

## NEW LIGHT ON PIETRO, ANTONIO, AND TULLIO LOMBARDO

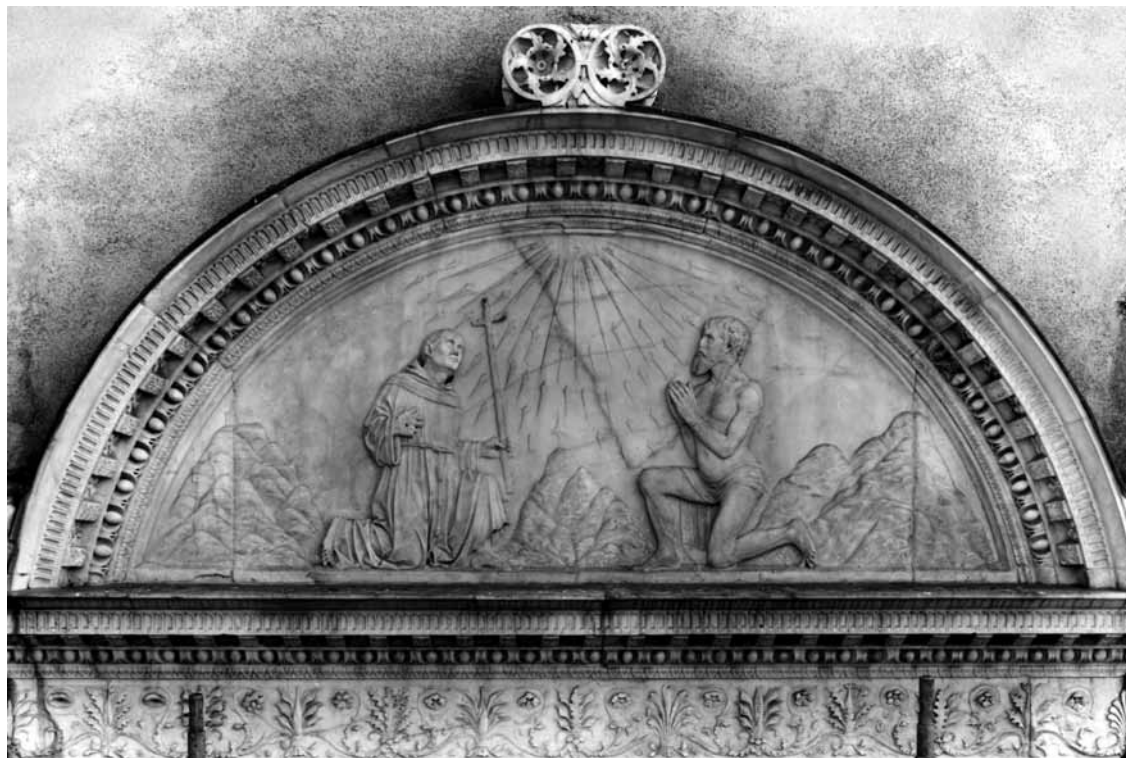
by Anne Markham Schulz

Despite the recent spate of publications in commemoration of the 550th anniversary of the putative birth date of Tullio Lombardo<sup>1</sup>, there are still discoveries to be made. In large part this is due to the fact that, unlike easel paintings accessible on museum walls, the greater part of the Lombardo's sculpture remains *in situ*, immured high on the wall of churches, often ill lit, and in any case, difficult to see. The availability of new photographs now permits the resolution of many problems that may once have seemed intractable.

The first of these is Tullio's debut under his father Pietro at San Giobbe. The testimony of the humanist Matteo Colacio regarding the 'emergence' of Tullio and Antonio Lombardo as sculptors, datable at the latest to 1475, is well known. That Colacio had encountered the brothers' work in the Observant Franciscan church of San Giobbe, Venice, is rendered almost certain by Colacio's disclosure that only a day earlier he had visited the church and been struck by Pietro Lombardo's statues there.<sup>2</sup> Encouraged by Colacio's account, many years ago I attributed to the adolescent brothers, on the basis of their later sculpture, reliefs of Evangelists in roundels in the entrance arch of the church's presbytery: *St. Mark* to Tullio, and the weaker of the two — *St. Luke* — to his younger brother Antonio.<sup>3</sup> Now I think that Tullio's role was not limited to *St. Mark*, but also included the figure of Job in the lunette of San Giobbe's portal (fig. 1).

Cristoforo Moro's testament and codicil of 1470 and 1471, respectively, have no real bearing on the dating of the portal, as they do on that of the church's presbytery which houses the doge's place of burial. Matteo Ceriana claimed that a copy of the portal in that of San Bernardino in Verona provided a *terminus ante quem* for the former because, although the Veronese portal itself was undated, a testament of 28 January 1474 indited by the portal's patron, the cloth merchant Giovanni degli Asdenti da Parma, stated that the stone for construction of his portal in Verona had already been acquired. Ceriana logically deduced from this that the Veronese door's design had already been established by early 1474.<sup>4</sup> But it should be observed that the portal's initial design, on the basis of which stone was purchased, could have been altered subsequently and therefore need not have matched the portal of San Giobbe. However that may be, there is nothing in the history of San Giobbe to invalidate a dating of the portal to the period of Pietro Lombardo's construction and decoration of the east end of the church ca. 1470–1475.<sup>5</sup>

The portal's relief is made of three slabs of white marble. It represents St. Francis in the place of honor on the left and Job on the right, both kneeling on the inner frame of the lunette. In the interstices between them and the frame are mountainous landscapes rendered in extremely low relief and diminutive scale as though situated far away. St. Francis' gaze is directed upward at a sun, located beneath the center of the lunette's archivolt, from which rays emanate symmetrically; between and beneath the rays are forty-one darts arranged in open semicircles. Needless to say, the presence of Francis and Job are unexceptional in this Franciscan church, whose unusual dedication to an Old Testament martyr derives from that of the contiguous hospital founded in 1378 by Giovanni Contarini<sup>6</sup> and given in charge to the Observant Franciscans in 1428. Job was an exemplar of patience under the severest emotional and physical suffering, having been afflicted with what sounds very much like plague: "Satan [...] percussit Iob ulcere pessimo a planta pedis usque ad verticem eius qui testa saniem deradebat [...]" (Job 2, 7–8).<sup>7</sup> In fact, the darts in the lunette are symbolic of pestilential contagion<sup>8</sup> and no doubt allude to the many epidemics which struck Venice in 1460–1462, 1464, and 1468 alone<sup>9</sup>; like St. Sebastian and St. Roch, Job was worshipped as protector against the plague and intercessor on behalf of its victims.



1 Pietro and Tullio Lombardo, lunette of main portal. Venice, San Giobbe.

The attribution of the lunette to Pietro Lombardo has rarely been questioned.<sup>10</sup> Yet a comparison of the two protagonists reveals the hand of a debutante in the figure of Job (figs. 2 and 3). The figures are not identical in scale: whereas the upper body of the smaller figure of St. Francis is slightly reduced to emphasize the perspectival diminution in scale of an object seen from below, the larger figure of Job is enormously increased in scale from his hips through his head. Indeed, the figure's head is too large in proportion even to his upper body while the thigh of his forward leg is too thin and inorganically attached to his hip, and the heel of his inner foot is misshapen. St. Francis is artfully foreshortened in accordance with a three-quarter view from below, which the upward tilt of his head accentuates: his forward forearm is contracted as though it were projecting forward; his rear upper leg is largely overlapped; the orthogonal of his cowl, along with the axes of his eyes, nose and mouth, descend quite noticeably; the crown of his head disappears; and the underside of his chin and nose are depicted. Even the cross-bar of St. Francis' cross is foreshortened. By contrast, Job is represented throughout as though seen from straight on. The direction of St. Francis' gaze is defined by the raising of his lower lids to the mid point of his eyeball and the retraction of his upper lids. Job's gaze, on the other hand, is nearly level (figs. 4 and 5).

Elements of the design of Job link it to other works by Tullio Lombardo. Typical of his drapery style is the sheer loin cloth with its parallel, curvilinear folds evenly spaced, which create a uniform surface and have no effect upon the figure's smoothly rounded contour. Folds are cords which do not overlap and which come to a sudden halt at the edge of the limb. The symmetrical V's at joints and the parallel outlines of Job's left thigh and the mountain reveal Tullio's typical



2 Pietro Lombardo, St. Francis. Venice, San Giobbe, lunette of main portal.



3 Tullio Lombardo, Job. Venice, San Giobbe, lunette of main portal.



4 Pietro Lombardo, head of St. Francis. Venice, San Giobbe, lunette of main portal.



5 Tullio Lombardo, head of Job. Venice, San Giobbe, lunette of main portal.

attention to the closed and regular silhouette that serves to concentrate attention on the shape of voids. The alignment of the pit of the neck with the center of the weight-bearing knee produces a central vertical axis underscored by the descending swathe of the loin cloth. Hair and beard are made of regular C-shaped locks distributed in rows. How different are the small deviations from horizontal and vertical axes in St. Francis' cord, the irregularity of the tempered scallop at the edge of his cuff, and the frequent interruption of his contour by folds that revolve around the border of the figure, suggesting the continuation of the form beyond its visible boundary. In the figure of St. Francis folds are plastically and formally varied and produce a complex spatial interplay spanning several planes as folds overlap, intersect, enfold, and absorb one another, as smooth surfaces rise and fall almost imperceptibly and rounded borders are undercut. The gamut of values from the extremes of the dark hollows of the opening of the saint's hood and the highlights of his projecting chin and knee touches every immediate step as well, creating a rich and constantly changing chiaroscuro.

