

## FOUR NEW WORKS BY ANTONIO MINELLO

*In memory of Giovanni Previtali*

*by Anne Markham Schulz*

Recorded by Marcantonio Michiel and Bernardino Scardeone and known as author of an extant relief in one of the major pilgrimage churches of Italy, Antonio Minello never entirely vanished from the history of art. Indeed, his place is more secure than that of many a worthier sculptor of his epoch. Nevertheless, his art is not well understood: despite the publication of relevant documents as early as the mid nineteenth century, and the recovery more than thirty years ago of an inscribed statuette, Minello's major works still bear the names of Tullio Lombardo and Lorenzo Bregno. Minello's stylistic quirks, however, make the correct identification of his sculptures, once seen, a relatively simple matter. Unexpectedly, the restitution to Minello of three public monuments offers an opportunity to document the convergence of art and politics at a crucial moment in Venetian history.

Antonio was son of the Paduan sculptor and stonemason, Giovanni di Antonio Minello de' Bardi. Antonio had three sisters — Manadora, Polissena, and Paola — and a brother, Girolamo, a tailor.<sup>1</sup> Antonio's name appears for the first time on April 10, 1483, in documents of the Arca of the Basilica di S. Antonio at Padua; at that time he was working with his father, engaged on the decoration of the basilica's choir screen with twenty-four statues of saints, twenty free-standing candelabra, and a marble revetment that included pilasters and a frieze with heads of cherubim.<sup>2</sup> Antonio is mentioned again in documents of February 21, 1484 and March 27, 1483; a document of August 20, 1488, shows Antonio employed under his father on construction of the choir screen.<sup>3</sup> Only the screen's architectural members have been preserved.

On June 21, 1500, the stewards of the Arca del Santo named Giovanni Minello *proto-maestro* of the future Cappella del Santo, to be constructed on the site of its Medieval predecessor in the left transept of the basilica. On this occasion, Giovanni contracted for unspecified works of sculpture to be executed by himself and Antonio. Beyond the *proto-maestro's* stipulated salary, Giovanni and Antonio were to be paid for this work in accordance with the quantity executed and at the regular rate.<sup>4</sup> On December 2, 1500, Antonio, living in the parish of S. Agata, was mentioned in a Paduan notarial act.<sup>5</sup>

On June 17, 1501, the stewards of the Arca del Santo commissioned from father and son a marble relief of the *Miracle of the Ass* for the Cappella del Santo. In composition, the relief was to follow the painting of the same scene in the saint's former chapel and the sculpture of the scene in the sacristy. The price of the relief was to be established at the completion of the work. If both parties could not agree, its price was to be submitted to the arbitration of two experts.<sup>6</sup> The Minellos did not carve the relief and twenty-seven years later it was commissioned again from Tullio Lombardo.<sup>7</sup> The contract was not filled this time either: in fact, the event is missing from the narrative cycle of the Cappella del Santo. By August, 1502, Giovanni and Antonio had completed a good deal of decorative carving for the chapel, in addition to the two effigies of Cardinal Bartolomeo Oleari and Padre Francesco Sansone.<sup>8</sup> Antonio witnessed a contract in Padua on April 1, 1507.<sup>9</sup>

Antonio Minello and Antonio da Ostiglia contracted on May 15, 1510 to carve fifteen marble reliefs from their own designs for the main portal of S. Petronio, Bologna — work begun by Jacopo della Quercia. They promised to deliver the reliefs by the end of the coming August. On May 29, 1510, Minello and Antonio da Ostiglia were paid 35 lire. Minello was paid again on June 6, 1510, September 29, 1510, and July 7, 1516 “for the marble prophets and for works done on the main portal of the church”, though work on the portal was already finished by July 22, 1511.<sup>10</sup> That Minello sought work abroad is explained by the siege of Padua by the Imperial forces of the League of Cambrai, following the city’s recapture by Venice on July 17, 1509; troops were lodged in the cloisters of the Santo and the basilica suffered damage from projectiles. As a consequence, artistic projects at the Santo were temporarily deferred.<sup>11</sup>

The figural portion of Antonio’s relief of the *Investiture of St. Anthony* (Fig. 1), the first on the left of the narrative cycle in the Cappella del Santo, was carved from three separate blocks, whose seams are visible to right and left of the central armor-clad man. Each of these sections was commissioned, executed, and paid for, separately. Occasionally transactions were made with Giovanni Minello, but a document of January 31, 1516, makes clear that he was acting for his son. The central part of the relief with the armor-clad man was delivered by Antonio on June 12, 1516. It had been begun several years earlier; indeed, a document dated variously to December 31, 1513 or January 31, 1514, suggests that, by then, it was already finished.<sup>12</sup> Antonio had apparently received the commission and finished approximately one third of the work on the left section of the relief by June 29, 1515. Work was done by July 20, 1517, when the stewards of the Arca decided to pay Antonio 60 ducats at most for the panel. On June 27, 1518, however, they raised Antonio’s fee to 70 ducats.<sup>13</sup> Although no agreement with the Arca had been reached, Antonio had begun to carve the right section of the relief by July 20, 1517. A formal commission for it followed on December 9, 1518. The final payment for the right section, on June 29, 1519, brought Antonio’s recompense for this part to 60 ducats.<sup>14</sup> The “perspective” above the relief was commissioned from Vincenzo Grandi only in 1541.<sup>15</sup>

On July 1, 1512, porters were paid for having brought to the church the statue of S. *Giustina* for the first niche on the left on the upper facade of the Cappella del Santo (Fig. 2).<sup>16</sup> On April 8, 1513, Giovanni Minello was paid 90 ducats for the statue.<sup>17</sup> But the style of S. *Giustina* is indisputably that of Giovanni’s son, to whom Marcantonio Michiel, patron and first owner of Antonio’s Victoria and Albert Museum *Mercury*, ascribed it.<sup>18</sup> It is therefore to be assumed that, in this case, as in others, work of the son was satisfied by payment to the father and master of the shop.

