

THE SCULPTURES IN THE CHAPEL OF THE VILLA GIUSTINIAN  
AT RONCADE, AND THEIR RELATION TO THOSE  
IN THE GIUSTINIAN CHAPEL AT SAN FRANCESCO DELLA VIGNA

*In memory of Ulrich Middeldorf*

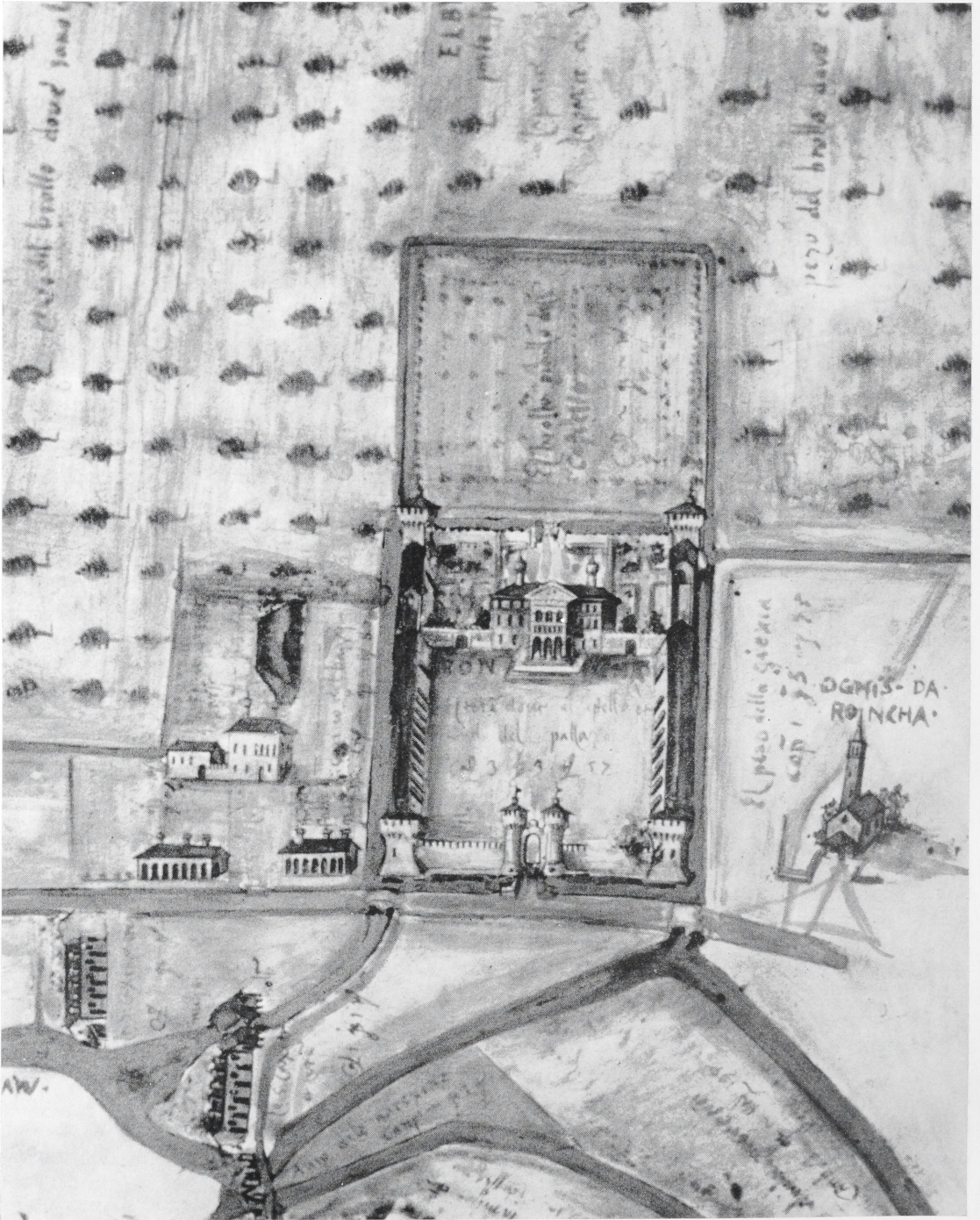
*by Douglas Lewis*

The splendid "villa-castello" in the market town of Roncade near Treviso (Figs. 1-2), built about 1511-13 on her family's ancestral lands by Agnesina Badoer and her second husband Girolamo Giustinian, has lately been the subject of a thorough monograph which has convincingly attributed the architectural complex to Tullio Lombardo (c. 1455-1532).<sup>1</sup> The villa chapel later incorporated within the castle's battlemented walls, however, remains essentially unpublished<sup>2</sup>; and whereas its modest structure (Fig. 3) might readily be dismissed as the somewhat provincial product of an architectural follower within the Lombardo shop (such as for example Tullio's own son Sante), or might even reflect the limited talent of its patron as an amateur of architecture, its decorative contents on the other hand include four sculptures of capital importance, which provide crucial evidence toward the solution of several celebrated problems in late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento Venetian sculpture.

The first of these are probably the two finest works with which this study will be concerned, a beautiful pair of high reliefs within elaborate tabernacle frames, whose respective representations of the *Madonna and Child with two Cherubim* (Fig. 4) and *St. Jerome with his Lion and two Cherubim* (Fig. 5) are placed midway along the lateral walls of the Roncade chapel.<sup>3</sup> While not identical in size or details, the matching tabernacles were clearly made as pendants, for their delicate Corinthian aedicules share variants of the same foliated pilaster and frieze panels, and lunette reliefs of *God the Father among four Cherubim*, within architectonic frames whose molding details and acroterial ornaments are precisely similar. The central relief panel of the half-length *Madonna and Child* is only very slightly taller than it is wide, giving its tabernacle the sturdy proportions of a nearly square aperture; the full-length seated figure of *St. Jerome* necessitates a longer relief, accommodated within a correspondingly taller tabernacle frame.

Apart from the fact that the level of quality evident in these pendant reliefs is most unusually high for non-metropolitan examples of Venetian Quattrocento sculpture, the most surprising thing about them is that their present manifestations at Roncade are modern plaster casts. This inevitably suggests the possibility that they represent family copies retained after the sale of marble originals, and indeed the marble *St. Jerome* (Fig. 6) is now to be found in the Museo Bardini in Florence<sup>4</sup>, while the original of the *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 7) was sold by Bardini in 1894 to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London<sup>5</sup> (although the two have not, to my knowledge, ever hitherto been associated). The London *Madonna* tabernacle is complete, retaining even a low-relief cherub-head scroll bracket beneath the frame that was not reproduced in the cast for Roncade; but the Bardini *St. Jerome* preserves only the central relief panel with a corresponding bracket, and lacks the entire apparatus of frame and lunette, whose only images are thus to be found in its Roncade cast. The date of these reproductions, thus providential not only for the association and history but also for the forms of their distinguished originals, probably closely precedes Bardini's sale of the *Madonna* to South Kensington, since the early 1890s were the final





1 Roncade, Villa Giustinian: drawing of the "villa-castello" on an estate map of 1536. Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale.





2 Roncade, Villa Giustinian, c. 1511-1513, attributed to Tullio Lombardo.

years in the life of the last male descendant of the villa builders, Girolamo Lorenzo Giustinian — whose niece Elisabetta, with whom he had been associated immediately before on some rearrangements of the family tombs at Roncade, had in fact died on the 18th of February in the same year of 1894.<sup>6</sup>

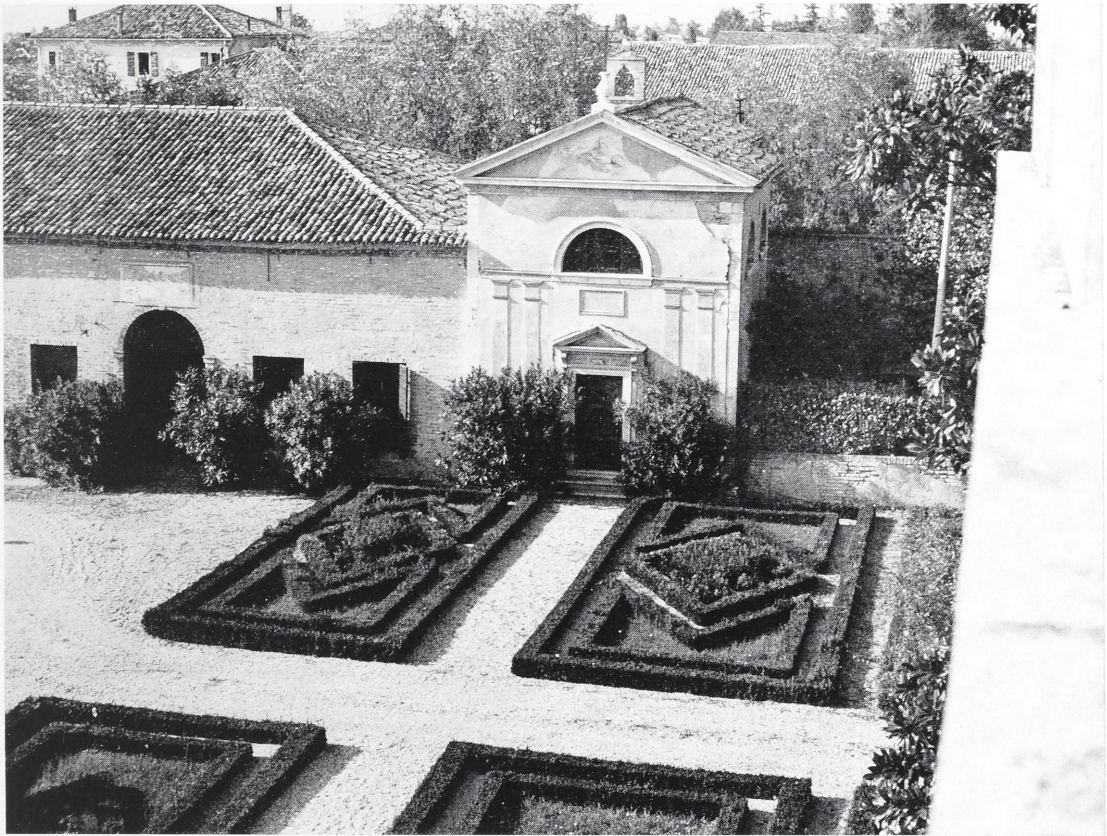
The Victoria and Albert *Madonna* is a slightly modified reversal of the famous *Madonna della Biade* in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, and John Pope-Hennessy has already suggested the likelihood “that [the London *Madonna and Child*] and the *Madonna della Biade* were commissioned about 1475 from the studio of Pietro Lombardo, but were executed by two different hands”.<sup>7</sup> The remarkable accuracy of this proposal can now be demonstrated, for our Giustinian provenance of the London *Madonna* affords a proof that these ‘twin’ reliefs were in fact the results of near-simultaneous orders to the early Lombardo shop (or to a related shop such as that of Giovanni Buora) by the same patron, and represent in effect the public and private commissions of essentially the same image by a single man.



This enlightened patron was the father of Agnesina Badoer Giustinian, Girolamo Badoer (1429-1495)<sup>8</sup>, whose *stemma* appears prominently beneath the *Madonna della Biade* as one of its commissioning magistrates, and who is already celebrated as one of the principal patrician patrons of S. Francesco della Vigna — to whose monastery in his home parish of S. Giustina in Venice, in addition to the gift of many books, he left a legacy of four hundred golden pounds.<sup>9</sup> From a testamentary memorandum of 1494 and a probated will of 1 July 1495<sup>10</sup>, we know that Girolamo Badoer was also heavily involved at the end of his life in substantial works of construction and sculptural embellishment at the church of S. Francesco, centering around the freestanding precinct of a new monks' choir, and a neighboring chapel whose concession he had obtained as a site of future tombs for himself and his family. Girolamo Badoer's choir for S. Francesco has never been studied, while the chronology and decoration of his nearby family chapel have been problematical, owing chiefly to the dismantling of both structures during Jacopo Sansovino's rebuilding of the church in the mid-sixteenth century. Since the pendant reliefs of the *Madonna* now in London and *St. Jerome* in the Museo Bardini, whose representations we have found preserved in the private chapel of Girolamo's and his daughter Agnesina's country estate at Roncade, can also be shown to have had direct associations with Girolamo's family chapel at his local church of S. Francesco della Vigna in Venice, it is thus important to review the evidence they can offer for an involvement by successive generations of the Badoer-Giustinian clan in the sculptural decoration of that famous church.

