

## PAOLO STELLA MILANESE \*

by Anne Markham Schulz

The wars of the League of Cambrai (1509-1517) brought most artistic activity in Venice to a halt. But with the cessation of hostilities, projects long deferred or newly conceived were launched: indeed, the following decade witnessed a resurgence of sculptural activity. S. Rocco and S. Geminiano were provided with elaborately sculptured high altars; S. Giustina, S. Maria Mater Domini, and S. Maria dei Servi, with subsidiary altars. At S. Marco a tabernacle for the host was erected above the altar at the rear of the presbytery. The Tomb of Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, dead since 1485, was finally completed in 1522, while that of Giovanni Battista Bonzio, dead since 1508, is inscribed with the year 1525. Most eminent of Venetian sculptors at this time was Tullio Lombardo, now well into the fifth decade of his activity. The pattern of Tullio's commissions from ca. 1515 until his death in 1532, however, indicates that, while his art was much appreciated abroad, it had lost its audience at home: the Tomb of Pietro Bernardo in S. Maria dei Frari constitutes Tullio's only ascertainable Venetian commission of the period. More successful in competing for Venetian patronage was Lorenzo Bregno, whose death at the end of 1523 or the beginning of 1524 brought to a close twenty years of fruitful practice. Among younger sculptors was Bartolomeo di Francesco Bergamasco who died at the end of 1528, at the peak of his very short career. In 1529 the Paduan Giammaria Mosca emigrated to Poland, after less than a decade of prolific activity in Padua and Venice. By then, Jacopo Sansovino, established in Venice since the sack of Rome in 1527, had made himself the dominating figure in Venetian sculpture.

From Francesco Sansovino's 1581 guide to Venice and the documents concerning the reliefs of the Cappella del Santo at Padua, we know of the presence at Venice in the 1520s of still another sculptor — Paolo Stella Milanese. Beyond this, however, the literature on Venetian Renaissance sculpture tells us nothing: Stella has yet to elicit a single study. Yet the meager facts contained in the sources suffice for a reconstruction of Stella's Venetian activity and a characterization of his style; indeed, they permit conclusions that reveal a sculptor whose commissions rank among the most important of the decade and whose style places him in the vanguard of Venetian art of the High Renaissance.

Paolo Stella is recorded in Italian documents in connection with the relief of the *Miracle of the Goblet* in the Cappella del Santo, S. Antonio, Padua (Fig. 1). Stella's assumption of the commission was preceded by a complicated series of events. On October 20, 1502, the relief had been commissioned from Giambattista Bregno, but Bregno died without having finished it; indeed, he may never have begun it.<sup>1</sup> On April 28, 1520, therefore, the stewards of the Arca del Santo transferred the commission to Giammaria Mosca. Since Mosca was obligated to make, and gain approval for, a model, before receiving the marble on which he was to work, it is unlikely that he was finishing a work already begun.<sup>2</sup> Payments to Mosca are recorded in 1523, 1527, and 1528. But on April 2, 1529, Mosca was given money for a trip to Venice in order to bring back a companion to finish the relief. On April 3, 1529, Mosca was paid for the last time, bringing the sum of his payments to 1233 lire, 19 soldi, out of a total price of 1537 lire, 12 soldi. A document of April 26, 1529,

names Master Piero Paulo, called also Master Paulo, as the companion brought to Padua to finish the relief. Master Paolo's salary was to be determined by Jacopo Sansovino. On April 30, 1529, Paolo returned to Venice to find an apprentice to assist him. Notices that the relief was being polished occur on August 14 and 26, 1529. On September 3, 1529, the narrative was immured, and on September 25, 1529, Sansovino awarded Master Paulo 248 lire, 4 soldi. The perspective scene at the top of the relief was commissioned separately from Giuliano Fiorentino on April 17, 1529, and was polished on October 8, 1529.<sup>3</sup>

In his contemporary description of the reliefs of the Cappella del Santo, Marcantonio Michiel wrote: "Lo secondo quadro (which corresponds to the *Miracle of the Goblet*, counting from right to left) fu di mano di Zuan Maria Padoano, finito da Paulo Stella Milanese 1529".<sup>4</sup> The designation of Master Paolo's surname gave occasion for identifying the sculptor responsible for completing the relief with "maister Paul de la Stella", employed by King Ferdinand I Hapsburg of Austria on the construction and sculptural decoration of the Belvedere, the pleasure palace at Queen Anne of Bohemia's summer residence at Prague. Paul de la Stella arrived in Prague, accompanied by thirteen Italian stonemasons, on May 25, 1538. Until 1539 Stella worked at the Belvedere, begun in 1535, under the direction of Hans von Spatio, thereafter under that of Zoan Maria Austalis. As a consequence of the fire of 1541, work was diverted from the Belvedere to the rebuilding of the castle and cathedral of Prague; between 1542 and 1545 the work of restoration there was placed under Stella's supervision. When work resumed at the Belvedere in 1545, Stella was put in charge of that, while Zoan Maria took over the restoration of the castle. At the Belvedere Stella also undertook to carve the stone "historien oder pildwerch". Five years later, in 1550, master Paul's brother (whose name is not given in any document), was carving coats of arms for the windows. In January 1551 Stella, called "fabricae nostrae Pragensis magister", was dispatched to Italy to hire masters and workers for the imperial service. Stella died between October 5 and 21, 1552.<sup>5</sup>

The Hapsburg Stella's place of origin is given in a document of June 27, 1538, which cites "maister Paul de la Stella de Mileto".<sup>6</sup> Chytil hypothetically identified Mileto with Melide, a town in Switzerland on Lake Lugano (canton of Ticino)<sup>7</sup>; subsequent authors adopted the identification unconditionally. The district from which the artist is supposed to have come produced great numbers of stonemasons, some of whom were employed alongside Stella at the Belvedere, and Lake Lugano might conceivably be called "milanese", the epithet applied by Michiel to the Italian Stella. But since, in Italy alone, there are at least fifteen localities named Meledo, Meleti, Meleto, Melide, or Melito, including the ancient city of Mileto in the province of Catanzaro, seat of an archbishop in Stella's time,<sup>8</sup> the identification of the Hapsburg Stella's place of origin with Melide on Lake Lugano should not be accepted without reservations unless independently confirmed. Nor, indeed, should the identification of Paolo Stella Milanese, active in the Cappella del Santo, with Paul de la Stella de Mileto, architect and sculptor of the Belvedere at Prague.

A second work recorded in an early source as Paolo Milanese's is one of the two statues which once adorned the Dolce Altar in S. Giustina, Venice (Figs. 2, 3). Of them Sansovino wrote in 1581: "su l'altare ricchissimo di porfidi & serpentini della famiglia Dolce, sono due Statue di marmo pario, poco meno del naturale, di mano di Antonio Lombardo & di Paolo Milanese Statuarij assai famosi nel tempo loro".<sup>9</sup> When Sansovino saw the statues, evidently they were not flanking Marco Zoppo's "palla grande" of 1468, supposed to have been painted for the church's High Altar<sup>10</sup>, or any other painting. At the end of the 16th, or the beginning of the 17th, century, Jacopo Palma il Giovane's painting of the *Martyrdom of S. Giustina*, now in the Chiesa arcipretale at Agordo, was installed on the High Altar between the two figures<sup>11</sup>: it and the figures were described there first by

Stringa in 1604 and may have been part of the program of restoration undertaken by the prioress, Perpetua Pasqualigo, in 1600.<sup>12</sup> An architectural framework incorporated both painting and statues. Stringa specified that the figures were located in niches, flanked by columns of mottled marble, and transcribed the inscriptions at the figures' feet, which served to identify them as SS. *Peter Martyr* on the spectator's left and *Thomas Aquinas* on his right.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps the commission for the Dolce Altar was an indirect consequence of the rebuilding of S. Giustina between 1500 and 1514.<sup>14</sup> The rebuilt church was consecrated by Domenico Zon, Bishop of Kisamos (Crete), on May 14, 1514.<sup>15</sup> It might be supposed that the statues were finished and installed in time for the consecration of the church, but as we shall see, this is most unlikely.

The Church of S. Giustina was suppressed in 1806.<sup>16</sup> Between 1815 and 1819 the two statues were transferred to SS. Giovanni e Paolo and reinstalled above the twin arches enclosing the Tomb of Alvise Trevisan and fragments of the Tomb of Doge Michele Steno in the fourth bay of the left aisle of the church, *Peter Martyr* on the left, *Thomas Aquinas* on the right.<sup>17</sup> The architectural framework of the statues remained in S. Giustina until ca. 1840, when it was donated to S. Aponal for that church's High Altar. Palma Giovane's *Martyrdom of S. Giustina* was replaced by a painting of the *Martyrdom of S. Aponal* by Lattanzio Querena, but the lateral niches remained empty.<sup>18</sup> Although S. Aponal now functions as the archive of the civil and penal tribunal of Venice, the High Altar from S. Giustina, with its inscriptions and Querena's painting, is still there.