Akin to Pietro's early Prophets on the choir screen of Santa Maria dei Frari, St. Francis' naturalism and pictorialism represent a stage in the artist's development before his style fully crystallized — before compositions became rigidly tectonic, relief uniformly flat, and figures fractured by the angular folds of sheer and brittle drapery. By contrast, even in his earliest works Tullio is inimitably himself: later works are technically more assured and more elegant in design, but not fundamentally different.

Essential to an appreciation of the various roles of father and sons in the Lombardo shop is a correct understanding — lacking hitherto — of the tomb of Giovanni (called Zanetto) from Udine, Bishop of Treviso, in the chancel of Treviso Cathedral (fig. 6). In the donation of his worldly goods made on 23 December 1484 the bishop destined 300 ducats for his tomb.<sup>11</sup> On 25 January 1485, shortly before the bishop's death, Pietro Lombardo — contracting in his own name and that of his sons — was commissioned to erect the tomb, together with the chancel of the church. The tomb's outer frame was to utilize the same Istrian stone as that adopted for the tomb of Alvise Foscari in Santa Maria dei Frari (of which there survive an eighteenth-century watercolor by Johannes Grevembroch<sup>12</sup> and some fragments in the Frari); the inner frame instead was to be made of veined black stone quarried near Lake Garda, like that found in Santa Maria dei Miracoli. Within the frame there was to be a festoon with an eagle, an epitaph between two corbels supporting a cornice, two scrolls or escutcheons (*cartelle*) with a pedestal, and a tomb chest with five figures, including a portrait of the bishop taken from life. The background of the tomb was to be faced with veined Carrara marble. Pietro obligated himself to complete everything by 30 April 1486. The chancel and its cupola were soon erected, but promptly collapsed. On 15 September 1486 Pietro undertook, in his own name and that of his sons, to rebuild the shattered bay and complete and install the tomb. He asserted that the tomb chest had been made by him and his sons with foliage, marine monsters, and an eagle. A suit on the part of the proprietors of a house behind the church's apse caused an interruption in the work until April 1488. Soon afterward, on 6 May 1488, Tullio ratified his father's contract of 1486 in his own name and that of Antonio.<sup>13</sup>

Although John Pope-Hennessy proclaimed the Zanetto tomb “in some respects the finest Venetian sepulchral monument”<sup>14</sup>, in fact, it is nothing of the kind. In the first place, the lower part of the tomb is a nineteenth-century replacement. The lettering of the epitaph — painted, rather than incised, to look like gold, on black-painted stone — as well as the errors it contains<sup>15</sup>, reveal it to be a nineteenth-century artifact; indeed, it is demonstrable that the epitaph designated in the contract of 1485 was never made.<sup>16</sup> At approximately the level of the crudely executed scale molding beneath the epitaph, the background changes: on the outside of the festoon the ground consists of oddly-shaped pieces of veined marble — obviously *spolia* (in contrast to the regularly-shaped slabs that provide a setting for the figures) — whereas the background of the festoon and eagle are stucco painted to look like black-veined white marble. The eagle, so greatly



6 Pietro, Tullio, and Antonio Lombardo, tomb of Bishop Giovanni da Udine called Zanetto. Treviso, Cathedral of San Pietro.



7 Antonio Lombardo, tomb chest of the tomb of Bishop Zanetto. Treviso, Cathedral of San Pietro.

admired in the literature<sup>17</sup>, is much too large in scale and too free in execution to be a work of the fifteenth century. Indeed, it does not look at all like the identically posed eagle at the bottom of Tullio Lombardo's tomb of Marco Bellati in the Cathedral at Feltre or the eagle on the Zanetto tomb chest. The colossal festoon is more grossly carved than any Renaissance garland. As it happens, the tomb was disastrously restored ca. 1853<sup>18</sup> and the lower part of the tomb must have been remade then in conformity with the original design.

The upper part of the tomb is almost equally unsatisfactory. Even though the kneeling figure at the right is not appreciably taller than the effigy of Zanetto<sup>19</sup>, it is noticeably larger in scale and the sole of its left foot has not been finished. The figure, generally called San Liberale, patron saint of Treviso, does not correspond to any contemporary depictions of the saint, all of which show him as a knight<sup>20</sup>; were it not found on a tomb in Treviso, the figure would never have been identified as Liberale. In the event, the figure's attributes — its youth and clerical surplice — are too generic to warrant any label<sup>21</sup>; nor is the fact that the figure holds an episcopal crosier sufficient to justify the presence of a cleric or acolyte who neither watches over the corpse of the deceased nor assists at his funeral, as he occasionally does in other tombs. Perhaps the figure was originally intended for another purpose, though it is hard to imagine what that might have been. In any case, the iconography of the tomb cannot have been an object of much concern — a not infrequent dereliction in Venetian funerary monuments.

Indifference to the tomb's iconography is confirmed by the statue of God the Father, identified as such by his aged and bearded face, his fully clothed body, and his orb.<sup>22</sup> Inexplicably, God has usurped the place customarily reserved in Venetian Renaissance tombs for the Risen Christ — guarantor of the defunct's own resurrection: when God does appear in funerary monuments,



8 Antonio Lombardo, relief from the Camerino d'alabastro in Ferrara. St. Petersburg, Hermitage.



9, 10 Antonio Lombardo, tritons from the tomb of Bishop Zanetto. Treviso, Cathedral of San Pietro.

he is regularly depicted in bust- or half-length, sometimes above a standing figure of the Risen Christ, as in the tombs of Doge Nicolò Tron in Santa Maria dei Frari and Doge Pietro Mocenigo in Santi Giovanni e Paolo. Indeed, erect, full-length, nearly life-size statues of God the Father<sup>23</sup> are exceedingly rare in any context at this date.<sup>24</sup> Why he looks at, and blesses, the figure at his proper left, when the effigy of Bishop Zanetto occupies the place of honor to his right, is also incomprehensible. It should be observed, moreover, that although flattened in back, God the Father is carved in the round, while the kneeling figures are carved in high relief. God's circular base is integral with the figure itself, and oddly skewed with respect both to the high base beneath and the background, whereas the kneeling statues are set on rectangular bases made of cement and have suffered considerable damage at the level of their knees (probably inflicted during the tomb's nineteenth-century restoration). In sum, God the Father seems as extraneous to the function and format of the tomb as the cleric.<sup>25</sup>

Another misunderstanding concerns a passage in Pomponius Gauricus' "De sculptura" of 1504, in which the author recounts how a cornice carved by Tullio was carried in triumph at Treviso where it was seen by Antonio Rizzo, who marveled that, for the first time, a cornice had been carved with a burin.<sup>26</sup> This praise is always taken to refer to the carving of the *cassone* of the Zanetto tomb (fig. 7). There are a number of reasons why the passage not only cannot refer to the Zanetto tomb, but must be a literary invention of Gaurico's intended to pay tribute to Tullio's artistry. First of all, a *cassone* is not a cornice; in the event, there is no cornice in the Zanetto tomb. Secondly, by 1480 Antonio Rizzo was well acquainted with Tullio's skill, as the latter's influence on the Tron tomb Charity proves<sup>27</sup> and if, perchance, Rizzo had suffered momentary doubts of Tullio's virtuosity, the Lombardo shop at San Samuele was only fifteen minutes distant from Rizzo's shop at San Giovanni Nuovo by foot. Thirdly, architectural and sculptural components





11 Antonio Lombardo, head of cleric. Treviso, Cathedral of San Pietro, tomb of Bishop Zanetto.

of Renaissance monuments were not usually carried in triumphal processions like the trophies of Roman conquest, but were sent, securely packed in cases, by boat and ox cart. So much the more likely is this to be true in the case of the Zanetto tomb chest, where the extraordinary fragility of undercut forms resulted, at one time or another, in a great deal of breakage. And finally, the tomb chest is much more closely allied to the later work of Antonio Lombardo than to that of his brother. The very open design of attenuated, winding fronds where thinner sprays twist around slightly thicker ones, the particular leaf patterns, the birds and berries, as well as the prodigious undercutting, can all be paralleled in Antonio's decorative reliefs from the Camerino d'alabastro in the Castello Estense at Ferrara (fig. 8).<sup>28</sup> It has been suggested that the two sides of the *cassone* were carved by different sculptors.<sup>29</sup> In rebuttal, I would assert that the flora and fauna of the two sides of the relief are indistinguishable and that if the two tritons are not mirror images of one another (figs. 9 and 10), it is because Antonio wished to introduce variety — not because of an incongruity of style or facture.

If the sea creatures of the tomb chest are by Antonio, the cleric must be as well, for certain elements of the left-hand triton's physiognomy recur in the statue's face (fig. 11).<sup>30</sup> Notable are the full, slightly everted lips, the lower one of which is indented in the center, and the small but protuberant chin with a dimple at the very bottom. Eyes are hardly embedded in their sockets and lids of identical shape enframe nearly perfectly circular irises and pupils — the latter denoted by a shallow drill hole. The drilling of the center of the cleric's locks recalls the treatment of hair in the merman on the right (fig. 10).