Girolamo Badoer's father Giacomo had died prematurely in the 1440s while Girolamo was still in his teens, having been predeceased by Girolamo's mother. The boy was subsequently raised by the uncle for whom he had been named, and the elder and younger Girolamo Badoers evidently became deeply devoted to each other, to judge from the exceptional language of the will by which the former, on his death in 1476, left his entire estate to his adopted son.<sup>11</sup> The latter, in turn, seems very likely to have reciprocated by ordering the pendant tabernacles later preserved at Roncade as images of pious memory for the embellishment of the family tomb in S. Francesco, in which his uncle had requested in his testament to be buried, and where his father — the elder Girolamo's brother — had also been interred.<sup>12</sup> We have already seen that the younger Girolamo Badoer was responsible during the reign of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo (that is during the year 1481-82) for the public commission of the *Madonna della Biade*, itself an image of pious charity, and a near twin to the private devotional relief of the *Madonna and Child* which we have encountered in the villa chapel of his and his daughter's country estate.<sup>13</sup> Two further facts seem to clinch the association of the Florence and London tabernacles with the Quattrocento Badoer tombs in S. Francesco della Vigna. The first is that the Bardini relief is, after all, dedicated to St. Jerome, the name saint of both Girolamo Badoers; but instead of being merely a hubristic celebration of himself by its putative patron, its memorial association with a beloved uncle seems far more representative of what we know about the younger Girolamo, from the testimony of his own charitable works in the Magistracy of Grains and in the Monastery of S. Francesco, as well as from the indications of his character which are given in his uncle's, his own, and his daughter's wills.<sup>14</sup> Secondly, the usually reliable Giulio Lorenzetti reported in his magisterial guide to Venice that a Badoer chapel had been begun in 1478 in the old church of S. Francesco della Vigna, as the result of a bequest by a certain Girolamo Badoer.<sup>15</sup> Until the source of this information is rediscovered the date cannot be verified, but it may well record documentary data available to Lorenzetti which have not reappeared; and it does correspond most significantly with both the death and testamentary bequest of the elder Girolamo Badoer in 1476, and the evidently immediately sub-



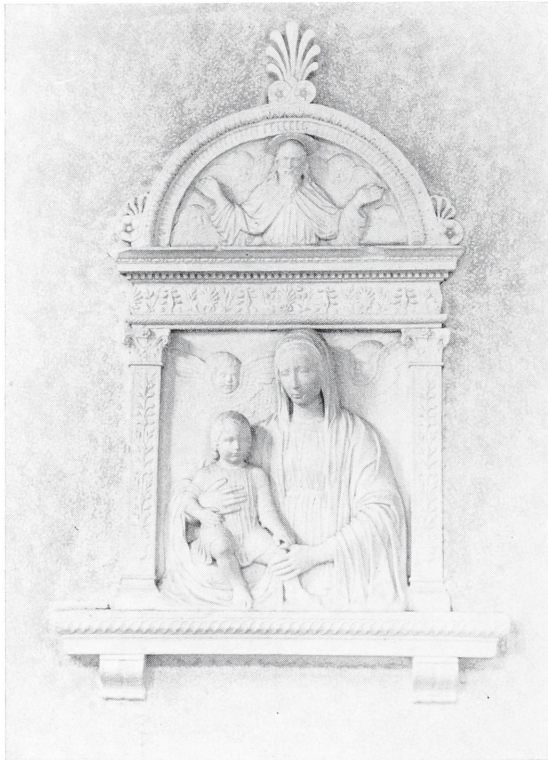


3 Roncade, Villa Giustinian, chapel, c. 1542-1543.

sequent commission of matching *Madonna* and *St. Jerome* tabernacles by a filially devoted nephew, who was the simultaneous patron of a closely comparable public relief from the same shop.

Lorenzetti's report of a Badoer involvement in 1478 with a separate family chapel, at S. Francesco, is perhaps not necessarily at variance with the elder Girolamo Badoer's near-contemporary testamentary reference simply to "*l'archa nostra*" ("our family tomb"), a mausoleum which was apparently located in this period on the inner facade wall next to the main door of the old church.<sup>16</sup> The Florence and London reliefs here assigned to the patronage of the younger Girolamo Badoer in 1476-78 are in fact precisely adapted for installation in such a spot, because of their character as mural tabernacles, and are also fully appropriate as memorial images dedicated both to Girolamo's late uncle and long-dead parents, all of whom we know to have been buried in that early sepulchre. But the burials of this elder generation seem to have exhausted the capacity of that ancient monument, for when Girolamo's elder brother Cav. Sebastian Badoer died in the 1490s he was interred in the monastic cloister of S. Francesco, at the center of a Chapel of the Madonna which he may well have patronised.<sup>17</sup> A similar arrangement was also achieved before the end of his life by Girolamo himself, whom we find in his own will of 1495 requesting his burial "a San Franc<sup>o</sup> dela Vigna in l'archa dela mia chapela", or "in the tomb in my [own] chapel".<sup>18</sup>





4 Roncade, Villa Giustinian Chapel, Madonna and Child tabernacle. Reproduction in plaster, c. 1894.



5 Roncade, Villa Giustinian Chapel, St. Jerome tabernacle. Reproduction in plaster, c. 1894.

This new Badoer tomb chapel was evidently at the east end of S. Francesco, a conclusion which can be deduced from the fact that Girolamo was working in 1494 (as we know from his testamentary memorandum mentioned earlier) on completing "the foundations, walls, and timbering of the church of S. Francesco so as to extend it, and also extending the apse and singing gallery [or monks' choir] as it has been designed, with  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the choir in the apse, and  $\frac{2}{3}$  of it in the church".<sup>19</sup> The area behind the east end of S. Francesco was Badoer land, and a kinsman of Girolamo's later made a significant donation of other parts of it to accommodate Sansovino's sixteenth-century rebuilding of the church; the ceded but unbuilt space became the monastic cemetery, and even such a notable as the great Daniele Barbaro of Maser, Patriarch-Elect of Aquileia and a close cousin of the Badoers, was buried there.<sup>20</sup> It seems highly probable that Girolamo Badoer was engaged in 1494 in supporting an exactly comparable expansion program on the older church, partly for private and partly for charitable ends: his own personal need for the concession of a spacious new family tomb chapel may very well have been secured by his pledge of land and funds for the extension and embellishment of a choir that had been independently desired by the monks. He had both of these projects well under way by 1494, at any rate, and the basic structure of his new chapel, as well as apparently the whole monks' choir, were demonstrably completed by the summer of 1495, when Girolamo in his final testament could leave the choir unmentioned (presumably because his endowment of it had been completed) and could already





6 Pietro Lombardo (and assistants), St. Jerome relief and bracket, marble, 1476-1478. Florence, Museo Bardini.





7 Pietro Lombardo (and assistants), Madonna and Child tabernacle, marble, 1476-1478. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.





8 Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel, as rebuilt by Jacopo Sansovino 1534-1540 ff.





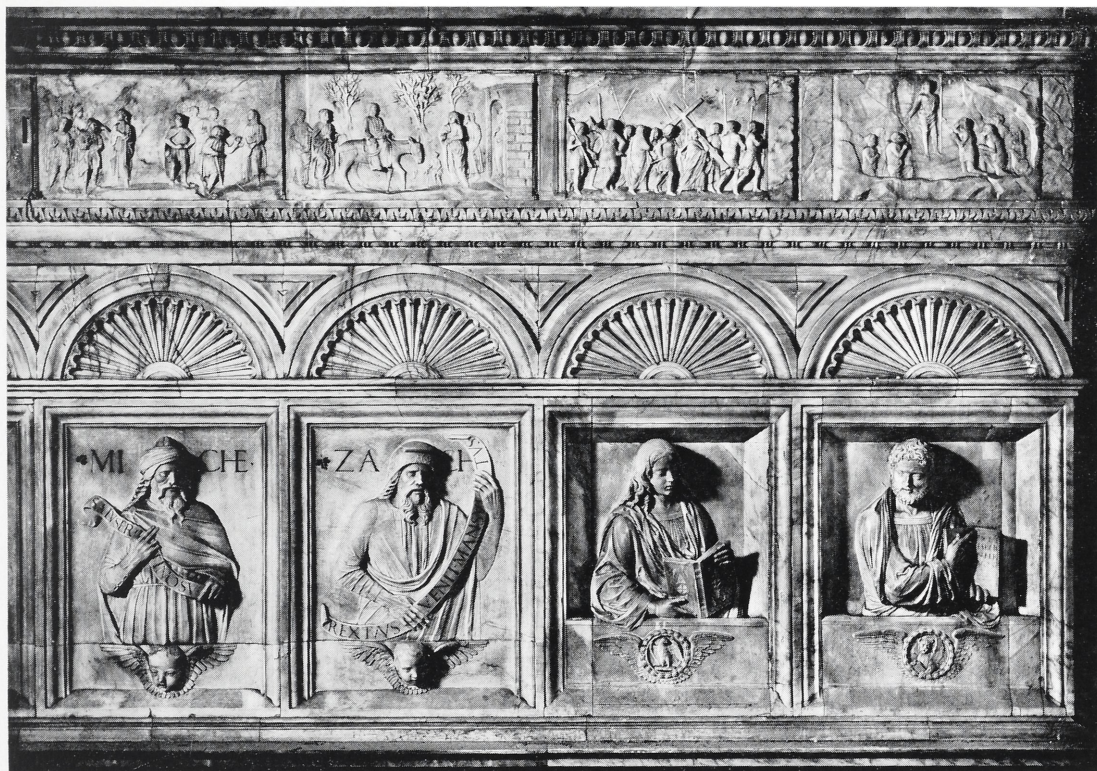
9 Shop of Pietro Lombardo, Reliefs of Prophets (1490-1495) and Scenes from the Life of Christ (1499 ff.), Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel, north wall (left).

request his burial "in the tomb of my chapel"; indeed his wife, in her own will of 30 March 1496 after Girolamo's death, could refer to "the tomb which has already been made at S. Francesco della Vigna by my husband Don Girolamo".<sup>21</sup>

Girolamo Badoer's repeated wishes (in his testamentary drafts of 1494 and 1495) for a large marble altarpiece to adorn his new chapel "on the side of the church toward the cloister", and the survival to the present day of his daughter's commission for such a work, on precisely the same spot for which Girolamo intended it, make it certain that the three successive stages of this chapel — its mural construction by Girolamo Badoer in 1494-95, its sculptural embellishment by his daughter Agnesina Badoer Giustinian in c. 1498-1513<sup>22</sup>, and its complete reconstruction in its present form by her son Marc'Antonio Giustinian and Jacopo Sansovino in 1534-53 (Fig. 8), all occupied exactly the same architectural space. We can also accurately assess the characteristics of sculptural patronage in these three generations of the same family by studying the substantial works which survive from Girolamo Badoer's monastic choir, and from his daughter's and grandson's respective campaigns to adorn the family chapel whose structural shell he had just managed to complete before his death.

Twelve low-relief figures of *Prophets* by sculptors from the workshop of Pietro Lombardo still exist today in S. Francesco della Vigna (Figs. 9-12), and they are closely similar to a corresponding series of *Prophet* reliefs on the monastic choir at the Venetian church of the Frari, which are evidently somewhat earlier productions datable to 1467/68-1475, by Pietro

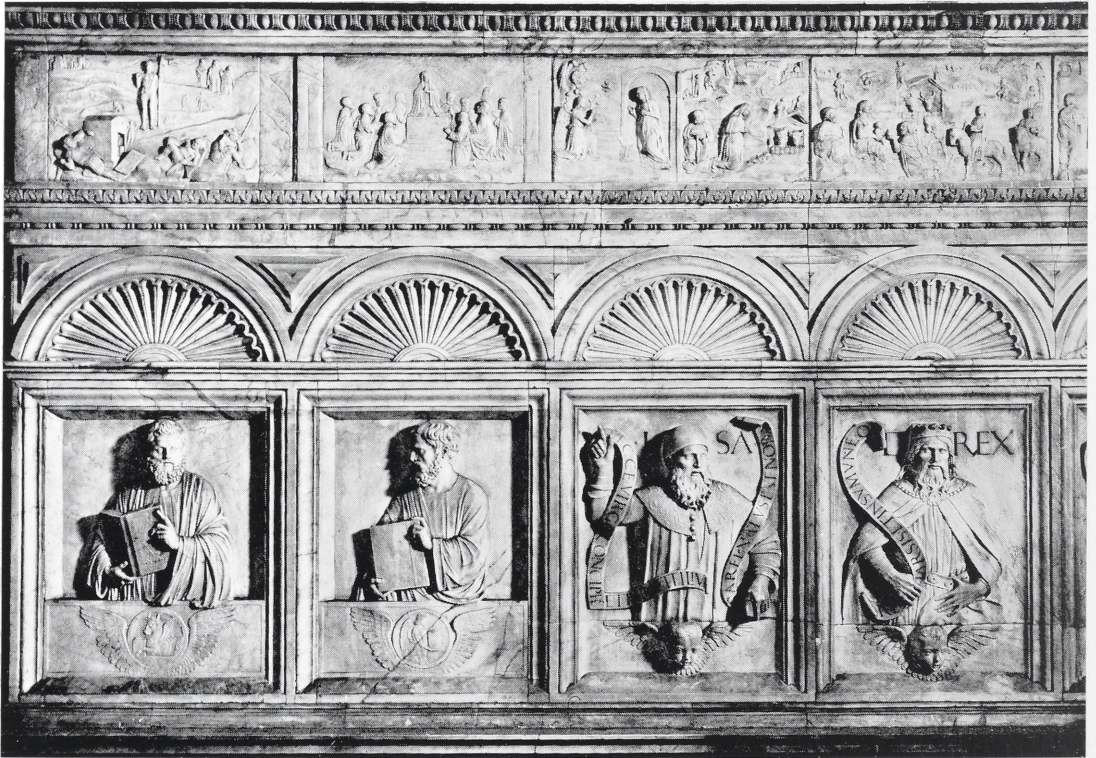




10 Shop of Pietro Lombardo, Reliefs of Prophets and Evangelists (1490-1495) and Scenes from the Life of Christ (1499 ff.). Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel, north wall (right).