The first attempt to advance beyond Sansovino's generic attribution of the statues was made by Soràvia, who hesitantly credited Antonio Lombardo with *St. Thomas*.<sup>19</sup> Within a few years, Soràvia's attribution was widely known and accepted.<sup>20</sup> In the fifth edition



1 Giammaria Mosca and Paolo Stella, *Miracle of the Goblet*. Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.



2 Antonio Lombardo, St. Peter Martyr. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



3 Paolo Stella, St. Thomas Aquinas. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



4 Roman, 2nd century A.D., Bust so-called of Vitellius (cast). Venice, Museo Archeologico.

of Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, however, Bode observed that *St. Peter Martyr* actually corresponded more closely to Antonio's work than *St. Thomas* did.<sup>21</sup> Paoletti was the first to link Sansovino's Paolo Milanese, active at S. Giustina, with Paolo Stella Milanese, part author of the *Miracle of the Goblet*. But Paoletti cautiously observed that the information transmitted by Sansovino did not warrant assigning in entirety either of the S. Giustina statues to one or the other sculptor; rather Paoletti preferred to think that Antonio Lombardo had begun them both and, after his transfer to Ferrara in 1506, Paolo Milanese completed them.<sup>22</sup> Planiscig found the two statues close in style to sculpture by Antonio, but inferior to his Santo relief.<sup>23</sup> For Venturi, the movement and drapery of *St. Thomas Aquinas* betrayed the intervention of Giammaria Mosca.<sup>24</sup> Hubala hesitantly ascribed both SS. *Peter Martyr* and *Thomas Aquinas* to Antonio Lombardo.<sup>25</sup>

*St. Peter Martyr* is identifiable by the wound in his head, visible from above (Fig. 2).<sup>26</sup> He appears in his customary guise, as a middle-aged Dominican with a short beard, tonsure, and book.<sup>27</sup> The conventional palm, which the figure may have held in his broken right hand, is missing.<sup>28</sup> *St. Thomas Aquinas* is represented as a middle-aged, beardless, tonsured, Dominican friar (Fig. 3). On his breast is a sun. With a conventional gesture of demonstration, he points to a passage in his opened book. Seeking to reproduce Thomas' actual physical appearance, as it was preserved in early biographies of the saint, the sculptor portrayed him as tall and corpulent.<sup>29</sup> On the outer side of the figure's base, the remnants of an inscription, worked in niello, spell Q V I N.<sup>30</sup>



5 Paolo Stella, *St. Thomas Aquinas*, (detail).  
Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

That the figures were intended to be paired is clear from the choice of Dominican saints, identical materials, corresponding heights, and similar bases. But the style of the figures is so different that the figures not only seem carved by different artists but conceived in different epochs. *St. Peter* is an icon: his attributes serve merely to identify the saint; his aggrieved expression refers to the fact of his martyrdom, not to its experience. By contrast, *St. Thomas* is an actor in a drama of high passion, occasioned — quite implausibly — by the demonstration of a passage in his book. Emotion is revealed by facial expression, but even more by movement, both of the figure and its drapery. In contrast to the rigid stance of *St. Peter*, the oblique and widely divergent axes of hips and shoulders of *St. Thomas* betoken an uneven distribution of weight. Where the statue of *St. Peter* hardly deviates from a frontal plane, the pose of *St. Thomas* engenders a spiral which commences in the toes of his free foot to end in the curls at the peak of his forehead. The position of his book, held far to one side, releases an ample field for the extended arm and focal gesture, which, together, span the figure. *St. Thomas* has been caught in the very act of turning, for folds have not yet settled; his movement is of such intensity that, in reaction, folds are swept back against his limbs, or outward and backward beyond the confines of the figure. Even the pages of the *Saint's* book flutter. A natural concomitant of the sculptor's conception of his figure is the deep excavation of the block, the pliant contour, and the invitation extended by *St. Thomas* to circumambulate at least a quarter of its compass. By contrast, the uniformity of the front face of the statue of *St. Peter* and the symmetry of its straight



6 Paolo Stella, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



7 Florentine, 15th century, Tomb of Giannozzo Pandolfini. Florence, Badia.



8 Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino, Tomb of Vittore Cappello (when installed at S. Aponal). Venice, S. Elena.

contours, assures the primacy of a single view *en face*. Although *St. Thomas* is actually smaller than *St. Peter*, the former's small head and tiny book make *St. Thomas* seem the larger of the two.

That the statue of *Peter Martyr* is by Antonio Lombardo is proven by comparison with his relief of the *Miracle of the Speaking Babe* in the Santo, Padua, or his *Madonna* from the Cappella Zen, S. Marco. (The extreme monotony of *St. Peter*, despite its finely wrought details, suggests the participation of an assistant in the earlier stages of the statue's execution.) Conversely, *Thomas Aquinas* corresponds to the *Miracle of the Goblet* (Fig. 1). In the relief, as in the statue, a high pitch of excitement is produced by rapid movement and vehement gestures. In the relief, as in the statue, forms have suffered no abridgement of their volume: in the former, figures, presented mostly in lateral views, are as deep as they are broad, while their surfaces revolve continuously. Hollows are deeply excavated and limbs are frequently free-standing. The consequence is a sharp and rapid alternation of light and shadow.

But have we not observed that Stella's role in the creation of the *Miracle of the Goblet* was very limited? Only in the relief's surface — the facial features of less visible heads and the plastic definition of individual folds — are we justified in seeking traces of Paolo Stella's hand. The discrepancy between the drapery of the participants in the *Miracle of the Goblet* and that of Mosca's figures, whose flat, triangular folds typically seem made of tin-plate, suggests that in the drapery of the Santo relief Stella's contribution can best be measured. And indeed the resemblance of the drapery in the relief to the drapery of



9 Venetian, early 15th century, Tomb of Doge Antonio Venier (detail). Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

*St. Thomas Aquinas* is such that the attribution of both works to Stella is mutually reinforced. In the running woman on the right of the relief, as in *St. Thomas*, large tracts of fine material adhere to the body, revealing its swelling forms perhaps too circumstantially. Where folds gather they produce a pattern of long, closely spaced, parallel lines; the tails of diagonals are gently bowed, full curves terminate in straight lines. The sweeping border of *St. Thomas'* cloak possesses the curvature of the border of the mantle of the running woman. In section folds are rounded, but the troughs between folds do not undercut them sufficiently to seem to detach folds from the ground or to give folds a cord-like form.

It is possible to date the statues of S. Giustina only approximately. The statue by Antonio Lombardo must have been completed before his death in 1516, perhaps before his departure for Ferrara in 1506, but was probably not conceived before the reconstruction of S. Giustina, begun in 1500. Stella's figure, on the other hand, must post-date Antonio's death, for if Antonio Lombardo had still been alive, surely he, rather than the younger and less renowned sculptor, would have been entrusted with the mate of the figure he had already carved. Therefore I am convinced that, by his death, Antonio had completed one of the two figures, but had not begun the second, and that eventually the commission for that figure passed to Stella.

How much time separated the two figures? A considerable amount, one may assume, if Stella is first documented only in 1529. Indeed, another factor points to, without unfortunately proving, a date after September 1525. That factor is Stella's dependence on the *Bust so-called of Vitellius* in the Museo Archeologico, Venice (Figs. 4, 5).<sup>31</sup> From the "*Vitellius*" Stella took *St. Thomas'* extraordinary physiognomy — the fleshiness of the



10 Paolo Stella, Effigy, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



11 Paolo Stella, Prudence, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio.

*Saint's* thick neck, which swells to the dimensions of the jaws and nearly engulfs the chin, and the creased and slightly concave forehead, which narrows towards the apex of a central tuft of hair. The *Bust of "Vitellius"* belonged to the collection of antiquities formed by Cardinal Domenico Grimani at Rome.<sup>32</sup> In his testament of August 16, 1523, Grimani bequeathed his antiquities to the Venetian Republic. At the writing of his testament, Grimani's antiquities were in the Convent of S. Chiara at Murano.<sup>33</sup> The cardinal died in Rome on August 27, 1523; on September 15, 1523, an inventory of Grimani's bronze and marble antiquities and his paintings, all in storage at S. Chiara, was compiled. The inventory records "una Testa, et mezo busto dal natural de marmo, e nudo".<sup>34</sup> Though the entry is ambiguous, the bust's lead *bollo* with Cardinal Domenico's name, as well as the work's designation by name in a subsequent inventory, prove that the "*Vitellius*"



12 Paolo Stella, Hope, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio.

is the work in question and belonged to the earliest Grimani donation. Two years after the compilation of the inventory — on September 13, 1525 — the installation of Grimani's antique marbles in the anteroom of the *chiesuola* of Palazzo Ducale was completed.<sup>35</sup> It is tempting to accept this date as a *terminus post quem* for the execution of *St. Thomas*: as long as the antiquities were at S. Chiara they could hardly have been visible, for not only were the sculptures crated, but the convent of Poor Clares practised strict enclosure. Indeed, the numberless reflections of the "*Vitellius*" in Venetian painting and drawing all post-date the inauguration of the Grimani lapidarium.<sup>36</sup> However, it is likely that the bust was known to artists when it was still in Rome — Peruzzi employed the "*Vitellius*" for a figure in his *Presentation of the Virgin* in S. Maria della Pace, dated on the basis of circumstantial evidence between the summer of 1523 and September 1526<sup>37</sup> — so that,



13 Paolo Stella, Faith, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio.



14 Paolo Stella, Charity, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio.

although the “*Vitellius*” was inaccessible at Murano, copies or drawings of it might well have circulated. Therefore, the opening of the Sala delle Teste on September 13, 1525 is of only limited evidential value in providing a *terminus post quem* for the statue of *St. Thomas*.

