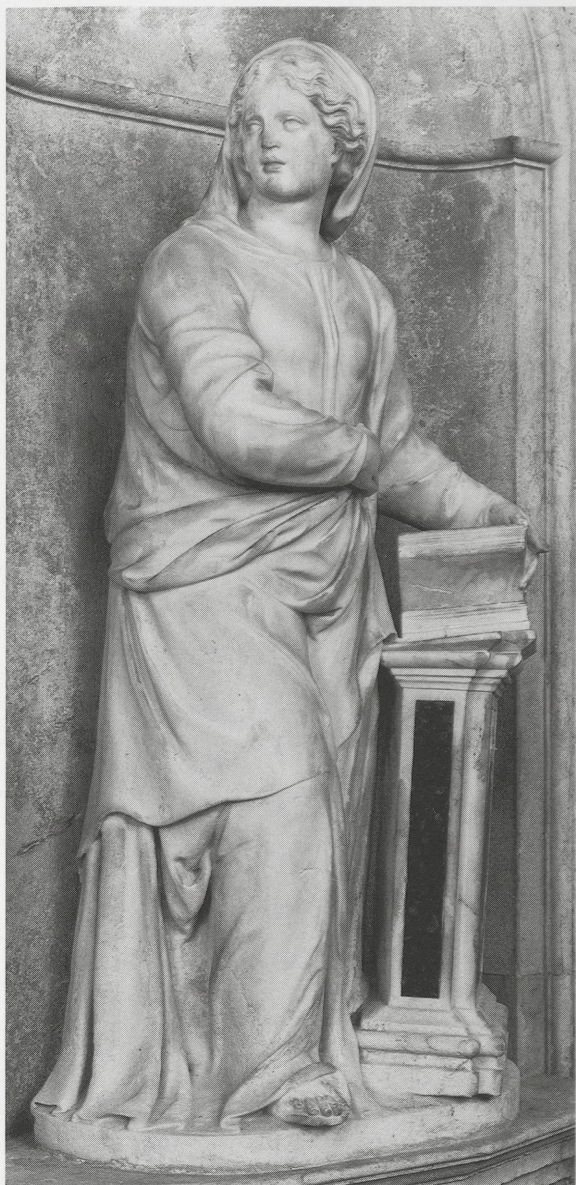
Giovanni Battista's debt to Sansovino was not limited to motifs and composition, however; Sansovino's Santa Casa panels also inspired Giovanni Battista's technique. Common to both sculptors is the extraordinarily high relief; as Weil-Garris observed in regard to Sansovino's *Annunciation*¹⁸, there remains no reminiscence of the original front face of the block from which the works were carved. With the exception of Joseph at the rear of the *Adoration of the Magi*, figures are treated as though they were sculptures in the round, attached to the ground only at their rear where some small portion of the figure, as it were, has been sliced off: what distinguishes the technique of the shepherd that is overlapped from the shepherd that overlaps him in Giovanni Battista's *Adoration of the Shepherds* is not that he is carved in lower relief, but rather that more of him has been truncated at the rear and that fewer parts are carved in the round because limbs adhere more closely to the body. Indeed, in Giovanni Battista's *Adoration of the Shepherds* there is no low relief at all, if low relief be taken to mean the uniform abridgment of a form's natural volume. Even the components of the setting, albeit reduced in scale, are composed of three-dimensional elements whose plasticity is accentuated by undercutting. Although the Christ Child is seen end-on and many other figures are represented in lateral view, their projecting limbs or receding shoulders are minimally foreshortened. In keeping with the illusion of an assembly of freestanding figures, is the fact that the figures overstep the limits of the field: in Sansovino's *Annunciation* and in both of Giovanni Battista's reliefs, figures are disposed on a level platform which projects in front of the plane of the frame. Brought forward to the front edge of the platform, figures — in large part or in entirety — stand forward of the frame. In fact, in both Giovanni Battista's *Adoration of the Magi* and Sansovino's *Annunciation* (fig. 6) the forward corner of the Virgin's footrest overhangs the platform. At the same time, the sides and top of the frame are overlapped at several points, most notably by flying angels (fig. 4).



7 Guglielmo dei Grigi and Giovanni Battista da Carona, Altar of the Annunciation. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



8 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Annunciate Angel. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



9 After Giovanni Battista da Carona (?), Annunciate Virgin. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

Giovanni Battista's two reliefs, however, are not identical in style: although the *Adoration of the Magi* is less dependent on Sansovino, it is also the less mature and therefore probably the earlier of the two. A comparison reveals that the figures and setting in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* are not only larger in scale, but also more voluminous. Low relief (seen in Joseph and the ox and ass in the *Adoration of the Magi*) has been eliminated and, to a greater extent, figures are detached from the ground and limbs and heads are carved in the round. (As it happens, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* is actually deeper than the *Adoration of the Magi* by a couple of centimeters.) At the same time, the composition is simplified and generalized: a great deal of descriptive detail present in the *Adoration of the Magi* has been eliminated from the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and although the condition of the latter's surface precludes certainty, it would seem that the variety of textures simulated in the *Adoration of the Magi* by traces of different tools, such as the parallel striations made by a claw chisel in the stones of the enclosure or the stippling made by a point in the ground of the frieze of the vessel held by the third Magus, are mainly produced in the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, not by a manipulation of the surface, but by a manipulation of the form. Thus, even in its deteriorated state, it is possible to distinguish in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* among the tufts of hair of the various figures and animals because tufts have a different shape, size, and density in each. Where the straight edge of the platform of the *Adoration of the Magi* is aligned with the corbel that supports it, the forward face of the platform of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* consists of two planes set at an obtuse angle to one another; straddling the corner, the Madonna is thrust to the fore, where she becomes the focus of the composition.

If increasing monumentality be recognized as a sign of increasing maturity, as I believe is warranted, then the *Annunciation* (figs. 7-15) proves to be Giovanni Battista's last extant contribution to the sculpture of the chapel's interior. Humfrey traced the difference between the narrative reliefs on the two subsidiary altars and the iconic *Annunciation* with its isolated figures, at the main altar, to the fact that this last, presumably, was the exclusive site of anniversary masses.¹⁹ Iconographically and stylistically unified, the Annunciate Angel²⁰ and the Annunciate Virgin²¹ are strangely disparate in quality. In fact, the latter seems to me so flawed that if documents permitted, I would suppose the figure to have been made several decades later, during the last phase of the career of an exhausted and failing artist. Anatomical forms are disproportionate; the pose is lifeless, inelegant, inorganic; the straight borders of the figure and the schema of long straight-edged folds, whose concession to the disposition of limbs is obvious but perfunctory, result in a tedious and unbalanced composition. In fact, the Virgin is not altogether finished: from the carving of folds in her bodice, in which hollows are barely excavated and planes are abruptly juxtaposed, it is clear that the figure's author proceeded to the stage of smoothing the surface before he had finished defining the underlying forms. As it happens, the Virgin's marble is not the same as the Angel's, with whose creamy, warmer tonality the dead white of the Virgin's stone contrasts.

I am at a loss to explain this decline in quality. Nothing in the documents suggests that Giovanni Battista left Venice or died before the timely completion of the work; nor is he likely to have delegated the carving of the most important element of the chapel's sculptural decoration to an assistant, especially one as inept as this. The admittedly fragmentary documentation on the chapel, moreover, contains no reference to the replacement or radical restoration of the sculpture.²² I conjecture, therefore, that the sculptor — in the grip of illness or despair — forced himself to execute a task which he had ceased to care about.

Following pages:

10 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Annunciate Angel. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

11 After Giovanni Battista da Carona (?), Annunciate Virgin. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.







12 Gio. Battista da Carona, Annunciate Angel. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



13 Giovanni Battista da Carona, *Annunciate Angel* (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

The Angel, by contrast, shows Giovanni Battista at the height of his considerable powers, having left behind the example of Andrea Sansovino. As though the Angel's Herculean physique were not sufficient, his Adam's apple — a feature surely unique in the history of the representation of Angels — proves that what was usually depicted as a sexless child, in effect, is a grown man. So specific a reference to anatomy contrasts, moreover, with a rather generalized treatment of the figure's musculature. In his rendering of the Angel's pose, Giovanni Battista seized one instant from a continuum of movement: the scroll unfurls, the feathers of the wing are splayed, and the folds of drapery and the locks of hair flow backward. The Angel barely rests the tips of two toes of his rear foot on the ground; the biceps of the arm he holds aloft is flexed. His open mouth makes plain that he is uttering the angelic salutation. In these respects he does not differ much from Andrea Sansovino's *Annunciate Angel* (fig. 6) or from countless others, but the retraction of his right foot introduces to his pose a degree of torsion that is new.



14 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Annunciate Angel (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

Typical of Giovanni Battista is the abundance of heavy and malleable drapery, which nevertheless adheres for long tracts to the body underneath. In section, folds have rounded contours and flow, without caesura, into equally rounded hollows. The edge of drapery, as depicted at the hem, has a palpable thickness. In plan, folds are long and slightly bowed and do not register sudden changes in direction; the sequence of large, overlapping scallops visible in the border of the overfold of the Angel's chiton recurs in the foremost shepherd of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 5). The tousled hair adds greatly to the volume of the figure's head. Locks of different lengths, but extraordinary plasticity, tumble over one another with such exuberance that individual curls seem imbued with life. The short tousled locks, as well as those cantilevered out over the Angel's forehead, no doubt, were derived from Michelangelo's marble *David*; depiction of the Angel's Adam's apple probably also is indebted to the *David*, where this feature likewise signals a maturity quite exceptional in depictions of the child-hero.

Although they lack a setting and inhabit different fields, the Angel and Virgin Annunciate participate in a common drama. Despite His relegation to a separate field elevated high above the other two, God the Father is also included within the narrative (figs. 16-17): represented flying through the air, accompanied by an Angel seen from the rear and upside down, God turns in the direction of the Virgin as he releases the dove of the Holy Spirit.²³ The dove, whose wings are not yet fully spread and whose feet are still planted on rays of light, is on the verge of descend-



15 After Giovanni Battista da Carona (?), Annunciate Virgin (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

ing. The three-quarter length figure of God, as well as the remainder of the scene, is so extensively undercut and advances so far in front of the frame (whose rim — overlapped in places — actually encloses nothing but the background) that the action effectively unfolds within the chapel's interior space. Like the two *Adorations*, the composition of the *tondo* achieves perfect balance despite its marked asymmetry.

SS. Margaret (figs. 18-19, 21-22)²⁴ and *John the Baptist* (figs. 23-26, 33) in the exterior niches commemorate the patron and her husband, Giovanni Emiliani. Figures are over life-size²⁵ and carved from Istrian limestone, which has suffered relatively little from effects of weather. Proportions are so robust and forms so resolutely three-dimensional, when not actually carved in the round, that statues are as deep as they are wide. The figures manifest unusual freedom in relation to their niches, which, in fact, are much too shallow to contain them; bases project far in front of the wall and frames are overlapped in several places by the open poses of the *Saints*. The canon, classicizing coiffure, and pose of *St. Margaret* appear to have been derived from a female bystander in Andrea Sansovino's half of the *Marriage of the Virgin* at the Santa Casa (fig. 20); Giovanni Battista, however, turned Sansovino's backward-facing figure forward.²⁶ The use made by Giovanni Battista of his source suggests the existence of, and Sansovino's dependence on, three-dimensional models of individual figures in working out his composition.



16 Giovanni Battista da Carona, God the Father. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

Davis was so struck by the resemblances between the sculpture of the Cappella Emiliana and Andrea Sansovino's reliefs for the Santa Casa that he proposed identifying Giovanni Battista da Carona with the Giovanni Battista da Carrara, whose name appears so frequently in the Loretan documents.²⁷ In fact, a survey of the account books for the construction of the Santa Casa reveals one payment to a "Giovambap.ta da Carona" on 30 June 1523 in *Libro Mastro E*.²⁸ The entry refers the reader back to *Libro dei Salariati 1521-23*, c. 144, where the same sculptor is called "Giovambap.ta da Carrara nostro scarpellino allo Ornamento della Cappella". It might be thought that Carrara is only a misreading of Carona, or vice versa, but, in fact, the handwriting of the various account books is not difficult to decipher: frequent references to Carona in other contexts are quite distinguishable from the word Carrara. Moreover, an entry of 14 June 1523 in *Depositario 8, Entrata e uscita 1523*, recording payment to "Giovambap.ta [...] nostro scarpellino allo Ornamento della Cappella" proves that the accountant really was confused about the sculptor's place of origin, for its name has been overwritten, so that only the initial letters, *Ca*, are legible. In short, I think that the entries in the Santa Casa account books recording Giovanni Battista da Carona and Giovanni Battista da Carrara refer to one and the same person and that that person was the sculptor of the altars and the statuary of the Cappella Emiliana.²⁹