Lombardo and some of his same shop assistants. Because of the clear analogies of subject and style with the reliefs on the Frari choir, several historians have postulated a subsequent chronological association of the S. Francesco reliefs.<sup>23</sup> But it has only been possible for more recent scholars to suggest the probability of a typological connection as well, since the study of Girolamo Badoer's memorandum of 1494 has revealed his patronage of a parallel monastic choir in S. Francesco.<sup>24</sup> And indeed such a program seems clearly to have been responsible for the origin of the Vigna *Prophets*, which can be demonstrated to derive from Badoer patronage by their post-Sansovinesque preservation within the Badoer-Giustinian chapel, through the agency of Girolamo's daughter and grandson. Not only are their relief panels precisely related in size and general appearance to the corresponding *Prophets* on the nave front of the Frari choir screen, but there are even closer formal and stylistic links which intimately inter-relate the two series. A *terminus ante* of 1494/95 for the S. Francesco choir is provided by Girolamo Badoer's concern in his memorandum of 1494 to build "the benches" and to complete the choir "as it has been designed", as against the silence of his will of 1495 about any further funds being needed for the project.<sup>25</sup> It seems unlikely that it could have been begun much before the end of the 1480s, since in c. 1484/87 Marc'Antonio Sabellico had described as "modesto e semplice l'ornato della Chiesa"<sup>26</sup>, and since the artists and the Franciscans were both busily absorbed throughout this decade by Pietro Lombardo's construction in 1481-89 of S. Maria dei Miracoli, a subsidiary convent under the control of S. Francesco della Vigna.<sup>27</sup> S. Francesco's resulting choir of c. 1490-94 was





11 Shop of Pietro Lombardo, Reliefs of Evangelists and Prophets (1490-1495) and Scenes from the Life of Christ (1499 ff.), Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel, south wall (left).

dismantled after 1534 by Sansovino, but at that point its reliefs were salvaged, as we shall see, by Girolamo Badoer's descendants for re-use in the present chapel, simultaneously being erected on the site that Girolamo had secured in the 1490s as a setting for the Badoer family tombs, perhaps through the timely gift of his richly decorated choir.

Girolamo Badoer died between the first of July, 1495, and the end of February, 1496, probably soon after writing his will of the former date, in which he requested his daughter to begin the embellishment of their new chapel with an elaborate marble altarpiece.<sup>28</sup> This he wished to be decorated with reliefs of St. Anthony in the center (wearing the habit of S. Francesco), with Saints Jerome and Michael to the sides, and Saints Agnes and Benedict flanking them, with a Madonna above; and all "to be beautifully made, without regard to cost".<sup>29</sup> The highly interesting changes which his daughter Agnesina introduced into her eventual realization of his particularized program bring us not only to the beginning of the sculptural decoration specifically ordered for the Badoer chapel, but also back to our two memorial tabernacles commissioned more than twenty years earlier by Girolamo Badoer, for the influence that we shall find that they had on his daughter's initial works of patronage for S. Francesco della Vigna.

Girolamo Badoer's will was not probated until 22 December 1497<sup>30</sup>, more than two years after his death; so the majority of her future fortune was probably not accessible to Agnesina Badoer during this period. It was a time of major changes for her, since her first husband Benedetto Badoer had died in his mid-twenties in 1494 (leaving her with two infant chil-





12 Shop of Pietro Lombardo, Reliefs of Prophets (1490-1495) and Scenes from the Life of Christ (1499 ff.). Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel, south wall (right).

dren), and two years after her father's death she had married again, in 1497, this time to Girolamo Giustinian.<sup>31</sup> The combination of her most recent bereavement, of her father, and her second marriage to a new husband also named Girolamo, apparently prompted her to substitute an image of *St. Jerome* for her father's recommended *St. Anthony* at the center of her sculptural altarpiece for the family chapel at S. Francesco — which she evidently commissioned at some point after coming into her inheritance, but probably not before the beginning of 1499, since as we shall see it is apparently one of the elements referred to in Agnesina's own will of December 1498 as still remaining to be commissioned. By the date of that document, however, she was actively engaged in ordering the sculptural completion of the chapel, and several works in addition to the large altarpiece survive from the campaign of her embellishments over the next ten or fifteen years.

The altar itself (Fig. 13) is one of the most curious productions of late Quattrocento or early Cinquecento Venetian art. For its two central compartments of *St. Jerome* in the principal register and the *Madonna and Child* in an attic relief directly above, Agnesina requested her new sculptor simply to copy into these positions the respective tabernacles of the same subjects which her father had commissioned from an excellent master or masters in the early Lombardo shop some twenty years before. Perhaps because Pietro Lombardo had just taken the onerous appointment of Protomastro at the Ducal Palace in the preceding year of 1498<sup>32</sup>, however, or perhaps ultimately because even a wealthy young heiress could not command such a master's best talents for a commission focussed principally



on a question of copying, Agnesina was obliged to content herself with the services of what is likely to have been one of the Lombardo shop's most lately arrived and apparently mainland-trained assistants. The result is a kind of coarsened paraphrase of Pietro Lombardo's early Venetian style, interpreted at a distance of nearly a quarter of a century by a sculptor who had neither had the opportunity nor was endowed with the capacity to understand it. The style of this unknown assistant jumps erratically across the whole spectrum of hands and periods available as models in the Lombardo shop.<sup>33</sup> The subtly composed and delicately carved forms of Girolamo Badoer's original tabernacles become exaggerated, hard, and strident in the heavy, mechanical handing of Agnesina's copyist. There are disconcerting shifts of scale among his principal figures, from a very large *Madonna* through a medium-sized *St. Jerome* and still smaller lateral figures, to adult angels almost less tall than flanking infant putti, and a diminutive *God the Father* with miniature putti at the top. The one area in which this mediocre artist offers any sense of individual achievement is in the predella, with its three narrative reliefs from the *Life of St. Jerome* between four pier decorations of *Music-making Angels*, which are almost accomplished enough to suggest the possibility that this apparently provincial sculptor, perhaps initially trained in Lombardy, might possibly have had some connection with Antonio Rizzo on the carving of the Ducal Palace stair before gravitating to the Lombardo shop.<sup>34</sup>

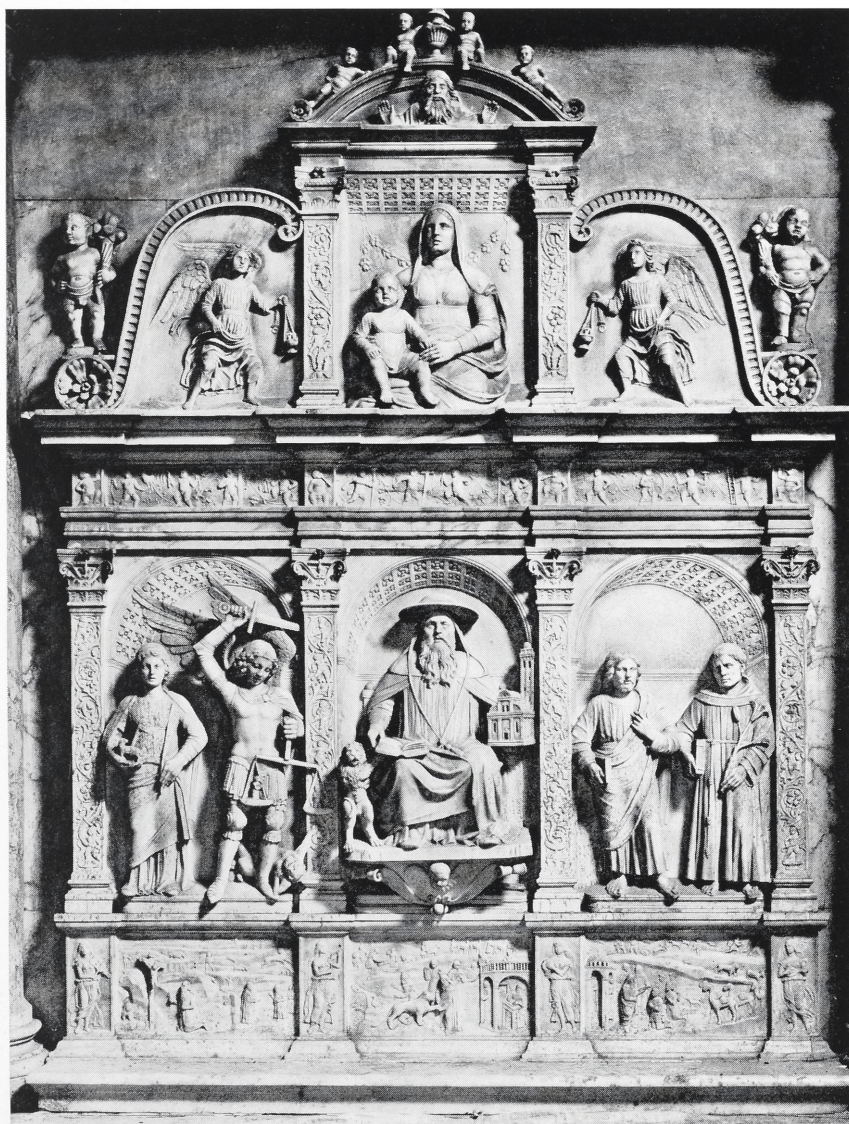
Agnesina Badoer and her new husband Girolamo Giustinian were perhaps slightly better served by the marginally more talented artist who carved, most probably for their chapel at S. Francesco, the two putti (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum) who hold shields emblazoned with the *stemma* symbolizing their dynastic union (Figs. 14-15).<sup>35</sup> Whether these little two-foot figures might have decorated a railing at the entrance to the chapel, or have had some connection either with projected tombs or with the altar itself, we will probably never be able to say with certainty, unless some more descriptive document or drawing of the pre-Sansovino chapel happens someday to appear.

From the considerations already presented, then, we can associate with Agnesina Badoer Giustinian in c. 1498-1513 two *Shield-bearing Putti* now in London as well as the *St. Jerome* altarpiece still in S. Francesco della Vigna; and with her father Girolamo Badoer our two memorial tabernacles of 1476-78 from the family tombs at the other end of the same church (on whose designs his daughter's chapel altarpiece was based), as well as a sculptural cycle of at least twelve *Prophet* reliefs from a monk's choir which he had donated to S. Francesco in c. 1490-94.

In her first will of 22 December 1498 (which is our only explicit evidence for the chronology of her campaign) Agnesina recorded that she was then in the midst of major works at her late father's new chapel, and commented that whereas one end of it had by then been installed according to his wishes, the lateral walls and the other end still remained to be arranged.<sup>36</sup> Since we know that her large altarpiece of *St. Jerome* almost certainly could not have been produced so soon after her receipt of her father's probated estate, and since she refers to the section which is finished as "the beginning" of the chapel<sup>37</sup>, this encourages the conclusion that by 1498 Girolamo Badoer's intended sculptural decoration had already been installed on the entrance walls or screens setting off the approach to the chapel from the north transept, at its entrance just to the left of the monks' choir and chancel.

This hypothesis, in turn, provides for the first time a credible destination for the most problematical series of sculptures associated with the Badoer-Giustinian family, the beautiful cycle of half-length reliefs of the *Four Evangelists* now preserved on the lateral walls of the rebuilt Sansovinesque chapel at S. Francesco (Figs. 10-11, and 16-19). These masterly works, in which the deeply-carved figures stand behind parapets decorated with winged medallions of their Evangelical symbols, have recently been authoritatively attrib-





13 Assistant of Pietro Lombardo, Altarpiece, c. 1510-1513. Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel.

uted to no lesser artists than Pietro Lombardo himself (for the *St. Mark* and *St. John*, Figs. 18-19), in association with his sons Tullio (for *St. Matthew*, Fig. 17) and Antonio (for *St. Luke*, Fig. 16).<sup>38</sup> Heretofore the most puzzling things about these reliefs have been the truly exceptional quality by which they stand out so dramatically from most other works of Badoer-Giustinian patronage, their apparently very flexible date, and the still more mysterious program of their initial destination. The probability (which we are now able to demonstrate with a considerable degree of likelihood) that they were already installed by 1498 in the positions Girolamo Badoer had intended for them, as the ornaments of a sculptural screen at the entrance to his new chapel of 1494-95, immediately resolves all of





14 Shop of Pietro Lombardo, Putto with Giustinian shield, c. 1497. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

these difficulties in the most convincing way. Girolamo was already an established and valuable patron of contemporary sculpture, with commissions extending from his three attractive tabernacle reliefs of c. 1475-78 to the highly important order to the Lombardo shop for a whole monks' choir in c. 1490-94. The significance to the shop of this last project especially would, one trusts, have persuaded Pietro Lombardo and his talented sons to respond with more than usual care to this prominent patrician's next private request, and even to make of it something of a tour-de-force of quality, as a recognizance of the fidelity of his patronage. Exactly this is what seems to have occurred in the production of the Badoer *Evangelists*, whose co-operative authorship, whose perspectival



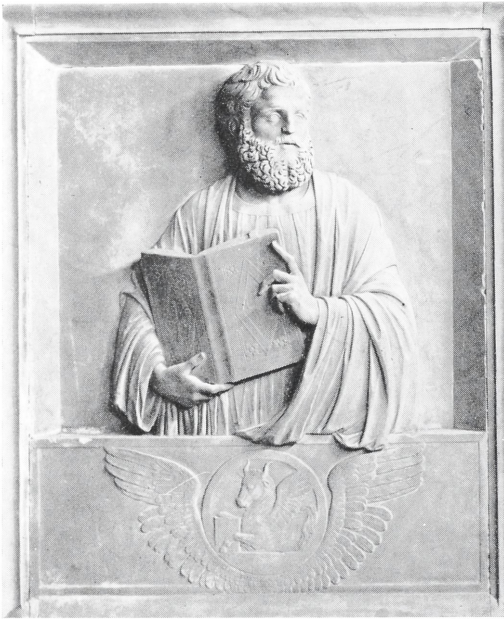


15 Shop of Pietro Lombardo, Putto with Badoer shield, c. 1497. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

adjustments for a low vantage point, whose iconographical appropriateness for the entrance to a funerary chapel, and whose formal similarities to the Lombardo shop reliefs of *Prophets* on the immediately adjacent front of the S. Francesco choir screen, all find their most satisfactory explanations in an identification of the reliefs as frontispieces for Girolamo Badoer's family chapel at S. Francesco.