The possession of a secure work by Paolo Stella allows us to identify his hand in a monument which, though it stands directly above the statue of *St. Thomas Aquinas*, has never been associated with the sculptor or the statue. It is the Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio, which rises above the double arcade of the Steno and Trevisan Tombs in the fourth bay of SS. Giovanni e Paolo’s left aisle (Fig. 6). Giovanni Battista Bonzio indicted his testament on September 17, 1507; his notary was Marco Zamberti. In the absence of male descendants, the *Procuratori di S. Marco de citra* were appointed his executors. With regard

to his burial, Bonzio decreed that a tomb elevated above the ground be constructed in SS. Giovanni e Paolo on the right inner wall of the facade, between the main portal and the Tomb of Doge Pietro Mocenigo. The tomb was to be finished within two, or at most three, years after his death; 600 ducats were to be spent in its manufacture. The tomb was to contain only the bodies of himself, his wife Chiara, his sister Chiara, and his father Marino. Until the completion of the tomb, Bonzio wished his body to repose in a coffin deposited near the wall where his tomb was to stand. Bonzio further established the office of prior of Ca' Bonzio to be filled every four years by election of a male descendant of the Bonzio family, then sitting in the *Maggior Consiglio*, for the purpose of keeping Bonzio's tomb in good repair.<sup>38</sup> Bonzio died during the night of October 7/8, 1508.<sup>39</sup> Not until seventeen years later was his tomb taken in hand. On November 24, 1525, the convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo ceded a site for Bonzio's tomb between the Altars of S. Agostino and S. Pietro Martire, that is, between the first two altars in the left aisle of the church, opposite the first pier of the nave.<sup>40</sup> A month later, however, the tomb site was transferred to the right aisle of the church, near the lateral portal which then led to the cemetery of S. Orsola. A later document makes clear that this site was located just to the east of the portal, where the Cappella di S. Domenico now opens off the fifth and last bay of the aisle.<sup>41</sup> Bonzio's epitaph informs us that the construction of his tomb was superintended, as the testator had asked, by the *Procuratori de citra*<sup>42</sup>, then a swollen body of seven, comprising Giorgio Corner, Marco Grimani, Andrea Gussoni, Andrea Giustinian, Marco Molin, Antonio Mocenigo, and Alvise Priuli.<sup>43</sup> Two documents of payment are dated August



15 Paolo Stella, left-hand *putto*, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio.

31, 1525 and June 18, 1526; in all 582 ducats, 3 denari — very nearly the sum allocated by Bonzio — were spent.<sup>44</sup> Curiously, the payments show that the tomb was underway several months before a site had been designated officially and that the monument was finished later than the year 1525 inscribed in the epitaph. A century and a half later, probably in 1682, the prior of the convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo petitioned the *Procuratori de citra* to permit the Bonzio Tomb to be moved, so that the present chapel of S. Domenico could be built on its site. Presumably the procurators gave their consent, for the chapel was built in 1690 and the tomb now stands in the church's opposite aisle.<sup>45</sup>

Within a broad, semicircular arch, the sarcophagus, resting on three lion's paws, supports a bier with the cadaverous recumbent effigy, dressed in a Senator's robe (Fig. 10).<sup>46</sup> The extremities of the arch, as well as the feet of the sarcophagus, stand on the projections of a broken entablature. Beneath these projections, five Corinthian colonettes frame and divide four round-headed, segmental niches containing female personifications of virtues. From left to right, these *Virtues* are: *Prudence*, examining her reflection in a fountain (Fig. 11)<sup>47</sup>; *Hope*, her hands raised in prayer, her gaze directed upward (Fig. 12)<sup>48</sup>; *Faith* pointing upward (Fig. 13)<sup>49</sup>, and *Charity* with two naked male infants (Fig. 14).<sup>50</sup> Overlapping the extremities of the arch are two *putti* with Bonzio arms (Figs. 15, 16).<sup>51</sup> At the summit of the tomb, the tympanum is crowned by a personification of justice, seated on a globe girdled by the band of the zodiac (Fig. 17). A little more than a quarter of the zodiac is visible. The sequence of signs begins at the rear left with the rear paw and tail of Leo, followed by Virgo, Libra, and Scorpius (August 12 to November 21). Appropriately, Li-



16 Paolo Stella, right-hand *putto*, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio.

bra, under whose influence the virtue of justice was believed to operate, occupies the most prominent position at the front.<sup>52</sup> In her raised right hand, *Justice* once held a sword, of which the blade is missing.<sup>53</sup> A drawing of the tomb, executed by Johannes Grevembroch in 1759, shows two more *Virtues* at either end of the tympanum. The figure on the spectator's right is identifiable by her column as Fortitude; her companion does not have an attribute.<sup>54</sup> The two *Virtues* had been removed by 1921.<sup>55</sup> Recently they were found in SS. Giovanni e Paolo at the back of the altar in the Cappella del Rosario.<sup>56</sup> The two figures match those in Grevembroch's drawing. *Fortitude*, very severely damaged, supports a column (Fig. 18).<sup>57</sup> The personification emptying her pitcher is recognizable by her conventional action as *Temperance* (Fig. 19).<sup>58</sup>

Affixed to, rather than excavated from, the wall and elevated above the pavement on consoles, the Bonzio Tomb conforms to a long-standing Venetian tradition of sepulchral monuments. But the placement, within a semicircular niche, of the sarcophagus, so that its feet rest upon the niche's floor, is most unusual in Venetian Renaissance tombs.<sup>59</sup> The ultimate source of this motif, doubtless, is the Florentine arcosolium, where a semicircular niche excavated from the wall enclosed the sarcophagus, while, beneath, a base applied to the wall and composed of pilasters supporting an entablature, linked the niche to the pavement of the church (Figs. 6, 7).<sup>60</sup> The arcosolium was first used in Venice by the Florentine, Niccolò di Giovanni, in the Tomb of Vittore Cappello, where the proportions and articulation of the standard base were modified in order to accommodate the main portal of S. Elena (Fig. 8). In his turn, the author of the Bonzio Tomb increased the size of the arch relative to that of the sarcophagus, in order to accommodate the effigy, otherwise missing from arcosolia. To provide more emphatic closure in the absence of an excavated niche, the arch was given a surround of rectangular shape — a feature found in Venetian tombs of every epoch. From Pietro Lombardo's Tomb of the Doges Barbarigo, formerly in S. Maria della Carità, came the articulation of the rear wall of the Bonzio niche with a broad semicircular strip, which follows the contour of the arch and is interrupted at regular intervals by *tondi*, as well as the incrustation of the front of the sarcophagus with three rectangular panels.<sup>61</sup> Absolved from its function of linking lunette to pavement, the base of the Bonzio Tomb is lower than its counterparts in Florentine arcosolia: in proportions and articulation it is very similar to the Gothic base in the Tomb of Doge Antonio Venier in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where the base, supported by five consoles, is articulated by as many niches containing *Virtues* (Fig. 9). The ornamental field at the bottom of the tomb, succeeded by a trapezoid with curving sides, which incorporates the epitaph, was taken from the Tomb of Benedetto Brugnolo in S. Maria dei Frari.

The attribution of the Bonzio Tomb has caused considerable perplexity. For much of the nineteenth century the monument was held to be the work of an "ignoto lombardesco"<sup>62</sup>, but Paoletti avoided committing himself to even so generic an attribution.<sup>63</sup> In 1921 Planiscig championed the paternity of Giammaria Mosca.<sup>64</sup> Planiscig's attribution was accepted unconditionally by Venturi, Estreicher and Pagaczewski, and Muraro<sup>65</sup>, and reservedly by Fogolari and Zava Boccazzi.<sup>66</sup> Lorenzetti thought the tomb too weak for Mosca.<sup>67</sup> Kozakiewicz and Munman observed how unlike Mosca's sculpture the Bonzio Tomb figures were, but failed to propose an alternate attribution.<sup>68</sup>

Although no figure strikes *St. Thomas'* pose (Fig. 3), the principles which inform the movement of the *Saint* are common also to the Bonzio figures. All the figures, except the effigy, *Temperance*, and *Faith*, are captured in the midst of a continuous movement. In the Bonzio figures, also, movement seems inadequately motivated. Predictably, movement is expressed through a dramatically unequal distribution of the body's weight, which results in wide divergences of oblique axes of hips and shoulders. In the *putti*, *For-*



17 Paolo Stella, Justice, Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio.



18 Paolo Stella, Fortitude, from the Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Cappella del Rosario.

*titude, Charity, and Prudence* (Figs. 15, 16, 11, 14, 18), the three-dimensional revolution of *St. Thomas*' pose is carried to its logical extreme: torsos twist, arms and legs are oriented in opposite directions, heads are turned as far as the neck permits.