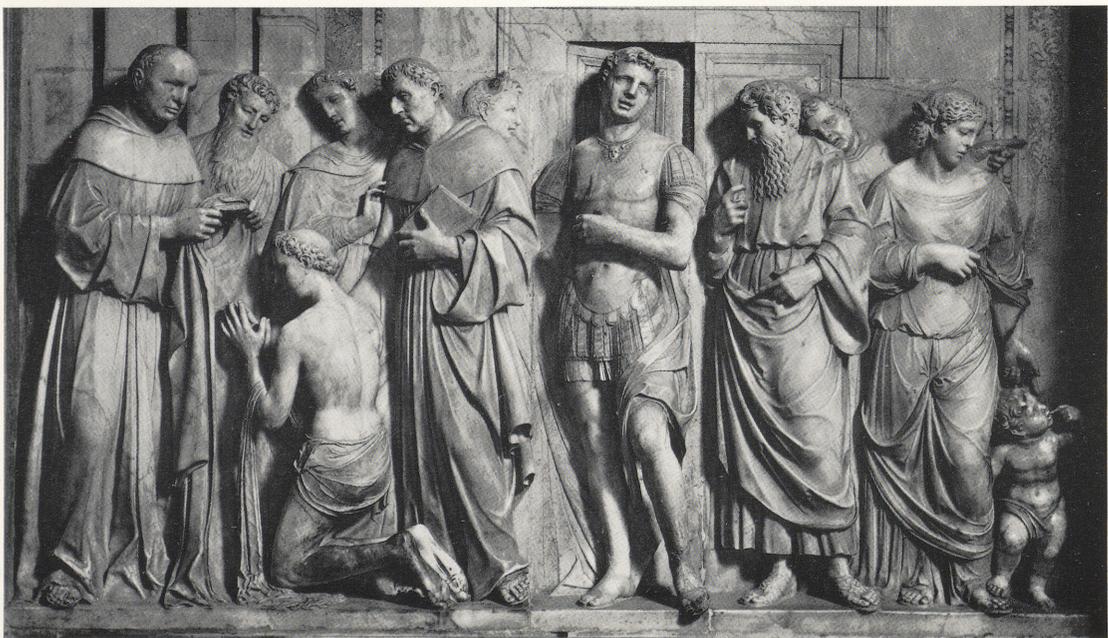
On January 28, 1514, porters were paid for having transported to the Santo “a marble figure made by master Antonio Minello”.<sup>19</sup> This figure cannot be identified, for the consignments of S. *Giustina* and of the armor-clad man in the *Investiture of St. Anthony* are otherwise accounted for and no other figures by Antonio executed for the Santo are named in documents.

On June 28, 1516, Antonio was sent to Lucca to purchase marble for the Santo.<sup>20</sup> Documents of November 22, 1519 and June 1, 1520, establish Minello’s presence in Padua.<sup>21</sup> On June 16, 1520, Antonio promised to carve the relief of the *Miracle of the Parasio Boy* for the Cappella del Santo for a price of 240 ducats (1488 lire) — that is, ten ducats less than the fee promised Tullio Lombardo and Lorenzo Bregno for reliefs commissioned from them at the same time.<sup>22</sup> Minello was to be paid from time to time, in accordance with the progress of his work, once his model had been made and accepted by the stewards of the Arca.<sup>23</sup> On June 23, 1523, the stewards approved Antonio’s model

and eight days later the sculptor was given a deposit of 133 lire.<sup>24</sup> By January 14, 1524, Antonio had received on account for his relief 347 lire 4 soldi (56 ducats at 6 lire, 4 soldi per ducat); by August 20, 1526, he had been paid 956 lire 8 soldi; and by 1528, 1026 lire 6 soldi.<sup>25</sup> Antonio did no more work on the relief, although exhorted by letter in September, 1528.<sup>26</sup> In 1529 Jacopo Sansovino was charged with finishing Minello's relief; his final payment for it dates from 1536.<sup>27</sup> Minello carved the inscription recording Pope Leo X's indulgence to the Basilica del Santo with so many errors that, on September 2, 1521, he was obligated to redo it. It was recarved by his father.<sup>28</sup>