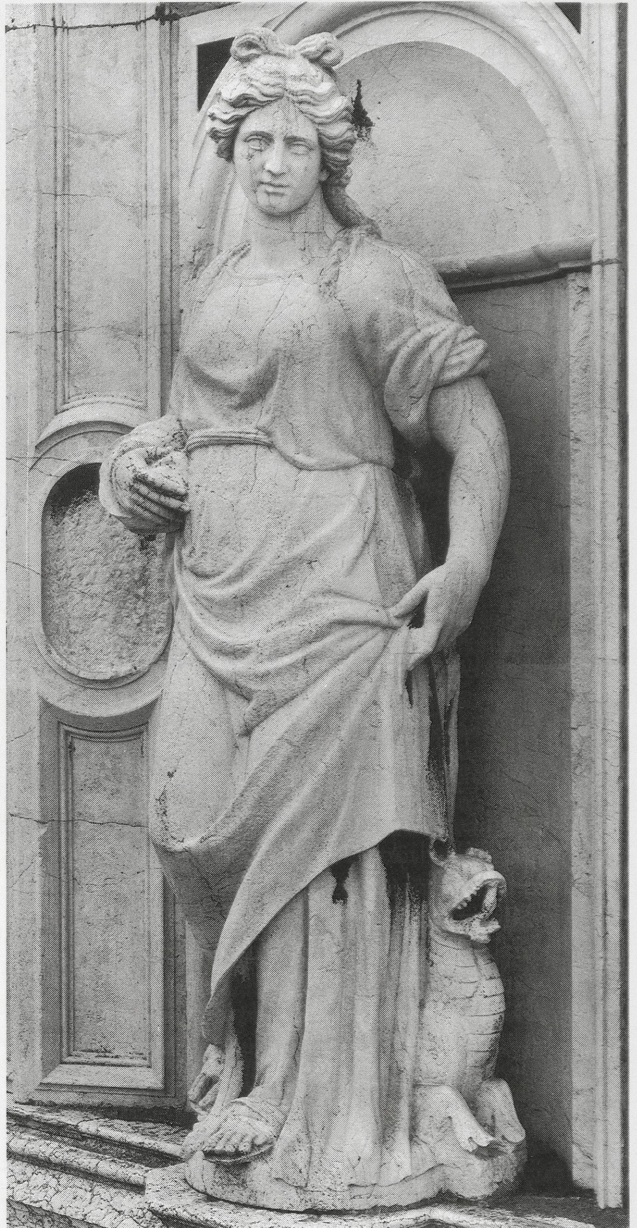


17 Giovanni Battista da Carona, God the Father. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

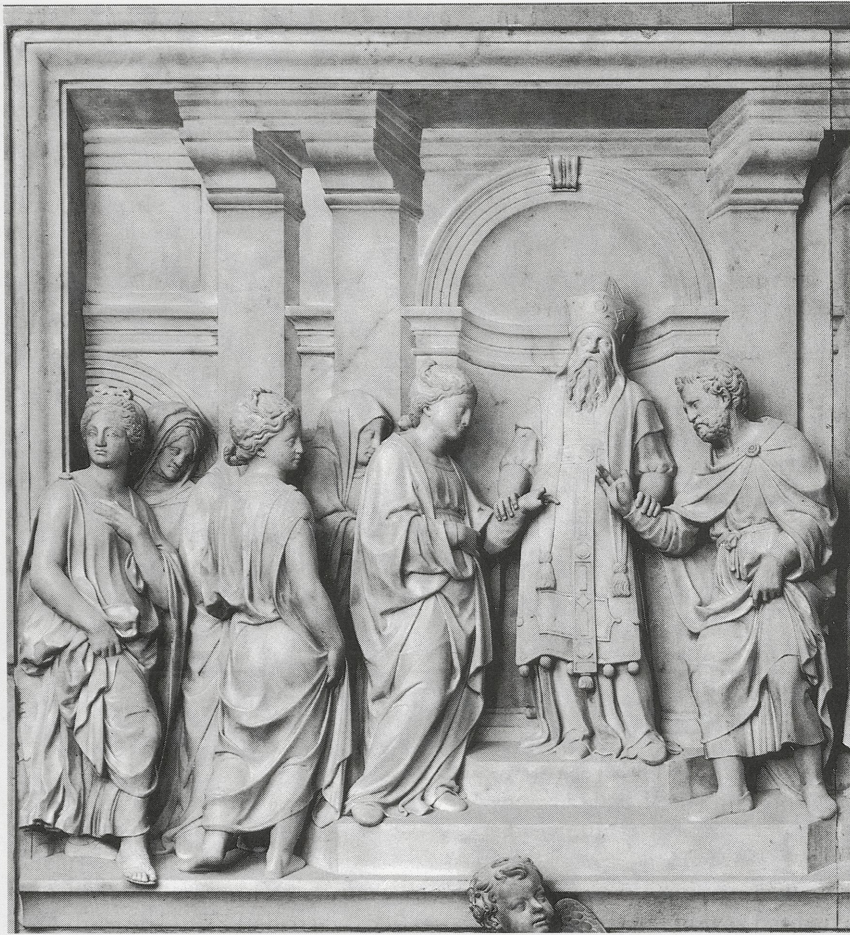
Giovanni Battista entered the employ of the Fabbrica della Santa Casa in December of 1520, when he worked for approximately ten days. From 1 January 1521 until 5 July 1522, when he left Loreto, Giovanni Battista worked continuously at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ *fiorini* (40 *bolognini* = 1 *fiorino*) per month. Giovanni Battista worked at Loreto again for two months and nine days, from 21 April until the end of June 1523. It would appear that at the end of May, his salary was raised from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 *fiorini* per month. Giovanni Battista returned to work at Loreto in the last week of March 1525 and continued to work there steadily, at 8 *fiorini* per month, until 10 November 1525, when he left once again. When Giovanni Battista returned, he was no longer paid by the month, but rather by the piece. On 26 March 1526, Giovanni Battista was paid 35 *fiorini* 28 *bolognini* for having carved $8\frac{1}{2}$ *palmi* of cornice. Even if the sculptor was now being paid much more than when he had been salaried, 35 *fiorini* and $8\frac{1}{2}$ *palmi* of cornice must represent a considerable amount of work; we can assume therefore that Giovanni Battista's departure from Loreto in mid November 1525 was not followed by an absence of long duration and that he had returned by the beginning of the new year. On 9 May 1526 Giovanni Battista was paid 18 *fiorini* 36 *bolognini* for having carved an architrave with its return for a door and on 9 June 1526 he was paid 25 *fiorini* 13 *bolognini* for $3\frac{15}{16}$ *palmi* of base and a piece of the socle of a column. It is the last we hear of him in the account books of the Santa Casa.



18 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. Margaret. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

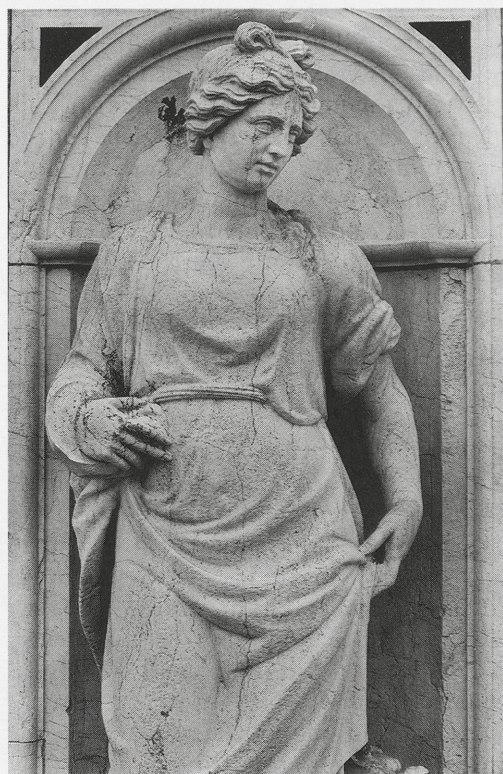


19 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. Margaret. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



20 Andrea Sansovino, Marriage of the Virgin (left half). Loreto, Basilica, Santa Casa.

To a considerable extent, the periods of Giovanni Battista's activity at Loreto correspond to those of Andrea Sansovino. When Giovanni Battista arrived at the end of 1520, Andrea Sansovino had already begun his reliefs of the *Annunciation* (fig. 6) and the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 3).³⁰ Present at Loreto continuously at least from the beginning of 1521³¹, Sansovino had left Loreto at the end of June 1521³²; his four-month vacation over, he returned at the beginning of November, and remained (except for the last two weeks of April) until the end of June 1522³³; five days later Giovanni Battista also left. Giovanni Battista's employment at Loreto in the spring and early summer of 1523 coincided almost exactly with Sansovino's.³⁴ By the time that Giovanni Battista returned to work in late March of 1525, Sansovino's reliefs of the *Annunciation* and *Adoration of the Shepherds* had been finished for nearly a year.³⁵ Sansovino does not seem to have spent much time at Loreto in 1525, but during the final period of Giovanni Battista's employment there, in the first half of 1526, Sansovino was actively engaged in the carving of the left half of the *Marriage of the Virgin*; less than a month after Giovanni Battista, Sansovino also made his final departure from Loreto.³⁶



21-22 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. Margaret (details).
Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



23 Gio. Battista da Carona, St. John the Baptist (detail).
Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

The payments to Giovanni Battista make clear that he was employed at the Santa Casa to execute ordinary work of stonemasonry; indeed, it was only during the last year of his employment there that he assumed personal responsibility for the ornament he carved. We should not wonder, therefore, at failing to find evidence of his hand in the figurative sculpture of the shrine. If he contributed to it at all, no doubt it was only to rough-hew the blocks from which figures or reliefs were carved by others.

That Giovanni Battista was recorded in the Loretan documents, once as coming from Carona, once as coming from some place that began with the letters *Ca* but of whose precise identity the writer was unsure, and innumerable times as coming from Carrara, makes sense if we assume that Giovanni Battista came from both Carona and Carrara — that is, that he was born in Carona, but worked in Carrara before appearing at, and during absences from, Loreto. If this reasoning is correct, he must have been active in Carrara, at the latest, by the end of the second decade of the sixteenth century or by the very beginning of the third, for the earliest payments to him at Loreto already designate Carrara as his place of origin. Probably it is not coincidental that the arrival of Giovanni Battista at Loreto followed almost immediately upon the death between 5 and 10 December 1520 at Carrara of the Spaniard Bartolomé Ordóñez, who had set up shop there in the autumn of 1519 for the execution of several large Spanish commissions.³⁷ As it happens, Carrarese documents record a sculptor, “Battista di maestro Pietro da Carona”, three years later³⁸, at a time when Giovanni Battista da Carona/Carrara is known to have been absent from Loreto. On 13



24 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. John the Baptist. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



25 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. John the Baptist. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

May 1524 “m.o Battista di m.o Pietro da Carona scultore” was entrusted by Lucrezia d’Este Malaspina, Marchesa of Massa and Carrara, with the manufacture of a wooden Crucifix for a price of 10 ducats. By 3 September 1524, the Crucifix had been consigned.³⁹ Either it does not survive or it has not yet been identified. On 25 June 1524, the Altar of the Corpus Christi for the church of Sant’Andrea at Carrara was commissioned from the sculptors, Domenico di Andrea del Sarto, Giovanni Battista del Mastro, and Battista *olim* Pietro da Carona, in accordance with the model made by Giovanni Battista del Mastro; while Domenico was obligated to carve the chapel’s ornament, Giovanni Battista del Mastro and Battista da Carona were to divide the carving of the figures equally. The altar was to be finished and installed by 1 June 1525, its price to be determined by two experts. The work eventually was completed two years later than envisioned. It still exists, albeit much transformed, but Battista da Carona apparently had no part in it, for on 17 July 1526 the first contract was superseded by a new one, in which Battista no longer figures.⁴⁰

Is this Battista *olim* Pietro our Giovanni Battista da Carona? The early contract of 25 June 1524 shows Battista’s father to have died, whereas Giovanni Battista’s later signature on Tullio Lombardo’s testament of 1532 (“Zuan Bt.a de Piero”)⁴¹ appears to indicate that his father was alive: sufficient reason for thinking that the two were different people. It should be noted, however, that the use of *quondam* for a father who was deceased — usual in the signatures of Venetian witnesses — was by no means inevitable: whereas *quondam* certainly proves that the person referred to was deceased, its absence does not prove that he was still alive.⁴² A more important objection to the identification of the two, it seems to me, is the fact that the Carrarese documents recording Battista da Carona give the impression of a more competent sculptor than even the later payments at Loreto do. To be sure, the standards imposed in the carving of the Santa Casa must have been higher than they were for the carving of an altar at Carrara; therefore a sculptor considered expert in the latter place might well have been held in lower esteem when measured against Andrea Sansovino and Baccio Bandinelli. The highly ornate carving of the shrine, moreover, did demand extraordinary skill. Nevertheless, prudence counsels a certain caution in identifying Battista di Pietro da Carona at Carrara with Giovanni Battista da Carona at Loreto.

Comparison with the sculptures of the Cappella Emiliana proves Giovanni Battista to have carved the statue of *St. John the Baptist* (figs. 27-29) that stands to the right of the ground-floor altar in the Scuola Grande di San Rocco at Venice.⁴³ The statue’s proportions are as Herculean as those of the *Baptist* from the Cappella Emiliana. By making the left arm of the San Rocco *Baptist* clear the body, by causing all the muscles of the arms and legs to flex, by turning and tilting the head, and by focusing the glance, Giovanni Battista imbued every part of the figure with life. Typically, the statue is deeper than it is wide: even the torso approximates the shape of a drum. The mass of stone is deeply excavated and where possible — in the left leg and right lower arm — the sculptor has detached forms from the matrix. The plastic, gently curving folds, reduced in number but increased in scale, have the same fluency as the drapery of *St. Margaret* and denote the same heavy, but malleable, fabric. The *Baptist*’s physiognomy (fig. 31), with its small features concentrated at the center of a small face framed by a voluminous mass of locks tumbling forward onto the forehead and cheeks, finds numerous correspondences in the heads of Giovanni Battista’s *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 30). The *Baptist*’s profile (fig. 32), characterized by the creased protuberant brow set straight and low above the deeply recessed eyes, the aquiline nose, and the overlapping of the mouth by the cascading moustache, recalls the *Baptist* from the Cappella Emiliana (fig. 33); in the beard of each, locks — of an identical density and length — wave forward from the jaw. The complete description of anatomy and texture — the latter, by means of the manipulation of form as well as by the treatment of the surface achieved through polishing or etching by a variety of tools — is more precisely comparable to the hypothetically earlier *Adoration of the Magi* than to the later *Adoration of the Shepherds* or Annunciate Angel. I would therefore date the



26 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. John the Baptist. Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



27 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. John the Baptist. Venice, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco.