In the reconstruction presented here, Pietro, Tullio, and Antonio Lombardo's *Evangelist* reliefs would certainly have been commissioned by Girolamo Badoer before his death in 1495, and probably set up as well within his lifetime — since in his will he was preoccupied about commissioning an altar, but not about installing the *Evangelists* — so that they thus





16 Antonio Lombardo, Relief of St. Luke, 1490-1495. Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel.



17 Tullio Lombardo, Relief of St. Matthew, 1490-1495. Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel.

may even predate his actual construction to extend the architectural fabric of the apsidal chapels, being conceived perhaps as initial works of conspicuous quality that might have been set into a prominent public position as soon as possible after the rights to his own chapel were secured. It is also possible that they were only put in place by his daughter Agnesina after his death, and indeed the existence of her two *Shield-bearing Putti* (whose blazons postdate her second marriage of 1497) might give some credence to this idea, in their plausible character as finial ornaments to an entrance railing or screen; but of course those figures could equally well have been installed later atop a preexisting parapet, when Agnesina's second marriage had added another dynastic name to the chapel's ownership. It thus emerges that Girolamo Badoer's *Evangelists* may still only be broadly datable within the lustrum of c. 1490-95, with a possible date of commissioning perhaps even slightly earlier, and with the marginal chance as well of their delivery having been made just after his death, but presumably no later than 1496.

Since Girolamo Badoer's concern for his S. Francesco chapel, at the moment of his death, was focussed exclusively on the marble altarpiece which his daughter subsequently commissioned to replicate his previous tabernacles, and since in all likelihood it was to that same element that she referred in her will of 1498 as a component still to be produced, it therefore follows that the sculptural decoration of the chapel's lateral walls, which Agnesina indicated in the same document as being intended but not yet undertaken, should then probably be referred to her individual patronage, and to a date of 1499 or later.<sup>39</sup> These considerations allow us for the first time to understand the Badoer-Giustinian family's final cycle of sculptural decoration (now only partly preserved in the reconstructed Sansovino chapel) as being the element most indicative of Agnesina's personal taste, and the likeliest mural ornament of the preexisting chapel. This is a series of approximately twenty relief panels with scenes from the *Life of Christ* (Figs. 8-12), attributable to a number of





18 Pietro Lombardo, Relief of St. John the Evangelist, 1490-1495. Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel.



19 Pietro Lombardo, Relief of St. Mark, 1490-1495. Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel.

masters in the later Lombardo shop<sup>40</sup>, and (with the exception of a larger antependium for the altar, Fig. 20) quite possibly intended from the outset to be installed, as their survivors are now, in a kind of narrative frieze arrangement encircling the chapel's interior. From the fact that we know at least some of these panels to have been sacrificed in producing their present installation along the side walls in Sansovino's reconstructed chapel — which is presumably of the same length as its predecessor but now lacks either wall or screen space on its respectively open and fenestrated ends — we thus have one more item of evidence that some further mural support was probably available at the extremities of the pre-existing chapel: most plausibly in the form of an architectural screen across its entrance, whose outer face may probably have been embellished with Girolamo Badoer's *Evangelists*<sup>41</sup>, and whose inner side might have offered room for perhaps another pair or two of the family's narrative reliefs. A precious bit of evidence for the 1498 Chapel of St. Jerome, not heretofore connected with the Badoer-Giustinian program, is provided by a pair of half-cylindrical column bases at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris, elaborately carved with decorative motifs which include the Giustinian *stemma*, and even the same emblematic church as is held by the dedicatory saint in the original *St. Jerome* relief for Girolamo Badoer.<sup>42</sup> These beautiful column bases are exceptionally suggestive of the chapel's original appearance, for they parallel so precisely the same elements in the Cappella Corner at Santi Apostoli, of 1483-1499, as to indicate an intentional emulation of that handsome prototype (perhaps even carved, indeed, by the same executants); whereas their left-right pairing and half-round form bespeak their derivation from an entrance screen or portal, that is in a configuration exactly similar to the cognate elements supplied by Pietro Lombardo to Tullio's and Coducci's Cappella Bernabò in S. Giovanni Grisostomo, within this identical period of 1499-1501.<sup>43</sup>



The dispersal of two narrative reliefs, evidently former components of the frieze-like series from the Chapel of St. Jerome, gives us the documentary evidence for a dismantling of this previous Badoer chapel, and the date by which the present "Cappella Giustinian" must have been rebuilt by Sansovino. On 31 January 1540 a quantity of marble for the Loggetta was sold to Sansovino by Marc'Antonio Giustinian (1500-1579), the second son of Agnesina Badoer and Girolamo Giustinian, an aspiring patrician who shortly before had achieved the conspicuous prominence of membership in the Council of Ten.<sup>44</sup> His sale to Sansovino — of whom he was a particularly close friend and patron, becoming eventually an executor of the artist's will<sup>45</sup> — included two special pieces of marble intended for historiated reliefs, on the back of at least one of which was a discarded episode from the *Life of Christ* cycle preserved on the lateral walls of the S. Francesco chapel. This was an *Ascension*, an element now missing from the sequence as presently installed; it has independently been observed that the *Last Supper* is another scene whose absence from the salvaged series is remarkable, and it may well have been the original subject of the second special panel of fine marble that Marc'Antonio Giustinian sold in 1540.<sup>46</sup> We may conclude from the evidence of this transaction that in the five years since Sansovino had begun building the new church of S. Francesco, it had apparently been possible to arrange a re-installation satisfactory to both Marc'Antonio and his mother — for in 1540 Agnesina was still alive and interested in the chapel<sup>47</sup> — not only of eighteen narrative reliefs from the *Life of Christ* cycle, but also of the figured reliefs presumably deriving from Girolamo Badoer's recently dismantled choir screen; since the latter's twelve *Prophets* are now aligned with his *Four Evangelists* above a plain-paneled basement zone on the lateral walls of the Giustinian chapel, as an intermediate register directly supporting the corresponding number of sixteen *Christ* reliefs above (Figs. 8-12). The remaining pair of narratives to have been salvaged in the new installation are incorporated at exactly the same level, as a figured frieze in the entablature of a massive Tuscan aedicular frame, evidently by Sansovino, that was added during the same campaign of reconstruction as a setting for Agnesina Badoer's marble altarpiece of *St. Jerome* (Fig. 8). To his grandfather's reliefs and his mother's altar, finally, it was presumably Marc'Antonio Giustinian who contributed the final sculptures of this impressive pantheon of family patronage, a delicate and beautiful pair of engraved panels beneath the windows with twin designs by his friend Sansovino, of a *memento mori* with death's heads flanked by angels.<sup>48</sup> With them are associated two exceptionally handsome inscriptions commissioned for the new chapel by the sexagenarian Agnesina, commemorating (on the left side of the altar) her grand-uncle and father, the elder and younger Girolamo Badoers, and (on the right side) her husband Girolamo Giustinian, who had died just before the rebuilding of S. Francesco, on 29 May 1532.<sup>49</sup> The eastern wall of the final Badoer-Giustinian chapel thus proclaims its dedication to four "Jeromes", culminating in the image of the patron saint of these homonymic family members, on the altarpiece at the center.

The death of his mother late in 1542 apparently impelled Marc'Antonio toward the creation of a separate memorial, for although AGNESINA BADVARIA had been named as donatrix on both dedicatory inscriptions in the S. Francesco chapel, and though her own patron saint had been peripherally incorporated (through her late father's instructions) on the left margin of its altarpiece, her son may well have felt that there remained no adequate scope for celebrating her individual memory, within that space so insistently focussed on Jerolamite iconography. But the architectural complex of his parents' great country estate at Roncade still lacked a chapel, at the moment of its inheritance by Marc'Antonio and his brothers<sup>50</sup>, and a second circumstance in addition to his mother's death enables us to assign Marc'Antonio's conception of such a structure as a parental memorial precisely





20 Shop of Pietro Lombardo, Altar antependium relief of the Last Judgement, 1499 ff.. Venice, San Francesco della Vigna, Badoer-Giustinian Chapel.

to this same year of 1542. This is the fact that Sansovino's complete reconstruction of S. Francesco della Vigna would by then have left his friend Marc'Antonio with two more commemorative family sculptures from the old church, for which after 1540 there would have been no remaining room in the new Giustinian chapel — as we know from these same individuals' transfer to the Loggetta in January of that year of marbles, including figured reliefs, that had been found impossible to incorporate into a redecoration ensheathing even the entire mural surface of that chapel. These final extra pieces were Girolamo Badoer's 1476-78 wall tabernacles of the *Madonna* and *St. Jerome*, presumably associated with his uncle's and parents' tombs on the former inner facade of S. Francesco, from whose replacement they would have had to be dismantled by or very shortly after 9 June 1542.<sup>51</sup>

Their presence in the villa chapel at Roncade (where their rediscovery provided the point of departure for this study) can now immediately be understood as a result of Marc'Antonio Giustinian's response to the twin desires of ensuring the preservation of these early masterpieces of his family's sculptural patronage, at the moment of their rejection from S. Francesco, and simultaneously of creating an adequate personal memorial to his own parents as a couple. This he accomplished by commissioning portraits of his mother and father that could appropriately be conjoined, in a private oratorio, with his grandfather's devotional tabernacles — a bust of Agnesina Badoer to associate with the *Madonna*, and one of Girolamo with *St. Jerome* — so as to achieve with both old and new components a coherent memorial of his filial piety.

We have already noticed that the architectural realization of this program (Fig. 3) is relatively modest; but it is becomingly so, in its intimate juxtaposition with the service buildings lining the battlemented walls (Fig. 1), and the refined classicism of the enclosed palace (Fig. 2), which Tullio Lombardo had so carefully interrelated in his masterful design for the





21-22 Jacopo Sansovino (here attributed to designs by), stone tabernacle frames with terracotta busts of Agnesina Badoer and Girolamo Giustinian, 1542-1543. Roncade, Villa Giustinian Chapel.

manorial complex at the Villa Giustinian. A general relationship to the art of the third-generation Lombardo shop has been mentioned for the chapel facade (as the only element of this simple structure to exemplify an architectural design), and indeed the classically chaste pedimented door-frame and cool correctness of the gable and window moldings do recall the architecture of such a retardataire master as Sante Lombardo. But the curiously detailed and misproportioned pilaster strips on either side of the door, rising to support an attic stringcourse at the base of the thermal window, seem almost more likely to be an embellishment by the amateur hand of Marc'Antonio Giustinian than the reasoned proposal of a practicing architect.

The sculptural realizations of the patron's program on the interior of this rustic chapel are far more accomplished, however, and they bring us much closer to the artistic orbit of Marc'Antonio's friend Jacopo Sansovino. On the inside of the facade wall two boldly carved aedicular niches flank the entrance portal (Figs. 21-22), their robust console brackets supporting heavy framing elements in the form of engaged balusters and chunky entablature blocks, which surround deeply recessed shell-headed niches carried on the tapered supports of polygonal shelfbrackets between the consoles. While executed with certain awkwardnesses in the alignments of their moldings that may indicate interpretation or assembly by a provincial hand, the overall effect of these massively architectonic tabernacles comes remarkably close to Sansovino's most characteristic style of the early 1540s, and their general forms, as well as certain details such as the winged cherubs' heads at their keystones, may well derive from designs by his hand. The portrait busts which they contain, however, require no apology for being considered among the most interesting of their period, and





23 Bronze reproduction of Agnesina Badoer bust, c. 1883. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André.





24 Bronze reproduction of Girolamo Giustinian bust, c. 1883, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André.





25 Shop of Jacopo Sansovino, Head of Girolamo Giustinian (full face), 1542-1543. Paris, Musée du Louvre.





26 Jacopo Sansovino (here attributed to), Bust of Girolamo Giustinian, 1542-1543. Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum.

once more they will lead to ramifications and reappearances far from the Roncade chapel; for like their associated relief tabernacles they are also examples in ephemeral materials of more durable and more celebrated versions elsewhere.

In contrast to the modern plaster casts retained at Roncade by the last Giustinians as reproductions of their marble reliefs now gracing the Museo Bardini and the Victoria and Albert Museum, though, the chapel's memorial busts of Agnesina Badoer and Girolamo Giustinian are the original terracotta models from which were produced three famous and much-studied pairs of bronzes, works which for all their interest have heretofore neither been identified nor even unambiguously associated. This is partly because the one pair of bronze busts which have remained conjoined as pendants have attracted the least critical interest, a situation hardly surprising now that we are able to identify them, in comparison with the rediscovered originals, as modern bronze reproductions cast directly and quite recently from the terracottas preserved at Roncade. These are the paired busts numbered 767 and 768 at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris (Figs. 23-24), which were purchased by Edouard André from the dealer Ricchetti in Venice on 8 January 1884.<sup>52</sup> It will be remembered that the last male member of the Giustinian family, Girolamo Lorenzo, had





27 Left profile of the head Fig. 25.





28 Shop of Jacopo Sansovino, Bust of Agnesina Badoer Giustinian, 1542-1543. Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum.





29 Jacopo Sansovino (here attributed to), Bust of Agnesina Badoer Giustinian, 1542-1543. Washington, National Gallery of Art.



experienced the death of his only son Sebastian in 1881<sup>53</sup>; it could thus have been argued from the proximity of these dates that the elderly Conte might unhappily have agreed only after this tragedy to the inevitable dispersal of his family heirlooms, were it not that in the case of the bronze busts, at least, the four other examples now in public collections — all of sixteenth-century facture closely contemporaneous with their terracotta models — had in fact been sold by the Giustinian substantially before Ricchetti was able to offer yet another pair in 1884. Since at least two art-historical publications and a Parisian auction sale with a widely-diffused catalogue had by then already attested to the acknowledged importance of the busts, and since all four of the Renaissance bronze versions were by then well known to be in highly prominent private collections in northern Europe, the conclusion seems unmistakable that Ricchetti or his suppliers had recognized the significant demand that had been created by the release of these busts, and had undertaken, though the production of new bronzes cast directly from the Roncade terracottas, to meet it. The circumstance is particularly interesting in that the Renaissance casts all show marked variations in size and detail, with respect to the terracottas as well as to each other; whereas the modern Ricchetti-André casts are absolutely literal reproductions of the Roncade models, at precisely the same size, and with the typically hard and heavy surfaces of imitative replicas.