On May 5, 1522, Antonio Minello and the goldsmith, Bartolomeo di Jacopo Stampa, formed a partnership for the following two years. Stampa undertook to pay the rent on a house in Venice in the parish of San Raffaele Arcangelo to be used by his partner, and to pay the salary of up to 36 ducats per annum of one worker to assist Antonio. For his part, Antonio engaged to divide equally with Stampa every six months whatever profits accrued from the former's work. Antonio was to furnish his tools at his own expense, but all stones, together with their transport, were to be paid for equally by both. Should Antonio need one or two temporary assistants, their cost also would be apportioned equally. Likewise, all future profits or expenses from the carving of the *Miracle of the Parrasio Boy* were to be shared. The partnership was to last until the completion of all works begun or commissioned during the period of association, even if that exceeded two years. Both parties promised to keep good accounts and to observe the terms of the contract under penalty of 100 lire.<sup>29</sup>

From the terms of this contract, it is clear that Minello stood to benefit from the partnership financially rather than professionally. Stampa provided neither labor, nor designs, nor even clients: his sole contribution was the payment of certain monthly bills. In exchange for the rent of premises and the salary of one *lavorante*, and half the expenses



1 Antonio Minello, *The Investiture of St. Anthony* (detail), Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.



2 Antonio Minello, S. Giustina, Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.

of material and of one or two temporary assistants, Antonio bound himself to share equally all profits accruing from his own initiative and labor for a period of two years at least. From this arrangement, we may infer that Antonio intended to establish an independent shop in Venice but lacked the capital needed to do so. In Padua, Minello had shared the shop and assistants of his father. But on June 28, 1521, Giovanni had been discharged from his post as *protomaestro* of the Cappella del Santo.<sup>30</sup> The excuse given by the Arca was the interruption of work on the chapel while the convent was



3 Antonio Minello, Tomb of Nicolò Orsini, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

being restored, but other sources reveal that old age had rendered Giovanni more or less incompetent.<sup>31</sup> Presumably, Antonio continued to run the shop, but found few commissions after his father's retirement. That Antonio should have chosen Venice as the new locus of his activity and remained there apparently until his death, suggest that a renewed prosperity at Venice had made sculptural commissions reasonably abundant. Moreover, as we shall see, Minello's art was already known at Venice.

In Padua on September 2, 1523, Antonio engaged for five years, at a salary of 9 lire per year for the first four years and 13 lire 12 soldi for the last, an apprentice aged about 14, named Giovanni Matteo di Antonio.<sup>32</sup> Twelve days later Minello hired for a year a Paduan stonecarver, Francesco di Niccolò Liberale, at a salary of 36 ducats per year.<sup>33</sup> Probably Antonio was already settled in Venice, but had returned to Padua in order to find assistants from his native city. On the other hand, a document of January 15, 1524, described Minello as living in a house in the parish of S. Daniele in Padua, which he would thenceforth rent.<sup>34</sup>

On January 14, 1524, Minello and Stampa renewed their partnership for three more years. The associates had shared the 56 ducats, which Antonio had received from the Arca del Santo for his relief of the *Miracle of the Parrasio Boy*, but Antonio still owed Stampa 387 lire 11 soldi as the latter's share of the sculptor's net profits. The first partnership agreement was modified to comprehend the equal division of the salary of Antonio's apprentice as well as of the cost of board for both assistant and apprentice, calculated at 22 ducats per annum for the former and 12 ducats for the latter. Antonio had exchanged the house in the Venetian parish of San Raffaele Arcangelo for one in the parish of S. Giovanni Nuovo rented from Francesco and Girolamo Zane; Stampa was obliged to pay its yearly rent of 15 ducats. The agreement further recounts that, on January 4, 1524, Minello had purchased from the widow of the sculptor, Lorenzo Bregno, the contents of the latter's shop. The purchase was guaranteed by Stampa. The partners now declared that all expenses and profits resulting from this purchase were to be divided equally.<sup>35</sup>