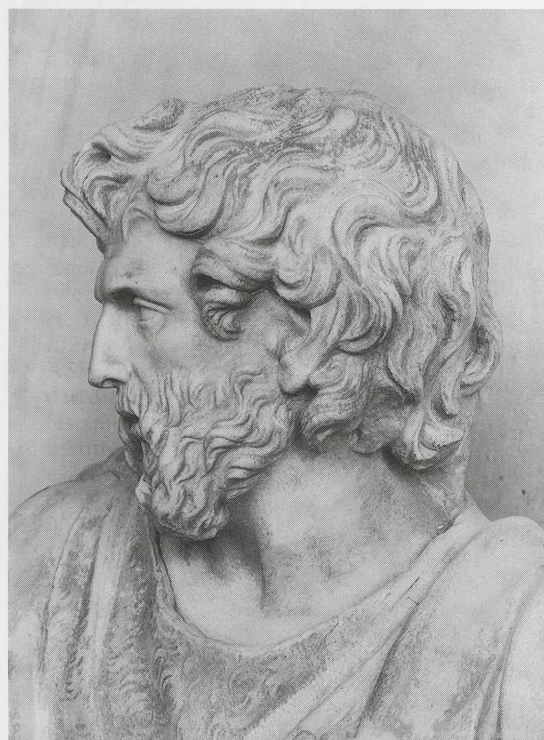
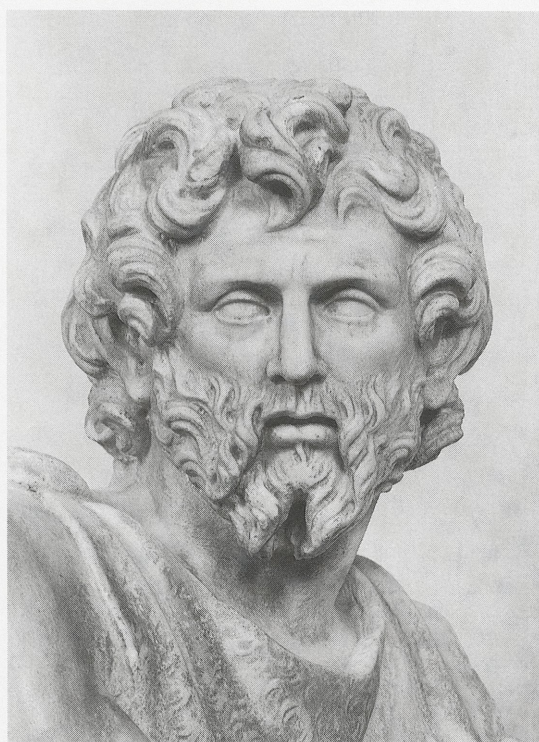


28-29 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. John the Baptist. Venice, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco.

30 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Magi (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

31-32 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. John the Baptist (details). Venice, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco.

33 Giovanni Battista da Carona, St. John the Baptist (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

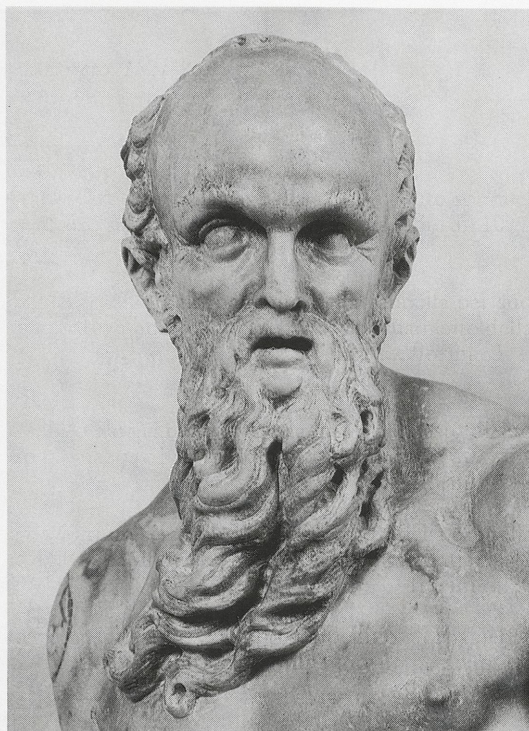




34 Lorenzo Bregno, St. Apollonia. Venice, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco.



35 Lorenzo Bregno, St. James. Venice, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco.



36-37 Venetian, third quarter of the sixteenth century, St. Jerome and detail. Venice, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco.



38 Giovanni Battista da Carona and assistant, Madonna and Child. Venice, Scuola degli Albanesi.



39 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Magi (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

40, 42 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Magi (details). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

41, 43 Giovanni Battista da Carona and assistant, Madonna and Child (details). Venice, Scuola degli Albanesi.





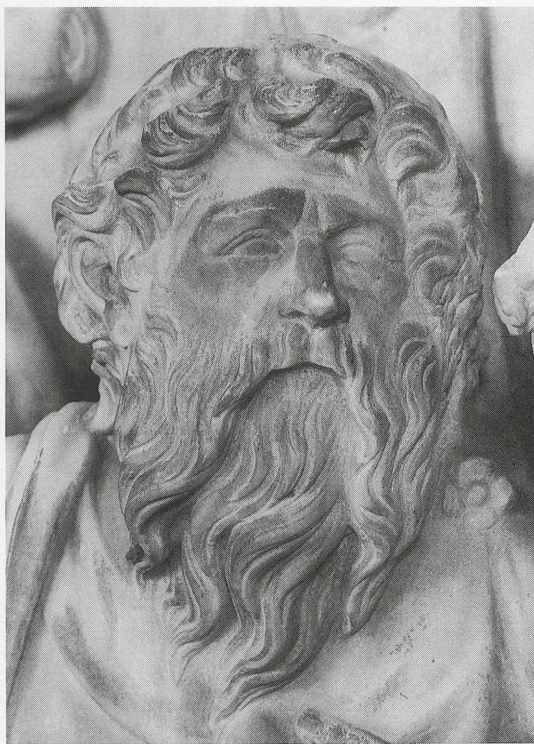
44 Giovanni Battista da Carona and assistant, St. Gall. Venice, Scuola degli Albanesi.

San Rocco *Baptist* ca. 1529-30. Curiously, our figure does not stand directly on its base, but rather upon small low mounds. The fact that, in a view from below, this slight elevation would have minimized the overlapping of the feet by the base suggests that the *Baptist* was intended for a site above eye-level.⁴⁴

What was that site? On the right of the *scuola's* altar, the statue is accompanied by a figure of *St. Apollonia* (fig. 34) of the same height and material, which I have attributed to Lorenzo Bregno.⁴⁵ To the left of the altar are two more statues of like material and size. The one assigned by me to Lorenzo Bregno, which I called in 1984 — erroneously, as it happens — St. Bartholomew, in fact represents St. James (fig. 35).⁴⁶ The other, depicting St. Jerome (figs. 36-37), shows the influence, if not the hand, of Alessandro Vittoria (1524/25-1608) in its facial type, beard, swirling drapery and, above all, in its graphically described anatomy, and therefore must have been carved by a third and later master.⁴⁷ In iconography, material, size, and format *St. Jerome* accords with the other figures, but its square base contrasts with the round bases of *St. Apollonia* and the *Baptist*. (Damage has rendered the original appearance of *St. James's* base unrecognizable.) The four statues have stood together since the later 1740s, when *SS. Girolamo, Apollonia, Giovanni Battista* and *Giacomo* were inventoried among the objects located in the room that housed the archive of the *scuola's* chancery⁴⁸; in August 1884 they were moved to their present site.⁴⁹ An undated plan of the church belonging to the confraternity of San Rocco, found among papers related to the negotiations of 1733 with Francesco Solimena for new altarpieces of the *Annunciation* and *St. Anthony*, shows four altars symmetrically disposed along the two nave walls, of which the two nearest the High Altar are dedicated to the *Annunciation*, on the observer's left (*in cornu Evangelii*) and *St. Anthony* on the right (*in cornu Epistolae*). Solimena's altarpiece of the *Annunciation* is flanked by



45 Giovanni Battista da Carona and assistant, St. Gall (detail). Venice, Scuola degli Albanesi.



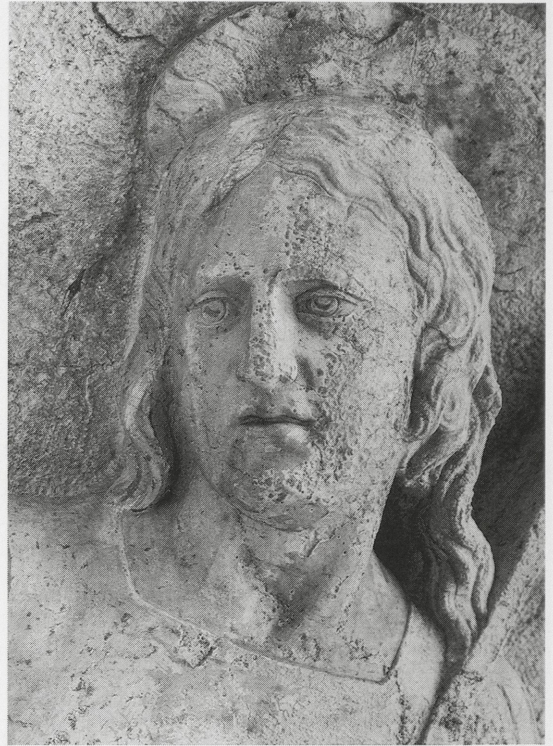
46 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Magi (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.

Bregno's statues of *SS. James* and *Apollonia*; the altarpiece of *St. Anthony*, (eventually executed not by Solimena but by Francesco Trevisani), is flanked by figures of *St. John the Baptist* on the right and *St. Jerome* on the left.⁵⁰ Whether the four statues ever actually occupied these positions or whether this plan records an unfulfilled intention, I do not know. Whichever it may be, the disposition of the statues recorded on the plan must postdate the rebuilding of the nave by Giovanni Scalfarotto from 1725 to after 1727.⁵¹

In order to elucidate the origin of the four statues, it is necessary to reconstruct the disposition of altars in the preceding church of San Rocco, consecrated in 1508. Published descriptions speak at length of its many paintings, but, with the exception of Titian's thaumaturgic *Christ Carrying the Cross*, none of these belonged to an altar.⁵² Providentially, however, the original arrangement of altars is recorded in a second loose sheet found among the papers of the confraternity; the writing on the sheet corresponds to that on one dated 1733.⁵³ Of the two altars along the left nave wall, the one nearer the choir (*in cornu Evangelii*) was ceded to the *gastaldo* of the Procuratori di San Marco de supra and Guardian Grande of the *scuola*, Giacomo Dragan, on 28 October 1516.⁵⁴ Dragan intended to ornament it with marbles, serpentines, and porphyry; there he wanted to be buried.⁵⁵ The act of cession calls the altar by the Madonna's name; other evidence, however, proves that the altar was dedicated more specifically to the Annunciation.⁵⁶ It would seem that the altar bore Giovanni Novello's approximately contemporary mosaic *da cavalletto* of the *Annunciation*, currently preserved in the Cancelleria of the *scuola*.⁵⁷ No doubt, it was for this altar also — the very altar the statues were intended to adorn in the rebuilt church of the eighteenth century —



47 Giovanni Battista da Carona, Adoration of the Magi (detail). Murano, S. Michele in Isola, Cappella Emiliana.



48 Giovanni Battista da Carona and assistant, St. Maurice (detail). Venice, Scuola degli Albanesi.

that Lorenzo Bregno executed his two statues, datable to the later teens of the sixteenth century on the basis of their style.⁵⁸ *St. James* depicts the name saint of the statue's hypothetical patron; *St. Apollonia* depicts the name saint of Dragan's daughter.⁵⁹ Similarities of size, format, and material, as well as the shape of its base, might lend plausibility to the supposition that Giovanni Battista da Carona's *Baptist* was intended to complement these figures. But Dragan and his wife had died in close proximity to one another between September and October 1527.⁶⁰ Indeed, the only notice relating to the altar that survives from the 1530s is one of 12 March 1532 permitting the Guardian Grande to add 6 ducats *per annum* to the salary of the benefited priest charged with saying mass at Dragan's altar.⁶¹

The statue of *St. Jerome*, likewise, can be confidently connected with an altar: in this case, the altar ceded to Girolamo Rota in early March 1566, which was destined for a place on the right nave wall, next to the lateral portal and directly opposite Dragan's Altar of the Annunciation.⁶² The old altar, which Rota's altar was intended to replace, had been located closer to the main entrance; the construction of benches there necessitated the change in site. In support of his petition, Rota promised to replace the original altar, made of wood, with a new altar made of live stone; thus, hoped Rota, the new altar would correspond to the other altars in the church. The old altar had been dedicated to the Madonna and St. Sebastian. That the new one retained its double dedication is witnessed, not only by its label on the loose sheet of 1733, but also by Rota's commission for a single statue — presumably to accompany two images of the titular saints — in contradistinction to the two statues seemingly provided by Dragan for his Altar of the Annunciation. At the time Rota submitted his petition for an altar he was nearing the end of his one-year



49 Giovanni Battista da Carona and assistant, St. Maurice. Venice, Scuola degli Albanesi.

term as Guardian Grande of the confraternity.⁶³ A citizen (like all the officers of Venetian confraternities)⁶⁴, jeweller by profession, and son of Simone dalla Maestà, Girolamo Rota indited his testament on 1 February 1572⁶⁵ and died before 5 May 1575, when his testament was presented for probate. He is known to historians of Venetian painting as the patron of Jacopo Tintoretto's great *Crucifixion* in the *albergo* of the Scuola di San Rocco, inscribed with the Guardian Grande's name and the year 1565.⁶⁶ The many similarities that link the *St. Jerome* of the Scuola di San Rocco with the monumental statue of *St. Jerome* made by Alessandro Vittoria ca. 1572-75 for the altar of Girolamo Zane in Santa Maria dei Frari, Venice, suggest that the author of our statue knew one or more of those preparatory models that Cosimo Bartoli reported having seen in Vittoria's shop in a letter of 23 August 1566.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the style of the San Rocco *St. Jerome* does not justify an attribution to Vittoria. Indeed, I think we can exclude the possibility that the San Rocco *St. Jerome* was executed under the supervision of the master, for the surface of our statue does not betray the timid and laborious work of an assistant, but rather the boldness and assurance of a proven master — one unfortunately that I cannot name.

By contrast with its three companions, Giovanni Battista da Carona's *Baptist* cannot be linked with any altar in the old church of San Rocco. Nonetheless, its patron may be tentatively, if not definitively, identified. The funding of altars at San Rocco indicates that the confraternity's Guardiani Grandi were assiduous in providing for the early church's embellishment; naturally, the first con-

cern of patrons was an image of their name saint. As it happens, Guardian Grande of the Scuola di San Rocco at the very time our statue appears to have been carved — from March 1529 to March 1530 — was the merchant, Battista di Antonio Serena.⁶⁸ The many notices of his name between 1500 and 1529 in the diary of Marin Sanuto relate principally to the letters he carried between the Signoria and the mercantile community at Constantinople, where he traded.⁶⁹ Such confidence reposed in him that on 20 February 1528 he succeeded to the post of *gastaldo* to Doge Andrea Gritti.⁷⁰ In the same year he purchased a house at San Giovanni Crisostomo.⁷¹ His testament of 1 April 1528 reveals a very substantial estate invested in land on the *terraferma*.⁷²

In what appears to be a complete record of the decisions of the *scuola*, however, there is no reference to a commission emanating from Battista Serena — indeed, none that could pertain in any way to the statue of the *Baptist*. This lack suggests that the *Baptist* occupied a relatively inconspicuous site — one whose cession did not require the consensus of the sodality's *banca* and *capitolo generale*. Slightly too large⁷³ and showing no damage in its feet and legs, the *Baptist* cannot have stood at the center of a holy water font.⁷⁴ Perhaps the statue was elevated on a corbel, much as it is today, in proximity to the altar of Giacomo Dragan, whose figures of SS. James and Apollonia the *Baptist* was clearly meant to match.