That Pietro Lombardo was responsible for the statue of God the Father by now is beyond doubt.<sup>31</sup> The authorship of the effigy of Zanetto, on the other hand, is hotly disputed by pro-





12 Tullio Lombardo, effigy of Bishop Zanetto. Treviso, Cathedral of San Pietro, tomb of Bishop Zanetto.



13 Antonio Lombardo, cleric. Treviso, Cathedral of San Pietro, tomb of Bishop Zanetto.

ponents of Tullio and Antonio.<sup>32</sup> A contrast with the cleric makes evident that the idiosyncratic traits distinguishing the brothers, described in my comparison of the roundels with St. Mark and St. Luke in San Giobbe and Sts. Matthew and Luke in the Cappella Badoer-Giustinian in San Francesco della Vigna<sup>33</sup>, obtain as well in the Zanetto tomb and that the effigy, therefore, is the work of Tullio (figs. 12 and 13). Where the cleric is represented in three-quarter view, Zanetto's body is portrayed more laterally and his head is turned in order to produce a nearly perfect profile; where the cleric's hands occupy three-dimensional space, Zanetto's hands are turned into the plane. The extreme lateral view of the effigy, together with its emaciation, permit a constriction of the outline that contrasts with the amplitude of the proportions of the cleric. The latter's full and rounded forms and the gradual recession of its shoulders and torso are very different from the flattened surface of Zanetto, seemingly pressed between two panes of glass. The smooth, even, unarticulated surfaces of Zanetto's garments, combined with radical undercutting at borders, contrast with the constant but tempered modulation of the relatively uniform surface of the cleric's surplice. The schematic folds of Zanetto's cope and Franciscan habit are composed of narrow, parallel cords which follow straight, vertical paths. In transverse section, the cords prove to be three-quarter rounds, which do not vary in diameter as they descend. Folds run down the back and along the inner leg of the figure, pulling its edges forward, accentuating its borders, and providing Zanetto with a definitive vertical boundary. In view of the more highly



15 Antonio Lombardo, head of cleric. Treviso, Cathedral of San Pietro, tomb of Bishop Zanetto.

14 Tullio Lombardo, head of the effigy of Bishop Zanetto. Treviso, Cathedral of San Pietro, tomb of Bishop Zanetto.

polished surface of Zanetto, it is not surprising that its author paid considerable attention to the disproportionately large decorative details, as in the morse and embroidery of the bishop's cope, depicted in raised relief against a stippled ground. Striking too is the way in which the perfect, geometric borders of Zanetto's cope and the neckline of his habit assume a palpable thickness and relief (fig. 14). Similar, but equally regular, geometric contours define Zanetto's parallel locks of hair, the arc of his brows, the catenary curves of the creases beneath his lower lids. In contrast to the cleric (fig. 15), the absence of a tilt in the bishop's head allows the imposition of a clear tectonic structure in the distribution of the features. The extraordinary plasticity of the face, established by the deep recession of protuberant eyes beneath sharply cantilevered brows, the thick rims of lids, the drilling of pupils and tear-ducts, and the emphatic description of the bony structure, recall Tullio's *Double portrait* in the Ca' d'Oro with its accentuated contrasts of light and shade.

Seen in a more nearly frontal view (one, needless to say, that was not available to an ordinary spectator on the ground), Zanetto's face proves to be perspectively distorted in order to give increased visibility to the farther side of the face. Thus the rear half of the face recedes much less than the nearer side. On the farther side of the face, the eye is less deeply embedded and sits closer to the nose, the nose slopes more precipitously for a shorter distance, and the nostril is compressed, while the farther half of the mouth is contracted and barely recedes. These distortions

were not Tullio's invention, but rather are found in ancient Roman sculpture and had characterized the carving of faces in Italy seen from the side for more than a century. Nevertheless, the sculptor's — unfortunately idle — display of bravura demonstrates that he was far in advance of his younger brother, whose manipulation of perspectival distortions in the head of the cleric was still extremely timid.

The apparent fidelity with which Tullio reproduced Zanetto's warts and wrinkles suggests that he was working from a death-mask.<sup>34</sup> If so, however, his imitation was not literal, for not only did he impose on the sitter's features the geometrical regularity and perspectival distortions canvassed above, but he reduced to less than life-size the scale of his putative model.

In sum, it would seem that the monument of Bishop Zanetto was very hastily put together from pieces at least partially completed before the collapse of the cathedral's chancel and possibly intended for another purpose: a minimum of care appears to have been expended by Pietro Lombardo on its figural composition and iconography. Probably the fact that the tomb was intended for a site outside Venice and that its original patron was no longer alive to raise objections — not only to its realization but even to its final design — acted as disincentives.

The difference in style between Tullio's effigy of Zanetto and Antonio's cleric also distinguishes the statuettes of St. John the Baptist and St. Francis in the reliquary tabernacle for the blood of Christ embedded in the Magdalene's unguent housed in the sacristy of Santa Maria dei Frari (fig. 16). The relic was given at Constantinople to Melchiorre Trevisan, admiral of the Venetian fleet in the eastern Mediterranean, in 1479. Upon his return to Venice, he donated the relic to the Frari in a celebration which took place on 19 March 1480. An inscription just outside, and to the right of, the Cappella Trevisan in the Frari — the middle apsidal chapel on the left (*in cornu Evangelii*) — recording Trevisan's donation, is dated 14 April 1480.<sup>35</sup> On 11 May 1485 a gilt silver reliquary was commissioned by the procurator of the Frari from Evangelista di Vito da Zara at a cost of 168 ducats.<sup>36</sup> The contract does not specify its purpose, but there can be little doubt that this expensive reliquary was intended for the holy blood.

It is widely believed that the tabernacle was already in existence by 1487. This date, however, rests on a mistake introduced by Paoletti<sup>37</sup>, who cited a passage from Marc'Antonio Sabellico which reads: "Hic sanguis Christi summi regis visitur. Hic eius simulachrum abhinc triennio miraculis illustratum." ("Here [in the Frari] the blood of Christ is to be seen. Here for the past three years its [or his] image [has been made] illustrious by means of miracles.") Paoletti assigned to this passage the date of Sabellico's "Rerum Venetarum [...] libri XXXIII" published in 1487. But, in fact, the passage comes from Sabellico's "De situ urbis Venetae libri tres" composed — at least in part — in 1491 and finished by April of that year<sup>38</sup>, yielding a date of ca. 1488 for the "simulachrum". But while the word, used here in an unconventional sense, might refer to the relic itself — or conceivably its container — as a source of miracles, it is most unlikely to mean a reliquary tabernacle. The donation of the relic to the Frari in 1480 obviously provides a *terminus post quem* for the tabernacle, but until further evidence comes to light, its *terminus ante quem* must depend upon an interpretation of its style.

Originally the reliquary tabernacle was probably immured in the Trevisan Chapel dedicated to St. Michael Archangel, where Francesco Sansovino described it in 1581: "Vi si honora [...] il sangue di Christo portato da Costantinopoli, si come per una inscrizione presso al suo sepolcro [*viz.* the tabernacle] s'attesta."<sup>39</sup> If the tabernacle occupied the right-hand wall, just around the corner from the inscription, the lively attention of John the Baptist (fig. 17) would have focused on the chapel's altar. By 10 July 1581 the reliquary had been transferred to the Frari's sacristy<sup>40</sup>; possibly the tabernacle soon followed, if the two had not been moved together after Sansovino recorded it. In all events, the tabernacle was in the sacristy by 1711, when a large marble reliquary shrine on the wall opposite the sacristy's entrance was erected around it by Francesco Pensa called Cabianca; the reliquary was removed and the tabernacle was covered — presumably by



16 Tullio and Antonio Lombardo, reliquary tabernacle of the Holy Blood. Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari, sacristy.

wooden shelving. On 9 June 1896 the tabernacle was discovered behind the shrine.<sup>41</sup> Ca. 1912 a new compartment for the church's reliquaries was made and the tabernacle was moved to the opposite wall where it is found today, immediately to the right of the sacristy's entrance.<sup>42</sup>

Hubala characterized the tabernacle as a "Kompositgebilde" and dated the statuettes a couple of decades later than the tabernacle proper.<sup>43</sup> In fact, the *Pietà* at the top and the consoles supporting the statuettes, as well as the lowest base with the monogram of Christ, are unlikely to have belonged to the original tabernacle at all. The size and design of consoles are discordant with the carving of pilasters and friezes and produce bases that are much too large for the diminutive figures; in fact, nothing comparable ever issued from the Lombardo workshop. The figures in the *Pietà*, while evidently by an assistant in Pietro's shop influenced by Tullio, are too large in scale, and too plastic in relief for their site and conflict in quality and style with the extraordinary refinement of the architecture and statuettes. Indeed, the *Pietà* did not originally occupy a rectangular field at all: its background has been pieced and its frame, composed of plain moldings crudely carved, not only is not Lombardesque but cannot be Renaissance. Probably the tabernacle was originally crowned with a semicircular or triangular lunette.



17 Tullio Lombardo, St. John the Baptist. Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari, sacristy, reliquary tabernacle of the Holy Blood.



18 Antonio Lombardo, St. Anthony/Francis. Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari, sacristy, reliquary tabernacle of the Holy Blood.



19 Antonio Lombardo, Miracle of the speaking babe, detail of St. Anthony. Padua, Basilica di Sant'Antonio, Cappella del Santo.