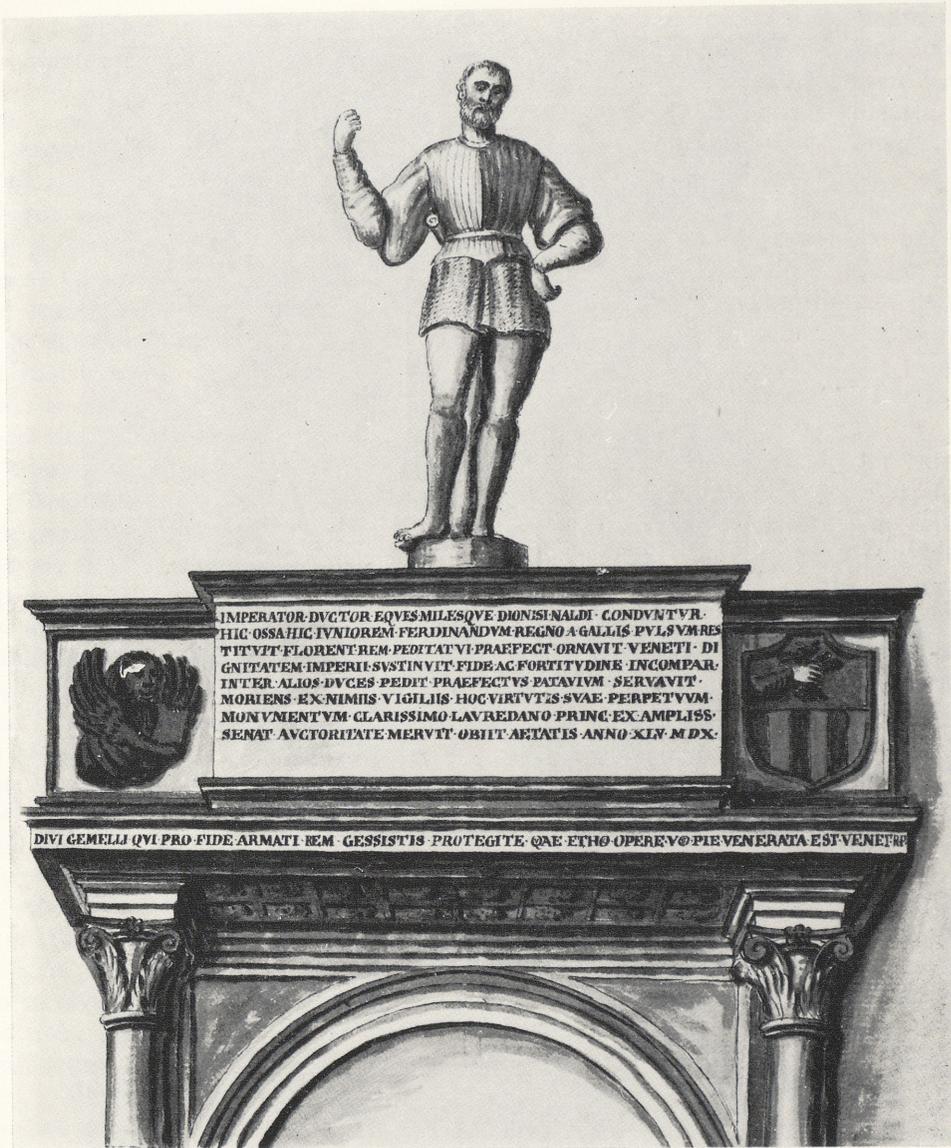
The sale contract still exists. From it we learn that Donna Maddalena sold the contents of Bregno's shop at S. Severo — implements, trestles, marble blocks, and other stone — for 126 ducats, of which Minello gave her 25 as a down payment. The rest she was to receive in two instalments paid five months apart. The sale, however, was contingent upon Minello's promise to complete a figure of the *Virgin Mary* for the church of Montagnana and an *Angel* to match another, for which a certain marble block was to be used. Moreover, Minello was to return to Paolo di Andrea Trevisan the 25 ducats Bregno had received from him. Witness to this transaction was Minello's future patron, Marcantonio Michiel.<sup>36</sup>

There is no reason to doubt that the "imago sancte marie pro ecclesia montagnana" referred to above is that incorporated in the main exterior portal of the Duomo at Montagnana, as Moschetti opined in 1908.<sup>37</sup> Work on the *Madonna* must have been finished by January 2, 1525, when Donna Maddalena gave her brother power of attorney to liquidate the estate of her late husband, which involved, among other things, collecting money due Bregno from citizens or the commune of Montagnana.<sup>38</sup>

The 25 ducats, which Minello was to return to Paolo Trevisan, undoubtedly constituted an advance to Bregno for the Trevisan Altar in the first bay of the right aisle in the Venetian church of S. Maria Mater Domini. It is commonly asserted that the terms of the sale of Bregno's shop obligated Minello to complete the altar begun by Bregno<sup>39</sup>; as a consequence of this misreading of the document, the Trevisan Altar regularly figures as a joint work of Bregno and Minello. But the fact that the sale agreement required