The bronze portrait of *Girolamo Giustinian* that launched this minor antiquarian craze (Fig. 25) may not even have been sold by his terminal descendant Girolamo Lorenzo, whose immediate family was still actively flourishing when it changed hands: it may perhaps be more likely to have passed out of Giustinian ownership following the death of the latter's elder brother and co-heir, Giulio Sebastian (1819-1849).<sup>54</sup> It was sold in Paris, at any rate, in 1866 as an item sufficiently newsworthy to be reported on the first page of the *Chronique des Arts* in 1867.<sup>55</sup> Both here and in the Hôtel Drouot catalogue of 1878 by which it was offered again as the most important bronze from the Signol Collection<sup>56</sup>, this first portrait was composed of an attractive bronze head of 35 × 24 cm., set within a marble mantle on a scrolled base to make a full bust of 60 × 46 cm., as it also remained within its next setting in the Salomon Goldschmidt Collection.<sup>57</sup> After its purchase in 1898 for the collection of Comte Isaac de Camondo, however, the marble drapery was detached, and the portrait has remained as an isolated head since it entered the Louvre through the Camondo bequest in 1911.<sup>58</sup> Already in 1878 an imaginative cataloguer at the Hôtel Drouot had labeled it a bust of "Marshall Trivulzio", and this mistaken identification was given wide currency by Molinier in an article of 1890, although it never appeared convincing to more careful critics; today the Louvre lists the portrait simply as "*Buste d'homme âgé*".<sup>59</sup>

Meanwhile a second sixteenth-century cast of Girolamo's portrait (Figs. 26, 27) had been acquired by the early 1870s for the collection of Professor A. Basilewsky of St. Petersburg and Moscow, from which it was donated in 1885 to the Hermitage Museum, together with an associated bronze bust (Fig. 28) which we can now recognize to be a pendant portrait of *Agnesina Badoer*.<sup>60</sup> In the case of the Basilewsky bronzes, despite their nearly identical sizes (54 cm. high for the *Girolamo*, 53 × 61 cm. for the *Agnesina*) and their single provenance, specialists had for long postulated divergent origins on the basis of their very different surfaces.<sup>61</sup> The bust of *Girolamo* (Fig. 26) is quite exceptionally fine, a highly sensitive cast rendering even the most subtle and delicate features with crisp precision, its glowing transitions of plane heightened by the retention of a beautiful early patina. By comparison, the Basilewsky-Hermitage version of the *Agnesina* portrait (Fig. 28) is a flawed cast, pieced with a very rough and obvious joint across the forehead, and marred even on the front of the gown with major casting blemishes; its heavy black laquer patina is also considerably flaked and perished, with an overall effect of preservation similar to the head of *Girolamo* in the Louvre (Fig. 25), with which it is generally comparable in quality.





30 Detail of the bust Fig. 21.

The fourth Renaissance bronze portrait of these ancestors of the Giustinian family is the feminine masterpiece of the series, whose change of costume renders it unique (Figs. 29, 31): it is a beautiful cast of the *Agnesina* bust that was reported to have been still in the Giustinian palace in Venice around 1882, and which migrated successively through the Spitzer, Hainauer, and Widener Collections to its eventual home at the National Gallery of Art in Washington in 1942.<sup>62</sup> The cast is again slightly flawed especially at the join lines, but (like the Hermitage *Girolamo*) it is strongly modeled with remarkably delicate transitions, and worked with precise refinements of detail which are shown off to full advantage by its admirably preserved laquer patina.

To summarize the new state of our knowledge about these eight busts, we can say first of all that they unquestionably represent the couple who inscribed their own names, on twin armorial tabernacles, at the entrance to the villa in whose chapel the sculptural prototypes for their portraits are still to be found: "HIERONYMVS·IVSTINIANVS·ANT·F·", and "AGNESINA·BADVARIA·HIERONYMI·F·VXOR·".<sup>63</sup> Girolamo Giustinian (10 July 1469 - 29 May 1532) became a Procuratore di San Marco *de Ultra* on 3 June 1516, and he wears the toga and stole of this distinguished office in his sculptured portrait.<sup>64</sup> Agnesina Badoer Giustinian (c. 1472-1542) married first Benedetto Badoer (c. 1468-1494) in 1489,



and after his premature death married Girolamo Giustinian in 1497<sup>65</sup>; since her portrait is clearly modeled from an actual mask of her face<sup>66</sup>, and since (as previous commentators have already observed) she is shown as having suffered a stroke before this event<sup>67</sup>, we can put the apparently simultaneous production of both these busts either to the very end of her life or to the moment immediately following her death. On balance there is a far greater likelihood of the latter, for we have previously noted the concatenation of events whereby this couple's son Marc'Antonio Giustinian can convincingly be identified as the patron of the villa chapel at Roncade, a commission of the early 1540s which he evidently conceived as a memorial to his late parents. This chronology would indicate not only that Marc'Antonio's program was sufficiently well advanced for him to move with the requisite dispatch to obtain a death mask from his mother's face at the moment of her demise, but also that its sculptural pendant would necessarily have been made only a full ten years after his father's death, and hence (to judge from the vivacity of its portrait) that it must have been based — instead of on any direct life study — rather on some image preserved from the years just before Girolamo had died, a few weeks short of his sixty-third birthday, in 1532. (It may in fact be possible that a high-relief portrait plaquette formerly in Berlin, which is suggestively similar in costume and style, might actually have provided such a prototype.<sup>68</sup>) The original models of the busts, in the Roncade chapel, are about 55 cm. high, their low-fired light amber or brownish terracotta having been covered originally with a greenish-black color to simulate the laquered patina of bronze, but whose few traces are now obscured by a thin modern ochre-green wash (Fig. 30).

The best bronze casts after these models are respectively the bust of *Agnesina Badoer* in Washington (Fig. 29) and *Girolamo Giustinian* in Leningrad (Fig. 26): their high quality and Agnesina's variant costume attest to their production by or for the sculptor of the terracotta originals, who was evidently a talented artist with access to accomplished foundrymen; these two casts may well have been intended as pendants. Somewhat less distinguished but still apparently contemporaneous casts are the *Agnesina* in the Hermitage (Fig. 28) and a head of *Girolamo* in the Louvre (Fig. 25), the latter having been set into a more formal marble drapery so as to achieve a full bust; while a pair of modern bronze replicas were reproduced from the Roncade models in c. 1883, and are now in the Musée Jacquemart-André (Figs. 23-24). The original destinations of all eight busts can be reconstructed with a fair degree of assurance. As we have seen, the Ricchetti-André casts were produced in the last century for the antiquarian trade; at the other end of our chronology the generating terracotta models were very probably commissioned in 1542 for the Roncade chapel tabernacles which they still adorn (Figs. 21-22). A "second set" of bronzes, comprising perhaps the Hermitage *Agnesina* and the Louvre *Girolamo* (Figs. 25, 28), the latter ornately embellished with its marble mantle, are likely to have been produced for one of Marc'Antonio Giustinian's brothers, or for general family exhibition at the Palazzo Giustinian in Venice; while a "first set" of bronzes, plausibly associating the superb casts of *Agnesina* in Washington and *Girolamo* in Leningrad (Figs. 29 and 26), were doubtless ordered for personal display by the patron himself, and especially adapted for a domestic setting (given the iconographical change, in the Washington bust, of Agnesina's mantle dropped informally to her shoulders, rather than raised to veil her head in a manner appropriate to the ecclesiastical context of the main commission).

The hypothesis that the Washington cast of his mother's portrait, at least, was intended by Marc'Antonio Giustinian for his personal collection is dramatically confirmed by its consistent association, apparently from their inception and certainly through their sale from the Spitzer Collection in 1893, with a pendant bronze portrait now in the Louvre (Figs. 32-34) of a young man, unquestionably to be identified as Marc'Antonio himself.<sup>69</sup>





31 Detail of the bust Fig. 29: left profile.





32 Jacopo Sansovino (here attributed to), Bust of Marc'Antonio Giustinian (right profile). Paris, Musée du Louvre.





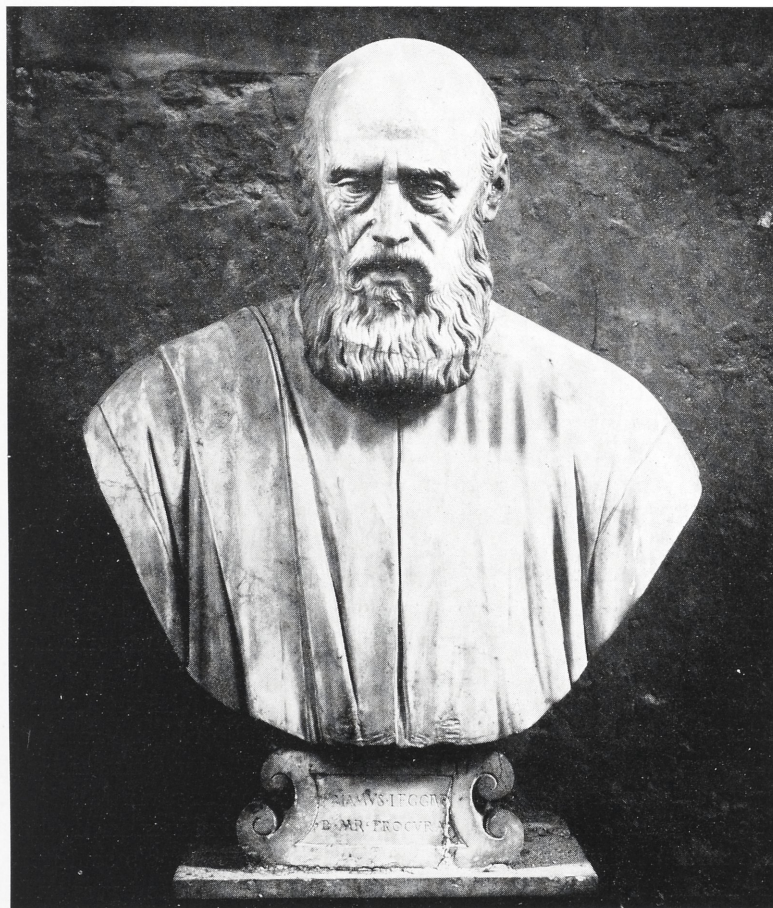
33 Full Face of the bust Fig. 32.





34 Detail of the bust Fig. 32.





35 Alessandro Vittoria (after a design by Jacopo Sansovino), Bust of Priamo da Lezze, c. 1558. Venice, Santa Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti.

These two busts (Figs. 29 and 32) share identical *piédouches* of simple midsixteenth century profile, and are reciprocally scaled (*Agnesina* 52.8 cm. high, *Marc'Antonio* 54.9 cm.); among all the Giustinian portrait casts these two share the highest quality of conception, of structural modeling, of surface finish and of laquered patina: indeed ever since Bode's Spitzer catalogue of 1892 they have rightly been regarded as two of the finest masterpieces from the very rare *genre* of Venetian Renaissance bronze busts.<sup>70</sup> Their exceptional quality, however, enjoins a special responsibility for the assessment of their authorship upon the historian who — as Bode and Vitry in the first years of this century had already predicted — might eventually discover the true identities, not only of their sitters but also of the Hermitage and Louvre *Procurator*, whom both these critics realized to be intrinsically connected with them.<sup>71</sup>

We are particularly fortunate that the enlightened career of the patron of these busts leaves us no room for doubt about whom he might have selected as an artist for so singular — and, through the results, so important — a commission. Marc'Antonio Giustinian is specifically named even by Vasari as one of the closest friends and supporters of Jacopo Sansovino; we have already noticed the documents and the works through which they were



intimately associated over at least twenty years at S. Francesco della Vigna, and again on the Loggetta. Marc'Antonio's high political and ecclesiastical connections could not but have been useful to Sansovino, and we have also noted that the artist even reciprocated by naming his distinguished patrician friend, after what Vasari suggests must have been an almost fifty-year association, as a personal executor of his last will.<sup>72</sup> Even though the potential comparisons of documented Sansovino busts are non-existent, we can probably see sufficient connections between the warmly humane portrait of *Girolamo Giustinian*, on the one hand (Fig. 26), and a quality so strikingly similar in the portraits associated with Sansovino of *Tommaso Rangone* and *Zuane da Lezze* (Figs. 35-36), on the other, as to bring the designs of the three Giustinian busts decisively within Jacopo's orbit.<sup>73</sup> It has consistently been observed that the use of a mask as the basis for the *Agnestina* portrait (Fig. 29) imposed so thorough a self-effacement on the artist's personal style as to render the bust essentially unattributable in isolation.<sup>74</sup> But the discovery of its certain interrelationships with one pendant whose sitter was perhaps the most intimate of Sansovino's patrons, and with another whose portrait strongly prefigures both the conception and technique of the only surviving portraits which can plausibly be linked to inventions by Sansovino, renders plausible an attribution to him even of the *Agnestina* as well. It is probably appropriate for us to remember that this lady may have been one of the most important of Sansovino's ecclesiastical patrons: I have already suggested elsewhere that it might well have been her husband's death in 1532, and her own urgent need to salvage the Badoer-Giustinian chapel as a site for their family tombs, that prompted Agnesina Badoer so strongly to support Sansovino's rebuilding of S. Francesco della Vigna (a project that the Franciscans had been attempting actively to pursue since 1505, without finding the requisite catalyst of noble support), an end which she seems principally to have accomplished through the agencies of her son Marc'Antonio, and her son-in-law Vettor Grimani.<sup>75</sup> But even aside from this very probable centrality of Agnesina Badoer to Sansovino's success at S. Francesco, the artist's special relationship with her son would independently have insured his selection as the author of these busts. The result is that Jacopo's sculptural *oeuvre* may be said to stand enriched by three capital works, among which the types and designs of the male busts (Figs. 26 and 32), as well as the drapery and handling, at least, of Agnesina's (Fig. 29), can be taken not only as diagnostic of Sansovino's portrait style, but also as touchstones against which to judge any future candidates that may be proposed as busts from his hand.