To a large extent, the effect of continuous movement is due to the pattern of folds which, propelled in a direction counter to that of the body's movement, express the physical reaction of inert matter. As in *St. Thomas*, drapery is abundant: the garments of the *Virtues* are long and composed of so much fabric that it must be tightly gathered and frequently tucked up. In this the sculptor betrays the influence of classical antiquity, where a superabundance of material resulted from the draping, in contradistinction to the sewing, of garments. As in classical statuary, folds are thin, straight, long; numbers of parallel folds



19 Paolo Stella, *Temperance*, from the Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Cappella del Rosario.

are closely spaced. In section, folds are composed of rounded ridges which troughs do not undercut. The treatment of the drapery over the engaged leg of *Hope* (Fig. 12) is similar to that in the statue of *St. Thomas*. In both, vertical folds fall from extremely jutting hips. The radical shift from the axis of hip to that of foot leaves a wide expanse at the bottom of the statue to be filled by the slightly jagged, diagonal border of the hem.

Common to all the figures so far attributed to Stella is their emphatic three-dimensionality. The form of the figures revolves continuously, as though figures had been excavated from cylinders, not blocks. Corkscrew movement, folds which curve around the boundaries of the figures, and heads turned sharply to one side, encourage the spectator to circumambulate the figures, even where circumambulation is impossible. There is no abridgement



20 Paolo Stella, Prudence (detail), Tomb of Giovanni Battista Bonzio. Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



21 Paolo Stella, *Miracle of the Goblet* (detail). Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.

of the volume of individual forms and limbs are regularly carved in the round. The stone is deeply excavated, when not actually perforated. Yet where a layer of drapery clings to a limb or an underlying garment, as in the engaged leg of *Faith*, or the legs of *St. Thomas*, the straight edge, not undercut at all, is so fine as to allow the fabric hardly any substance.

A corollary of the unfolding of the statue within a three-dimensional space, is the independence of the Bonzio figures from their setting. Feet regularly project beyond the front face of bases. The upraised arm of *Faith* breaks the upper confines of the niche (Fig. 13). To be sure, the present niche of *Justice* is not original, but it is difficult to imagine any architectural setting, which could have contained the figure in its entirety (Fig. 17). The niches of the four lower figures are extremely shallow — considerably less than semi-circular, while figures, by contrast, are at least as deep as they are wide and rise from circular bases.

A comparison of the face of *Prudence* with that of the kneeling woman in the *Miracle of the Goblet* (Figs. 20, 21) confirms our attribution of the Bonzio Tomb to Stella. So much the more striking does the comparison seem when these two heads are juxtaposed with that of the running woman on the right, whose traits bear Mosca's imprint (Fig. 22). In Stella's two faces, small features occupy much less of the surface than they do in Mosca's figure. Features are much less precisely delineated and some lack contours altogether. Noses are shorter and a great deal thinner; nostrils flare upward and outward. The corners of the narrow mouths are similarly indented. Extremely broad at the level of the eyes, faces come to a point in the diminutive chin.

The pose of *Justice* (Fig. 17) was inspired by two frescoes from the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, the seated male nude by Giorgione and the so-called *Justice* by Titian.<sup>69</sup> Stella's borrowing is not slavish: by combining elements from two sources and changing details of costume and attributes, Stella produced a unique image, which does not readily betray its origins. Nevertheless, the open, seated pose, in which the bent limbs and upraised sword are oriented according to the four compass points — so extraordinary in a carved figure that it required the piecing of the figure's upraised arm — is sufficient to prove Stella's dependence on the paintings. *Prudence* (Fig. 11) seems to have resulted from Stella's imaginative recombination of Titian's *Lady at her Toilette* in the Louvre and the nude at the fountain in his Louvre *Concert Champêtre*; *Prudence* obeys the same principles of movement as the woman bearing a banner in Titian's wood-cut of the *Triumph of Faith*. The *Virtues'* dress, which unites elements of antique costume, like the peplum, with features of contemporary underdress, like low necklines and full sleeves gathered at the elbow, is also found occasionally in Titian's work. The contemporary *ciambella* worn by *Prudence*, crowns the previously cited figure in Titian's *Triumph of Faith*. The sash, which drops from the hip of *Hope* (Fig. 12) recalls the dress of the so-called *Diligence* attributed to Giorgione from the facade of Palazzo Loredan, now Vendramin-Calergi.<sup>70</sup>

The style of Stella's Bonzio Tomb *Virtues* was new to the history of sculpture, not just in Venice, but anywhere, for the figures represented an attempt to imitate in marble the painterly technique evolved by Giorgione and Titian in the 1500s and 1510s — itself a new departure in the history of art. The earliest application of Giorgione's and Titian's painterly style to works of sculpture appeared in statues executed by Bartolomeo Bergamasco ca. 1524. Bartolomeo's figures for the High Altar of S. Rocco, his statue of *St. Mary Magdalene* from the Altar of Verde della Scala formerly in S. Maria dei Servi, and his statuettes for the High Altar of S. Geminiano are characterized by the suppression of circumstantial detail, by the summary definition of forms despite a highly finished surface, and by the abrupt projection and recession of the surface, whose movement reflects, not the formal properties of the object represented, but the haphazard effects of a tangential il-



22 Giammaria Mosca, *Miracle of the Goblet* (detail). Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.

lumination.<sup>71</sup> This method of simulating the appearance of painterly painting in marble sculpture was adopted a year later by Stella in his *Virtues* for the Bonzio Tomb and there used with even greater audacity to obtain effects which have few parallels in sculpture.

In the Bonzio *Virtues*, as in the works of Bartolomeo Bergamasco, traces of tool marks were carefully erased, for they possess no counterpart in the painted surface, but rather draw attention to the sculptor's working methods. But, paradoxically, the high degree of surface finish does not produce the effect of a highly finished work, for details of all kinds were eliminated. Contours are summary and generalized. Hair is so perfunctorily treated that individual locks never separate themselves from the mass. Folds are so consistently of one type that no distinctions in texture seem to have been made among the garments of the different *Virtues*. Nor did the sculptor chart the permutations in the form of folds produced by the constraints of seam or sash, by the projection or recession of underlying form, or by the effect of gravity. Nowhere is the sacrifice of the thing as it is, to the thing as it appears, more evident than in the pattern of folds over the free hip and leg of *Faith* (Fig. 13). Just as painterly brushstrokes fail to merge, but rather retain their discrete identity, so in the Bonzio figures the troughs and ridges which denote the hollows and saliences of folds do not flow into one another but are abruptly juxtaposed. Straight folds, which slash diagonally across the figure, suggest an execution as spontaneous as Tintoretto's. A narrow, continuous furrow between *Temperance's* torso and pendant sleeve, in place of a gradual revolution of the form, produces the sculptural equivalent of the painter's black contour line (Fig. 19). The edges of folds or garments, most notably *Temperance's* sash, suddenly disappear, as though hidden by a cast shadow.

Despite *St. Thomas's* many analogies with the figures from the Bonzio Tomb, the statue does not manifest the painterly style of the *Virtues* (Fig. 3). On the contrary, *St. Thomas* testifies to that attentive regard to details of form, line, and texture that was a legacy of Tullio and Antonio Lombardo. *St. Thomas's* very different style may have been a concession to its pairing with the statue of *St. Peter Martyr* by Antonio Lombardo (Fig. 2), whose surface treatment it closely imitates. Or its difference may be due to a different stage in the sculptor's stylistic development. Indeed, both explanations may be correct. Intermediate between *St. Thomas Aquinas* and the *Virtues* are the Bonzio *putti* with shields (Figs. 15, 16), while the head of the kneeling woman from the *Miracle of the Goblet* (Fig. 21) is as sketchy as the most loosely treated of the Bonzio *Virtues*. We may therefore postulate a hypothetical evolution of Paolo Stella's art from a sculptural to a painterly style — an evolution which probably took place within a narrow span of time. The existence of this painterly style was of short duration: its disappearance was as sudden as its rise. A victim of the commanding influence of Jacopo Sansovino, it did not outlast Stella's brief career in Venice.