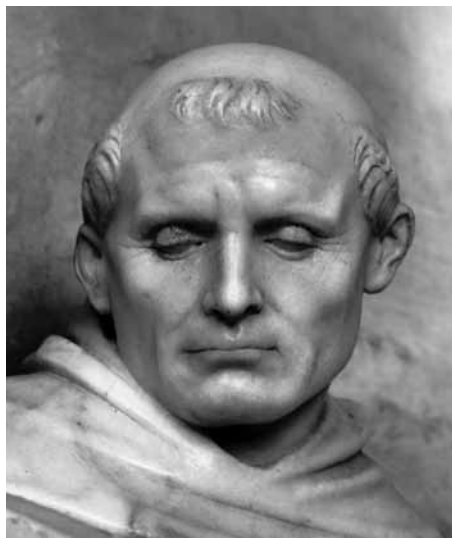
20 Antonio Lombardo, St. Anthony/Francis. Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari, sacristy, reliquary tabernacle of the Holy Blood.

While the first writer to comment on the tabernacle traced it to the shop of Pietro Lombardo<sup>44</sup>, it was subsequently listed among the works of Tullio Lombardo<sup>45</sup>, where — with or without reservations — it has largely remained.<sup>46</sup> In 1954 Mariacher proposed ascribing the tabernacle's design to Pietro Lombardo and the execution of the statuettes to Tullio and Antonio.<sup>47</sup> But it was not until 1974 that Eberhard Ruhmer identified the figure of St. Francis as a work of Antonio's and more cautiously ascribed that of St. John to Tullio.<sup>48</sup> Ruhmer's apodictic distinction of hands met with no response — whether because he wrote in German or because he failed to provide adequate illustrations, I do not know — but not even Sarchi's recent monograph dedicated to Antonio Lombardo takes account of it.<sup>49</sup>

The statuettes are carved from white marble together with their rectangular bases (figs. 17 and 18).<sup>50</sup> Apart from the loss of the little finger of his proper left hand, St. Francis is perfectly preserved; the very open composition of the Baptist, on the other hand, made it liable to considerable damage: its left hand once fell off and the lower border of the mantle and left ankle are cracked through. The saint's left hand is badly abraded and has lost its thumb. No doubt long after its completion, the identity of the right-hand statue was changed. In facial and body type it closely



21 Antonio Lombardo, *Miracle of the speaking babe*, detail of St. Anthony. Padua, Basilica di Sant'Antonio, Cappella del Santo.

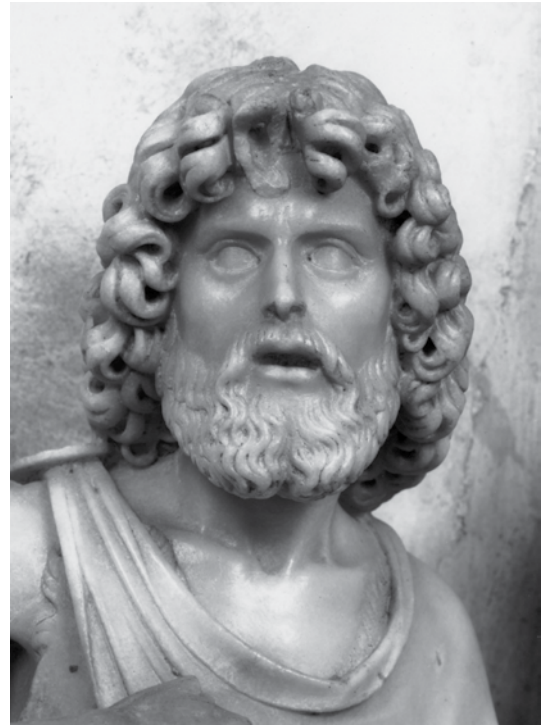


22, 23 Antonio Lombardo, head of St. Anthony/Francis. Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari, sacristy, reliquary tabernacle of the Holy Blood.

resembles, not St. Francis, but St. Anthony to whom the action of reading is far better suited. In fact, there are no stigmata on the figure's chest or feet and only the merest nicks on his hands.

A comparison of St. Anthony/Francis with the figure of St. Anthony in Antonio's *Miracle of the speaking babe* in the Cappella del Santo at Padua, carved between 1501 and 1504 and installed the following year (figs. 19 and 20), betrays so great a resemblance that we are justified, not only in attributing the statuette to Antonio Lombardo, but in dating it within the same span of time. Loose overhanging folds at the waist, constrained beneath by the cord, have a nearly identical configuration. Below the cord, folds part at the thigh of the free leg, allowing the drapery to adhere to the upper leg and calf; at the same time, a fold descending from the knee is gathered up behind the ankle. Vertical folds have the same rotundity and cords are treated identically. Both faces are square in shape, the chin broad and protuberant, the mouth wide (figs. 21–23);





25 Tullio Lombardo, head of St. John the Baptist. Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari, sacristy, reliquary tabernacle of the Holy Blood.

24 Tullio Lombardo, Miracle of the repentant son, detail of St. Anthony. Padua, Basilica di Sant'Antonio, Cappella del Santo.



26 Tullio Lombardo, Baptism of Christ. Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, tomb of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo.

the features, concentrated at the center of the face, leave a great expanse for forehead and crown. The stunningly beautiful face of St. Anthony/Francis reveals the same accentuated modulation of the forehead with its creases between the brows and across the forehead and its indentations and protuberances above the eyebrows. Prominent cheekbones set rather low on the cheeks and protruding jaws, combined with sunken cheeks and fleshy wrinkles constantly modulate the surface. All doubt of Antonio's paternity of the statuette is eliminated by the contrast it makes with Tullio's rendering of St. Anthony in his *Santo Miracle of the repentant son* (figs. 20 and 24). Here the perfect contours and uninterrupted curves of cord-thin folds create a linear and schematic design at variance with the relative naturalism of Antonio's saint. A comparison of the face of St. Anthony/Francis (fig. 23) with the head of Bishop Zanetto (fig. 14) makes evident in the latter how geometrical are the contours of Tullio's eyes and brows, how smooth and uniform the surface, how regular the curls.

In the figure of St. John the Baptist a schematic and linear design similar to that of Tullio's Paduan St. Anthony (figs. 17 and 24) determines the path of geometrically regular contours and straight or curving folds that constitute the section of a circle. An identical cord barely affects the even course of folds it nominally cinches and surfaces between widely-spaced folds are equally uniform and smooth. The massing of corkscrew curls (fig. 25) recalls the coiffure of the bare-headed warrior in the tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. The hypertrophic clasp on the Baptist's shoulder is analogous to Zanetto's enormous morse (fig. 12).



27 Tullio Lombardo, *Baptism of Christ* (detail). Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, tomb of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo.



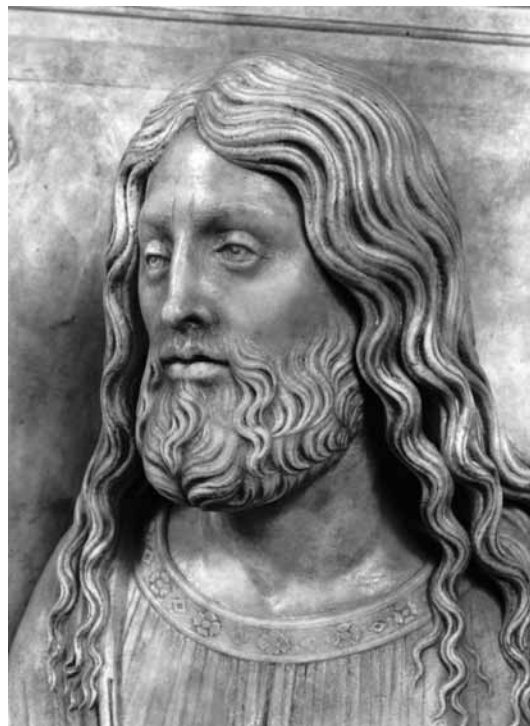
28 Tullio Lombardo, *Coronation of the Virgin* (detail). Venice, San Giovanni Crisostomo, Cappella Bernabò.

Even the figure's unusual serpentine pose finds a precedent in Tullio's figure of Justice on the Vendramin sarcophagus. Technically, however, this figure represents a unicum in Tullio's oeuvre. While the degree of undercutting in the border of garments is paralleled by undercutting in the Zanetto effigy, the slender proportions of the figure combined with an extraordinarily open pose create a composition in which solid and void so interpenetrate that the figure gives the impression of having been modelled from a malleable material on a wire armature — not carved from stone. It is likely that the stylistic departure represented by the figure of the Baptist was evoked by the assignment unusual in Tullio's oeuvre to depict an ascetic and divinely inspired saint.