## NOTES

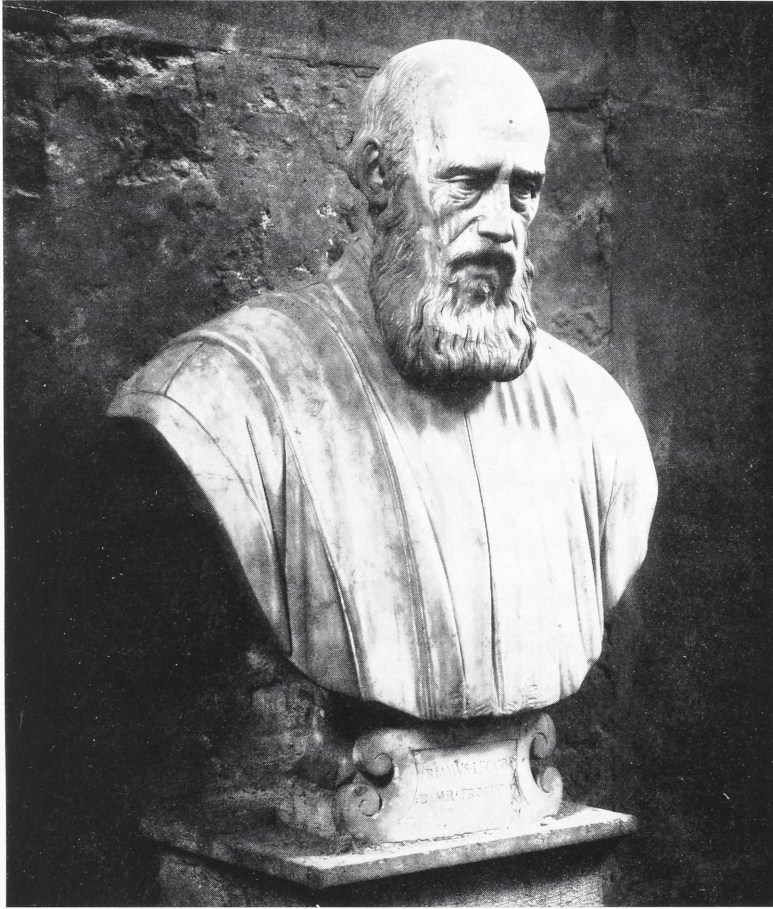
*This article was written in 1979, and submitted in 1980; the notes were revised upon acceptance in 1982.*  
A. Markham Schulz, Giovanni Buora lapicida, in: *Arte Lombarda* 65, 1983, no. 2, pp. 49-72, arrived at press time, and has been used in note 13.

- <sup>1</sup> C. Kolb Lewis, *The Villa Giustinian at Roncade, New York and London* 1977.
- <sup>2</sup> The chapel falls outside the scope of the preceding study (although pp. 24-26 give it a tangential notice); it was mentioned by the same author, however (together with some of the material here under review), in "A new face in Sansovino patronage: Agnesina Badoer Giustinian", unpublished paper presented at the *Titian-Aretino-Sansovino Conference*, King's College, Cambridge, 17-19 April 1973. The chapel was also briefly mentioned by M. Botter, *La Villa Giustinian di Roncade, Treviso* 1955, pp. 17-18 and 20.
- <sup>3</sup> I am particularly indebted to the kindness and hospitality of the Barone Vincenzo Ciani-Bassetti and his family, the present owners of the Villa Giustinian, for permitting my repeated and detailed investigation of their "castello". The interior of the chapel is described as I saw it during a visit in the summer of 1972, when I identified three of its sculptures, and (with the assistance for the remaining piece which is acknowledged in note 4 below) recognized their connections with the works shortly to be discussed. I am especially grateful to Dr. Carolyn Kolb Lewis for helping to arrange our early visits to the Villa Giustinian, and for assisting me in measuring the sculptures in its chapel; as well as for the extensive bibliographic and field work which she accomplished on a Harvard University-Villa I Tatti Fellowship in 1974-75 with the intention of publishing some of these subjects herself — a possibility for which she now has very generously conceded the opportunity and the materials to me.
- <sup>4</sup> I owe my initial knowledge of the Bardini *St. Jerome* to the generosity of my colleague Dr. Charles H. F. Avery, recently Deputy Keeper of the Department of Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and now Sculpture Director at Christie, Manson, and Woods: Dr. Avery very kindly conceded his photograph of it to me in 1973. More recently, both the *St. Jerome* and the *Madonna* tabernacles have been published as parallel works by Giovanni Buora, though without the contextual information of patronage, setting, and date that is suggested in the present article: R. Munman, Giovanni Buora: the "missing" sculpture, in: *Arte Veneta* XXX, 1976, pp. 41-61, esp. p. 53 and Fig. 22; R. Munman, The sculpture of Giovanni Buora: a supplement, in: *Arte Veneta* XXXIII, 1979, pp. 19-28, esp. pp. 19-20 (Figs. 30, 32), and p. 27. To Munman's painted *St. Jeromes* of the "cardinal type", standing and holding the model of a church, might be added the central figure of a triptych with SS. Francis and Anthony Abbot in the Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, New York (inv. 17.1.10), attributed to the late 15th century Paduan school.
- <sup>5</sup> J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 1964, p. 350, no. 376 (with Fig. 373).
- <sup>6</sup> ASV, *M. Barbaro et al.*, *Arbori dei Patrizi Veneti*, Misc. Cod. 898, vol. V, fols. 468-469 (descendance completed to 1915): Girolamo Lorenzo Giustinian, b. 21 June 1823, mar. 16 February 1852, still living 31 October 1893; Elisabetta Giustinian Massa, b. 11 November 1855, d. 18 February 1894. See also note 53 below, and Parrocchiale di Roncade, monument beside left flank of church, inscribed "LE CENERI / DELLA FAMIGLIA PATRIZIA VENETA / GIUSTINIANI / FURONO NEL DI 31 OTTOBRE 1893 / DAL SACELLO AVITO / TRASPORTATE IN QUESTO SEPOLCRO / PER CURA DEI SUPERSTITI / CO. GIROLAMO E CO. ELISABETTA / FRATELLO E FIGLIA / DEL CO. GIULIO GIUSTINIAN".
- <sup>7</sup> *Pope-Hennessy* (n. 5), pp. 350-351 — where it is also cogently remarked that the tabernacle's lunette with *God the Father* is closely related (especially through the cherubs' heads, as is also the case with the hitherto unpublished Roncade cast of *St. Jerome*) to the lunette on the altar of St. James in San Marco, for which one of the payments was made in 1469: *Munman*, op. cit. (n. 4, 1976), p. 61, n. 49, quoting Dr. Julia Keydel.
- <sup>8</sup> *Kolb Lewis* (n. 1), Table I (opp. p. 288).



- <sup>9</sup> P. Leone Ranzato, *Memorie del Convento e Chiesa di S. Francesco della Vigna in Venezia* [MSS., 2 vol., in *Monastery of S. Francesco*], vol. I, p. 11, quoting F. Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae antiquis monumentis*, Venice 1749, vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.
- <sup>10</sup> A. Markham Schulz, *The Giustiniani Chapel and the Art of the Lombardo*, in: *Antichità Viva* XVI, no. 2, 1977, pp. 27-44, esp. pp. 27-28 and notes 8 and 11, citing Kolb Lewis (n. 1), p. 172, n. 27.
- <sup>11</sup> Kolb Lewis (n. 1), Table I (opp. p. 288); Markham Schulz (n. 10), p. 27 and n. 3.
- <sup>12</sup> Markham Schulz (n. 10), p. 27, n. 4-6, citing R. Morozzo della Rocca, in: *Diz. Biogr.*, vol. V, p. 110, s. v. "Badoer, Giacomo".
- <sup>13</sup> Munman 1976 (n. 4), pp. 53-54, with Fig. 23; Munman 1979 (n. 4), pp. 19, 27; *Pope-Hennessy* (n. 5), p. 350, with previous literature. The relief is inscribed: ANNONE PREFECTIS QVIBIS EX / IN PENSÀ FRVMENTARIA MAGNO / QVOTANNIS ERRARII DAMNO POPVLO / FACIENDA EST VBERTAS HIC APA / TRIBVS IAM PRIDEM DATVS EST LOCVS ("This spot was dedicated already long ago to the fatherless, by the magistrates in charge of annual provisions, who must over the years make grain available to a large population of poor homeless people" — translation kindly furnished by Dr. Katharine Shepard). The relief's ducal *stemme* refer both to Doge Pietro Mocenigo (1474-76), and to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo (1478-85); but they are accompanied by the *stemme* of five other co-magistrates, in addition to Girolamo Badoer, whose dates of conjunction in office have been established by Markham Schulz (1983) as 1476-77 and 1481-82. A detail unmentioned by Munman, but which confirms an identical authorship of the *Biade* relief and the *Roncade* / London *Madonna*, is a highly idiosyncratic fold of flesh over the ankles of the Christ Child in both reliefs (an observation which I owe to the careful scrutiny of John G. Middleton, Jr.).
- <sup>14</sup> Markham Schulz (n. 10), p. 27 and notes 3, 11, and 14, citing Kolb Lewis (n. 1), p. 172 n. 27, and Appendix II, A, pp. 226-235.
- <sup>15</sup> Venezia e il suo estuario, Venice 1926, p. 366; cited by (n. 10), p. 27 and n. 7.
- <sup>16</sup> Markham Schulz (n. 10), p. 27 and n. 5, citing a typescript by R. Morozzo della Rocca, *Notizie sui Badoer da Santa Giustina*, at ASV (unpublished). Just which "main door" and which inner wall is rendered ambiguous, however, by a document of 30 July 1571 recording that the old wall tomb of the Badoer family, which had been demolished during the construction of the new church, had been located on the wall of the old church nearest the sacristy, a room which retained its former position during the rebuilding; its central door into the north transept arm, of course, has always been the "main door" affording access into the church *from the monastery*; but at least the sources concur that such a tomb did exist and that it was demolished. ASV, Conventi, S. Francesco della Vigna, Libro E, fol. 4, recording an original busta 2, registro B, p. 99: for all such archival references, hereafter noted as "ASV, Conventi, op. cit. (n. 16)", I am indebted to the very generously provided notes of my colleague Mr. Hans H. R. Brill, Librarian of the Royal College of Art, London.
- <sup>17</sup> Museo Civico Correr, Venice, MS. Cicogna 2498 (= Cod. Cicogna 510), *M. Barbaro et al.*, *Discendenze Patrizie*, vol. I, f. 96, s. v. "Badoer, Sebastian di Giacomo": "Sepolto a San Francesco nel Convento per mezzo della Cappella della Madonna".
- <sup>18</sup> Kolb Lewis (n. 1), p. 172 n. 27; Markham Schulz (n. 10), p. 27 and n. 11.
- <sup>19</sup> Markham Schulz (n. 10), p. 40, n. 8: "... far el suolo... Sia conpido de muro ed i legniami e cossi de slongar (i. e. alongar?) la giexia de messer S. Francesco et slongado (i. e. alongando?) el coro e el parco come e dessegniado 1/3 e il coro 2/3 in giexia".
- <sup>20</sup> Ranzato (n. 9), p. 210 and p. 206; ASV, Conventi (see note 16), Libro E, fols. 7 and 20; busta 2, registro A, pp. 382, 404-409, 550-561; B. Bouchev, *The Last Will of Daniele Barbaro*, in: *Warburg Journal* 42, 1979, pp. 277-282, esp. p. 281 and n. 29.
- <sup>21</sup> Markham Schulz (n. 10), p. 27 and n. 13.
- <sup>22</sup> I have mentioned elsewhere that the majority of documentary references to the Badoer-Giustinian chapel which are now preserved in ASV are to the two periods of 1498 and 1510-13: D. Lewis, *La notizia del committente del Sansovino per S. Francesco della Vigna: nuovi appunti per il mecenatismo artistico del Procuratore Vettor Grimani*, in: *Bollettino dei musei civici veneziani* XVII, 3-4, 1972, p. 35 n. 39; ASV, Conventi (see note 16), Libro E, fols. 31 v. (busta 3, fasc. 1, pp. 115-116) and 28 (busta 1, fasc. 2, p. 200). It is extremely interesting that the two sculptors in the Lombardo orbit who most recently and most plausibly have been proposed as artists for works now attributable to Badoer patronage both died or ceased work in this same year of 1513: Munman 1976 and 1979 (n. 4), for Giovanni Buora; and A. Markham Schulz, *Giambattista Bregno*, in: *Jb. d. preuss. Kslgn.*, N. F. 22, 1980, pp. 173-202, esp. pp. 174 and 198, with Fig. 29.
- <sup>23</sup> P. Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice 1893, vol. II, pp. 193 and 196-197, tav. 36 and 54; see Markham Schulz (n. 10), pp. 29-30 and notes 29-38 for a review of the literature. *Pope-Hennessy* (n. 5) p. 351, has also identified the artist of the *Roncade* / London *Madonna* tabernacle as one of the authors of the S. Francesco *Prophets*, though Munman 1976 (n. 4), p. 61, n. 49, finds no "specific enough correspondence... to convince one of a single hand".