Giovanni Battista's last commission, I believe, was the half-length figures in relief on the facade of the Scuola degli Albanesi, representing the confraternity's patrons:⁷⁵ the *Madonna and Child* (figs. 38, 41, 43) in the center⁷⁶, flanked by St. Maurice (figs. 48–49) on the spectator's right⁷⁷, and the Irish abbot St. Gall (figs. 44–45) on the left.⁷⁸ An inscription at the top of the facade records its erection in 1531, during the tenure of the *gastaldo* Tomaso Mamoli and the *vicario* Nicolò Cuihatter.⁷⁹ Since the Venetian year began on 1 March, however, the date of the facade is more accurately stated as 1 March 1531 to 1 March 1532.⁸⁰ Although the three reliefs have not escaped notice, few attempts have been made to attribute them:⁸¹ in 1897 Gustav Ludwig assigned them to Gian Giorgio Lascari called Pyrgoteles, but withdrew his attribution later because he thought that Pyrgoteles had died in 1528.⁸² As it happens, it was Lascari's son, not the sculptor himself, who died in 1528⁸³; in fact, Pyrgoteles' death in September 1531⁸⁴ would have permitted his execution of the reliefs. But their style does not match that of Pyrgoteles' only certain work, his inscribed *Madonna and Child* over the main portal of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Venice.

That the *Madonna and Child* and SS. Maurice and Gall were designed by Giovanni Battista da Carona does not require elaborate proof. The *Madonna* is very nearly the twin of the *Madonna* in Giovanni Battista's *Adoration of the Magi* (figs. 39–40). Not proportions only, but the drapery of the bodice of the gown with its piped neckline, and the long descending curves of the veil that leave a good deal of hair exposed are nearly identical as well. The rapid undulations of the waves of the *Madonna's* hair have the same rhythm in both and the *Christ Child's* (fig. 43) hair manifests the same idiosyncratic curls as the hair of the *Christ Child* in the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 42). The physiognomy of St. Gall, with his furrowed brow, finds a cognate in the face of the first king (fig. 46); the short locks at the edge of the *Saint's* beard, blown forward onto the cheek, appear also in the king. Elements of St. Maurice's cuirass are paralleled by the double row of overlapping pteryges of the first king, and the squared and banded neckline of the third king (fig. 47). The face of the young *Saint*, especially the form of his parted lips and the structure of his neck with its prominent Adam's apple, recur in Giovanni Battista's Annunciate Angel.

Yet infelicities in the foreshortening of shoulders and limbs in all the figures, the disproportionately small and inorganic hands, the flatness and uniformity of the relief surface in the two *Saints*, and the tedious disposition of St. Gall's drapery, warrant the postulation of an assistant's intervention in the execution of the reliefs. And the scene of the *Second Siege of Scutari* directly above the *Madonna*, with its uniformly flat relief and its regular contours, which align themselves with an underlying grid of horizontals and verticals, seems to betray another hand entirely.

An examination of the documents regarding Giovanni Battista da Carona and the works attributable to him reveal that the sculptor's Venetian career was very brief: the first mention of his name in Venice occurred on 8 December 1528, the last on 14 November 1532, and all the works discussed above appear to have been made between those dates. As it happens, the autumn of 1528 was not an auspicious time in which to immigrate to Venice, for the plague, exacerbated by famine and inundations of starving peasants, was raging there and throughout the Veneto⁸⁵; the death of Antonio Minello and Bartolomeo Bergamasco at Venice in the late summer or autumn of 1528⁸⁶ surely is not coincidental. Their deaths, however, created opportunities for newcomers. In fact, at San Michele in Isola Giovanni Battista assumed the role of collaborator to Guglielmo dei Grigi that Bartolomeo Bergamasco had previously filled.⁸⁷ What became of Giovanni Battista after 1532 — whether he died or left Venice, or whether he remained to execute sculptures that have not yet been identified or do not survive — I do not know: for me, his trail ends abruptly in the design of the reliefs for the Scuola degli Albanesi.

Whatever his later fate, in the history of Venetian sculpture Giovanni Battista occupies a special place, for, in a period in which the classicistic style of Tullio and Antonio Lombardo and Lorenzo Bregno had engendered a Mannerist reaction in the art of Giammaria Mosca and an attempt to imitate the alien painterly technique of Titian in the work of Bartolomeo Bergamasco and Pietro Paolo Stella, the sculpture of Giovanni Battista da Carona remained faithful to the normative High Renaissance style of Andrea Sansovino, dead since March or April 1529.⁸⁸ The proportions of Giovanni Battista's figures are heroic; drapery does not exist independent of the pose and anatomy of the figure and the arrangement of garments is perfectly intelligible. As a means of animating his figures, Giovanni Battista invariably showed limbs in motion, heads turned and tilted, glances focused; drapery, too, often appears to respond to a sudden change in position and has yet to settle. But movement is never inappropriate or unbalanced. Indeed, the unfolding of movement in three-dimensional space is still tentative, when it occurs at all, though by this date Bartolomeo Bergamasco and Pietro Paolo Stella had introduced the serpentine pose to Venice. Although the face and hair of Madonnas lead us ultimately back to images of *Athena*, and the Annunciate Angel of the Cappella Emiliana is clad in an antique chiton, Giovanni Battista never aimed at recreating antique art. His narratives are not abstracted to conform to the prevailing Venetian mode of classicizing relief, in which upright figures are ranged isocephalically in even rows across the width of the relief; at the same time, his narratives eschew oblique allusions and double meanings. Giovanni Battista was not embarrassed by the mundane need to tell a story, which determined his dense and naturalistic grouping of figures both in depth and on the surface, but neither did he indulge in superfluous or startlingly realistic detail. Figures are alert and express attitudes of deep devotion, but their emotion is no more than the situation warrants. In short, at a time when Giorgione had taught Venetian artists to claim extraordinary license, Giovanni Battista imposed his authorial vision and quirks of technique upon his art less than any of his contemporaries. As a consequence, his artistic powers were always subordinated to the task at hand and though they prove to have been formidable, never call attention to themselves.

NOTES

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- ¹ [Bartolomeo Cecchetti], Documenti per la storia della fabbrica della Chiesa di S. Zaccaria; della Cappella Emiliana nell'isola di S. Michele; e della chiesa di S. Salvatore in Venezia, in: Archivio veneto, n.s. XVI (XXXI, pt. 2), 1886, p. 469, who, however, called our sculptor Zuanantonio da Carona; Pietro Paoletti di Osvaldo, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice 1893-97, II, pp. 293 f., n. 6.
- ² See Appendix, doc. IV, and Paoletti (n. 1), II, p. 249. The record of Giovanni Battista's presence seems to have been made in the sculptor's own hand. Bruce Boucher, Jacopo Sansovino, London 1991, I, p. 254, n. 146, supposed from Giovanni Battista's appearance as witness that he was related to Tullio, whose father, Pietro, also came from Carona. There is no evidence to support this assumption.
- ³ Since the documents naming Giovanni Battista da Carona do not add "Cumane diocesis et plebis Lugani", we cannot be altogether certain that the Carona referred to here is the one above Lake Lugano and not, for example, Carona in the *bergamasco*. On the other hand, I have never encountered in Venetian documents a mason or stonecutter from a town named Carona in any diocese but that of Como, whereas I know of four masons or stonecutters active at Venice in the late fifteenth century "de Carona episcopatus Cumarum" (for which, see Paoletti [n. 1], I, p. 69, n. 4, and p. 95, doc. 37; II, p. 111, doc. 93). This makes me very inclined to assume that the Carona designated here is the one on Lake Lugano. The Solari family, from which the Venetian sculptor Pietro Lombardo came, moreover, is documented throughout the Renaissance in Carona di Ticino: Luigi Brentani, *Antichi maestri d'arte e di scuola delle terre ticinesi, notizie e documenti*, I, Como 1937, pp. 127-130, n. 1; IV, 1941, pp. 303 f., n. 6; V, 1944, pp. 266 f.
Essential facts concerning Carona di Ticino are related in the 1591 visitation of the priest Matteo Scattiano, who reported that Carona comprised 600 souls divided among 125 households; 300 persons were communicants. This count included the settlements scattered around Carona. See Società storica per la provincia e antica diocesi di Como, *Raccolta storica*, III, pt. 2, *Atti della visita pastorale diocesana di F. Feliciano Ninguarda, Vescovo di Como (1589-1593)*, ed. Santo Monti, Como 1892-98 (reprint, Como 1992), pp. 411-413.
- ⁴ For their marriage in 1410, see Venice, Archivio di Stato (hereafter, ASVe), Avogaria di Comun, Registro 107, *Cronica matrimoni* 2, c. 211r.
- ⁵ ASVe, Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 67 (Commissaria di Margherita Miani) for both testaments of 1427 and 1454. The *cedula* of the 1427 testament is preserved in ASVe, Archivio notarile, Testamenti, Busta 1155 (not. Benedetto Croce), no. 300.
- ⁶ Flaminio Corner, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, Venice 1749, III, pp. 87-89.
- ⁷ Three books of accounts cover payments for every day of work involved in the construction of the Cappella Emiliana. They are preserved in ASVe, Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 67 (Commissaria di Margherita Miani). For a summary of the various stages of construction, see Vittorino Meneghin, *S. Michele in Isola*, Venice 1962, I, pp. 333-339, and Irene Sartori/Sara Petrelli, *La Cappella Emiliana a San Michele in Isola: una proposta di conservazione alla luce dei vari interventi nel corso dei secoli*, tesi di laurea, Istituto universitario di architettura in Venezia, 1996-97, pp. 7 f., 114-119; both accounts, however, contain many errors.
- ⁸ Appendix, doc. III, A.
- ⁹ Appendix, doc. III, B.
- ¹⁰ Zuan Antonio gave his patronymic in the last voucher of the series drawn up on 7 August 1543 (ASVe, Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 67 [Commissaria di Margherita Miani], loose sheets). For the expenses incurred in the installation of the altars, see Appendix, doc. IV, C.
- ¹¹ The relief measures ca. 106 cm. in height x 120.7 cm. in width x 32 cm. in depth. It is made of a single block of white statuary marble from the Alpi Apuane (for which see Sartori/Petrelli [n. 7], p. 415), while the corbel that supports the *Nativity* is Istrian limestone. The outer crust of the marble relief has disappeared and the surface has acquired that sugary quality characteristic of marble long exposed to excessive humidity. The Christ Child has lost most of his proper left foot; the tip of his nose and chin and his upper lip have been chipped. The outer angel has lost his proper right wing; its flat surface and the hole in its stump show that, at one time, it was pieced. The inner angel has lost his proper right hand and the tips of the first two toes of his left foot; the top of his right wing seems to have broken off. The shepherd in the foremost plane has lost nearly all of the five

fingers of his proper right hand, as well as his left thumb. The sheep has lost part of its face and the front of one leg; these breaks appear to be of recent date. The stone is fissured in many places. Orange patches in Joseph, the face and hair of the Madonna, the cloth she raises, the faces of the angels, and elsewhere are probably due to trace amounts of iron, which the damp atmosphere has caused to rust.

- 12 The relief measures ca. 105 cm. in height x 118.3 cm. in width x 28.7-30.5 cm. in depth. It is made of a single block of white marble with a web of blue-black veins; it is the only one of the sculptures here to employ this kind of marble. The corbel, by contrast, is made of Istrian limestone. While the veins have a tendency to fissure, the relief is much better preserved than its counterpart; apparently the wall in which it is immured is less exposed to the effects of weather. A wedge is missing from the upper surface of the platform on the spectator's left. A long chip is missing from the fifth finger of the first Magus' proper left hand. Joseph's proper left upper eyelid is chipped. Half of the bit of the outermost horse is gone. Around his elbow, the surface of the Christ Child's proper right arm is badly abraded.
- 13 Charles Davis, review of Bruce Boucher, Jacopo Sansovino, in: *Kunstchronik*, XLVI, 1993, p. 357.
- 14 Kathleen Weil-Garris, *The Santa Casa di Loreto. Problems in Cinquecento sculpture*, Ph.D. Harvard 1965, New York/London 1977, I, pp. 41, 49, 51 f., 53 f., 59, 63, 165.
- 15 Peter Humfrey, *The altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*, New Haven/London 1993, p. 337, Cat. no. 70.
- 16 *Ibidem*, p. 337, Cat. no. 70.
- 17 For the Orestes sarcophagus, now in the Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome, and its several Renaissance copies, see Phyllis Pray Bober/Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance artists and antique sculpture. A handbook of sources*, London 1986, pp. 137 f., no. 106.
- 18 Weil-Garris (n. 14), I, pp. 170-172. See also pp. 196 f.
- 19 Humfrey (n. 15), pp. 296/298.
- 20 The Angel measures ca. 93 cm. in height. The figure is carved from a single block of white statuary marble from the Alpi Apuane (for which, see above n. 11). At the rear, on the spectator's right, a very large chunk of rough-hewn stone has been added to the figure. The surface of this chunk is rougher than the surface of the stone that it abuts; tool marks, moreover, are not continuous and the base terminates at the juncture of the piece with the rest of the figure. From these facts, I deduce that this piecing is not original. The lower end of the scroll is badly chipped and the Angel has lost the upper surface of the second toe of his proper left foot. Smaller chips mar the fourth finger of his left hand, a fold in his bodice as well as the edge of its overfold, and the hem of his chiton. A couple of fissures are visible in the stone.
- 21 The Virgin measures 106.7 cm. in height. Figure, base, lectern, and book are carved from a single block of white marble, which has a tendency to fissure. At the rear, the Virgin's proper left forearm is pieced; piecing appears to be contemporary with the rest of the carving, since a continuous network of claw chisel marks spreads across junctures in a part of the statue not visible in the ordinary course of observation. The lower part of the figure and lectern especially has suffered from the damp and is losing its outer crust. The lectern is missing one entire piece of incrustation and a small portion of another; vertical edges and the half round of its base are chipped.
- 22 The few documents of the 17th and 18th centuries contained in ASVe, Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 67 (Commissaria di Margherita Miani), speak mostly of repairs to the *fondamenta* and say nothing about the possible replacement of the *Virgin*. Nor does the more copious documentation of the 19th and 20th centuries. For the restoration of the chapel, see Sartori/Petrelli (n. 7), *passim*.
- 23 The relief measures 57 cm. in height. It is carved from a single block of white marble. The relief has suffered greatly. God the Father has lost most of the thumb, the tips of all the fingers, and the surface of the last finger, of his proper left hand. The projecting crests of his folds and his projecting knee are badly chipped. The upper surface of the angel's proper right hand and left arm are badly abraded. Half of the head of the dove is missing. A crack, which traverses the background at the level of God's shoulder, has been filled in with stucco. The entire surface of the relief is deteriorated and, in places, actively disintegrating.
- 24 Of all the many St. Margarets, the dragon proves this to be the virgin martyr beheaded at Antioch in 306 (?).
- 25 The *Baptist* measures 220 cm. in height including its base, which measures between 6 and 6.6 cm. in height.
- 26 Boucher (n. 2), I, p. 54, and II, p. 355, Cat. no. 63, traced the *Baptist* to a lost model by Jacopo Sansovino, supposedly reflected in a "small Sansovinesque bronze now in the Ca' d'Oro". In support of his derivation, Boucher claimed that SS. *Margaret* and *John the Baptist* are unlike one another. I cannot agree to either proposition.
- 27 Davis (n. 13), p. 357, referring to Weil-Garris (n. 14), II, *passim*.
- 28 For the documents relating to Giovanni Battista's activity at Loreto, see Katy Sordi, *Documenti per l'ornamento marmoreo della Santa Casa*, in: Floriano Grimaldi, ed., *L'ornamento marmoreo della Santa Cappella di Loreto*, Loreto 1999, pp. 193-199, 202, 203, 206-208, 213, 215, 217-222, and Appendix, doc. I, B.
- 29 The same person also appears in the accounts as Giovanni di Battista (as though Battista were Giovanni's father) and simply as Giovanni.