The relief of the *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 26) in Tullio's tomb of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, completed in 1522<sup>51</sup>, has recently been much disparaged in opposition to the relief with which it is paired, the *Baptism of Anianus*. (I have argued in a recent article that the *Baptism of Anianus* was executed by Tullio Lombardo and his son Sante working jointly in the



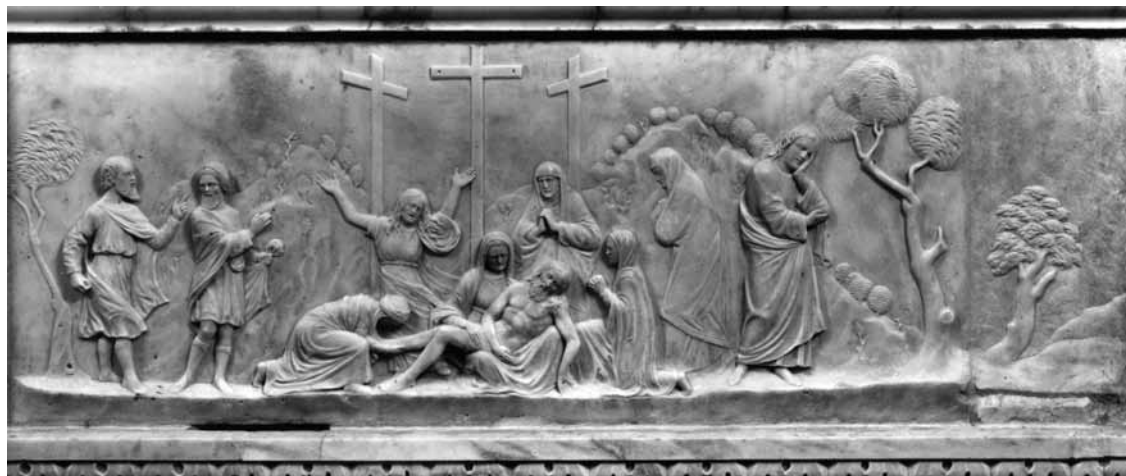
29 Tullio Lombardo, *Baptism of Christ* (detail). Venice, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, tomb of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo.



30 Tullio Lombardo, *Coronation of the Virgin*, detail of Christ. Venice, San Giovanni Crisostomo, Cappella Bernabò.

early 1520s on the right and left sides of the relief respectively.<sup>52</sup>) Although Planiscig's attribution of the *Baptism of Christ* to Antonio Lombardo<sup>53</sup> has justly lapsed<sup>54</sup>, acceptance of Tullio's authorship of the relief has not followed. Maek-Gérard and Ceriana both remarked on the atypically slender figures and hair so thick that it seems false and attributed the relief to an anonymous assistant in Tullio's shop — one to whom they also gave the figure of Christ in the documented *Coronation of the Virgin* in San Giovanni Crisostomo dated 1504–1506 and inscribed with Tullio's name.<sup>55</sup> The comparison certainly is apt (figs. 27 and 28): the distribution of weight and the divergence of the axes of hips and shoulders that define the figures' orthodox contrapposto are identical; the moderated arcs of the cord-like folds of Christ's loin cloth recur identically in the drapery pattern of the *Coronation* figure of Christ and, in both, respect the continuity of the body's curved contour; the serpentine locks of hair in both follow identical paths and are undercut to the same degree (figs. 29–30). As for the figure of Christ in the *Coronation of the Virgin*, not only am I sure that it is Tullio's, but that it is a touchstone of his art. The same may be said of the *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 26): the *schacciato* relief and virtuoso incising of the faintest details of landscape and the three angels posed like the three graces, in addition to the suave and elegant figure of Christ — all of which contribute to a work of superlative quality — are not due to the hand of an assistant, however gifted, but point unequivocally to the celebrated master.

Indeed, in its lithe proportions and lightsome movement Christ (fig. 27) recalls the Frari Baptist (fig. 17). Common to them both is the degree of undercutting at the hairline and the expansion of the head of hair at the expense of a contracted face. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there



31 Giambattista Bregno, Lamentation over the dead Christ. Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Cappella Badoer-Giustinian.

is nothing comparable to the design of the *Baptism* in Tullio's extant oeuvre. The uniqueness of so pictorial a composition, in which small figures are situated in a vast landscape rendered in *schacciato* relief may be explained by the uniqueness of the task in question. Likewise, when Pietro Lombardo was obliged to decorate the sarcophagus of Doge Pietro Mocenigo in Santi Giovanni e Paolo with small narrative reliefs, he too created uncustomarily deep settings inhabited by small figures in very low relief, while mountains in minute scale and *schacciato* relief fill the background of the lunette of the portal of San Giobbe (fig. 1). Though the *Baptism* contains the only extant landscape by Tullio, it is probably not the only one he made: the landscape by Tullio, now lost, which surmounted the niche housing his *Pietà* in San Francesco, Rovigo, was described thus: "[...] vedonsi alcune fabbrichette innalzate sopra due monticelli a piè de' quali sta figurata una Selva, opera tutto in basso rilievo".<sup>56</sup> Akin to this is the landscape background in the *Lamentation* from Tullio's shop, originally in Sant'Andrea della Certosa and now in the ante-sacristy of Santa Maria della Salute. Although Tullio increased the range of textures in his landscape by means of an expanded repertory of point and chisel marks (easier to make out before the relief was cleaned), Giambattista Bregno's *Lamentation over the dead Christ* in the Cappella Badoer-Giustinian at San Francesco della Vigna (fig. 31), on whose decoration Tullio also collaborated, furnished a precedent of the highest quality for the use of incisions and *schacciato* relief to produce the impression of a distant landscape veiled by atmospheric haze. The three occasions on which Bregno was called upon to appraise the work of the Lombardo brothers testify to their esteem for him<sup>57</sup>, and lends plausibility to the hypothesis of Tullio's susceptibility to the technical virtuosity of Giambattista Bregno.

A final contribution to the life and works of the Lombardo comprises a document of minor importance that was omitted from the authoritative compilation of documents regarding Tullio and his family.<sup>58</sup> It is the testament of Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro indicted on 24 July 1510, three days before his death. In it Sforza asked that he be buried before the high altar of San Giovanni Battista, Pesaro, in a tomb composed of a wash-tub [*sic*] with a cover made in Venice by Tullio Lombardo.<sup>59</sup> No such object has ever come to light.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Tullio Lombardo, scultore e architetto nella Venezia del Rinascimento, conference Venice 2006, proceedings ed. by *Matteo Ceriana*, Verona 2007; Tullio Lombardo: documenti e testimonianze, eds. *Anna Pizzati/Matteo Ceriana*, Verona 2008; Tullio Lombardo and Venetian High Renaissance sculpture, exhibition Washington, cat. ed. by *Alison Luchs*, New Haven/London 2009; L'industria artistica del bronzo del Rinascimento a Venezia e nell'Italia settentrionale, conference Venice 2007, proceedings ed. by *Matteo Ceriana/Victoria Avery*, Verona 2008.
- <sup>2</sup> *Matteo Colacio*, *Laus perspectivae*, in *idem*, *Disputatio de fine oratoris in Quintilianum pro M. T. Cicerone*, Venice 1486, n.p. [pp. 21r, 23v respectively]. The passages read: "Habet item statuarios Petrum Lombardum et patrio artificio surgentes filios", and "Clares, Patavium urbe, clares civitate, clares et his ingeniis, clares etiam arte statuarii clarissimi, horum affinis, Petri Lombardi. Educit hic etiam vivos de marmore vultus, cuius statuas in Divi Iob aede pridie sum plurimum miratus." For a translation and discussion of the work, see *Chiara Savettieri*, *La Laus perspectivae di Matteo Colacio e la fortuna critica della tarsia in area veneta*, in: *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 64, 1998, pp. 5–22, esp. pp. 8–9, 17, and 20.
- <sup>3</sup> *Anne Markham Schulz*, The Giustiniani Chapel and the art of the Lombardo, in: *Antichità viva*, XVI, 1977, 2, pp. 35–36, repeated by *eadem*, *La scultura*, in: *Storia di Venezia: temi. L'arte*, ed. *Rodolfo Pallucchini*, I, Rome 1994, p. 570, and *eadem*, *La vita e l'opera di Antonio Lombardo*, in: *Gli Este a Ferrara. Il Camerino di alabastro: Antonio Lombardo e la scultura all'antica*, exhibition Ferrara, cat. ed. by *Matteo Ceriana*, Cini-sello Balsamo 2004, pp. 24–25. These attributions have come to be accepted by the two most knowledgeable connoisseurs of the Lombardo: *Alessandra Sarchi*, *Antonio tra i letterati e gli artisti del suo tempo*, *ibidem*, p. 39; *eadem*, *Lombardo, Antonio*, in: *Diz. Biogr. Ital.*, LXV, Rome 2005, p. 500; *eadem*, *Antonio Lombardo*, Venice 2008, pp. 43 and 48–49; and *Matteo Ceriana*, *Profilo della scultura a Venezia tra il 1450 e il 1500*, in: *Da Bellini a Veronese: temi di arte veneta*, eds. *Gennaro Toscano/Francesco Valcanover*, Venice 2004, p. 20; *idem*, *Lombardo, Tullio*, in: *Diz. Biogr. Ital.*, LXV, Rome 2005, p. 531; *idem*, *Tullio Lombardo, sculptor and architecto*, in: *Tullio Lombardo and Venetian High Renaissance sculpture* (n. 1), p. 22.  
Knowing how much more mature Tullio was than Antonio permits me to identify the role of the two brothers in the tomb of Doge Pietro Mocenigo in Santi Giovanni e Paolo, erected in the later 1470s. The two reliefs of Hercules have always been singled out as the work of a younger generation than Pietro's. In fact, the differences between the *San Giobbe Sts. Mark* and *Luke* distinguish in equal measure *Hercules and the Nemean lion*, attributable to Tullio, and *Hercules and the Hydra* by Antonio. The Hercules of Tullio is much larger in scale, but by virtue of his bent pose, the figure accommodates itself to the restricted field. Anatomy is correct and foreshortening, especially in the feet, is accomplished. Typical of Tullio are the preference for a profile view of head, limbs, and lion, and the angularity of joints, the regularity of successive rows of curls in Hercules' hair and the lion's mane, and the correspondence of contours, together with the elegant shapes left by their intersection. By contrast, Antonio's Hercules has too large a head, too short a torso, and malproportioned lower legs. The foreshortening of feet, lower arm, and face leaves much to be desired. Nevertheless, anatomy and facial type reveal how influenced Antonio was by Tullio.
- <sup>4</sup> *Matteo Ceriana*, *Due esercizi di lettura: la cappella Moro in San Giobbe e le fabbriche dei Gussoni a Venezia*, in: *Annali di architettura*, IV–V, 1992–1993, p. 23. *Amalia Donatella Basso*, *Il portale della chiesa di San Giobbe e la sua conservazione: ripensando alle vicende costruttive del sacro edificio e del convento*, in: *Tullio Lombardo, scultore e architetto* (n. 1), p. 478, objected that one did not know when the stone for the portal in Verona was actually worked — a fact which Ceriana had acknowledged. The similarity of the two portals was already observed in the 19th century by *Pietro Paoletti*, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, II, Venice 1897, p. 194, n. 2.
- <sup>5</sup> I am not persuaded by the arguments of *Lorenzo Finocchi Gherzi*, *San Giobbe. Architettura e decorazione*, in: *Tullio Lombardo, scultore e architetto* (n. 1), pp. 186–201, esp. p. 198, according to which work was protracted until the end of the 1480s. Nor do I see any way of reconciling Jacopo de' Barbari's rendering of San Giobbe in his bird's-eye view of Venice of 1500 with the church constructed by Pietro Lombardo, except by assuming that Jacopo seriously erred.
- <sup>6</sup> For the founding of San Giobbe, see *Nina Gockerell*, *Kirchen mit alttestamentarischen Patrozinien in Venedig. Materialien zu Geschichte und Ikonographie der Kirchen S. Giobbe, S. Geremia, S. Moisé, S. Samuele, S. Simeone und S. Zaccaria*, Venice 1978, pp. 10–12, repeated almost verbatim by *Leopold Kretzenbacher*, *Hiobs-Erinnerungen zwischen Donau und Adria: Kulträume, Patronate, Sondermotive der Volksüberlieferungen um Job und sein biblisches und apokryphes Schicksal in den Südost-Alpenländern*, Munich 1987, pp. 86–88.
- <sup>7</sup> For the meaning of Job in the context of contemporary Venetian art, see *Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli*, *La sapienza nel silenzio: riconsiderando la pala di San Giobbe*, in: *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, XXII, 1998, pp. 24–26. Both Schmidt Arcangeli and Gallo in *Aldo Gallo/Giovanna Nepi Scire*, *Chiesa di San Giobbe: arte*