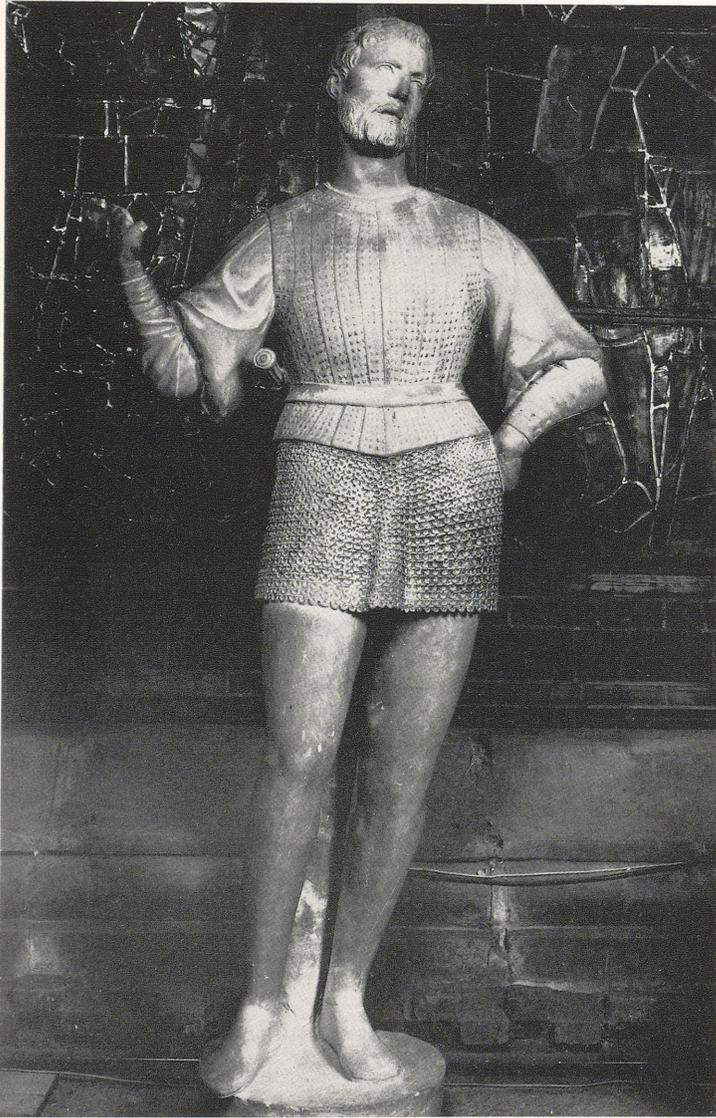


4 Antonio Minello, Tomb of Leonardo da Prato, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



5 Johannes Grevembroch, Tomb of Dionigi Naldi (Venice, Mus. Correr, MS Grad-nigo 228/I, c. 104).

Minello to return the money advanced for the work, rather than to execute or finish it, indicates, on the contrary, that Bregno had not begun to carve the altar before he died. It would seem, however, that, rather than return the money, Minello renegotiated the contract with Trevisan, transferring the commission, along with the advance of 25 ducats, to himself. By August 20, 1526, Minello had received from his patron one payment of 35 ducats on account “for the altarpiece which is being made for him”, raising Minello’s debt to Trevisan to 60 ducats.<sup>40</sup> By this time work on the altar must have been



6 Antonio Minello, Effigy of Dionigi Naldi, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

well advanced, but evidently was not finished. We do not know when or if it was ever finished by Minello: the three figures of SS. *Andrew*, *Peter* (?), and *Paul* bear the imprint of Minello's style, but the relief of the *Trinity* in the guise of God the Father in the lunette appears to be a later addition.

On August 20, 1526, Minello and Stampa drew up an account of their partnership. Minello had received 217 lire (35 ducats at 6 lire 4 soldi per ducat) from Paolo Trevisan and 956 lire 8 soldi from the Arca del Santo, as noted above, plus 124 lire (20 ducats)

from Sebastiano Contarini for a "defunct" and two other figures made for him and 124 lire for an altarpiece and a head being made for the Ufficio del Sal — that Venetian governmental organ, which paid for work on the Ducal Palace, among other things. All of this money had been duly divided. Since January 14, 1524, 10 1/2 thousand weights of marble had been bought, its cost also having been shared.<sup>41</sup>

The marble statuette of *Mercury* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is inscribed with Minello's name, the name of its patron — Marcantonio Michiel — and its precise term of execution — February 14 to June 15, 1527. An inlaid bronze plaque shows the relation of the planet Mercury to the other planets on June 15, 1527.<sup>42</sup>

Notices of 1527 and 1528 describe Antonio as living in Venice where he kept a stonemason's shop. His father, aged and decrepit, lived in Padua with Antonio's brother Girolamo and was supported by both sons.<sup>43</sup> On January 30, 1529, Antonio witnessed a commission to Giammaria Mosca from the Arca del Santo for the "perspective" to go above the latter's relief of the *Miracle of the Goblet*. By this date Giovanni was dead.<sup>44</sup> It is also the last we hear of Antonio, who may be assumed to have died not long afterward. According to Scardeone, Antonio was buried in the Paduan church of S. Luca.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the relief of the *Investiture of St. Anthony* and the figure of S. *Giustina* in the Cappella del Santo, early sources attribute three works to Antonio Minello. In 1532, in the house of Andrea Odoni at Venice, Marcantonio Michiel saw an over life-size marble head of *Hercules*, crowned with a garland of oak leaves, and a marble head of *Cybele*, also over life-size, crowned with a tower.<sup>46</sup> Neither of these has come to light. Scardeone recorded Minello's figure of the rhetorician, Giovanni Calfurnio (d. 1503), in S. Giovanni di Verdara, Padua, "taken from life".<sup>47</sup> The monument was moved in 1871 to the Chiostro del Noviziato in the Basilica del Santo.<sup>48</sup> The work is dated by document to 1503<sup>49</sup>, but the Quattrocento style of *Calfurnio* makes the authorship of Antonio Minello difficult to credit: more plausible is an attribution to his father.

Three works, never before linked with Antonio Minello, I believe, are his. They are the three monuments dedicated to *condottieri* in the transepts of the Dominican Basilica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice. The three tombs resulted from one governmental decree and were built at one time, under the supervision of one deputy of the Council of Ten. All of the tombs commemorate captains active in the defense of Padua during the War of the League of Cambrai, who died between 1510 and 1511 as a result of their efforts on behalf of Venice. The largest of these tombs belongs to the supreme commander of Venetian forces, their captain-general, Nicolò Orsini, Prince of Nola and Count of Pitigliano (Fig. 3).<sup>50</sup> This tomb is located on the west wall of the right transept. In a corresponding position on the west wall of the left transept is a monument to the second in command of Venetian forces, the governor-general and captain of light cavalry, Fra Leonardo da Prato, Knight Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem (Fig. 4). Surrounding and surmounting the portal at the head of the right transept is the third of these tombs, dedicated to the captain of infantry, Dionigi Naldi da Brisighella (Fig. 5).