## NOTES

- \* *The execution of the photographs accompanying this article was made possible by a Basic Research Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The article was written during my tenure as Associate at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence. For the support of both these institutions, I am deeply grateful.*
- <sup>1</sup> A. Sartori, Documenti per la storia dell'arte a Padova, ed. C. Fillarini, Vicenza 1976, p. 28; *idem*, Archivio Sartori. Documenti di storia e arte francescana, I. Basilica e Convento del Santo, ed. G. Luisetto, Padua 1983, p. 362, docs. 462-466. See also A. Markham Schulz, Giambattista Bregno, in: Jb. der Berliner Museen, XXII, 1980, p. 200.
- <sup>2</sup> In 1537 Mosca's terracotta model was seen by Marcantonio Michiel in the house of maestro Guido Lizzaro in Padua: Marcantonio Michiel, Der Anonimo Morelliano (Marcanton Michiel's Notizia d'opere del disegno), ed. and trans. Th. Frimmel, Vienna 1896, p. 30.
- <sup>3</sup> B. Gonzati, La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova, Padua, I, 1852, p. cvi, doc. c; Sartori 1976 (n. 1), pp. 172 f, 206; Sartori / Luisetto 1983 (n. 1), pp. 361 f, docs. 441-460.
- <sup>4</sup> Michiel / Frimmel (n. 2), p. 8.
- <sup>5</sup> The documents were published by F. Kreytzi ed., Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K. u. K. Reichs-Finanz-Archiv, in: Jb. Kaiserhaus, V, 1887, pt. 2, pp. xxxviii ff, docs. 4076, 4094, 4118, 4143, 4145, 4182, 4283 C; K. Köpl ed., Urkunden, Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem K. K. Statthalterei-Archiv in Prag, in: Jb. Kaiserhaus, X, 1889, pp. lxxvi ff., docs. 5997, 5998, 6000, 6004, 6005, 6007-6009, 6012-6018, 6021, 6023, 6030, 6035, 6051-6055, 6061, 6062, 6090, 6145, 6146; H. v. Voltelini ed., Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K. u. K. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien, in: Jb. Kaiserhaus, XV, pt. 2, 1894, p. liii, doc. 11820. The most reliable and complete history of the construction of the Belvedere in a Western European language is that of O. Pollak, Studien zur Geschichte der Architektur Prags, 1520-1600, in: Jb. Kaiserhaus, XXIX, 1910/1911, pp. 96 ff. See also R. Wagner-Rieger, Die Renaissancearchitektur in Oesterreich, Boehmen und Ungarn in ihrem Verhaeltnis zu Italien bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: Como, Società archeologica comense. Arte e artisti dei Laghi Lombardi, ed. E. Arslan, Como 1959, I, p. 468, and K. Šmrha, Vlašští Stavitelé v Praze a Jejič Druzi (1530-1620), in: Uměni, XXIV, 1976, pp. 164 f.
- <sup>6</sup> Köpl ed. (n. 5), p. lxxix, doc. 6004.
- <sup>7</sup> K. Chytil, Maestri luganesi in Boemia nel secolo xvi, in: Atti del X Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte in Roma. L'Italia e l'arte straniera, 1912, Rome 1922, p. 330.
- <sup>8</sup> Dizionario corografico-universale dell'Italia, Milan 1850 ff, I, pt. 2, p. 401; III, pt. 1, p. 653; III, pt. 2, pp. 620 f; IV, pt. 1, pp. 600 f, and D. Olivieri, Dizionario di toponomastica lombarda, 2nd ed., Milan 1961, pp. 337 f.
- <sup>9</sup> Francesco Sansovino, Venetia città nobilissima et singolare, descritta in xiiii. libri, Venice 1581, p. 12 v.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12 v; E. Ruhmer, Marco Zoppo, Vicenza 1966, p. 83, nos. 144-147.
- <sup>11</sup> St. Mason Rinaldi, Palma il Giovane. L'opera completa, Milan 1984, p. 73, no. 2.
- <sup>12</sup> The restoration of the church was commemorated by an inscription, for which see Francesco Sansovino, Venetia città nobilissima, et singolare, descritta già in xiiii. libri, enlarged by Giovanni Stringa, Venice 1604, p. 130 v.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130 v: " Quattro finissime colonne di marmo con belle macchie due per lato lo formano. Nel mezo è la pala, ovè dipinto dal Palma si vede il martirio di Santa Giustina; nel mezo di dette colonne per banda vi sono due statue di Santi poco manco del naturale, le quali sono di marmo pario, collocate in due nicchi, scolpite da Antonio Lombardo, e da Paolo Milanese statuarij assai famosi nel tempo loro. Vi sono in questo altare altri vaghissimi lavori, fregi, festoni, corniciamenti, partimenti, & altri ornamenti, con nuove figure di Angioli, fatte di stucco, che insieme adornano maravigliosamente questo altare. Vi giace sopra un tabernacolo messo ad oro con bellissimi intagli, & ornamenti all'intorno. Sotto le predette statue si leggono a man diritta questi due versi.  
Impia dum verbi gladio ferit agmina Petrus.  
Petra Dei gladijs impietatis obit.  
Et a man manca questi due altri.  
Divino libavit aquas de flumine aquinas.  
Hinc benè de Christo deque Parente docet".
- (Right and left, presumably, are reckoned from the standpoint of the altar, not the spectator).
- <sup>14</sup> Flaminio Corner, Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis, Venice 1749, XI, pp. 208 f; *idem*, Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia, e di Torcello, Padua 1758, p. 37.
- <sup>15</sup> This date corresponds to that contained in an inscription affixed over the main portal and transcribed by Palfero (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MSS. Lat., Cl. X, 144 [= 3657], Giovanni Giorgio Palfero, Memorabilia Venetiarum monumenta antiquis recentioribusque lapidibus insculpta, 17th century, c. 85 v) and Stringa (Sansovino/Stringa [n. 12], pp. 130 rf): " D. O. M. Ecclesiam hanc Reverendiss. D. Dominicus Episcopus Chissamensis consecravit in honorem Sanctae Iustinae Virginis, & Martyris, anno Domini M D XIII. Dominica secunda Maij, die XIV." In Martinioni's edition of Sansovino's guide (Francesco Sansovino, Venetia città nobilissima, et singolare, descritta in xiiii. libri ... Con aggiunta di tutte le cose notabili della stessa città ..., additions by Giustini Martiniomi, Venice