e devozione, Venice 1994, pp. 12–14, remarked on Job’s role as prophet of the resurrection of Christ. Job 19, 25–26, “scio enim quod redemptor meus vivat et in novissimo de terra surrecturus sim et rursus circumdabor pelle mea et in carne mea videbo Deum”, reveals Job also as prophet of the resurrection of the dead.

- <sup>8</sup> As a metaphor for God’s persecution, Job lamented: “[...] et posuit sibi quasi in signum. Circumdedit me lanceis suis” (Job 16, 13–14). In describing the plague of 589–590 A.D. and the death of Pope Pelagius II on 7 February 590, Honorius of Autun wrote: “Sagittae namque coelitus venire conspiciebantur, de quibus inguina hominum facta, sine mora moriebantur; primitus papa Pelagius moritur, deinde populus Romanus pene totus subita morte consumitur” (*Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum ecclesiae*, in *PL*, CLXXII, Paris 1854, col. 951). Arrows as a symbol of the bubonic plague, in particular, appear in Jacopo da Varazze’s description of the same epidemic in the life of St. Gregory (*Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend*, transl. *William Granger Ryan*, Princeton [NJ] 1993, I, p. 173). For the widespread use of arrows or darts falling from heaven to symbolize pestilence, see *Christine M. Boeckl, Images of plague and pestilence*, Kirksville (MO) 2000, p. 47. Nonetheless, a shower of arrows or darts falling from heaven is rare in Venetian Renaissance paintings and sculpture. Indeed, the iconography of our lunette is very likely to be unique.
- <sup>9</sup> Gallo in *Gallo/Nepi Scirè* (n. 7), p. 14.
- <sup>10</sup> Its attribution by *Venturi*, VI, Milan 1908, pp. 1078–1082 to Tullio Lombardo at the beginning of his career, on the basis of the “drappi piegati a onde”, appears to have had no echo.
- <sup>11</sup> The document was published by *Gerolamo Biscaro*, Note storico-artistiche sulla Cattedrale di Treviso, parte I e II: Vescovo Zanetto e la Cappella maggiore, in: *Archivio veneto*, serie II, XVII, pt. 2, 1899, pp. 181–185, doc. E.
- <sup>12</sup> Venice, Museo Civico Correr, MS Gradenigo-Dolfin 228, *Johannes Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudieribus [...]*, II, 1754, fol. 96.
- <sup>13</sup> The documents were published most recently in: Tullio Lombardo: documenti e testimonianze (n. 1), pp. 25–32, docs. 1–3, and were ably summarized by *Matteo Ceriana*, Osservazioni sulla cappella maggiore del Duomo di Treviso e sulla committenza del vescovo Giovanni da Udine, in: *Venezia arti*, V, 1991, pp. 134–136. The document of January 1484 was dated “die lune vigesimoquarto ianuarii”. But in January 1484 Monday was the 25th, which I think, therefore, is the likelier date than the 24th. *Matteo Ceriana*, in: Tullio Lombardo, documenti e testimonianze (n. 1), pp. 323–329, placed the documents within their historical context.
- <sup>14</sup> *John Pope-Hennessy*, Italian Renaissance Sculpture, London 1958, p. 110.
- <sup>15</sup> The bishop is called Johannes Zanettus, although Zanetto is merely a Venetian form of the Latin Johannes, and his year of death is anticipated by two years. The inscription reads: HONORI ET VIRTUTI / JOH. ZANNETTI ARCHIEP THEB / EPISC TARV MVNIFICENTISSIMI / CVJVS CORPVS SITVM EST SVB PAVIMENTO / A. MCCCCLXXXIII.
- <sup>16</sup> *Biscaro* (n. 11), p. 158.
- <sup>17</sup> *Wendy Stedman Sheard*, Tullio Lombardo in Rome? The Arch of Constantine, the Vendramin Tomb, and the reinvention of monumental classicizing relief, in: *Artibus et historiae*, XVIII, 1997, 35, p. 179, n. 59, traced this nineteenth-century artifact to a classical Roman source in Santi Apostoli, Rome, from which she deduced that Zanetto was paying homage to the Della Rovere family. Following *Giovanni Mariacher*, Pietro Lombardo a Venezia, in: *Arte veneta*, IX, 1955, p. 50, *Gianmario Guidarelli*, Sante Lombardo e la costruzione della facciata meridionale della Scuola Grande di San Rocco a Venezia, 1524–1527, in: *Venezia Cinquecento*, XIV, 2004, 28, p. 49, labeled his caption of an illustration of the eagle “Tullio Lombardo”. That there originally was an eagle, which the current one replaces, in this position, probably in this pose, and quite possibly by Tullio, is strongly suggested by *Tommaso Temanza*, *Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani che fiorirono nel secolo decimosesto*, Venice 1778, p. 118, who wrote of the singular satisfaction of the *trevigiani* in the “bell’aquila nel deposito del Vescovo Zanetti scolpita da Tullio”.
- <sup>18</sup> [*Matteo Sernagiotto*], Appendice. Cose d’arte. Il monumento Zannetti nel Coro della nostra Cattedrale, in: *Gazzetta di Treviso*, III, 1868, 97, 7 April, p. 2, referring to a cleaning of fifteen years earlier that left the tomb “monca e deturpata”. The article was cited by *Ceriana*, 1991 (n. 13), p. 142, n. 43.
- <sup>19</sup> The figure at right measures 102 cm in height without its base of 3 cm. Zanetto measures 97.4 cm in height without its 3.5 cm high base.
- <sup>20</sup> In contemporary works he appears as a young, beardless knight wearing armor or a short garment with a chlamys, holding a banner with a white cross on it. According to the most extensive account of the saint’s life, *Nicolò Mauro, Vita del glorioso cavaliere, et confessore di Cristo Santo Liberale d’Altino de’ Trivigiani padrone, e protettore*, Treviso 1591, p. 8, “[San Liberale] entrò nell’ordine della sacra militia, et fu con le ordinarie solennità creato Cavaliere”. Three coins, probably minted at Treviso in 1474 under the dogate of Nicolò Marcello, show the saint wearing a short belted tunic with a slightly longer cloak, holding a sword and banner: *Rambaldo degli Azzoni Avogaro, Trattato della Zecca e delle Monete ch’ebbero corso in Trivigi fin tutto il secolo XIV*, in *Guid’Antonio Zanetti, Nuova raccolta delle monete e zecche d’Italia*, IV, Bologna 1785, pp. 140–141 and tav. II, figs. 24–26. For the iconography of St. Liberale, see *Louis Réau, Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, III.2, Paris 1958, pp. 805–806; *Lieselotte Schütz, Liberalis von Treviso*, in: *LCl*, VII, Freiburg