The history of construction of these tombs is preserved in the copious entries of Sanudo's diary and the decisions of the Senate and Council of Ten.<sup>51</sup> On the night of January 26, 1510, Nicolò Orsini died in camp at Lonigo from what seems to have been a respiratory infection.<sup>52</sup> The following day, the corpse, in friar's habit, was placed in a coffin and sent to Padua.<sup>53</sup> On January 28, plans for Orsini's funeral were discussed in the Collegio; ser Giorgio Emo, Savio del Consiglio, was given charge of arranging the exequies.<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile Orsini's body had arrived at Padua, where it was paid due honor, then dispatched to Venice by boat.<sup>55</sup> The body reached Venice on the evening of January 29, 1510, and



7 Lorenzo Bregno, Effigy of Bartolino Terni, Crema, S. Trinità.

was placed in the baptismal chapel at S. Marco.<sup>56</sup> Orsini's funeral took place two days later in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. A large platform, like those made for the funerals of doges, covered in black cloth and surrounded by candles, was erected in the center of the church. The funeral was attended by the Venetian clergy, members of the great and small confraternities, and large numbers of Venetian patricians, including five procurators and the doge. The funeral oration was delivered by Battista Egnazio, who lamented Orsini's death, not only because it signified the loss of a faithful and valorous soldier, but because its timing — "in the midst of (Orsini's) military operations... and during such a dearth of *condot-*



8 Antonio Minello, Prudence, Tomb of Nicolò Orsini, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

*tieri*” — was so calamitous. *In fine*, Egnazio urged that the Signoria assure Orsini’s eternal remembrance by erecting in his honor an equestrian statue of gold.<sup>57</sup> Then the corpse was placed high up in the church in a casket draped with cloth of gold; there Orsini’s body would remain until his tomb was finished.<sup>58</sup>

Six months later, a couple of hours after midnight on July 24, 1510, Dionigi Naldi, who had been garrisoned at Padua with his troops, but had had himself brought to his house on the Giudecca in order to die in Venice, succumbed to a fever brought on by excessive vigils.<sup>59</sup> The Collegio determined that Naldi’s body be placed in a coffin in SS. Giovanni



9 A. Minello, Faith, Tomb of Nicolò Orsini, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

e Paolo. Ser Giorgio Emo was ordered to arrange, for Naldi, exequies similar to those he had planned for Orsini. Emo had Naldi's coffin, draped with black velvet, set up in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, near that of Orsini; beneath Naldi's coffin was an epitaph, whose text was later incorporated, almost *verbatim*, in his tomb.<sup>60</sup> But because of the extraordinary heat and fear of epidemic, no funeral was held.<sup>61</sup>

Ten months later, shortly before March 27, 1511, Fra Leonardo da Prato was killed in combat with the French at Bel Ajere, at the frontiers of the Polesine.<sup>62</sup> On April 1, 1511, his body reached camp at Badia Polesine and was given an honorable funeral the follow-

ing day.<sup>63</sup> On April 12, 1511, the Senate decreed that a tomb appropriate to Fra Leonardo's rank be constructed in whichever convent church his relatives should choose; between 150 and 200 ducats were to be spent for the tomb.<sup>64</sup> Sometime before May 23, 1511, Fra Leonardo's body arrived in Venice. On that day, at the request of Fra Leonardo's nephew, the Senate ordered a state funeral in accordance with the pleasure of the Collegio.<sup>65</sup> There is no record, however, that any funeral took place.

For more than a year no move was made to erect Fra Leonardo's tomb. Then, on July 31, 1512, the Council of Ten with its Giunta decided that there be made in SS. Giovanni e Paolo three tombs in honor of Orsini, Naldi, and Fra Leonardo. 300 ducats were allocated to the tombs; two of the three heads of the Council of Ten were to attend to the matter. In payment for the tomb sites, the council moved that the friars of SS. Giovanni e Paolo be given the gold and velvet cloths then covering Orsini's and Naldi's caskets, in order to make two vestments.<sup>66</sup> On August 19, 1512, the friars of SS. Giovanni e Paolo granted Emo's petition to be allowed to erect the three tombs. Emo, who apparently had charge of the project, was permitted to choose the tombs' sites.<sup>67</sup> From Sanudo we learn that Fra Leonardo's coffin, draped in black velvet, was set up in SS. Giovanni e Paolo on September 17, 1512, on the opposite side of the church from the coffins of Nicolò Orsini and Dionigi Naldi.<sup>68</sup> Construction of the tombs was underway on January 5, 1513, when, at Emo's instance, the convent ceded four marble columns for the (unnamed) tomb then being built.<sup>69</sup> Describing indulgences granted SS. Giovanni e Paolo by Pope Leo X, Sanudo reported on December 24, 1514, that the Tombs of the Count of Pitigliano and of Fra Leonardo had been erected on either side of the choir, and that the Tomb of Dionigi Naldi was being made over the door.<sup>70</sup> Naldi's tomb was still not finished on March 21, 1515, when Sanudo included, among the works undertaken by Giorgio Emo for the embellishment of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (whose procurator he had become at the end of 1513<sup>71</sup>), the construction of the portal in the choir, above which Naldi's tomb was to be installed. Until some of the tombs outside were removed, on which work had begun that very day, wrote Sanudo, the portal could not be breached. Nor was the great stained glass window behind Naldi's effigy, which Emo intended to have completed, quite finished yet.<sup>72</sup> There is no reason to suppose that work on the window, portal, and tomb was much delayed after this.<sup>73</sup>