- 1663, p. 42), however, the same commemorative epigraph ends: "anno Domini M. D. XXII. Dominica secunda Maij. die XV." Corner's transcription of the epigraph ([n. 14, 1749], XI, p. 209) agrees with Martinioni's, but his text gives May 14, 1514, as the date of the church's consecration. That this is the correct date is corroborated by the fact that May 14<sup>th</sup> was the second Sunday of the month in 1514, while May 15, 1522 was a Thursday.
- <sup>16</sup> A. Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*, Milan 1972, II, p. 510.
- <sup>17</sup> G. Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia*, Venice 1815, I, pt. 1, pp. 167 f; *idem*, *Itinéraire de la ville de Venise et des îles circonvoisines*, Venice 1819, p. 47.
- <sup>18</sup> P. Cecchetti, *Notizie storiche intorno all'antica e moderna Chiesa di Santo Apollinare, vescovo e martire di Ravenna, ridonata al culto, sotto forma di oratorio privato, il XVI Giugno MDCCCLI*, Venice 1851, pp. 12, 16, 24 f, n. 6. I am grateful to Dott. Adriana Ruggieri, Sopr. Gall., Venice, for making possible my visit to S. Aponal.
- <sup>19</sup> G. Soràvia, *Le chiese di Venezia*, Venice, I, 1822, p. 161.
- <sup>20</sup> Acknowledged by A. Quadri, *I due Templi de' SS. Giovanni e Paolo e di Santa Maria Gloriosa detta de' Frari in Venezia*, Venice 1835, p. xxv, no. 32, and E. Paoletti, *Il fiore di Venezia*, Venice, II, 1839, p. 242. Accepted by Cecchetti (n. 18), p. 16; P. Selvatico and V. Lazari, *Guida artistica e storica di Venezia e delle isole circonvicine*, Venice et al. 1852, p. 127; E. A. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, Venice, VI, pt. 2, 1853, p. 798; F. Zanotto, *Nuovissima guida di Venezia e delle isole della sua laguna*, Venice 1856, p. 300; R. Fulin and P. G. Molmenti, *Guida artistica e storica di Venezia e delle isole circonvicine*, Venice 1881, p. 229; P. Schubring, *Die italienische Plastik des Quattrocento*, Berlin 1919, p. 249.
- <sup>21</sup> J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, with W. Bode, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Leipzig 1884, II, pt. 2, pp. 435 c f.
- <sup>22</sup> P. Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice 1893, II, p. 241, followed by G. Lorenzetti, *Venezia e il suo estuario*, Venice et al. 1926, p. 336, and with hesitation, by A. Moschetti, voce: Lombardo, Antonio, in: Thieme-Becker, XXIII, 1929, p. 341.
- <sup>23</sup> L. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna 1921, pp. 225 f.
- <sup>24</sup> Venturi X, pt. 1, 1935, p. 440.
- <sup>25</sup> E. Hubala in: E. Egg, Hubala, P. Tigler, W. Timofiewitsch, M. Wundram, *Oberitalien Ost (Reclams Kunstführer, ed. Wundram, Italien)*, Stuttgart 1965, II, p. 795; *idem*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1974, II, pt. 1, p. 199.
- <sup>26</sup> A large knife is shown embedded in the wound in an engraving published by Quadri (n. 20), pl. XVI, no. 32 ("Moretti dis. e inc.").
- <sup>27</sup> G. Kajtál with F. Bisogni, *Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy*, Florence 1978, col. 844, no. 236.
- <sup>28</sup> The statue of *St. Peter Martyr* with its base measures 169.1 cm. in height. The base measures 8 cm. in height. Base and statue are carved from a single block of white marble. On the spectator's far left of the base, an incised vine is worked in niello. Holes on right and left of the base seem to have been intended for niello inlay.
- St. Peter* wears the Dominican habit — tunic, scapular, mantle with cowl, and soft shoes. In addition to an axe wound in his head, there is a knife wound just beneath the cowl in the saint's left chest. Remnants of gilding are preserved in *St. Peter's* hair and on the clasp and stippled ground of the ornaments of the book. Traces of red bole, which served as foundation for gold leaf, are visible in the figure's beard and moustache. The rear of the figure is flat and fairly smooth; the stone between the figure's feet is rough-hewn. The *saint's* right thumb is missing in its entirety. A crack, now repaired, runs through the juncture of the *saint's* left index finger and hand. Beneath this hand, projecting folds of the mantle have cracked or been chipped and, in part, have been repaired. A chip is missing from the border of the cowl just above the wound. Three corners of *St. Peter's* book are chipped.
- <sup>29</sup> Kajtál/Bisogni (n. 27), col. 973, no. 294 and LCI, VIII, 1976, col. 476, voce: Thomas von Aquino.
- <sup>30</sup> The statue of *St. Thomas Aquinas* with its base measures 158.1 cm. in height. The base measures 8 cm. in height. Half of the Q of QVIN incised in the base, consists merely of holes filled with niello. Other holes in the surface of the base, some filled, most empty, form the letters of an inscription of which it is possible to reconstruct less than half: ·THO ·AQVIN.
- St. Thomas* wears the Dominican habit: belted tunic, scapular, mantle with cowl, and soft shoes. At his feet are three closed books. The sun on the *Saint's* chest was originally painted, not carved: it now appears white against the darker, dirtier ground of the scapular. The sun may originally have been outlined in gold. The ornaments of the book held by the *Saint* also show white against a dark ground. Traces of gold are visible on the edges of the pages of the book and on the corners and clasps of its cover. Remnants of gilding are preserved in the figure's hair. The rear of the statue is flat and smooth but unworked, except for the cowl, which possesses its natural volume and is carved in entirety. On the spectator's left a crack runs through the height of the base, the lowest of the books, and up into the *Saint's* tunic and scapular. A chip is missing from the *Saint's* left cuff and from a fold of his mantle opposite his left elbow.
- <sup>31</sup> Inv. no. 20. For the *Bust of "Vitellius"* see Venice, Museo Archeologico, *I ritratti*, catalogue by G. Traversari, Rome 1968, pp. 63 f, no. 43. I am grateful to Dott. Michele Tomboloni, Director of the Museo Archeologico, for his assistance.
- <sup>32</sup> For Grimani's collection see M. Perry, *Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice*, in: *Warburg Journal*, XLI, 1978, pp. 215-244, esp. p. 234, no. 1, with bibliography on p. 215, n. 3.

- <sup>33</sup> *Ph. Dengel*, Palast und Basilika San Marco in Rom, Rome 1913, p. 35, doc. 60. In Grimani's earlier testament of October, 9, 1520 (AS Venezia, Archivio notarile, Testamenti, Busta 938 [not. Bonifacio Soliano], no. 293, c. 4 r), nothing more was said concerning his antiquities than that they were not to be reckoned part of his residual estate.
- <sup>34</sup> *Perry* (n. 32), p. 241, doc. 1, no. 7 C.
- <sup>35</sup> *M. Sanudo*, I diarii, Venice, XXXIX, 1894, coll. 427 f, under the date of September 14, 1525.
- <sup>36</sup> *L. Beschi*, Collezioni d'antichità a Venezia ai tempi di Tiziano, in: *Aquileia nostra*, XLVII, 1976, coll. 33 f; *St. Bailey*, Metamorphoses of the Grimani "Vitellius", in: *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, V, 1977, pp. 108 ff.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107. For the dating of Peruzzi's fresco see *Ch. L. Frommel*, Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner, in: *Röm. Jb.*, XI, 1967/1968, Beiheft, p. 125, no. 89.
- <sup>38</sup> AS Venezia, Procuratori di S. Marco de Citra, Busta 6, filza 1, cc. 1 r-18 v, esp. 1 v, 2 r, 4 v, 7 rf: "Ego Joannes Baptista Bonzius q. Mag.ci Domini Marini, de Contracta Sancte Marie Novae ... El corpo mio voglio, che sia sepulto in una archa sopra terra da esser facta far in la chiezia de San Zuanepollo per li mie comessarij, nel luogo come se intra in la dicta giexia per la porta granda a banda dreta li a quel muro de la faza de la giexia dita, tra la dicta porta granda et larcha del Serenissimo Principe misser Piero Mocenigo, nela qual in costruirla et farla, voglio sia ben spexi ducati sicciento, et voglio el dicto convento da San Zuanepollo per el luogo de la dicta archa da esser facta li come e dicto, habia da li dicti mie comessarij el pro, over rendeda de ducati quatrocento, de cavedal de monte nuovo, li tre quarti del qual pro, over rendeda, sia dato per li dicti mie comessarij al suo rezente per conto de suo salario, et mercede per leger theologia ... La qual archa, & legato sia facta far bene per li dicti mie comessarij, fra termene de anni dui, over tre al piu da poi la mia morte, e principia ta sera larcha dicta, el dicto rezente principia ad haver el pro de ducati cento dil cavedal de monte nuovo, ... Et compita sera la dicta archa, et messo cum effecto, el mio corpo in essa archa, et fato di questo bona fede ale mie comessarij: alhora habia, et scuoda el dicto convento over rezente dicto, da li dicti signori procuratori mie comessarij tuto el suo legato: et el corpo mio in questo mezo sia messo cum uno casson, over deposito li in dicto luogo arente el muro sul qual muro se die far larcha mia, ne la qual dicta mia archa non voglio mai se possi mettere altri corpi, chel mio: quello de Chiara mia dilecta consorte, & quello de madona chiara mia sorella: El corpo de mio padre desidero, & voglio sia tolto dal monestier de la Caritate, dove el fo sepulto nel chiostro posto in due casse una in laltra di lareze per deposito, vogliando li frati darlo, ali qual dagandolo li sia dato per elemosina da le mie commissarij ducati diexe, et sia portato a San Zuanepollo, et posto ne la mia archa ... a' uno Zentilhomio nostro de Venesia et del nostro mazor Consiglio, che sia deseso, over descendera, de le infra-scripte Zentildone da cha bonzi: El qual Zentilhomio voglio habia dicti pro da li Signor procuratori mie comessarij, de mesi sie, in mesi sie over de anno, in anno per anni quatro, immediate sucessivi, et sia chiamato dicto Zentilhomio, et nominado el prior del priorado da cha bonzi: ... Sia obligado el dicto prior, che de tempo in tempo se atrovera esser in dicto priorado, tenir larcha mia, et quella del q. magnifico mio padre, ne la giesia, over loco, dove dicte arche se ritroverano esser, in conzo et in colmo, si che alcuna parte de cadauna di esse arche non mancha ne ruina, et se per caso in futurum, le se volesse vender over concieder ad altri, alcuna over tute do dicte arche, voglio et ordino che in tempo de quel prior, alcuna de le dicte cosse de alienation, over per altro muodo transferido luso, over dominio de dicte arche in altre persone, seguisse, over chel dicto prior non le tenisse in conzo, et in colmo compitamente: el dicto prior subito sia, et inteso se intendi esser privato del dicto priorado da cha bonzi ... et el primo de li antinominadi descendenti, dara notizia et li Signori procuratorj mie comessarij de cadauna de le sopradicte cosse, et contrafation del dicto prior ... se adoperera et fara cum bon effecto conzar le dicte arche, si che niuna cossa li mancha a esser compite, et cum bon effecto recuperera le dicte arche: facendo annullar sufficientemente le vendede, et alienation fusse facte, de dicte arche, ne la qual mai possi esser menidi altri corpi, che quello del q. magnifico mio padre, el mio corpo, et cadauno corpo de mie sorelle, et moier mia."
- Testamentary provisions of concern to the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo were excerpted in AS Venezia, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Serie registri XVI, Mansionarie 1281-1706, cc. 97-98. An excerpt from the will, taken from AS Venezia, Arch. notarile, Testamenti, Busta 1066 (not. Lodovico Zamberti), no. 70, was published by *Paoletti* (n. 22), II, p. 221, n. 5.
- <sup>39</sup> *Sanudo* (n. 35), VII, 1882, col. 643 (September 26, 1508): "Vene sier Zuam Batista Bonzi, stato podestà et capetanio di Ruigo, amallato; in loco dil qual andoe sier Antonio Bragadin, *quondam* sier Alvise, procurator." *Ibid.*, col. 648 (October 8, 1508): "In questa note mori sier Zuan Batista Bonzi, fo podestà et capetanio di Ruigo, venuto de li amalato, et solo di caxada, si che l'ha compì in questui. Fece uno testamento longo et assa' bizaro. Lassò facultà ducati 15 milia et più; lassò uno legato ai presonieri, vin puro, et sia pagato uno predicador li predichi e altre cose. Ditto testamento a di ... dito in collegio fo lecto; e fo cosa ridiculosa, et per alcuni zorni di lui tutta la terra ne parlava. E lassò uno suo sezendolo, bello, d'arzeno, a la chiesa di San Marco *etc.*" *Ibid.*, col. 715 (January 14, 1509): "In Rialto in questi zorni fo fato incanto de li arzenti e altre robe fo di sier Zuan Baptista Bonzi, morto ultimo di caxa. Erano li procuratori soi comessarij, zoè sier Nicolò Michiel, dotor, cavalier, procurator."
- <sup>40</sup> AS Venezia, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Serie registri XI, filza C, c. 8 v: "die 24 nouenbris. 1525. Ad instantiam Clarissimorum dominorum procuratorum procuratie. Reverendus pater prior magister damianus una cum patribus in conzilio adunantis pro edificando se-