- i. B. 1974, col. 402; *Kaftal*, Saints III, Florence 1978, cols. 617–620, no. 179; *Kaftal*, Saints IV, Florence 1985, cols. 433–436, no. 142. To the examples cited in these works, there should be added the statue of St. Liberale by Paolo Campsa in the altar dedicated to the saint in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello; also Marco Basaiti, *Madonna adoring the Christ Child with Sts. Peter and Liberale*, Padua, Museo Civico (inv. 33); Vincenzo dalle Destre (?), *Madonna and Child enthroned between Sts. Andrew and Liberale*, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia (inv. 1011); Lorenzo Lotto, *Madonna and Child enthroned with four saints*, Quinto di Treviso, Santa Cristina.
- <sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, *Hans Gerhard Brand*, *Die Grabmonumente Pietro Lombardos. Studien zum venezianischen Wandgrabmal des späten Quattrocento*, Diss. Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen/Nuremberg 1977, pp. 243–247, was convinced he was a saint and identified him as the young John the Evangelist.
- <sup>22</sup> The anomalousness of this figure was also remarked by *Brand* (n. 21), pp. 237–238.
- <sup>23</sup> God the Father measures 135.3 cm in height together with his integral base of 5.5 cm. The base with a cherub's head measures 15.5 cm in height.
- <sup>24</sup> I know of only two in all of Renaissance Venetian art: Nanni di Bartolo's statue crowning the main portal of the Basilica of San Nicola at Tolentino and God the Father at the summit of the facade of Santa Maria dei Miracoli from the Lombardo shop.
- <sup>25</sup> In view of this extraordinary indifference to the iconographic significance of the tomb's several figures, it seems to me highly unlikely that the *cassone* would be freighted with the meaning *Alison Luchs*, The mermaids of Venice. Fantastic sea creatures in Venetian Renaissance art, Turnhout 2010, pp. 63–65, ascribed to it. According to her, "the young sea hybrids with their vessels and snakes allude to ancient powers of the submarine underworld, transcended through the Christian sacrament that offers triumph over death [the Eucharist], and renewed life with God." In my view, the motifs of the *cassone* merely betray the sculptor's desire to fill the surface with highly decorative and animate motifs rendered *all'antica*. The variety of contexts — both profane and sacred — in which such classicizing motifs recur, and the frequency of their appearance, strongly suggest that they were generally, if not always, devoid of symbolic meaning.
- <sup>26</sup> *Pomponio Gaurico*, *De sculptura*, transl. and ed. *Paolo Cutolo*, Naples 1999, pp. 250–251, correcting the translation in *Pomponius Gauricus*, *De sculptura* (1504), eds. *André Chastel/Robert Klein*, Geneva 1969, pp. 254–255. The passage reads: "Circumferebantur in pompae morem Tarvisii epistyliorum coronae, quas ille iunior variis intercaelarat foliorum ornamentis. Aderat Crispus partim aemulatione, quam cum patre Tullii gerebat, partim et tantae novitatis fama permotus. Cunctis igitur admirantibus, qui tanta veritate fieri potuerit, nunquam prius e marmore coronas factas fassus est quam gladiolo id ita esse deprehenderit. Quod mirius miraculum huic comparari potuerit? prudentissimum artificem Tullii caelatura deceptum." I am grateful to Alison Luchs for pointing this out to me.
- <sup>27</sup> *Anne Markham Schulz*, *Antonio Rizzo, sculptor and architect*, Princeton (NJ) 1983, p. 57.
- <sup>28</sup> Noted also by *Robert Munman*, *The Lombardo family and the tomb of Giovanni Zanetti*, in: *Art Bull.*, LIX, 1977, pp. 35–36. The *cassone* measures 113 cm in height (with its feet) by 261 cm in width. For the reliefs from Ferrara, now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, see *Gli Este a Ferrara* (n. 3), pp. 132–185 (*Sergej Androssov*, *James David Draper*).
- <sup>29</sup> In this regard, I take issue with *Ceriana*, 1991 (n. 13), p. 143, n. 49; *Alison Luchs*, *Tullio Lombardo and ideal portrait sculpture in Renaissance Venice, 1490–1530*, Cambridge *et al.* 1995, p. 38, with earlier bibliography; and *Adriana Augusti*, *Tullio Lombardo*, in: *Il genio e le passioni: Leonardo e il Cenacolo. Precedenti, innovazioni, riflessi di un capolavoro*, exhibition Milan, cat. ed. by *Pietro C. Marani*, Geneva/Milan 2001, p. 244, who credited the carving of the *cassone* to both brothers. Despite his recognition of the affinity between the Zanetto *cassone* and the reliefs from the Camerino d'alabastro, *Munman* (n. 28), pp. 35–36, also was persuaded by Gauricus' dubious testimony to ascribe the frieze jointly to both brothers. Most recently *Luchs* (n. 25), pp. 65–66, distinguished between the boy sea monster on the left by Antonio Lombardo, and his mate on the right by a different sculptor, but not necessarily Tullio.
- <sup>30</sup> For a review of the various attributions of the cleric, called San Liberale, up to 1984, see *Ceriana*, 1991 (n. 13), p. 143, n. 49, who on this occasion refrained from deciding between the brothers (p. 138). Fourteen years later, however, *Ceriana*, 2005 (n. 3), p. 531, assigned the figure to Tullio, as did *Massimo Ferretti*, *Il 'San Marco' del Duomo di Ravenna: Tullio Lombardo caccia due intrusi dal 'Thieme-Becker'*, in: *Prospettiva*, 95–96, 1999, p. 19, n. 23; *Augusti* (n. 29), p. 244; and *Sarchi*, 2008 (n. 3), p. 63. Persuaded by *Munman* (n. 28), p. 31, *Luchs* (n. 29), p. 38, gave the design, but not the execution, to Tullio.
- <sup>31</sup> For an attribution of the statue to Pietro, based on comparison with several certain works of his, see *Munman* (n. 28), pp. 29/31.
- <sup>32</sup> For a review of the various attributions of the effigy of Zanetto up to 1984, see *Ceriana*, 1991 (n. 13), p. 143, n. 49; he, himself, refrained from taking a position (p. 138). *Luchs* (n. 29), p. 38, followed by *Augusti* (n. 29), p. 244, was persuaded by *Munman's* (n. 28), pp. 31–35, attribution of Zanetto to Antonio Lombardo. Although in 2005, *Sarchi*, 2005 (n. 3), pp. 500–501, considered a distinction of hands "problematica", a few years later