The epitaphs to Orsini, Naldi, and Fra Leonardo make clear that the monuments were accorded the *condottieri* by a grateful Senate for the loyalty and fortitude with which they had fought on behalf of Venice; the Orsini and Naldi epitaphs refer specifically to the captains' illustrious deeds at Padua.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, tombs, lyings-in-state, and funerals were clearly part of a programmatic effort by the Collegio, Senate, and Council of Ten to recognize and honor, publicly and permanently, those *condottieri* who had been present at the siege of Padua and had died in Venetian service.<sup>75</sup> But the chief motive of this display — one which had a greater weight even than gratitude — was the desire of the Venetian Signoria to ensure the allegiance of future mercenary replacements at a moment of critical vulnerability, by its public reward of those who had already fallen. Indeed, the Council of Ten justified its decision to raise tombs to the *condottieri* by the "reason (such monuments) would give to others who serve, to expose their lives, to the benefit and advantage of our Signoria".<sup>76</sup> No doubt, it was because doges were buried in such numbers there, that the great public space of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was chosen as the site of the *condottieri*'s tombs. And though not as prestigious as the *cappella maggiore*, the arms of the transept provided more honorific sites than the nave. Perhaps such consequential sites were intended to compensate for the tombs themselves. For, where the mean sum bequeathed by contemporary Venetian testators for their tombs can be estimated roughly at 600 ducats, and



10 A. Minello, Bust of a Woman, Florence, Museo Bardini.

a 1000-ducat bequest for a tomb is known<sup>77</sup>, the Council of Ten appropriated for the *condottieri*'s tombs the exiguous sum of 300 ducats for all three. In fact, made of plain limestone rather than carved marble, with little incrustation (and that composed of small, miscellaneous slabs), with equestrian figures of wood, and backgrounds formed by the stuccoed wall of the church, these are surely the cheapest tombs for their size in all of sixteenth century Venice.

The Tombs of Nicolò Orsini and Fra Leonardo da Prato (Figs. 3, 4) are loosely related to one another. The monuments occupy corresponding positions in opposite arms of the transept. Both contain wooden equestrian portraits: though that of Orsini dates from 1726, it replaced an earlier one.<sup>78</sup> In both, the horse and rider are framed by one bay of an arcade, with filled spandrels and the lion of St. Mark in the lunette. By contrast, the Tomb of Dionigi Naldi (Fig. 5) is unique. To be sure, an equestrian portrait would hardly have suited a captain of infantry. Nonetheless, by placing the pedestrian effigy of Naldi over a portal and in front of a window, Emo excluded the possibility of any visual accommodation between the structure of the Naldi Tomb on the one hand, and that



11 A. Minello, *Bust of a Woman* (detail), Florence, Museo Bardini.

of the Orsini or Fra Leonardo Tombs, on the other. It is important to note that here, where conditions favored the coordination — indeed, the repetition of one scheme — three different schemes were deliberately chosen. Apparently the appropriateness of the tomb to the person commemorated took precedence over the uniformity of design; perhaps there was an instinctive sense that, where a uniform design would draw attention to that body conferring the reward, different designs stressed the individual contributions of the three heroes. By their different size, degree of complexity, and design, the tombs make manifest the distinction in rank and function of the three military leaders.



12 A. Minello, Faith (detail), Tomb of Nicolò Orsini, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The idea of a wooden equestrian figure set atop a *cassone* raised on consoles derives from the Tomb of Paolo Savelli in S. Maria dei Frari, Venice<sup>79</sup>; during the century that followed Savelli's death in 1405, his tomb had no Venetian successors. No doubt, the Savelli Tomb was thought a fitting model because Savelli, too, was a *condottiere* in the service of Venice, who died during an earlier siege of Padua. In the Orsini Tomb, the format of the Savelli Tomb was amalgamated with the architectonic structure of Pietro Lombardo's Tomb of Doge Nicolò Marcello (d. 1474) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (originally in S. Marina) reminiscent of a triumphal arch. In the Orsini Tomb (Fig. 3), the height



13 A. Minello, Prudence (detail), Tomb of Nicolò Orsini, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



14 A. Minello, *Investiture of St. Anthony* (detail), Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.



15 A. Minello, *Investiture of St. Anthony* (detail), Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.



16 A. Minello, Faith (detail), Tomb of Nicolò Orsini, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

of the attic story was reduced, the *cassone* was moved below, and carved ornament was replaced by plain surfaces. The resultant composition is more highly integrated and centrally focused. For the Tomb of Leonardo da Prato (Fig. 4), the central arcade of the Orsini Tomb was isolated from its architectural context to serve as frame and ground.