36 Three-quarter view of the bust Fig. 35.

- <sup>24</sup> As implied by *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 40 n. 8, Girolamo Badoer's 1494 testamentary memorandum was discovered by Carolyn Kolb Lewis during the research for her Harvard University Ph. D. dissertation of 1973 (whose published form is cited in note 1 above), and announced in the same year in *Kolb Lewis* (n. 2); but many of the conclusions to be drawn from it, and which are presented only in the present study, had already been worked out in collaborative discussions between C. Kolb Lewis, Wendy S. Sheard, and Hans H. R. Brill, by the summer of 1970: *Lewis* (n. 22) (dated June-October 1970, p. 30), p. 34 n. 33, and p. 35 n. 39.
- <sup>25</sup> *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 40 n. 8: "far... li banchi... e el parco come e dessegnado..."; and n. 11.
- <sup>26</sup> Quoted in *Ranzato* (n. 9), p. 11; see also p. 201 for the date.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ranzato* (n. 9), p. 202; *L. H. Heydenreich and W. Lotz*, *Architecture in Italy 1400 to 1600*, Pelican Hist., Harmondsworth, etc. 1974, p. 89; *R. E. Lieberman*, *The Church of S. Maria dei Miracoli in Venice*, Ph. D. dissertation, New York University 1972; *J. McAndrew*, *Venetian Architecture of the Early Renaissance*, Cambridge, Mass. 1980, pp. 150-181.
- <sup>28</sup> *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 27 and n. 11 and 13; by the date of his wife's will on 30 March 1496 Girolamo was already dead, and the Venetian genealogies concur that he died in "1495" (i. e. after July 1st, the date of his will): e. g. Museo Correr, *Barbaro* (n. 17), vol. I, f. 49. But since the Republican calendar reckoned the beginning of each year only on March 1st, the months of January and February 1496 — modern style — may also be included within this span (although it is more likely that Girolamo died soon after making his will).



- <sup>29</sup> *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 27, notes 8 and 11: "E sia fato belo e non se vardi a spexia".
- <sup>30</sup> *Kolb Lewis* (n. 1), p. 171 n. 24; *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 40 n. 11.
- <sup>31</sup> *Kolb Lewis* (n. 1), p. 171 n. 24, and Table I (opp. p. 288).
- <sup>32</sup> *Paoletti* (n. 23), p. 235.
- <sup>33</sup> *Paoletti* (n. 23), tav. 51; Paoletti's stylistic formulation (pp. 196-197) is somewhat similar in ad-  
 ducing the hand of a Lombard assistant, but his suggestion of an apprenticeship with Bellano  
 seems to me to be unnecessary. A compositional reference to the Lombardo shop's lower zone of  
 the Scuola di S. Marco facade, of 1487-90, is especially apparent in the altar's focussed centralized  
 perspective of illusionistic arches; its sculptural style ranges from reminiscences of Pietro Lom-  
 bardo's in the mid-1470s to Tullio's and Antonio's in the *Vendramin Monument* of 1493, and beyond  
 to works by all three masters in the first decade of the Cinquecento. Since we know that Agne-  
 sina's campaign on the chapel also included a concentrated burst of activity in 1510-13 (see note  
 22 above), her highly retardataire altarpiece should perhaps most plausibly be assigned to this latter  
 date instead -- a possibility which I substantially prefer over the alternative dating of 1498 ff.  
*Munman* 1979 (n. 4), p. 28 n. 15, notes that "a designation... from the shop or school of the Lom-  
 bardo family... seems as accurate as the facts presently allow", but follows Schulz in dating the  
 altar about fifteen years too early.
- <sup>34</sup> I owe parts of this analysis to the uniquely experienced judgment of Dr. Wendy S. Sheard (private  
 communication, 23 March 1975).
- <sup>35</sup> *Pope-Hennessy* (n. 5), pp. 351-352, numbers 377-378, and Figs. 374-375. In the light of analyses  
 by *Munman* 1976 and 1979 (n. 4), an attribution of these figures to Giovanni Buora might pos-  
 sibly be entertained.
- <sup>36</sup> Complete transcription in *Kolb Lewis* (n. 1), Appendix II, pp. 226-235; excerpt in English in  
*Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 27.
- <sup>37</sup> *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 27: "... I wish that... it be completed and built, beautiful and honorable,  
 and that no expense be [spared], in such a way that the middle and the end of this chapel cor-  
 respond to its beginning, as was the intention of my aforementioned late father" ("...volo quod...  
 completetur ac pulcra et honorabilis fabricetur nullis parcendo expensis. Ita quod medius et finis  
 ipsius capelle correspondant principio suo sicuti fuit intentio prefati quondam magnifici patris mei":  
*Kolb Lewis* [n. 11], pp. 226-227).
- <sup>38</sup> *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), pp. 29-37 and figs. 2-10, with review of previous literature.
- <sup>39</sup> There also exists, of course, a possibility that since the narrative reliefs about to be discussed share  
 a common dimension (in twelve cases out of sixteen) with the enframements of Girolamo Badoer's  
*Prophet* reliefs -- that is, the latter in their tightly cut-down frames are now constrained to a series  
 of equal widths corresponding to the lengths of the very loosely-set narrative scenes above them,  
 with both series now aligned in a series of uneasy vertical correspondences in their reinstallation  
 on the Giustinian chapel walls -- we might therefore consider also these historiated reliefs as  
 having potentially formed part of Girolamo Badoer's choir screen as well. But this seems unlikely  
 on at least three counts: first, such a *Life of Christ* cycle would, if I am not mistaken, be a unique  
 iconography for the decoration of a Venetian choir. Second, Agnesina definitely indicated in 1498  
 that she was ordering some sort of decoration for the lateral walls of her chapel; but if the present  
 narratives as well as the *Prophets* are all subtracted as being items imported after 1534 from the  
 choir screen, this would leave no survivors at all of her 1498 lateral-wall commissions for the chapel,  
 which we should certainly be able to predict as being at least as likely to be salvaged, for re-instal-  
 lation in the reconstructed chapel, as the reliefs from her father's choir. Third, and perhaps most  
 conclusively, the *Last Judgment* relief still on the antependium of the chapel altar (Fig. 20) has  
 always been recognized as being essentially synchronous in style with the narrative reliefs of the  
*Life of Christ* cycle, of which it can in fact be construed as the terminal scene (e. g. as in *Markham*  
*Schulz* [n. 10], pp. 28-29, n. 28 and *Paoletti* [n. 23], vol. II, tav. 53, pp. 196-197); this close cor-  
 respondence makes of it a kind of iconographic and stylistic anchor to hold the original program  
 of the *Life of Christ* series firmly within Agnesina's campaign on the chapel itself, as is assumed  
 in the discussion that follows.
- <sup>40</sup> *Paoletti* (n. 23), vol. II, pp. 196-197, tav. 55, 56, and 57 for the visual documentation; *Markham*  
*Schulz* (n. 10), pp. 28-29 and 38-39, with Figs. 19 and 20, for a modern attempt at attribution. *Schulz*  
 (n. 22), pp. 198-199, with Fig. 29, more recently (1980) proposes as well that the Badoer-Giustinian  
*Penecost* panel may be by Giambattista Bregno, whom she postulates as undergoing a "hypo-  
 thetical apprenticeship" with Pietro Lombardo in c. 1498-1502.
- <sup>41</sup> A further consideration supports the hypothesis that the *Evangelist* reliefs might appropriately have  
 been aligned as successive elements in a single register, at a low vantage point, rather than as they  
 are now in separate pairs high on opposite walls; and that is provided by the adjustment of their  
 internal perspectives. First, the upper edges of all their internal parapet panels are illusionistically  
 carved to make visual sense only if we are looking down onto them, thereby implying a low origi-  
 nal placement for the whole series. Second, the *Matthew* and the *John* have no perspectival bevel  
 at all on the right and left edges of their respective compartments, but very broad ones on their op-



posite sides; this immediately implies their original placement respectively on the left and right sides of any portal. The *Luke* and *Mark* each have identical bevels on both sides, thus effectively centralizing their ideal viewpoints; but the *Luke* faces to our right and *Mark* to our left, which would evidently place them with greater visual propriety on those respective sides of any series. Such an arrangement would thus postulate Antonio's *Luke* and Tullio's *Matthew* on the left or far side of an entrance screen to the Badoer-Giustinian chapel, with Pietro's generally superior and more iconographically significant *John* and *Mark* alongside the main approach to the chapel entrance, from the nave and chancel, both to the right.

- <sup>42</sup> *F. de la Moureyre-Gavoty*, Musée Jacquemart-André: sculpture italienne, Paris 1975, numbers 168-169, acquired through the dealer Richetti together with several other items from Roncade and the Giustinian palaces in Venice, probably between 1884 and 1887 (see subsequent numbers 174, 175 and 178, as well as notes 52-53 below). The bases (H. 1,367 m.) are manifestly connected to San Francesco della Vigna by the absence of any other Giustinian ecclesiastical commission during this period, a fact which also securely dates them to Agnesina's and Girolamo's campaign(s) there of 1498-1510/13, following their marriage in 1497; they would have been removed as incompatible with the style of the church as rebuilt after 1534 by Sansovino, and reclaimed by their donors, whose descendants eventually sold them.
- <sup>43</sup> The Corner, Badoer-Giustinian, and Bernabò chapels were unique among Venetian ecclesiastical structures of this scale in using decorated cylindrical column socles, though a number of such supports (now lost) are reported as having graced the spaces adjacent to the chancel of S. Andrea della Certosa; all these works date from the 1490s. *Paoletti* (n. 23), Vol. II, p. 204, Fig. 119 (Corner); pp. 178-179, Fig. 62 (Bernabò); pp. 226-227, Tav. 46, Fig. 2 (Certosa, etc.); *McAndrew* (n. 27), pp. 42-47, Figs. 4.4-5 (Corner); pp. 312-314, Fig. 21.6 (Bernabò); and *J. McAndrew*, Sant'Andrea della Certosa, in: *Art Bulletin* LI, no. 1, March 1969, pp. 22, n. 30, and 25. Such "fancy" carved pedestal/socles were apparently introduced into Venice with Pietro Lombardo's Nicolò Marcello Monument of c. 1481-85, and Antonio Rizzo's (?) Giovanni Emo Monument of 1483-c. 1485, if these were not predated by Mauro Coducci's (?) Palazzo Zorzi of "c. 1470-90" (*McAndrew* [n. 27], pp. 126-132, Figs. 9.7-10; p. 81, Fig. 6.13; pp. 321, 331, Fig. 22.12). Their last interior use was on the Benedetto Pesaro monument, of 1503-23 in the Frari, by Lorenzo Bregno, whose brother Giambattista may have worked contemporaneously on the Badoer-Giustinian chapel: *Paoletti* (n. 23), Vol. II, pp. 273-274, Tav. 108, Fig. 2; *McAndrew* (n. 27), pp. 483-487, Figs. 30.28-30; *Schulz* (n. 22), pp. 198-199; notes 22 and 40 above.
- <sup>44</sup> *Paoletti* (n. 23), vol. II, p. 196, n. 2; *Kolb Lewis* (n. 1), Table I (opp. p. 288); ASV, *Barbaro* (see note 6), vol. V, f. 468.
- <sup>45</sup> *D. Howard*, Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice, New Haven and London 1975, pp. 68, and 173 n. 37; review by *D. Lewis*, Sansovino and Venetian architecture, in: *Burl. Mag.* CXXI, no. 910 (January 1979), p. 39.
- <sup>46</sup> *Paoletti* (n. 23), vol. II, tav. 57; *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 28.
- <sup>47</sup> As we know from her later will of 18 September 1534 and its codicil of 9 January 1537 *more veneto* (= 1538): ASV, Sezione Notarile (Testamenti), Notaio Avidio Branco, busta 43, pezzo 19, fols. 3 *recto* to 4 *verso*, and fols. 2 *recto* with 5 *verso*, respectively; the former is published in *Kolb Lewis* (n. 1), Appendix II, C, p. 239-242. Agnesina was still alive when she made her final will on 14 November 1542 (Notaio Branco, as above, busta 43, pezzo 19, ff. 1 *recto* and *verso*, and 6 *verso*), but presumably died very shortly thereafter; she was then apparently in her seventieth year.
- <sup>48</sup> Published for the first time by *Markham Schulz* (n. 10), p. 29 and fig. 11.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27 with notes 1 and 16 (for texts of the inscriptions); for Girolamo Giustinian's death date (usually misidentified as May 30th, the date it was registered), see Museo Civico Correr, Venice, MSS.P.D.c. 2669/2 (3).
- <sup>50</sup> This moment is construed as falling shortly after 14 November 1542, that is on his mother's death, whose exact date is not attested (see note 47 above). The evidence that the villa at Roncade still lacked a chapel, in the later 1530s, is provided by a remarkably fine and accurate drawing of the estate in 1536, which shows its site still vacant: *Kolb Lewis* (n. 1), pp. 19-27, with Appendix I, pp. 222-224, and Figs. 74-76; *D. Lewis*, *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio*, Washington, D.C. 1981, pp. 96-97, no. 55 and Fig. 34; see the present Fig. 1.
- <sup>51</sup> On 20 April 1542 the brothers Cardinal Marin and Procurator Vettor Grimani were granted the exterior facade of the reconstructed S. Francesco as a site for the tomb monument of their grandfather, Doge Antonio Grimani; and on 9 June 1542 Vettor Grimani similarly obtained title in perpetuity to the entire inner facade of the church, as a site for his own and his family's tombs, thus ousting the Badoer monuments from that spot: *Lewis* (n. 50), pp. 186-187, no. 111; *idem* (n. 22), p. 29 and n. 47; ASV, Conventi (see note 16), Libro E, fol. 12 (busta 2, registro A, pp. 437 and 454).
- <sup>52</sup> *A. Michel*, La Musée Jacquemart-André, in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 55th year, 4th period, vol. X (1913), pp. 476-477; *idem*, the same pages separately bound, Paris, 1914, p. 94; Institut de France, Musée Jacquemart-André; catalogue itinéraire, 5th ed. Paris 1921, p. 110, no's. 767 and 768, cor-