- (*eadem*, 2008 [n. 3], pp. 63–65), she did not hesitate to support her attribution of Zanetto to Antonio by a comparison of the effigy with the kneeling figure in Antonio's relief of the *Madonna and Child with saints* in the Palazzina di Marfisa d'Este in Ferrara — a comparison I find unintelligible. Although he thought that both figures had been designed and overseen by Pietro, *Brand* (n. 21), pp. 236 and 242–243, forbore from giving Zanetto and his counterpart to either one of the brothers.
- <sup>33</sup> *Anne Markham Schulz*, Ripensando la Cappella Badoer-Giustinian in San Francesco della Vigna, in *eadem/Manuela Morresi/Toto Bergamo Rossi*, La Cappella Badoer-Giustinian in San Francesco della Vigna a Venezia, Florence 2003, pp. 54–58, recapitulating arguments made by *eadem*, 1977 (n. 3), pp. 30–36.
- <sup>34</sup> *G. B. Cervellini*, Inventario dei monumenti iconografici d'Italia, Treviso/Trent 1933, no. 86. See also *Lucio Bonora*, Prodromi sulla ritrattistica dei Vescovi di Treviso, in: Treviso cristiana: 2000 anni di fede. Percorso storico, iconografico, artistico nella Diocesi, exhibition Treviso, cat. ed. by *idem/Eugenio Manzato/Ivano Sartor*, Treviso 2000, p. 72.
- <sup>35</sup> *Antonio Sartori*, Archivio Sartori: documenti di storia e arte francescana, II: La provincia del Santo dei Frati Minori Conventuali, ed. *Giovanni Luisetto*, Padua 1986, pt. 2, pp. 1745–1746, no. 11, p. 1803, no. 28, and p. 1822, no. 31.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 1803–1804, no. 29. *Isidoro Gatti*, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari: storia di una presenza francescana a Venezia, Venice 1992, p. 63, also referred the commission to a reliquary for the Holy Blood. For a description of the reliquary, see: Le orficerie gotiche e rinascimentali del tesoro della Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, ed. *Paolo Pazzi*, Venice 1976, pp. 70–73, no. 26. The history of the reliquary has been examined in depth by *Donal Cooper/Marijana Kovačević*, Relikvijar Presvete krvi Kristove u bazilici Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari u Veneciji – djelo zlatarskog majstora Evandelisti Vidulova iz Zadra, in: Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, XXXIV, 2010, pp. 51–62. I am grateful to Donal Cooper for sharing information on the reliquary with me.
- <sup>37</sup> *Paoletti* (n. 4), II, p. 216.
- <sup>38</sup> *Marc'Antonio Sabellico*, *De situ urbis Venetae libri tres*, n. p., n. d. [p. 12]. For the dating of this book, see *Giovanni Mercati*, Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti, Vatican City 1939, II, pp. 13–14, especially the notes to p. 14.
- <sup>39</sup> *Francesco Sansovino*, *Venetia, citta nobilissima et singolare, descritta in XIII libri*, Venice 1581, p. 65v.
- <sup>40</sup> See the apostolic visitation of that date published by *Remigio Ritzer*, Gli atti della visita apostolica del 1581 ai conventi di S. Maria Gloriosa e di S. Nicoletto dei frati minori conventuali in Venezia, in: Miscellanea francescana, LXIX, 1969, p. 169.
- <sup>41</sup> *Sartori* (n. 35), II.2, p. 1982, no. 161, transcribing a report of 10 June 1896. See also *ibidem*, p. 1987, no. 181; *Antonio Sartori*, S. M. Gloriosa dei Frari, Venezia, Padua 1956, p. 57. On p. 56, Sartori reproduced a Naya photograph which shows our tabernacle at the center of Cabianca's reliquary shrine. *Giambattista Soràvia*, Le chiese di Venezia, II, Venice 1823, p. 50, mentioned the relic but evidently did not see the tabernacle.
- <sup>42</sup> *Giulio Lorenzetti*, Venezia e il suo estuario, Rome 1926, p. 552.
- <sup>43</sup> *Erich Hubala* in *Erich Egg et al.*, Reclams Kunstführer Italien, II: Oberitalien Ost, ed. *Manfred Wundram*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 819. *Luchs* (n. 29), p. 143, n. 66, also thought the tabernacle had been rearranged.
- <sup>44</sup> *Sartori* (n. 35), II.2, p. 1982, no. 161, anonymous entry of 10 June 1896. The following year, *Paoletti* (n. 4), II, p. 216, observed the correspondence between the tabernacle and the carving of Santa Maria dei Miracoli by Pietro Lombardo and his extended shop. The attribution to Pietro Lombardo prevailed in the guidebooks of *Lorenzetti* (n. 42), p. 552, and *Michelangelo Muraro*, Nuova guida di Venezia e delle sue isole, Florence 1953, p. 280.
- <sup>45</sup> *Jacob Burckhardt*, Der Cicerone, with *Wilhelm Bode/Cornelius von Fabriczy*, Leipzig 1904, II, p. 513h. *Leo Planiscig*, Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance, Vienna 1921, p. 229, disagreed, but made no attribution of his own.
- <sup>46</sup> *John McAndrew*, Venetian architecture of the early Renaissance, Cambridge (MA)/London 1980, pp. 189–190; *Luciano Marini*, La Basilica dei Frari, Venice 1981, p. 38; *Rona Goffen*, Piety and patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian, and the Franciscans, New Haven/London 1986, p. 21; *Adriana Augusti/Sara Giacomelli Scalabrin*, Basilica dei Frari, arte e devozione, Rome/Venice 1994, p. 7, no. 72. *Wendy Stedman Sheard*, The Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin in Venice by Tullio Lombardo, Ph. D. Diss., Yale University, New Haven (CT) 1971 (typescript), I, p. 397, n. 18, gave the figure of St. Francis to Tullio. *Matteo Ceriana*, Opere di Tullio Lombardo diminuite o scomparse (e altre minuzie), in: Tullio Lombardo, scultore e architetto (n. 1), pp. 26 and 30, fig. 13, assigned the statuettes to Tullio, but hesitantly proposed Antonio Lombardo as author of the *sportello*. The attribution of the tabernacle to Bartolomeo Bellano made by Mario Lorandi and Leopoldo Fior (Basilica Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari. Guida storico-artistica, eds. *eadem*, Padua 2006, p. 92), does not merit discussion. Rightly consigned to oblivion is the attribution to Alessandro Leopardi, made by *Venturi* (n. 10), VI, p. 1096.
- <sup>47</sup> *Giovanni Mariacher*, Tullio Lombardo studies, in: Burl. Mag., XCVI, 1954, p. 373, n. 14.

- <sup>48</sup> *Eberhard Rubmer*, Antonio Lombardo, Versuch einer Charakteristik, in: *Arte veneta*, XXVIII, 1974, p. 50.
- <sup>49</sup> *Sarchi*, 2008 (n. 3), pp. 84 and 328, fig. 48.
- <sup>50</sup> The Baptist measures 55.5 cm in height together with its base. Its base measures 2.3 cm x 14.1 cm x 13 cm. St. Francis measures 55.5 cm in height together with its base. Its base measures 2.5 cm x 16.1 cm x 13.7 cm.
- <sup>51</sup> For the completion of the tomb 37 years after the doge's death, see *Anne Markham Schulz*, Il problema della scultura tarda di Tullio Lombardo, in: *Prospettiva*, 115–116, 2004, p. 64, n. 52.
- <sup>52</sup> La scultura di Sante Lombardo, in: *Arte veneta*, LXVI, 2009, pp. 44–45.
- <sup>53</sup> The two Mocenigo reliefs were first contrasted by *Leo Planiscig*, Del Giorgionismo nella scultura veneziana all'inizio del Cinquecento, in: *Boll. d'arte*, series III, XXVIII, 1934–1935, pp. 152–154, who tentatively assigned the *Baptism of Christ*, supposedly carved under the influence of Giorgione, to Antonio Lombardo and unconditionally assigned the classicizing *Baptism of Anianus* to Tullio. *Pope-Hennessy* (n. 14), pp. 353–354; *Franca Zava Boccazzi*, La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia, Padua 1965, pp. 142–144; *Charles Seymour Jr*, Sculpture in Italy 1400 to 1500, Harmondsworth 1966, p. 199, and *Robert Munman*, Venetian Renaissance tomb monuments, Ph. D. Diss. Harvard University, Cambridge (MA) 1968, pp. 279–281, were persuaded by Planiscig's division of hands.
- <sup>54</sup> Cfr. *Sarchi*, 2008 (n. 3), and *eadem*, 2005 (n. 3), pp. 499–504, in which the relief is never cited.
- <sup>55</sup> *Michael Maek-Gérard*, Tullio Lombardo. Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der venezianischen Werkstatt bis zu den Auswirkungen des Krieges gegen die Liga von Cambrai, Diss. Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt a. M. 1974, pp. 274–275, 277, and *Matteo Ceriana*, La scultura veneziana al tempo di Giorgione, in: *Da Bellini* (n. 3), pp. 265–267, and *idem* (n. 46), pp. 34–35, followed by *Motoaki Ishii*, Il battesimo come illuminazione: qualche riflessione sul monumento del doge Giovanni Mocenigo di Tullio Lombardo, *ibidem*, pp. 102–103.
- <sup>56</sup> *Francesco Bartoli*, *Le pitture sculture ed architetture della città di Rovigo*, Venice 1793, p. 69.
- <sup>57</sup> *Anne Markham Schulz*, Precisazioni su Giambattista e Lorenzo Bregno, in: *Arte veneta*, LXIV, 2007, pp. 7–9.
- <sup>58</sup> Tullio Lombardo: documenti e testimonianze (n. 1).
- <sup>59</sup> *Sabine Eiche*, The Sforza antiquities: Two wills and a collection, in: *Flor. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1987, pp. 163 and 165, n. 13: “El Corpo mio voglio sia messo ad S. Giovanni Battista inante allo Altare grande dal canto di sopra appresso lo sgabello dell'Altare, et che el si compra da li Fra o di S. Giovanni Battista o de Santo Francesco uno lavello di quelli adoperano a lavar i panni, nel quale voglio sia posto el corpo mio, et de sopra coperto di quello si potrà, finche si faccia far' una preta per coperchio a Venezia da M.ro Tullio figlio di M.ro Pietro Lombardo, su la quale lasso al nostro Baraccaglia, che gli faccia qualche bello motto digno di memoria.”

## RIASSUNTO

Una recente campagna fotografica, unita allo studio diretto delle opere, permette di risolvere varie attribuzioni discusse di opere provenienti dalla bottega degli scultori veneziani quattrocenteschi Pietro, Tullio e Antonio Lombardo.

Nella lunetta del portale di ingresso della chiesa di San Giobbe, dove figura un rilievo di *San Francesco e Giobbe* ad opera di Pietro, la figura di Giobbe viene qui per la prima volta assegnata a Tullio, e potrebbe ben essere la sua prima opera identificabile. Si argomenta inoltre che il monumento funebre del vescovo Zanetto nella cattedrale di Treviso deve il suo aspetto un po' deludente alla palese trascuratezza da parte di Pietro nell'assemblare statue forse pensate per altre sedi e a un disastroso restauro ottocentesco. Mentre il cassone e la figura di chierico (non san Liberale) risultano essere di Antonio, la statua del vescovo è attribuita a Tullio. Al primo Cinquecento può essere datato il tabernacolo per una reliquia del Preziosissimo Sangue nella sacrestia di Santa Maria dei Frari, che in parte assembla pezzi eterogenei, in base allo stile delle statuette — dove *Sant'Antonio/Francesco* è di Antonio e *San Giovanni Battista* di Tullio. Infine, l'autrice ritiene che il rilievo del *Battesimo di Cristo* nel monumento funebre del doge Giovanni Mocenigo in Santi Giovanni e Paolo non solo sia di Tullio, ma sia anche uno dei suoi lavori più belli.

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