pulcro olim magnifici domini Joannis baptiste bonci patricii Veneti locum quandam inter altare sancti augustini & sancti petri martiris pro quo loco supra dicti domini procuratores promiserunt conventuj de bonis supra dicti defonti dare anuatim ducatos quindecim ...” For the location of the altars, see E. A. Cicogna’s plan in Venice, Museo Correr, MS Cicogna 1976, *Marcantonio Luciani*, Inscrizioni nella Chiesa e Monastero dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo di Venezia, pl. II, c. 7 v.

<sup>41</sup> AS Venezia, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Serie registri XI, filza C, c. 9 r: “die 29 decembris 1525. Reverendus pater prior & patres in Consilio adunati dederunt et concesserunt ad instantiam clarissimorum dominorum procuratorum de ultra locum quandam in ecclesia nostra positum pro construendo quodam sepulcro olim domini Joannis baptiste boncij apud portam versus Cimiterium sancte ursule ubi nunc se abet depositum olim domini bernardini grasis hoc tamen pacto: quod ipsis teneantur nobis anuatim de bonis ipsius defonti dare ducatos quindecim pro quo fuerunt duodecim et duo contra nomina autem ...” For the exact location of the new site, see n. 45 below.

<sup>42</sup> IO · BAPTISTAE · BONZIO · SENATORI · IN/TEGERRIMO · CVI · SEPTEM · VIRTVTVM · / SIMVLACRA · SVMMAE · PROBITATIS · / TESTIMONIVM · DICANT · D · M · PROCVRATORES · / DECITRA · EXTESTAMENTO · TVTORES · / PIENTISSIMI · POSVERE · ANN · M · D · XXV/ OBIIT · ANN · M · D · VIII:

<sup>43</sup> R. C. Mueller, Dalla reazione alla prevenzione, in: Comune di Venezia, Assessorato alla cultura e belle arti. Cat.: Venezia e la peste 1348/1797, Venice 1979, pp. 88 f, nos. s 60, s 61.

<sup>44</sup> AS Venezia, Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 6, filza 5, c. 28 r: “Spexe fatte per el far de la sua sepoltura die dar ad ultima avosto 1525 dadi al magnifico messer andrea gusoni per far la spexa de dita sepoltura  
ducato 230

18 Junjo 1526 dadi al ditto per resto de ditte spexe  
ducato 352 d. 3.”

The same payments are recorded in Latin in AS Venezia, Procuratori di S. Marco de cifra, Busta 6, filza 1, c. 53 v.

<sup>45</sup> AS Venezia, Procuratori di S. Marco de citra, Busta 8, filza Priorato Bonzio 5, no. 93: “Per abbellimento del celebre tempio di SS. Giovanni e Paolo di questa città, dovendosi demolire li due chori dall’antichità nella medesima chiesa fabbricati, et erigere una Cappella sontuosa al Padre S. Domenico e dentro a questa fabbricarvi per l’officiatura il nuovo choro; impedisce l’erectione della medesima il deposito del quondam Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Giovanni Battista Bonzio Senator Veneto, della cui eredità son fatte le Eccellenze vostre testamentarij tutori et esecutori. Porgo per ciò io, Frater Giovanni Benedetto Perazzo Priore di SS. Giovanni e Paolo ... humilissime suppliche alla pietà delle medesime perchè se compiaciano concedermi benigna licenza di poter trasportare il suddetto deposito, come stà, in luogo poco discosto, e non meno cospicuo del sito presente, per maggiormente fomentare la divotione de’ fedeli, e per ornamento della chiesa medesima che della grazia.” The document is not dated, but we know from Padre Rocco Curti (Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, MS 3. 4. 9, *Rocco Curti, Cronaca del Convento dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo di Venezia*, cc. 61 v f [cc. 149 f] and c. 62 v [c. 151]), that the demolition of the choir and the construction of a new chapel dedicated to S. Domenico were decided by September 1682, that demolition of the choir began in February 1683, and that the first stone of the new chapel was laid in July 1690.

<sup>46</sup> *Cecare Vecellio, De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo libri due*, Venice 1590, p. 83 v.

The effigy measures 177.7 cm. in length; the slab beneath the bier measures 192.3 cm. in length. The figure and the bier, with its cloth, are carved from a single block of white marble. The figure wears a high-necked, long-sleeved undergarment and a full-sleeved mantle, with mandarin collar laced once, and cinched at the waist by what would appear to be a belt but for the absence of a buckle; on the effigy’s feet are blunt-toed *zoccoli*. Bonzio’s bare head rests on two tassled cushions, his feet on another cushion. Gilding was originally applied to the border of the bier cloth, the band linking the cushions’ tassles and the tassles themselves, the collar, the borders of the sleeves, and the hem of the mantle. Where the skirt of the mantle overhangs the bier, the hem is extensively chipped. A chip is missing from the effigy’s left shoulder.

Once the tomb’s gilding must have been a good deal more conspicuous than its extant traces would suggest. An early description of the tomb draws attention to this feature: “Sepultura q. D. Joannis Baptistae Boncio pulcra valde cum figuris pulcherrimis marmoreis, et lapidibus diversi coloris auro ornata ...” (Venice, Museo Correr, MS Gradenigo-Dolfin 201/I Inscrizioni sepolcrali, ed altre, nelle chiese di Venezia, I, Sestier di Castello, c. 124 r.).

<sup>47</sup> The figure of *Prudence* together with its base measures 99.4 cm. in height. Figure and base are carved from a single block of white marble. The rear of the figure is roughhewn. A strut connects the pedestal of the fountain with the figure’s drapery behind its bent knee. The tops of the index and third fingers of the figure’s left hand are badly chipped. There is a crack at the base of the big toe of the *Virtue’s* left foot.

<sup>48</sup> The figure of *Hope* together with its base measures 106.4 cm. in height. Figure and base are carved from a single block of white marble. At the rear, the statue is no more than roughly blocked out. The tip of the figure’s left big toe has broken off.

<sup>49</sup> The figure of *Faith* together with its base measures 123.5 cm. in height. The base and the figure through its right sleeve are carved from a single block of white marble; upraised forearm and hand are carved from a second piece. The arm and hand are worked equally in front and rear, whereas the remainder of the statue is roughhewn in back. The end of the thumb of the upraised hand and most of what must have been a pointing index finger have broken off. At the level of the wrist,