- ³⁰ Weil-Garris (n. 14), I, p. 49; Nicoletta Baldini/Renato Giulietti, eds., Andrea Sansovino: i documenti, Monte San Savino 1999, pp. 150 f., doc. 329; Sordi (n. 28), p. 188.
- ³¹ Baldini/Giulietti (n. 30), pp. 152-155, docs. 335, 338, 339, 342-346, 350-353; Sordi (n. 28), pp. 190, 191, 193-195.
- ³² Weil-Garris (n. 14), I, p. 51.
- ³³ Baldini/Giulietti (n. 30), pp. 157-159, docs. 361, 363-366, 368-370, 373, 374; Sordi (n. 28), pp. 198, 200-202.
- ³⁴ Baldini/Giulietti (n. 30), pp. 163-164, docs. 386-389, 391-394; Sordi (n. 28), pp. 205-208.
- ³⁵ Weil-Garris (n. 14), I, p. 59; Baldini/Giulietti (n. 30), pp. 173-174, docs. 424, 425, 427-429; Sordi (n. 28), p. 212.
- ³⁶ Weil-Garris (n. 14), I, pp. 63 f.; Baldini/Giulietti (n. 30), pp. 180, 184-187, docs. 449, 451, 452, 466, 468, 470, 472, 473, 475, 476, 479-485; Sordi (n. 28), pp. 214, 219-223.
- ³⁷ Luciano Migliaccio, Carrara e la Spagna nella scultura del primo Cinquecento, in: *Le vie del marmo. Aspetti della produzione e della diffusione dei manufatti marmorei tra '400 e '500*, exhib. Cat. ed. by Clara Baracchini et al., Pietrasanta 1992, pp. 110 f.; L.S., *Thieme-Becker*, XXVI, 1932, p. 41 f., ad vocem Ordóñez, Bartolomé.
- ³⁸ Since a document proves the father of this Battista di Pietro da Carona to have died shortly before 25 June 1524, Battista's father cannot be Pietro di Giovanni Aprile da Carona, active at Carrara between 1514 and 1529 and heir to the commissions of Bartolomé Ordóñez, as *Giuseppe Campori*, *Memorie biografiche degli scultori, architetti, pittori, ecc. nativi di Carrara, Modena 1873*, p. 272, and others, have claimed. For this, see *Caterina Rapetti*, *Storie di marmo. Sculture del Rinascimento fra Liguria e Toscana*, Milan 1998, p. 65, n. 72.
- ³⁹ Archivio di Stato, Massa, Fondo Archivio Notarile di Carrara, atti del notaio Pandolfo Ghirlanda, Busta 4, protocollo 1523-1530, f. 53r, reported by *Rapetti* (n. 38), pp. 44 and 353. The present condition of the document, restored by being overlaid with tissue paper, makes it largely illegible. I am grateful to Dott.ssa Olga Raffo, Direttore reggente of the Archivio di Stato at Massa, whose partial reading confirmed *Rapetti's* transcription. In addition, it revealed that Battista had agreed to finish the Crucifix by the coming Christmas, that he was to receive up to two ducats more than the ten agreed upon if the Crucifix were appraised at a higher value, and that on the occasion of the signing of the contract, he received a down payment of two ducats.
- ⁴⁰ Appendix, doc. II, and *ibidem*, pp. 53, 65 n. 72, 266-269, Cat. no. 111, and p. 346 doc. VI.
- ⁴¹ Appendix, doc. IV.
- ⁴² For example, Pietro Lombardo witnessed a testament of 1479 as "Io piero lombardo fiolo de ser martino de charona" (*Paoletti* [n. 1], p. 112, doc. 94), whereas a Paduan document establishes that Martino was dead by 1468 (*Andrea Moschetti*, *Un quadriennio di Pietro Lombardo a Padova...*, in: *Boll. del Museo Civico di Padova*, XVI, 1913, p. 75, doc. IX). The wood-carver Daniele di Meneghin Ziera signed himself "Magr. Daniel q. Menagini Intaiator" in 1438, but "Ser daniel menegini intaleator" in 1457 (ASVe, Archivio notarile, Testamenti, Busta 797 [not. Tomaso Pavoni], no. 290, and Cancellaria inferiore, Notai, Busta 212 [not. Tomeo Tomei], *Breviaturarum*, c. 26r). His son, Antonio di Daniele Ziera, signed himself "Antonius q. Danielis incixor" in 1470, but "Antonius Danielis incixor" and "antonjo de daniel intajador" in 1472 and 1475, respectively (ASVe, Archivio notarile, Testamenti, Busta 1136 [not. Antonio Zio], nos. 16, 148, and Busta 870 [not. Pietro Rossi], no. 209). Girolamo di Daniele Ziera signed himself "Jeronimus q. Danielis incixor" in 1472, but "Io Jeronimo de daniel ziera intajador" in 1483 (ASVe, Archivio notarile, Testamenti, Busta 1136 [not. Antonio Zio], nos. 83 and 125).
- ⁴³ From its first appearance in the art historical literature in 1824 until my attribution to Lorenzo Bregno of two of the *Baptist's* companions in 1984 (*Anne Markham Schulz*, Lorenzo Bregno, in: *Jb. der Berliner Museen*, XXVI, 1984, pp. 170 f.), the *Baptist*, along with the other three statues of *Saints* displayed together with it, were viewed as products of a single master, identified as Tullio Lombardo or as a member of the Lombardo circle. *Hubala* (in: *Erich Egg/Erich Hubala/Peter Tigler/Wladimir Timofiewitsch/Manfred Wundram*, *Oberitalien Ost* [Reclams Kunstführer, Italien, II], Stuttgart 1965, pp. 832 f.) was unique in having distinguished between figures on the left and right of the *scuola's* altar. For a review of the literature, see *Anne Markham Schulz*, *Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno. Venetian sculpture in the High Renaissance*, Cambridge et al. 1991, p. 174, Cat. no. 21. In the catalogue of restorations undertaken by the Soprintendenza (Attività della Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici di Venezia nel 1987, in: *Arte veneta*, XLI, 1987, p. 247), three of the four figures (*St. Jerome* is missing) were assigned to the shop of Antonio Rizzo. The following year the number of figures was amended to four and the attribution changed to "scultore lombardesco del secolo XV": *Attività della Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici di Venezia nel 1988*, in: *Arte veneta*, XLII, 1988, p. 228.
- ⁴⁴ The figure, together with its base, is carved from a single block of white marble. With its 4.5 cm. high base, the *Baptist* measures 91.5 cm. in height; thus, the height of the figure itself corresponds to 2.5 Venetian feet. The rear of the figure, though more than just rough-hewn, is less finished than the front. The figure has lost all or most of the last four fingers of its proper right hand. The first toe of its left foot, which must have been pieced at one time, also is missing. The tips of other toes in both feet are chipped and the top of the second left toe is badly abraded. At the spectator's left, the pendant border of the *Baptist's* camel hair tunic is missing a long chip on the outer side of the thigh. Along the lower border of the tunic, the tips of other locks are chipped. Cracks

in the base are filled with stucco. The figure was cleaned in 1987-1988 (for which see Attività della Soprintendenza 1987 [n. 43], p. 247) and Attività della Soprintendenza 1988 [n. 43], p. 228); a dark patch on its shoulder records the state of the surface prior to its cleaning. No traces of polychromy or gilding are visible.

⁴⁵ Markham Schulz, 1991 (n. 43), pp. 70-72, 173 f. Cat. no. 21, with bibliography.

⁴⁶ Eadem, 1984 (n. 43), pp. 168 f. I argued that the classicizing dress and sandals of the *Saint* were typical of portrayals of Apostles, while the hollow in the stump of the *Saint's* right hand could have held the haft of a knife. In fact, the hollow would have accommodated St. James' customary staff just as well. The reasons for preferring the identification of St. James will emerge below.

⁴⁷ The figure, together with its base, is carved from a single block of white marble. With its 5.5 cm. high base, it measures 92 cm. in height. The rear of the figure is flat. *St. Jerome* has lost half of his left thumb and about two thirds of his left index finger; a metal rod indicates that at one time his thumb was pieced. An oval piece of marble inserted in the statue's proper right shoulder looks like an original repair. So too does the marble insert in the uppermost fold of the mantle in front of the figure's proper right hip. The corners of the base are chipped and edges are nicked. Otherwise the statue is in excellent condition. No traces of gilding or polychromy are visible. My dating and attribution of the figure were argued at greater length in a paper entitled *Un'opera sconosciuta di ascendenza vittoriana* presented on 27 October 2000 at the conference on Alessandro Vittoria held at the Università degli Studi, Udine.

⁴⁸ ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 442, c. 6r: "Inventario delle Sacre Suppeletili ed altri mobili della Scola consegnati in custodia a Ser (?) Iseppo Chiesura con Atti della Sp. Cancell. 7 Marzo 1745, & Marzo 1747." *Ibidem*, c. 10r: "Nell'archivio interno della detta Cancelleria [...] Quattro figure di Marmo fino collocate sopra li detti Armari. L'una rappresentante S. Girolamo, l'altra S. Appolonia, la 3za S. Gio. Batta., la 4ta S. Giacomo."

⁴⁹ Markham Schulz, 1991 (n. 43), p. 174, Cat. no. 21.

⁵⁰ ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 413, fasc. 5, loose sheet.

⁵¹ Tomaso Temanza, *Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani che fiorirono nel secolo decimosesto*, Venice 1778, p. 99, n. a; Giuseppe Nicoletti, *Illustrazione della Chiesa e Scuola di S. Rocco in Venezia* (R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria, Monumenti storici, ser. 4, Miscellanea, III), Venice 1885, pp. 13 f.

⁵² Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima, et singolare descritta in XIII. libri*, enlarged by Giustiniano Martinioni, Venice 1663, pp. 195 bis f.; Marco Boschini, *Le minere della pittura*, Venice 1664, pp. 307-309; Domenico Martinelli, *Il ritratto di Venezia*, Venice 1684, pp. 352-354.

⁵³ ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 413, fasc. 5, loose sheet, according to which the church contained six altars: the High Altar with the body of St. Roch, two altars in chapels to the left and right of the choir, two altars abutting the left wall of the nave and one altar against the right wall. As described on this sheet, the altars can be documented in records of cession of their juspatronage: sufficient proof, it seems to me, that the sheet accurately reports the 16th century disposition of altars. Leaving out of consideration the high altar, the subsidiary altars, in chronological order, were as follows:

1. The altar in the small chapel to the left of the choir (*in cornu Evangelii*). The loose sheet of 1733 reads: "Capella Santissimo. 1489 = 25 = Octobris. Che sia concessa la Capella contigua all'Oratorio de' Capellano di S. Pantalon à Bartolo Marin e possa far Arca e far Mansonaria e ornar Capella. 1506 8 Zener similmente." (Cf. ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 44, cc. 1r-2r [cc. 88v-89v]: "Suplichazion e conzesion fata a miser Bortolomio de Marin vardian grandò [...] (a miser Rafael Vinazexj vichario e compagni a la bancha) piaque de conzieder de grazia a dito suplichante una dele do chapele pizole poste nela predita giexia de miser San Rocho, quela ese contigua alj oratorio del chapitolo di miser San Pantalon quando quela sara fabrichada e totalmente chonpido, in la qual chapela eso suplicante posj fabrichar una archa per luj e suo eriedj suzesorj e desendentti in non per altrj, senza la lor lizenzia, la qual chapela e archa eso suplichante la posj adornar e adotar chomo a luj parera e piazera." The petition was approved by the *banca* on 25 October 1489 and by the *capitolo generale* on 2 November 1489. *Ibidem* (cc. 85r-88r): "Richiedendo Jo Bernardo de Marin fo del Spectabel homo miser Borttolomeo di Marin olim dignissimo vardian grandò de la ditta schuola [...] perche la ditta chapela non e hornatta chome la memoria mio e la voyo ornar, dj horo arzenzo depenture et altri hornamenti, chomo a mi parera sianno melio a laude e gloria di Dio e dela Verzene Maria e del nostro glorioxo miser San Rocho [...] vojo poner la insegna et nome del padre mio sopra essa capela dove a mi parera la stia meyo per memoria del padre mio e per suoy meriti." This petition was approved by the *banca*. It was approved by the *capitolo generale* on 10 January 1506 and, four days later, by the *capi* of the Consiglio dei Dieci.)