- rectly described as "d'après une tête du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle" and "Même atelier"; *Moureyre-Gavoty* (n. 42), numbers 174-175, as "Milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle"; private communication from. Mme. Blondel, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, 20 January 1975.
- <sup>53</sup> Sebastian Giustinian, b. 10 October 1853, d. 25 February 1881: ASV, *Barbaro* (n. 6), vol. V, f. 469.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. V. f. 469: Giulio Sebastian Giustinian, b. 10 October 1819, d. 18 August 1849.
- <sup>55</sup> *Chronique des Arts et de la curiosité*, Paris 1867, p. 1; cited in private communication from Jean-René Gaborit, Conservateur au Département des Sculptures, Musée du Louvre, 5 February 1975.
- <sup>56</sup> Hôtel Drouot, Catalogue des objets d'art... composant la Collection du feu M. Signol, Paris, Mardi 2... Avril 1878, p. 31, no. 77.
- <sup>57</sup> *E. Molinier*, Deux portraits du Maréchal Trivulze, in: *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* III, 1898, p. 74: "le buste de la collection Goldschmidt a été augmenté dans le courant du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'une sorte de manteau en marbre qui l'alourdit singulièrement". See also *G. Migeon*, La collection Isaac de Camondo au Musée du Louvre, in: *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* XXXV, 1914, p. 405 and illus. p. 407.
- <sup>58</sup> *P. Vitry, et al.*, Musée National du Louvre: catalogue de la collection Isaac de Camondo, Paris n. d. [but c. 1912], "Sculptures et objets d'art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance", p. 1, no. 2, inv. no. S-1531; ill. opp., without marble drapery. See also the same, 2nd ed., 1922, p. 1, no. 2, with intervening literature; *P. Vitry*, Sculptures... de la Renaissance, in: *Gaz. B.-A.* 56th year, 4th period, vol. XI, 1914, p. 467; and *F. Rossi et al.*, Cat.: Exposition de l'art Italien de Cimabue à Tiepolo, Paris 1935, "Sculpture", pp. 330-331, no. 1079, with full bibliography to the date.
- <sup>59</sup> See notes 56 and 57 above; Molinier's acceptance of the Hôtel Drouot identification as "Trivulzio" was rejected as early as 1913 by *Michel* (n. 52): "bon portrait du personnage inconnu (quelquefois mais sans raison dénommé Trivulze)" and has either been noted as problematical or abandoned by most subsequent commentators except *Moureyre-Gavoty* (n. 42), no. 175: "L'identification de l'Homme avec le maréchal Trivulzio proposée par Molinier est probante".
- <sup>60</sup> *A. Darcel* and *A. Basilewsky*, La Collection Basilewsky; catalogue raisonné, Paris 1874, p. 92, numbers 284-285; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. XXV, 1885, p. 82; *Z. Zaretskaia* and *N. Kossaréva*, La sculpture de l'Europe occidentale à l'Ermitage, Leningrad 1970, pl. 6.
- <sup>61</sup> Private communications from Sergey Androssov, Keeper of Italian Sculpture, The State Hermitage Museum, of 31 January 1974, 4 July 1974, 6 May 1975, and conversations of 18-21 August 1978. For a gift of the photograph here published of the Basilewsky *Agnesina* bust, I am most deeply grateful to the kind generosity of Mrs. Margot Wittkower (private communication of 30 September 1974).
- <sup>62</sup> *W. Bode*, La sculpture; pierre, marbre, terre cuite, bronze, in: *La Collection Spitzer*, vol. IV, Paris 1892, pp. 96, 114, no. 15; *E. Bonnaffé* and *E. Molinier*, Catalogue des objets d'art... de la... collection Spitzer, Paris 17 April-16 June 1893, p. 246 and pl. XLII, no. 1457; *Bode*, Die Sammlung Oscar Hainauer / The Collection of Oscar Hainauer, Berlin 1897 / London 1906, pp. 20-21 and 76, no. 101; *Bode*, Two Venetian Renaissance bronze busts in the Widener Collection, Philadelphia, in: *Burl. Mag.* XII, no. LVI, November 1907, pp. 86, 91; *G. Swarzenski*, Some aspects of Italian Quattrocento Sculpture in the National Gallery, in: *Gaz. B.-A.*, 85th year, 6th period, vol. XXIV, November 1943, p. 302; *Duveen Sculpture in Public Collections of America*, New York, 1944, no. 227; *John Walker*, Paintings and Sculpture from the Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1948 and 1959, p. 127, no. A-139.
- <sup>63</sup> These tabernacles on the western gate towers at Roncade (Girolamo's on the left or northern tower, Agnesina's on the right or southern one) are visible in *Kolb Lewis* (n. 1), figs. 17-19 and 22, and are mentioned on p. 169 n. 14; see also *Botter* (n. 2), p. 10 and illus. p. 15.
- <sup>64</sup> ASV, *Barbaro* (n. 6), vol V, f. 468; Museo Correr, op. cit. (n. 49), for death date; "... VIXIT ANN LXII MEN X DIES XVIII", for calculation of birth date, from inscription in S. Francesco ([n. 10], p. 41 n. 16).
- <sup>65</sup> See note 31 above.
- <sup>66</sup> Noted as early as 1892 by *Bode* 1892 (n. 62), p. 114 no. 15: "... ce buste a été exécuté au moyen d'un moulage pris sur nature après la mort".
- <sup>67</sup> *Bode* 1897/1906 (n. 62), p. 20: "Die Züge, namentlich um den Mund erscheinen schon apoplektisch verzogen" / "The features, especially round the mouth, appear already drawn apoplectically"; *Bode* 1907 (n. 62), p. 91: "... an old lady with sharply marked features which, to judge by the movement of the mouth, have been hardened by an apoplectic stroke". This diagnosis was kindly substantiated for me by Michael E. Newmark, M. D., of the National Institute of Neurological and Communicative Diseases and Stroke of the National Institutes of Health, who agreed that "the considerably flattened naso-labial fold, in contrast with the milder abnormality of a slightly widened palpebral fissure, is consistent with a right hemispheric cerebral infarction; a lesion which would generally leave speech, reading, and writing unimpaired" (private communication, August 1980).



- <sup>68</sup> E. F. Bange, *Die Italienischen Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*; II, Reliefs und Plaketten, Berlin and Leipzig 1922, p. 4 and Taf. 9, no. 22 — a reference for which I am most gratefully indebted to the late Ulrich Middeldorf.
- <sup>69</sup> Bode 1892 (n. 62), pp. 96 (where it was already recognized that these were pendant busts “d’une vieille femme et de son fils”), 114, pl. XIX, no. 13; *Bonnaffé* and *Molinier* (n. 62), p. 247 and pl. XLII, no. 1458; *Vitry*, Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue des Sculptures, vol. I, Paris 1922, p. 77, no. 627. I have suggested elsewhere that this bronze portrait of Marc’Antonio may afford the identification of a painted figure possibly also representing him, a celebrated *Portrait of a Nobleman* by Lorenzo Lotto, in: Cleveland Museum of Art, Catalogue of Paintings, Part III: European Paintings of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries, Cleveland 1982, pp. 366-368, no. 161.
- <sup>70</sup> See Bode 1892 (n. 62), p. 96: “... le buste de jeune homme de la collection Spitzer est particulièrement intéressant et énergique”. Cf. E. *Molinier*, La collection Hainauer, in: *Gaz. B.-A.*, 39th year, 3rd period, vol. 18, 1897, pp. 500-501 (“... un admirable buste de vieille femme, ... morceau absolument capital”), and W. R. *Valentiner*, The Italian Renaissance sculptures in the Widener Collection, in: *Art News XXVI*, no. 28, section 1, 14 April 1928, Twenty-fifth anniversary number, p. 21 (“[among] masterpieces of considerable size, ... the bronze bust of an Old Lady; ... Life size bronze busts of women were rare indeed in the Renaissance”). Again I owe to the kindness and erudition of Ulrich Middeldorf a long series of correspondences and conversations about possible cognates for the Giustinian busts — which do, however, remain a distinct series of the highest quality, essentially unparalleled in their documented provenance, their relation to a fixed date, and their patron’s closeness to an artist of the stature of Sansovino.
- <sup>71</sup> Bode 1907 (n. 62), p. 91, first associated the Basilewsky *Girolamo* with the Spitzer busts in 1907 — “the latter is probably the lady’s husband, and the youth will be her son” — and also argued the eventual recovery not only of the sitters’ but of their sculptor’s identity: “By the collation and careful examination of more complete materials, or by the discovery of documents, a future generation may possibly find out the master’s real name”. *Vitry* 1914 (n. 58), p. 468, felt other solutions to be provisional “jusqu’à ce qu’une autre identité leur ait été formellement reconnue”.
- <sup>72</sup> *Vasari-Milanesi*, VII, p. 509: “... sopra tutto [Sansovino] fu grandemente amato e prezzato senza fine... da messer Marcantonio Giustigniano, che lo conobbe in Roma”; see also notes 44 and 45 above.
- <sup>73</sup> Detail photographs of the heads of the *Rangone* bronze figure on the exterior facade of S. Giuliano, and of the *Da Lezze* marble bust on the interior facade wall of the Gesuiti, are conveniently reproduced in G. *Mariacher*, *Il Sansovino*, Milan 1962, p. 119 Fig. 95 (*Rangone*), and p. 156 Fig. 137 (*Da Lezze*); the latter is to be dated c. 1558 (*Lewis* [n. 45], p. 39), and is particularly close in type and mood, as well as in silhouette and pedestal detail, to the bust of *Girolamo Giustinian*. Although it was very probably carved by the young Alessandro Vittoria (*Pope-Hennessy* [n. 5], vol. II, p. 529), and the *Rangone* in its present form was certainly cast by the same collaborator, it is virtually certain that both designs derive from inventions by Sansovino (*Lewis* [n. 45], p. 39; *Pope-Hennessy*, Sculpture III, pp. 409-410). See also D. *Lewis*, *Jacopo Sansovino, Sculptor of Venice*, in: *Titian; His World and His Legacy* (D. Rosand, ed.), New York 1982, p. 133-190, esp. pp. 185 and 190, n. 55.
- <sup>74</sup> E.g. by *Valentiner* (n. 70), p. 21.
- <sup>75</sup> *Lewis* (n. 22), pp. 26-29; and *idem*, *Patterns of Preference: patronage of sixteenth-century architects by the Venetian patriciate*, in: *Patronage in the Renaissance* (G. F. Lytle and S. Orgel, eds.), Princeton 1982, pp. 354-380, esp. pp. 355, 358, and 368.



## RIASSUNTO

Da nuove letture dei documenti e degli elementi stilistici e dalla scoperta di quattro sculture importanti nella cappella della loro villa trevigiana a Roncade, l'autore identifica tre generazioni della famiglia veneziana Badoer-Giustinian come committenti di sculture veneziane. Girolamo Badoer (1429-1495), uno dei magistrati che commissionò la *Madonna della Biade* (c. 1481-82) per il Palazzo Ducale, fu anche committente (1476-78) di un rilievo molto affine: *La Madonna con il Bambino* (Victoria & Albert Museum, Londra) e di un tabernacolo con *S. Girolamo* (Museo Bardini, Firenze) per la facciata interna di S. Francesco della Vigna, in seguito smantellata dal Sansovino: il loro scultore fu uno stretto collaboratore di Pietro Lombardo, probabilmente Giovanni Buora. Successivamente il Badoer ordinò ai Lombardo un intero coro monastico (c. 1490-94), anche questo smantellato dopo il 1534; del complesso, dodici rilievi dei *Profeti* sono conservati nella vicina cappella Badoer, insieme con altri quattro *Evangelisti* (c. 1490-95), provenienti forse dalla cappella originaria d'ingresso. La figlia di Girolamo, Agnesina Badoer Giustinian (c. 1472-1542), più tardi fece decorare l'ingresso di questa cappella presansoviniana (c. 1498-1500) con una coppia di *Piedistalli scolpiti* (Musée Jacquemart-André, Parigi) e due *Putti reggiscudi* (Victoria & Albert Museum, forse del Nuora); tutti portano gli stemmi della famiglia Badoer-Giustinian e tutti furono restituiti ai committenti durante il rimodernamento sansoviniano e venduti nel periodo 1884-87, poco prima dell'estinzione della famiglia. Le più importanti commissioni dell'Agnesina per la cappella (reintegrate in posizioni analoghe nella ricostruzione cinquecentesca) furono un ciclo comprensivo di oltre venti rilievi della *Vita di Cristo* con un antependio del *Giudizio universale* (c. 1498-1502, bottega dei Lombardo, forse aiutati da Giambattista Bregno), più una pala marmorea di *S. Girolamo con i Santi Agnese, Michele, Benedetto e Antonio* (c. 1510-13), in cui furono sovrapposti e copiati i disegni dei tabernacoli del padre Girolamo Badoer, di 35 anni prima. Durante il riordinamento dei rilievi e dell'altare l'Agnesina ordinò infine due nuovi pannelli di *Iscrizioni* da apporre sotto le finestre della cappella.

Sotto a questi, per ordine del figlio Marc'Antonio Giustinian (1500-1579), furono inseriti due rilievi con *Memento mori* (c. 1542): fu questa l'ultima tappa della ricostruzione della cappella. Allo stesso tempo (c. 1540-42) Marc'Antonio aggiunse una cappella privata alla villa di famiglia di Roncade, e vi fece installare i due tabernacoli originari commissionati da suo nonno per la chiesa di S. Francesco, insieme con due busti di terracotta rappresentanti i suoi genitori. A conferma degli stretti e lunghi rapporti tra artista e committente l'autore propone, oltre a questi, quattro bronzi contemporanei: il primo a Washington; National Gallery; il secondo a Leningrado, Ermitage; il terzo a Parigi, Louvre; ed una riproduzione moderna, del 1883, al Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris), insieme con un bel busto dello stesso *Marc'Antonio Giustinian* al Louvre. Tutti sono sicuramente attribuibili all'opera di Jacopo Sansovino intorno al 1542.

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