- the entire depth of the stone is fissured and has been repaired. The big toe of *Faith's* right foot is badly chipped; a small chip is missing from the hem of the figure's gown on the spectator's left.
- <sup>50</sup> The figure of *Charity* together with its base measures 105.5 cm. in height. *Charity*, the two infants, and the base are carved from a single block of white marble. The rear of the group is roughly blocked out. Other small areas are not entirely finished. They are *Charity's* rear foot and the drapery immediately above it, the hair, ears, and face of the supported baby, *Charity's* ears and the visible ear of the standing infant, the farther side of the standing infant's face. A crack in the left thigh of the standing infant penetrates the entire depth of the leg. *Charity's* rear foot is cracked. The tips of the first two toes of the figure's projecting foot are chipped.
- <sup>51</sup> The *putto* on the spectator's right together with its base measures 79.7 cm. in height. Figure, base, and shield are carved from a single block of white marble. The figure supports one of the shield's volutes with its right hand, while its left arm is slipped through a ring attached to the center of the shield. In his left hand the *putto* holds a swathe of drapery, which is slung over the ring, falls behind his buttocks and is drawn up and pinned against the volute by the action of his right hand. The original polychromy of the shield showed a black cross on a gold ground; the border of the shield was red. The *putto's* right foot has broken off at the commencement of the toes: only the last toe is partially intact. The left volute of the shield is lost. The entire right side of the shield was hocked away in order to permit the figure's installation on the narrow projection of the broken cornice; a large part of the cornice was also cut away. Nonetheless, the *putto's* base overhangs the cornice by 2.4 cm.
- The *putto* on the spectator's left together with his base measures 76.6 cm. in height. The base and most of the *putto* and shield were carved from a single block of white marble. The four fingers of the figure's upraised hand and the tip of the left volute, which the hand supports, were carved from a separate piece of stone. The lack of coincidence of the two pieces, particularly at the rear, suggests a rude attempt to replace a missing piece. The raised arm of the *putto* has broken through at the elbow and has been reattached. With his left hand the *putto* holds a large ring fixed asymmetrically to the shield by a clasp. A swathe of drapery is slung over the infant's right shoulder and descends to the base along his inner contour. Large areas of red bole, preserved in two of the four fields of the shield, served as a foundation for gold leaf. From the flattened rear of the figure one may deduce that the figure has been installed at a slight diagonal with respect to the arch and should be turned about 10 degrees to the spectator's left. In this position the *putto's* face would appear in front view.
- <sup>52</sup> J. Chevalier and A. Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des symboles*, 2nd ed., Paris, I, 1973, p. 165, voce: Balance.
- <sup>53</sup> The figure of *Justice* together with its base measures 93.2 cm. in height. The base and most of the figure are carved from one block of white marble; the extended right arm, neatly fitted into the sleeve, is carved from another. The figure wears a wreath of five-petaled flowers in its hair. A circular hole in the hilt of the sword permitted the insertion of its blade. A large circular hole in the drapery and globe near the statue's right buttock probably served to fix the figure to its original setting. The orientation of the base and the truncation of its front left corner suggest that the figure has been installed at a diagonal with respect to the rest of the tomb — an adjustment which facilitated the accommodation of the figure within its narrow niche: *Justice* was probably meant to be turned 15 or 20 degrees to the spectator's left, in which position the figure's face appears in three-quarter view, its right breast in profile. Pupils and irises show traces of red bole. Gilding was applied to the wreath and those parts of the zodiac in relief. The rear of the figure is roughly blocked out. The end of the *Virtue's* right foot has broken off at the attachment of toes to foot. The ends of the three middle fingers of her left hand are missing.
- <sup>54</sup> Venice, Museo Correr, MS Gradenigo-Dolfin 228/III, J. Grevenbroch, *Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis ruderibus*, III, 1759, c. 52. The caption beneath the drawing reads: "Prezioso Deposito dell'ultimo superstite della Famiglia Bonzio, pietoso Gentiluomo; stabilito e preservato in S.S Giovanni e Paolo da porporati Commissarj e probati Eredi." The *Virtues* were also reproduced in two engravings: A. Diedo and F. Zanotto, *I monumenti sepolcrali di Venezia*, Milan 1839, n. p., "Querena dis.// Simonetti inc." and *Quadri* (n. 20), pl. XVI, no. 30, "Moretti dis. e inc."
- <sup>55</sup> *Planiscig* (n. 23), p. 276.
- <sup>56</sup> R. Munman, *Venetian Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, Ph. D. Diss. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, pp. 318 ff; *idem*, *Two Lost Venetian Statues*, in: *Burl. Mag.*, CXII, 1970, p. 386.
- <sup>57</sup> What remains of the statue of *Fortitude* measures 96.5 cm. in height. The figure and attribute are carved from a single block of white marble. The figure has lost the lower part of both legs, feet, the base, and the lower section of the column. The top of the column also has broken off. From the small roughhewn segment at the rear of the *Virtue*, it is possible to deduce its original orientation: the head was evidently intended to be seen *en face*, the upper torso and bent leg in profile against the background of the column.
- <sup>58</sup> The figure of *Temperance* together with its base measures 103.7 cm. in height. The figure, block beneath its foot, and base are carved from a single block of white marble. The principal view of *Temperance* can be deduced from the roughhewn portion at the rear: the farther breast and most of the face were evidently intended to be seen in profile view. The first three toes of the figure's left foot, which projected beyond the edge of the base, have broken off. The ends of the first three toes of the right foot also are chipped. Very little of the mouth of the pitcher is preserved.
- <sup>59</sup> *Munman* 1968 (n. 56), p. 324.

- <sup>60</sup> For the Florentine arcosolium see A. Markham Schulz, *The Sculpture of Bernardo Rossellino and his Workshop*, Princeton, NJ 1977, pp. 64 ff.
- <sup>61</sup> *Munman* 1968 (n. 56), pp. 324 ff.
- <sup>62</sup> *Selvatico/Lazari* (n. 20), p. 126; *Zanotto* (n. 20), p. 300; *O. Mothes*, *Geschichte der Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs*, Leipzig, II, 1860, pp. 112, 390; *Fulin/Molmenti* (n. 20), p. 229.
- <sup>63</sup> *Paoletti* (n. 22), II, p. 296.
- <sup>64</sup> *Planiscig* (n. 23), pp. 276, 278; *idem*, voce: Mosca, Giovanni Maria, in: Thieme-Becker, XXV, 1931, p. 175; *idem*, Maffeo Olivieri, in: *Dedalo*, XII, pt. 1, 1932, p. 45.
- <sup>65</sup> *Venturi* X, pt. 1, pp. 437, 438, 440; *K. Estreicher* and *J. Pagaczewski*, *Czy Jan Maria Padovano był w Rzymie*, in: *Rocznik Krakowski*, XXVIII, 1937, p. 163; *M. Muraro*, *Nuova guida di Venezia e delle sue isole*, Florence 1953, p. 240.
- <sup>66</sup> *G. Fogolari*, *I Frari e i SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, Milan 1949, p. oppos. pl. 50; *F. Zava Boccazzi*, *La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia*, Padua 1965, pp. 180 ff. *P. Meller*, *Tiziano e la scultura*, in: *Tiziano nel quarto centenario della sua morte 1576-1976*, lectures delivered at Venice, Ateneo veneto, between November 15, 1975 and May 15, 1976, Venice 1977, p. 136, termed the Bonzio Tomb "vicino ai modi del Mosca."
- <sup>67</sup> *Lorenzetti* (n. 22), p. 336.
- <sup>68</sup> *H. Kozakiewicz*, *Jan Maria Padovano, życie i działalność we włoszech*, in: *Biuletyn historii sztuki* (Warsaw), XXVI, 1964, no. 3, pp. 157 ff; *Munman* 1968 (n. 56), p. 320; *idem* 1970 (n. 56), pp. 386 f.
- <sup>69</sup> Engraved by *Anton Maria Zanetti*, *Varie pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani*, Venice 1760, pls. 1 and 6. Cf. *Meller* (n. 66), p. 136.
- <sup>70</sup> *Zanetti* (n. 69), pl. 4.
- <sup>71</sup> A. Markham Schulz, *Bartolomeo di Francesco Bergamasco*, in: *Interpretazioni veneziane. Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. *D. Rosand*, Venice 1984, p. 269f.; *idem*, *The Cenotaph of Alvise Trevisan in SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, in: *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, Florence 1985, Vol. II, pp. 413-436.

## RIASSUNTO

Il nome di Paolo Stella Milanese si desume dai documenti riguardanti il *Miracolo del Calice* nella Cappella del Santo nella Basilica Antoniana di Padova e dalla descrizione della Cappella di Marcantonio Michiel: nel 1529 lo Stella portò a termine il rilievo iniziato da Giammaria Mosca. Nel 1581 Francesco Sansovino cita Antonio Lombardo e Paolo Milanese come coautori dei SS. *Pietro Martire* e *Tommaso d'Aquino* ora nella Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo a Venezia.

L'autrice prova che proprio il S. *Tommaso* può essere collegato con il rilievo al Santo e, più precisamente, con il contributo che alla sua esecuzione dette lo Stella, mentre il S. *Pietro Martire* rivela l'impronta di Antonio Lombardo. La testa del S. *Tommaso* denota la sua derivazione dal *Busto così detto di Vitellio* nella collezione del Cardinale Domenico Grimani, nota a Venezia già dal 1525. Le figure per la tomba di Giovanni Battista Bonzio, eseguita per la chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo fra il 1525 ed il 1526, monumento finora mai collegato con Paolo Stella, sono stilisticamente simili al S. *Tommaso d'Aquino*. Il disegno della tomba dipende in definitiva dagli arcosolii fiorentini; particolari motivi possono essere stati ispirati dai dipinti del Fondaco dei Tedeschi ed altri.

Lo stile delle figure, per mezzo del quale lo Stella simulò un apparente pittoricismo veneto, vedi Giorgione e Tiziano, è praticamente unico nella storia della scultura. Sviluppato a Venezia da Bartolomeo di Francesco Bergamasco circa il 1524 e adottato dallo Stella due anni dopo, questo stile pittorico della scultura non sopravvisse al breve periodo veneziano dello Stella.

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*Alinari*: Figs. 1, 4, 7. — *Giacomelli, Venice*: Figs. 2, 3, 5, 10-22. — *Anderson*: Figs. 6, 8, 9.