2. The altar in the small chapel to the right of the choir (*in cornu Epistolae*), where Titian's painting of *Christ Carrying the Cross* was installed. The loose sheet of 1733 reads: "Capella in faccia. 1508 = 25 Marzo. Che nella capella piccola di Christo Giacomo de Zuan possa far Arca, ornar la capella e far mansonaria." (Cf. ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 44, [cc. 82v-84v]: 25 March 1508. "El se suplicha [...] a voi Signorj dela bancha dela Scola di miser San Rocho per partte del suo umel et devoto servo Ser Jacomo de Zuane al prexente vostro guardian grandò [...] voria [...] poter nela chapela pizola dela † dela nostra giexia far per si et

posterj suoi et suo fradelo el suo monumento perpetuo [...] deinde a sue spexe adornar ditta chapela de pintura pavimento banchj et altrj ornamentj che li parera conveniente et necesarij et meterge ezian del suo uno chapelan che celebrj messa in ditta giexia ognj zorno.” Approved by the *banca*, the petition received the confirmation of the *capitolo generale* on 26 March 1508. On 20 May 1527, a further 17 ducats, 12 of which came from alms, were destined for the adornment of this altar. For this, see Venice, Archivio della Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, Busta 1, Registro delle Parti 1488-1542, c. 119v.)

3. The altar abutting the left wall of the nave near the main portal. The loose sheet of 1733 reads: “Altar secondo. 1509 = 15 Octobrio. Che si debba farne Altar della † e mettervi il legno della S. † che s’attrova in Albergo.” (Cf. ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 44, c. 72v: “14 octobrio 1509. Cum sit chel se ritrova nel nostro Albergo del legno dela S.ma Croxe del nostro salvador miser Jesu Christo, qual legno non e tenuto cum quella debita reverentia et honore como meretoria tal reliquia esser tenuta. Per tanto parte mette il nostro misser Zuan Pascualin vardian grandio de dita nostra schuola de misser San Rocho che se habia affare un altare nela chiezia del dito santo nela qual altare se debia mettere dicto legno dela Santissima †, et cum mancho spexa se potera fare, dela qual spexa Ser Zuan Victuri vardian da matim se offerisse et promette de trovare diexe ducati da persone chel fare intrare nela preditta schuola nostra; il resto se debia spendere cum quel debito modo et mancho spexa de dicta schuola se potera.” The motion was passed unanimously by the *banca*.)

4. The altar, also abutting the left wall of the nave, but closer to the choir, was dedicated to the Annunciation. For this altar, ceded to Giacomo Dragan in 1516, see below n. 54.

5. The altar built against the right wall of the nave and dedicated to the Madonna and St. Sebastian. Initially the altar stood directly opposite the Altar of the True Cross (no. 3), but it was rebuilt and moved in 1566 to a position opposite the Altar of the Annunciation (no. 4). The loose sheet of 1733 reads: “Altar primo. 1566 primo Marzo. Supplica Rota di mover l’Altar della Madonna e S. Sebastian a banda dritta in Chiesa per tirarlo arente la porta di mezzo in fazzo quello della Nontiatia. Era qui sotto.

Altar secondo. N’era l’altar suddetto. (Cf. Venice, Archivio della Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, Busta 2, cc. 285r-285v: “Siando al presente stta deliberatto per le deputtada tal manizo [manegio] de far far i banchi da novo intorno la nostra giesia del protettor nostro miser S. Rocho per vigor dela parte pressa ett messa sotto del 1558 adj 13 febraio sotto il magnifico messer Sabastian di Formentti, a quel tenpo dignissimo vardian [for which, see *ibidem*, c. 200v: Item mette parte el sopraditto magnifico guardian che si abia a far li banchj da novo atorno la giesia nostra] e pero al presente fazendo far ditta bona opera, qual sara honorevole adornamento dela nostra giesia, donde, volendo far ditta opera a perfecion, e necessario mover l’alttar dela Madona e S. Sabastian, qual son a banda dretta dela nostra giesia, ett tirarlo arente la porta de mezo, qual venira a corespondere per mezo lo alttar dela Nonziatta, e perche ditto alttar se ritrova eser tutto fatto de legname, si i schalinj come tutto el resto di eso, qual a mi par non esser corrispondente ali altrj alttarj sono in ditta giessia, et spero ispirado Jo Jeronimo Rotta fo de misser Simon dalla Maestta de zoio di dover fenir et adornar ditta nostra giesia, volgiando le vostre magnificentie darne lizenzia, io mi volgio obligar a far far ditto alttar de piera viva qual spiero sara corrispondente ali altrj ett farlo far del mio a tutte mie spese [...], dinanzi di quello posi far far una sepultura per eser in quella messo quando la maiestta de dio piaxera a si chiarmarmj, si mi come tutti li dependentj da mj, oferendomj a far far ditto alttar onorevole come melgio Idio me ispirara.” On 1 March 1566 Girolamo Rota’s petition was approved, presumably by the *banca*, and on 3 March 1566, it was approved by the *capitolo generale*.)

54 ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 413, fasc. 5, loose sheet of 1733: “Altar primo. 1516 = 28 Octobrio. Giacomo Dragan possa ornar Altar a man manca, 2ndo nell’intrar. Arme, Arca, Mansonaria.” For the cession of the juspatronage of the altar, see ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 45, cc. 11r-11v [published in part by Paoletti (n. 1), II, p. 123, doc. 144]: 28 October 1516. “Io Jacopo Dragan gastaldo di magnifici signorj proculattorj di sopra di S. Marcho, al prexente indegno vardian grandio ala schuola nostra de misser San Rocho, [...] Suplico di grazia piaquj di conziedermj nela nostra giexia di misser San Rocho, al alttar dela Madona secondo al intrar in giexia dela portta granda a man zancha verso S. Pantalon, el qual jo posj fabbricar ed ornar a qualunque modo a mj parerano sj de marmorj e serpentinj e porfodi e qu(e)l che melgio a mj piaxerano podendo mettere che sortia di pala che a mj piaxerano, a tutte dognj mie spexe, e sjmelmette far una archa davanti alalttar in ttera, podendo mettere le mie arme in ditto locho dove ami parerano, promettendo io suplichante dar una mansonaria al prexente de ducati 20 alano, zove ducati 20, per anj 150 [...], nela qual chapela siano zelebrado hognj zorno messa per lanima mia e postterj.” The petition received the unanimous approval of the *banca* and the nearly unanimous approval of the *capitolo generale*. A document of 1567 speaks of the gilding of the altar’s tympanum. (ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, B. 423, c. 18v: “1567 adj 14 (settembre). Ricevo io Alesandro indorador dal magnifico messer Beneto Fero guardian grande per resto et saldo di quadri indoradi in capela de gesia et el timpono dela nonciada ducati vinti oto [...] et io Cosmo q. Zuane spicer fece di prezete receiver di suo nome, qual dise non saper scriver.”)

55 Dragan’s tomb slab, which reads IACOBVS DRAGANO / SIBI ET VXORI / F(ieri) F(ecit) / MDXXII, is found on the left side of the church (*in cornu Evangelii*) more or less equidistant from the two lateral altars. The slab has been

moved, truncated and turned into a lozenge in order to make it correspond to the rest of the 18th century pavement. Originally it must have been found in front of Dragan's altar.

- 56 ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 413, fasc. 5, loose sheet, for which see above, n. 53, no. 4.
- 57 *Maria Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel*, in: Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Da Paolo Veneziano a Canova. Capolavori dei musei veneti restaurati dalla Regione del Veneto 1984-2000, exhib. Cat. ed. by *Giorgio Fossaluzza*, Venice 2000, p. 120, Cat. no. 35. I am grateful to Giorgio Fossaluzza for this reference.
- 58 *Markham Schulz*, 1991 (n. 43), pp. 70-72 and 173 f., Cat. no. 21. In 1991 I had not yet linked the statues with the Dragan Altar.
- 59 See the testament of Dragan's wife, Isabetta di Gabriele Cavaza, of 22 September 1527: Venice, Archivio della Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, Registro 66, Testamenti 1500, 26 dic.-1760, 10 feb. m.v., cc. 10v-11v. It may not be coincidental that S. Rocco possessed one of St. Apollonia's teeth, a major relic cited already in an inventory of 1534 (ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, B. 830, Catastico de robe son in lalbergo de M. San Rocco, M.D.XXXIII, [c. 5r]) and other manuscript inventories. On the other hand, the confraternity may have acquired the relic only after the naming of Dragan's daughter or the commission of the Dragan Altar.
- 60 Isabetta Dragan died on 19 October 1527 (Venice, Archivio della Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, Registro 66, cc. 11v-12r), her husband having died on the night of 4-5 September 1527 (*Marin Sanuto*, I diarii, XLVI, Venice 1897, col. 19 [5 Sept. 1527]). Giacomo Dragan's testament was written on 15 November 1526 and proved on 24 September 1527. A copy of it is contained in Venice, Archivio della Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, Registro 66, cc. 8v-10r, and reads in part: "Jo Jacomo Dragan Gastaldo de la procuratia de supra [...] I mie fideli commissarij voglio sia Isabeta Cavaza mia dilecta moier, et Hieronimo mio fradello, et misser Lodovico di Maphei, ali quali cometo et voglio che toglia per adzunti i magnifici Signori procuratori de supra [...] El corpo mio voglio sia messo ne la mia archa a San Rocho." For Dragan, see also *ibidem*, XXI, 1887, col. 267 (3 Nov. 1515) and col. 279 (10 Nov. 1515); XXII, 1887, col. 676 (30 Sept. 1516); XXV, 1889, col. 195 (9 Jan. 1518); XXVIII, 1890, col. 544 (25 May 1520); XXXII, 1892, cols. 37 f. (16 Oct. 1521); XXXIII, 1892, col. 562 (1 Jan. 1522); XLVI, 1897, col. 42, and *Nicoletti* (n. 51), pp. 36 f., no. 7. During Dragan's first term as Guardian Grande, between March 1516 and March 1517, the confraternity decided upon the construction of the church's sumptuous High Altar, for which see *Anne Markham Schulz*, *Giammaria Mosca called Padovano, a Renaissance sculptor in Italy and Poland*, University Park, PA, 1998, I, pp. 191 f., doc. II. Dragan was Guardian Grande again between March 1520 and March 1521, when the partially completed altar was unveiled, for which see *Sanuto*, XXIX, 1890, col. 114 (16 Aug. 1520): "Fo San Rocho [...] L'altar grando bellissimo è quasi compito; opera maravegliaosa. La Scuola si fabbrica tuttavia. È guardian grando Jacomo Dragan gastaldo di Procuratori, homo degnissimo e ben voluto da tutti." For Dragan's activity in the Scuola di S. Rocco, see also *Maria Elena Massimi*, *Jacopo Tintoretto e i confratelli della Scuola Grande di San Rocco. Strategie culturali e committenza artistica*, in: *Venezia Cinquecento*, V, 9, 1995, pp. 24-25 and 127. It should be noted, however, that the *protomaestro* of the Scuola di S. Rocco, whom Dragan is supposed to have befriended, was not Bartolomeo Bon but Pietro Bon.
- 61 Venice, Archivio della Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, Busta 1, Registro delle Parti 1488-1542, c. 155v.
- 62 See above, n. 53, no. 5. *Chiari Moretto Wiel* (n. 56), p. 120, Cat. no. 35, hypothesized that *St. Jerome* had belonged instead to the Dragan Altar.
- 63 Rota assumed the position of Guardian Grande between 18 March and 1 April 1565 and was succeeded between 15 and 17 March 1566. For this, see ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, B. 423, vol. II, cc. 3v, 4r, 9v. For Rota's activity in the Scuola di S. Rocco, see *Massimi* (n. 59), pp. 21-24, 26-30, 36-39, 153.
- 64 *Emmanuel Antonio Cicogna*, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, III, Venice 1830, p. 24.
- 65 ASVe, Archivio notarile, Testamenti, Busta 1200 (not. Girolamo Longino), no. 60. The testament is actually dated 1571, but this can be assumed to be *more Veneto*, according to which the year changed on 1 March. The testament reads in part: "io Ierolamo Rotta fo de messer Simon [...] el corpo mio laso ala ttera quel volio sia vestitto da li mei frattelj dela schola de messer San Rocho e sepultto ne la mia sepultura e in ditta jexia." As executors, he named his wife Isabetta, Marino di Daniele Malipiero, and Benetto di Martino Fero. His 7-year old son Gaspare was designated his universal heir.
- 66 *Nicoletti* (n. 51), p. 26, n. 2, and p. 53, no. 9, and, most recently, *Massimi* (n. 59), pp. 28-30.
- 67 *Frey*, *Nachlaß*, II, 1930, p. 274, letter DXLV, as noted by *Victoria J. Avery*, *La bottega di Alessandro Vittoria*, in: *La bellissima maniera. Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, exhib. Cat. ed. by *Andrea Bacchi* et al., Trent 1999, p. 128.
- 68 ASVe, Scuola Grande di S. Rocco, seconda consegna, Busta 423, vol. I, cc. 27r, 28r. For Serena's activity in the confraternity, see also *Massimi* (n. 59), p. 156.
- 69 *Sanuto* (n. 59), III, 1880, col. 334 (19 May 1500); V, 1881, cols. 77 (2 Sept. 1503), 272 (8 Nov. 1503), 289 (10 Nov. 1503), 669 f. (7 Jan. 1504), 995 (16 Mar. 1504); XV, 1886, cols. 507 (22 Jan. 1518), 509 (23 Jan. 1518); L, 1898, cols. 267 (25 May 1529), 374 (27 May 1529).

- ⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, XLVI, 1897, col. 610.
- ⁷¹ Giuseppe Tassini, Cittadini veneziani (MS, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, 33 D. 76), IV, cc. 234-235.
- ⁷² ASVe, Archivio notarile, Testamenti, Busta 203 (not. Giacomo Chiodo), cc. 151r-152r, no. 172: "Batista Serena fo di q. Antonio [...] istituisco mie commissarij Isabeta mia diletta moier, con Bonadio del Alberto laner mio nevodo, con Francesco dala Roda mercandante da oio mio nevodo, e Zanantonio Serena mio fiolo et eriede del tuto lo infrascritto." This Zanantonio was Serena's natural son. A condition of his inheritance was "che la mia parte de diexema de Savonara, ne caxe ne altri beni in dito luogo [...] mai si possa ne vender ne alienar ne divider."
- ⁷³ The S. Rocco *Baptist* is a little more than 20 cm. taller than the statuette of the *Baptist* commissioned for the holy water font of the Cappella Emiliana.
- ⁷⁴ In fact, until two "pile per l'aqua santa" were commissioned by the Guardian Grande Marco Balbiani in 1571, S. Rocco did not possess a holy water font. For this, see Maria Elena Massimi, RELIGIONE 1573. Committenza e contesto del *Ritratto virile* di Jacopo Tintoretto nella Scuola Grande di San Rocco, in: Venezia Cinquecento, VII, 14, 1997, p. 152.
- ⁷⁵ Pompeo Molmenti/Gustav Ludwig, The life and works of Vittorio Carpaccio, transl. Robert H. Hobart Cust, London 1907, p. 144.
- ⁷⁶ The two figures occupy a rectangular slab of Istrian limestone that measures 92 cm. in height x 79 cm. in width. The stone is badly pitted and in several places, especially the *Madonna's* head and neck and her wrist and feet of the *Christ Child*, fissures have opened. Chips are missing from the projecting edge of folds in the *Madonna's* veil and mantle. Traces (not necessarily original, to be sure), still visible in the early 20th century, revealed that all the reliefs had once been painted and gilded. For this, see Molmenti/Ludwig (n. 74), p. 152.
- ⁷⁷ St. Maurice is carved from a rectangular slab of Istrian limestone that measures 92.5 cm. in height x 77.5 cm. in width. The surface is badly abraded and pitted and numerous fissures have opened in the background.
- ⁷⁸ St. Gall is carved from a rectangular slab of Istrian limestone that measures 92 cm. in height x 74 cm. in width. The surface is abraded; pitting is especially severe in the background and in the drapery that covers, and that hangs from, the *Saint's* proper left arm.
- ⁷⁹ Molmenti/Ludwig (n. 74), pp. 153 f.: M.D.XXXI / N. TEMPO / CUCI / MAMOLI / DE TOMASO / GASTALDO / E NICOLÒ / BARETARO / VICHARIO // E COMPAGNI. As Molmenti and Ludwig observed, the masons mistook the order of the names of the officers of the *scuola*, which should read: "M. D. XXXI in tempo de Tomaso Mamoli Gastaldo e Nicolo Cuci baretaro Vichario e compagni."
- ⁸⁰ In fact, under 10 May 1532, the confraternity's *Mariegola* records: "Sier Tomaso Mamoli al presente Gastaldo della scola nostra et sier Nicolò Cucci beretaro suo avicario, et compagno alla Banca si attrovano haver speso in fabrica et conzar la Scuola nostra di fuora via con figure, et far Scutari di piera viva come al presente si può vedere et in Maestri, in Oro, et dipintori, et in altre spese, che in tutto ascendono alla somma di ducati novanta", suggesting that the facade had only very recently been completed. The passage is quoted by Molmenti/Ludwig (n. 74), p. 153, n. 1.
- ⁸¹ Remarkable for its implausibility is the attribution of the figures to the school of the Dalle Masegne made by Cesare Augusto Levi, Notizie storiche di alcune antiche scuole d'arti e mestieri scomparse o esistenti ancora in Venezia, Venice ³1895, p. 78. The reliefs were described as Lombardesque in Comune di Venezia, Elenco degli edifici monumentali e dei frammenti storici ed artistici della città di Venezia, Venice 1905, p. 13, sestiere di S. Marco, no. 203, and Giulio Lorenzetti, Venezia e il suo estuario, Venice et al. 1926, p. 493.
- ⁸² Gustav Ludwig, Vittore Carpaccio, I. La Scuola degli Albanesi in Venezia, in: Archivio storico dell'arte, ser. 2, III, 1897, p. 426; Molmenti/Ludwig (n. 74), p. 152. Ludwig's attribution was repeated by Alvise Zorzi, Venezia scomparsa, Milan 1972, II, p. 544.
- ⁸³ Bernardino Scardeone, De antiquitate urbis Patavii, Basel 1560, p. 220.
- ⁸⁴ Gustavo Frizzoni in [Marcantonio Michiel], Notizia d'opere di disegno, eds. Jacopo Morelli/Gustavo Frizzoni, Bologna ²1884, p. 247.
- ⁸⁵ Brian Pullan, Rich and poor in Renaissance Venice. The social institutions of a catholic state, to 1620, Oxford 1971, pp. 240-254.
- ⁸⁶ For Minello's death, see Sarah Blake McHam, The Chapel of St. Anthony at the Santo and the Development of Venetian Renaissance sculpture, Cambridge et al. 1994, pp. 51 and 214 doc. 39. For Bartolomeo's death, see Anne Markham Schulz, The cenotaph of Alvise Trevisan in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in: Renaissance studies in honor of Craig Hugh Smyth, eds. Andrew Morrogh/Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi/Piero Morselli/Eve Borsook, Florence 1985, II, pp. 419 f.
- ⁸⁷ Guglielmo dei Grigi had contributed the architecture and Bartolomeo Bergamasco, the sculpture for two projects: the Altar of Verde della Scala (formerly in S. Maria dei Servi, Venice, and now dispersed in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, executed between 1523 and 1525) and the Tomb of Guglielmo Querini (formerly in S. Andrea della Certosa, Venice, and now lost, made in 1525).
- ⁸⁸ Baldini/Giulietti (n. 30), pp. 215 f., docs. 593 and 596.

APPENDIX

Document I. Payments for work on the Santa Casa, Basilica di Loreto, 1521-26.

A. Archivio della Santa Casa, Loreto. Libro Depositario 7, 1521-23.

MDXXI

c. 10r

E adi dicto (l'ultimo febraro) fiorini X a Jo. di Bap.ta da Carrara scarpellino alla cappella a buon conto sopra el suo servito; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 33 e Jo. a libro salariatj [c.] 40 fiorini 10

c. 13r

E a di xviii dicto (marzo) fiorini III a Jo. di Bap.ta da Carrara: scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito di piu giornate questo dicembie passato; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 35 et ornamento della cappella a dicto [c.] 32 fiorini 3

c. 13v

E adi xviii di marzo fiorini V a Jo. di Bap.ta da Carrara scarpellino alornamento della cappella per resto di suo servito per tucto febraro passato; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 35 et Jo. a libro salariati [c.] 40 fiorini 5

c. 15v

E adi dicto (2 aprile) fiorini VII bolognini XX a Jo. di Bap.ta da Carrara scarpellino allornamento della cappella per suo servito per tucto marzo passato; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 38 et Jo. a libro salariatj [c.] 40 fiorini 7.20

c. 29v

E adi dicto (2 giugno) fiorini XIIIJ bolognini XXX a Johanni di Baptista da Carrara: scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito di mesi dua finitj per tucto magio passato, computandolj uno giorno perso; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 53 et Johanni a libro salaritj [c.] 40 fiorini 14.30

c. 33r

E adi xxix di giugno fiorini VII bolognini XX a Jo. di Baptista da Carrara scarpellino a lornamento della cappella per suo servito per tucto el presente mese; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 59 et Jo. a libro salariatj [c.] 40 fiorini 7.20

c. 44r

E adi xxix dicto (settembre) fiorini XXII bolognini XX a Johannj da Carrara [sic] scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito di mesi tre finitj per tucto el presente mese; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 74 et Jo. a libro salariatj [c.] 40 fiorini 22.20

c. 61v

E a di dicto (29 dicembre) fiorini XXII bolognini XX a Johannj da Carrara nostro scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito di mesi tre da finirsi per tucto el presente mese; posta messer Fabritio creditj a libro paonazo [c.] 97 et Johannj a libro salariatj [c.] 40 fiorini 22.20

MDXXII

c. 76v

E adi vi daprile fiorini XXII a Johannj da Carrara nostro scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito di mesj tre finitj per tucto marzo passato: computandolj li dua di persj; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 109 et Jo. a libro salariatj [c.] 40 fiorini 22

c. 92v

E adi dicto (5 luglio) fiorini XXIIJ bolognini XXX a Jo. da Carrara nostro scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito per tucto el presente giorno et si parte; posta messer Fabritio a libro paonazo [c.] 122 et Jo. a libro salariatj [c.] 40 fiorini 23.30

The same payments are recorded in Libro Depositario 6, 1521-1523, cc. 83v, 85r, 86r, 94r, 96r, 101v, 110r, 117r, 124r (?); Libro dei Salariati 1521-1523, cc. 40 left and right; and Libro Mastro D 1521-1523, cc. 32 left, 32 right, 33 right, 35 right, 38 right, 53 right, 59 right, 74 right, 97 right, 109 right, 122 right.

*B. Archivio della Santa Casa, Loreto. Libro dei Salariati 1521-1523.**c. 144 left*

Giovambap.ta da Carrara nostro scarpellino allo Ornamento della Cappella deve dar die xiiij Junij 1523 fiorini nove et bolognini trenta per suo servito: de mese uno et giornj nove: finitj lo ult(im)o dimaggio: habbe del nostro depositario al libro paonazo E [c.] 39 ad libro zallo ad uscita [c.] 116 fiorini 9.30
 Et deve dar: die 30 Junij 1523 fiorini opto: Contanti del nostro depositario per suo servito per tucto el presente mese di giugno: Como ad libro pagonazzo E [c.] 140 et ad libro zallo ad uscita c. 118 fiorini 8
 prima Julij 1523 habbe licentia fiorini 17 bolognini 30 denari 0

c. 144 right (30 June 1523)

Giovanni de Baptista da Carrara nostro scarpellino allo Ornamento della Cappella: per fiorini septe et bolognini trenta el mese: ad sue expese: in comenzo el suo servito ad di 21 di aprile 1523; deve haver fiorini decesepte et bolognini trenta: per suo servito di mesi duj et giornj nove finitj lo ultimo di giugno: posto Ornamento della Cappella della Madona: dato ad libro pagonazzo E [c.] 94 fiorini 17.30
 die primo Julij 1523 habbe licentia

The same payments are recorded in Libro Mastro E 1523, cc. 39 right and 40 right. On c. 94 left, we read:

Giovambap.ta da Carona: die 30 Junij 1523; posto ad libro salariati [c.] 144 fiorini 17/30.

The same payments are recorded for a third time in Libro Depositario 8, Entrata e Uscita 1523, cc. 116r and 118r. On c. 116r, we read:

Giovambap.ta da Ca... [one place written over another] nostro scarpellino allo Ornamento della Cappella die 14 Junij 1523 fiorini nove et bolognini trenta per suo servito de mesi uno et giornj nove finitj lo ultimo di maggio proximo passato fiorini 9/30

C. Archivio della Santa Casa, Loreto. Libro Depositario 9, 1524-1525.

MDXXV

c. 210v

E a di dicto (xiii magio) fiorini nove bolognini dua denarj xvi a Jo. di Baptista da Carrara nostro scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito de uno mese et giornj quatro finitj per tucto aprile passato a fiorini 8 el mese; posta messer Jo. Bap.ta a libro bianco [c.] 210 et ornamento a dicto libro a [c. 41] fiorini 9. 2. 16

c. 223v

E a di dicto (6 luglio) fiorinj sedicj a Johannj di Baptista da Carrara nostro scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito di mesj dua finitj per tucto Junio passato a fiorini 8 el mese; posta messer Jo. Bap.ta creditor a libro bianco a [c.] 226 et Jo. dare a libro salariatj a [c.] 86 fiorini 16

c. 237r

E a di dicto (3 settembre) fiorinj sedicj a Jo. da Carrara nostro scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito di mesj dua finitj per tucto agosto passato a fiorini 8 el mese a sua spesa; posta messer Jo. Bap.ta a libro bianco [c.] 241 et Jo. dare a libro salariatj [c.] 86 fiorini 16

c. 253r

E a di dicto (1 novembre) fiorinj sedicj a Johannj da Carrara nostro scarpellino alornamento della cappella per suo servito di mesi dua finitj per tucto ottobre passato a fiorini 8 el mese a sua spesa; posta messer Jo. Bap.ta a libro bianco [c.] 258 et Johannj dare a libro salariatj [c. 86] fiorini 16

c. 267v

E a di dicto (17 dicembre) fiorinj dua bolognini xxvj denarj xvj a Johannj da Carrara gia nostro scarpellino per suo servito di giornj 10 finitj per tucto li diecj di novembre passato, che allora si parti, a fiorini 8 el mese a sua spesa; posta messer Jo. Baptista a libro bianco c. 274 et Jo. a libro salariatj [c.] 86 fiorini 2.26.16

The same payments are recorded in Libro Mastro F, 1524-1525, cc. 41 left and right, 210 right, 226 right, 241 right, 258 right, 274 right.

D. Archivio della Santa Casa, Loreto. Libro Mastro G, 1526-1527, c. 38 left.

(1526)

E a di dicto (26 marzo) ducati XVII doro larghi [at 1 ducato = 2 fiorini 4 bolognini] a Johann da Carrara nostro scarpellino per la intagliatura di palmi 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ di cornicione; si paga a ragione di ducati 20, similj la canna Romana, sicondo la stima facta; pago messer Jo. Bap.ta in questo [c.] 63 et a uscita [c.] 113 fiorini 35.28

E adi viiij di magio ducati nove doro larghi a Jo. da Carrara nostro scarpellino per la intagliatura di uno architrave delle porte con la rivolta, a ducatj 9 el pezo, sicondo la stima; pago messer Jo. Bap.ta in questo [c.] 86 et a uscita [c.] 126 fiorini 18.36

E a di viiij dicto (junio) fiorinj vinticinque et bolognini tredicj a Jo. da Carrara scarpellino per la intagliatura di palmj 3 $\frac{15}{16}$ di basa et uno pezo di basamento del zoccholo delle colonne delle faccie; pago messer Jo. Bap.ta in questo [c.] 97 et a uscita [c.] 135 fiorinj 25.13

The same payments are recorded ibidem, cc. 63 right, 86 right, and 97 left. Published by Sordi as reported in n. 28. The payment of 50 fiorini, 26 bolognini, 16 denari, made on 17 December 1525 to Johanne scarpellino, however, probably does not regard our sculptor, as she claimed (p. 219).

Document II. Commission for the Altar of the Corpus Christi for S. Andrea, Carrara, from the sculptors Domenico di Andrea del Sarto, Giovanni Battista del Mastro, and Battista di Pietro da Carona. Archivio di Stato, Massa. Fondo archivio notarile di Carrara, Atti del notaio Galvano Parlanciotto, Busta 5, protocollo 1523-27, ff. 224-225.

Die 25 Junii 1524. Indictione XII.

Ser Pandulfus de Grilandis de Carraria, Bernardinus Barottarij, Carlinus Simonis de Sancto Terrentio et Andreas Ferrarius magistri Bianchi de Tendola et Guidus Andree Guidi de Torano procuratores et syndici ac iconomi Societatis Corporis Christi de Carraria ad infrascripta et alia spetialiter constituti ut constat instrumento rogato manu mei notarij infrascripti prout dixerunt et dicto nomine ex certa animi scientia hoc presenti publico instrumento et omni meliori modo etc. dederunt et concesserunt ad laborandum fabricandum faciendum et construendum et in opera ponendum omnibus suis expensis quodam opus marmoreum vocatum *la capella del corpo di Cristo*. Quod sit pro mensura altitudinis palmorum XV et latitudinis palmorum 12, magistro Domenico magistri Andree Bertini sutoris de Carraria, magistro Johanni Baptiste Mastri de Miselia et magistro Baptiste magistri Petri de Carona presentibus et acceptantibus etc. juxta et secundum modellum per dictum magistrum Johannem factum et seu designatum in cartha *mezareale* in quo sunt descripta infrascripta verba manu Domini Prioris Carrarie videlicet ex verso latere: *Questo he lo disegno che li deputati della Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo hanno deliberato che si faci et ex alio latere videlicet pro mag.ro Dominico dicti Andree del Sarto et magistro Zovani de Baptista del Mastro et magistro Baptista olim Pedro de Carona in omnibus et per omnia prout in dicto modello continetur et descriptum est pactis tamen et modis infrascriptis videlicet quod dictus Dominicus teneatur facere totum ornamentum dicte capelle videlicet opus quadratum et intagliatum: et medietatem personarum contentarum in dicto modello dictus magister Johannes teneatur facere et aliam medietatem dictarum figurarum dictus magister Baptista dicti magistri Petri teneatur facere.*

Et predicta dicti locatores seu procuratores dicto nomine locaverunt et concesserunt ut supra pro eo precio et precii quibus judicatum et declaratum erit per duos magistros idoneos huiusmodi artis per dictas partes comuniter elligendos et per D.num Priorem in tertium: quod precium et que dicti procuratores dicto nomine promiserunt eisdem conductoribus solvere finito dicto opere et in opera posito et dicto precio declarato ut supra. Et interim cum opus et necesse fuerit dare et solvere ante dictum opus perfectum aliquas pecunias ut vulgo dicitur *de mano in mano* ut laborare dicti magistri possint et predicta dicti procuratores dicto nomine fecerunt et faciunt quia et continuo dicti magistri promiserunt dictis procuratoribus stipulantibus tabulam suprascriptam seu capellam facere construere fabricare et sculper eam mensura et pro eo precio et precii et eo modo et forma et in omnibus et per omnia prout supra dictum est et in dicto modello continetur et per consequens dictum opus perfectum in opere posuisse hinc ad Calendas Junij 1525 proxime futuri hoc etiam addito quod dicti magistri teneantur facere suprascriptas figuras prout et sicut Dominus Prior dicet et voluerit ac duxerit pronominandas.

Que omnia sub pena ducatorum 25 auri latorum applicandorum parti observanti etc. Que etc. Quam etc. Item etc. Pro quibus etc. Obligaverunt etc. Renuntiantes etc.

Pro quo quidem magistro Dominico et eius precibus et mandato Andreas Ferrarius suprascriptus extitit fidejussor in omnibus et singulis suprascriptis versus dictos procuratores stipulantes etc.

Et pro dicto magistro Johanne suprascriptus Dominicus Andree sutoris extitit fidejussor in omnibus et singulis suprascriptis versus dictos procuratores stipulantes etc.

Et pro dicto magistro Baptista et eius precibus et mandato Raphael Johannis Michaelis de Sancto Terrentio fidejussor extitit versus dictos procuratores in omnibus et singulis suprascriptis stipulantes etc.

Qui quidem omnes fideiussores ut supra scientes etc. sed volentes pro dictis suis principalibus singula singulis congrue referendo effectualiter obligari constituentes se principales principaliter et insolidum promiserunt etc. Suprascriptis procuratoribus stipulantibus etc. Facere et curare quod dicti eorum principales predicta omnia et singula ut supra per eos promissa attendent adimplebunt et observabunt etc. Alias de eorum proprio solvent et satisfacient etc. Sub pena et obligatione omnium bonorum etc. Renuntiantes etc.

Insuper prefatus Dominus Prior consensit suamque auctoritatem interposuit etc. Rogantes etc.

Actum Carrarie in Canonica ecclesie Sancti Andree presentibus Venerabilibus Viris Presbitero Leonardo de Galvanis, Presbitero Antonio Ciotti et Presbitero Antonio Joannis [...] et Simone alias Mantuano de Mantua habitatore Carrarie et Ricardo magistri Simonis Tessandrij de Luca testibus.

Published by Rapetti (n. 39), p. 346, doc. VI.

Document III. Commission and payments to Giovanni Battista da Carona for the sculpture of the Cappella Emiliani, S. Michele in Isola, Murano, 1528-31; installation of the altars.

A. ASVe, Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 67 (Commissaria di Margherita Miani), quaderno 1529, c. 19 right.

1528

Maistro Zuan Batista da Corona schultor die aver adj 8 dezembrio, che in questo zorno abiamo fato marchado con lui, che ne die far do figure di marmoro, vano al altar grando dela capela a San Michiel, vano grande pie 3 in zercha, zoe la Nostra Do[nna] et l'Anzelo; et die far etiam, che va in uno tondo di sopra a dito altar, uno Dio Pare pur di marmoro. Item die far do pale alj do altarj picolj pur di marmoro; in una el presepio di misser Jhesu Christo, nel altra i tre mazi, dove vano molte figure et animalj di gran relievo, tal che virano quaxj tute schosse fuora. Ne die far etiam do figure di piera viva, vano una per banda nelj nichj di fuora via, qual dieno esser grande pie 6 in zercha, tute integre, zoe uno San Zuane et una Santa Malgarita; qual tute figure et palle dieno esser de la forma et modo delj modelj di chrea et cera fati per lui, over a qual altro modo fosamo [*sic*] mudar che piu ne piaseze; qual tuto lavor lui die far de sua fatura, solum perche l'j marmorj et piere vive dobbiamo meter noi; dela qual tuto opera siamo dacordo di darlj duc. 130; al qual marchado e sta presente et mezan maistro Vielmo taiapiera, apar per uno schrito sotoschrito di sua mano; qual danarj die aver per zornate come andera fazendo lopera; val, per far nota di dito marchado, duc. doro

c. 19 left

1528 [*m.v.*]

Maistro Zuan Batista al incontro die dar adj 3 zener (1529) contadj a lui a bon conto

	duc. 24 doro, val L. 148 soldi 16
7 marzo 1529. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 10 val L. 62 soldi —
primo mazo [maggio]. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —
primo zugno. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —
4 luio. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —
primo avosto. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —
5 settembrio. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —
3 otubrio. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —
primo novembrio. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —
5 dezembrio. Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —
2 zener (1530). Contadj al dito a bon conto	duc. 5 val L. 31 soldi —

B. ASVe, Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 67 (Commissaria di Margherita Miani), Quaderno II, 1529-1532.

[*c. 2*]

2 fevrer (1530). Per maistro Zuan Battista da Chorona scullttor contadj al lui a bon chontto del marchado delle palle e figure, duc. 5 duc. 5

[*c. 3*]

— ditto (28 fevrer 1530). Contadj a maistro Zuan Battista da Chorona schullttor per haver fatto uno San Zuane

del nostro marmoro, grando zercha pie do, cum allchune montagnolle et aque, qual va sopra la pillà de laquasantta, va nel nichietto della cubetta che va in giexia vecchia; dachordo cum luj per duc. 6 duc. 6

[c. 4]

16 ditto (zugno). Conttadj a maestro Zuan Battista da Coron schullttor a bon chonto del marchado delle palle et figure, duc. 5 duc. 5

[c. 5]

17 ditto (lugio). Conttadj a maestro Zuan Battista da Coron schullttor a bon chonto de le palle et figure duc. 5
 duc. 5
 — ditto (14 avosto). Conttadj a maestro Zuan Battista da Coron schullttor a bon chonto del marchado delle palle e figure, duc. 5 duc. 5
 — ditto (18 settembre). Conttadj a maestro Zuan Battista da Coron schullttor a bon chonto delle palle et figure duc. 5

[c. 6]

13 novembrio. Conttadj a maestro Zuan Battista da Coron schullttor a bon chonto delle palle et figure duc. 5
 a dj 29 zener 1530 [*m.v.*]. Conttadj a maestro Zuan Battista schullttor a bon chonto duc. 5
 1531. 4 april. Conttadj al ditto a bon chonto ut supra duc. 8

[c. 9]

19 ditto (novembrio). Per maestro Zuan Battista da Corona schullttor conttadj alluj per resto del marchado delle palle e ffigure dei 3 allttarj de marmoro, che le do figure de piera viva, zoe S. Zuane e S. Margaritta, per resto de ognj raxon fin questo dj, come apare de sua man in questo a c. 147 in c. 62, e zio per haver conpido il tutto come die star duc. 8

C. ASVe, *Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 67 (Commissaria di Margherita Miani), loose papers.*

On the back: conto de la spesa fata in roba per chonpir li altari in la chapela a San Michele

Adi 4 zunio 1540

Spesa fata in roba per chonpir da meter li altari in la chapela nova a San Michele de Muran

Per chalzina bianca in doj volte, masteli 6 a s. 14 el mastelo, tolta ala fornaxe da cha Pelero; val L. 4 s. 4
 Per pieri no. 500 in doj volte, tolti dai Puti; val L. 5 s. 10
 Per sabion in doj volte mezo burchero, tolto d'Andrea sabioner; val L. 1 s. —
 Per portadura de dita in doj volte porto Christofolo Grando, dachordo L. 1 s. 10
 Per la barcha meno largena, taie, et chavi; val L. s. 14
 et tornoli in drio
 Per la barcha, meno el legname da ponti, [e per] fachini L. s. 12
 Per arpesi 6 per arpesar li altari chon li muri, peso liri 16 $\frac{1}{2}$, tolti da maestro Zane a San Chasan; val .. L. 2 s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Per agui grandi liri no. 14, de quarti 3 et da mezo pie, per far ponti, a s. 3 la lira, tolti da maestro piero L. 2 s. 2
 Per agui da 25 no. 50; val L. s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Per piombo liri 6 da piombar li arpesi L. s. 13

[suma] L. 18 s. 18

Io Zuan Antonio murer scrive

Published in part by Meneghin (n. 7), I, p. 336, nn. 109, 110 (with a mistake in the date of the contract).

Document IV. Giovanni Battista witnesses the testament of Tullio Lombardo, 1532.

ASVe, *Archivio notarile, Testamenti, Busta 210 (not. Angelo de Canali), no. 523.*

14 November 1532

Io Zuan Bt.a de Piero de Carona sculptor fui presente et tt. ss.

Published by Michele Caffi, I Solari, artisti lombardi nella Venezia, in: Arch. Stor. Lomb., XII, 1885, p. 563; Paoletti (n. 1), II, p. 112, doc. 94.

RIASSUNTO

Il presente articolo tratta del recupero di un artista sconosciuto persino al "Künstlerlexikon" di Thieme-Becker: Giovanni Battista di Pietro da Carona, attivo a Venezia verso il 1530. Come autore della decorazione scultorea della Cappella Emiliana di San Michele in Isola è documentato in relazione alla decorazione dei tre altari con, rispettivamente, l'*Adorazione dei pastori*, l'*Adorazione dei Magi* e l'*Annunciazione*, e alle due statue colossali di *Santa Margherita* e *Giovanni Battista*, sculture tuttora conservate nella collocazione originaria, e la cui esecuzione può venir datata con esattezza tra 1528 e 1531. L'analisi stilistica di tali opere rivela poi una così perfetta conoscenza dei rilievi di Andrea Sansovino per la Santa Casa che si può supporre la partecipazione di Giovanni Battista ai lavori per Loreto.

Gli archivi della Santa Casa riportano infatti il nome di un 'Giovanni Battista scarpellino' i cui periodi di attività, nella scultura di ornamenti architettonici, coincidono in misura assai rilevante con quelli di Andrea Sansovino. In un caso il nome del luogo di origine di Giovanni Battista è stato parzialmente cancellato: il copista era certo unicamente che cominciasse con le lettere 'Ca'. In un'altra occasione, Giovanni Battista vien detto derivare da Carona, e viene chiamato altrove Giovanni Battista da Carrara (registri duplicati rendono chiaro che si tratta in tutti questi casi dello stesso scultore). Queste provenienze diverse assumono un senso se supponiamo che Giovanni Battista fosse nato a Carona ma lavorasse a Carrara prima di trasferirsi a Loreto; ed effettivamente la sua comparsa a Loreto sarebbe stata successiva di circa una settimana alla morte a Carrara dello spagnolo Bartolomé Ordóñez, che vi dirigeva una grossa bottega. Si dà inoltre il fatto che, nei primi anni venti del Cinquecento, in un momento in cui Giovanni Battista era assente da Loreto, è documentato a Carrara uno scultore chiamato Battista di Pietro da Carona; e sono documentate commissioni a lui per un Crocifisso ligneo non identificato e metà delle statue in marmo per l'altare del Corpus Christi nella chiesa carrarese di Sant'Andrea, che egli non eseguì mai.

A Venezia, alcune sculture dei tardi anni venti e dei primi anni trenta si dimostrano opere sconosciute del nostro scultore. Un confronto con le sculture documentate a San Michele in Isola permette l'attribuzione a lui del *San Giovanni Battista* della Scuola di San Rocco; la statua, la cui provenienza può venir ricondotta alla chiesa della confraternita e il suo patronato al dovizioso mercante e Guardian Grande della Scuola nel 1529-30 Battista Serena. I rilievi di *San Maurizio* e *San Gallo* e la *Madonna col Bambino* sulla facciata della Scuola degli Albanesi, datata da una iscrizione al 1531, possono inoltre venire assegnati a Giovanni Battista con la collaborazione di un assistente. Un esame dello stile di queste opere rivela un artista che, subordinando la sua formidabile tecnica ad un immediato fine narrativo, continuò a propagare lo stile normativo del primo Rinascimento di Andrea Sansovino anche dopo la morte del maestro.

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