Naldi's effigy (Fig. 6), by contrast, was conditioned by a long-standing tradition of pedestrian effigies in armor, in Venetian tombs of generals and *condottieri*. The earliest example is that of Vettore Pisani (d. 1380) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (originally in S. Anto-

nio di Castello). After a lapse of nearly a century, the type reappeared in the Tomb of the *condottiere* Cristoforo da Tolentino (d. 1462), formerly in S. Margherita, Treviso, in the Tomb of Doge Pietro Mocenigo (d. 1476) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo and the Tombs of Jacopo Marcello (d. 1484), Melchiorre Trevisan (d. 1500), and Benedetto Pesaro (d. 1503), all in S. Maria dei Frari. To the definition of the type, figures of guardian *Warriors* on tombs, like Antonio Rizzo's left-hand *Warrior* from the Tomb of Doge Nicolò Tron (d. 1473) in S. Maria dei Frari, no doubt, contributed. Like the Naldi Tomb, both the Tomb of Vittore Cappello (d. 1467), S. Elena, Venice, and the Tomb of Benedetto Pesaro incorporated a portal within the structure of the tomb by means of free-standing or engaged columns on high pedestals flanking the opening, above which a projecting lintel, resting on the columns, supported tomb chest and effigy. But the Naldi Tomb is unique in its lack of a frame enclosing the effigy.

Of the Tomb of Dionigi Naldi, Sansovino wrote in 1581: "Di sopra alla porta per fianco dalla parte doue è l'Orsino, si vede la statua pedestre di Dionisio Naldo da Brisighella, scolpita da Lorenzo Bregno..."<sup>80</sup> The attribution to Bregno was repeated by everyone who wrote on the tomb<sup>81</sup> until, in 1984, I argued that the inferior quality of the effigy belied its attribution to Lorenzo.<sup>82</sup> As an after-thought to the Naldi Tomb, Paoletti surmised that the equestrian group of Fra Leonardo might also have been made by Bregno.<sup>83</sup> On Paoletti's authority, the attribution to Lorenzo Bregno of the Fra Leonardo Tomb was widely published, though generally with some degree of qualification.<sup>84</sup> By contrast, the Orsini Tomb *Virtues* were commonly cited as works of Tullio Lombardo. The attribution was due to Lorenzetti; it was subsequently adopted by Moschetti, Fogolari, Muraro, and Caccin.<sup>85</sup> Zava Boccazzi was unique in her rejection of Tullio's authorship, but offered no other name.<sup>86</sup>

The *Effigy of Bartolino Terni* (d. 1518) from his tomb in S. Trinità, Crema, inscribed with Lorenzo Bregno's name, was evidently derived from the *Effigy of Dionigi Naldi* (Figs. 6, 7).<sup>87</sup> But a comparison of the two proves *Naldi* to be the work of another hand. The rote execution of the ornamental details of *Dionigi's* armor contrasts with the relative variety and virtuosity in the rendering of texture and ornament in *Bartolino's* accoutrements. *Dionigi's* small feet, extremely long legs, immensely broad and sloping shoulders, and rotund chest, his long neck and small head, contrast with the normative proportions of *Bartolino*. *Naldi's* stiff pose — a consequence of the inadequately tilted axis of the hips, and the minimal inflection of the knee and flat-footed stance of the *Spielbein* — contrasts with the easy *contrapposto* of *Bartolino*. Where the anatomical form of *Bartolino's* legs and feet are revealed beneath the figure's hose and soft shoes, the legs and feet of *Dionigi* possess no more differentiation than humps for knees. *Dionigi's* expression, with turned and tilted head and up-rolled eyes, is unique among effigies of *condottieri*. Its source is the left-hand *Warrior* in Tullio Lombardo's Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin (d. 1478) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (originally in S. Maria dei Servi). But the fixity of gaze of Tullio's distracted *Warrior* here implies instead a manic state of delirium or trance.

If its inferior quality confutes the attribution of *Dionigi Naldi* to Lorenzo Bregno, so much the more do their flaws disprove the attribution of *Prudence*<sup>88</sup> and *Faith*<sup>89</sup> to Tullio Lombardo (Figs. 8, 9). To be sure, the classicizing style of figures, faces, and drapery was influenced by Tullio, but infelicities of pose and proportion and the complicated and inharmonious arrangement of criss-crossing folds in *Prudence's* drapery cannot be paralleled in any of Tullio's authentic works.

The trail which leads us to the authorship of Antonio Minello begins with the S. *Giustina* from the upper facade of the Cappella del Santo at Padua, consigned to the Santo

less than a month before the Council of Ten's decision to raise the three *condottieri* tombs. From *S. Giustina* come the draping of the mantle of the Orsini *Prudence*, her pendant right sleeve, and, above all, the play of folds about her right foot (Figs. 2, 8). Though a closer comparison of *S. Giustina* and the Orsini *Virtues* would be desirable, the extraordinary inaccessibility of the former and the absence of adequate photographs of it make this impossible. Our difficulties, however, are largely resolved by the existence of a hitherto unknown model or — more likely — copy of the upper part of the *Saint*: the polychromed terracotta *Bust of a Woman* in the Museo Bardini, Florence (Fig. 10).<sup>90</sup> On its two



17 A. Minello, *Investiture of St. Anthony* (detail), Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.

appearances in the art historical literature, the *Bust of a Woman* was assigned to Tullio Lombardo<sup>91</sup>, but the attribution did not find its way into the Tullio bibliography. In no wise inferior to the *S. Giustina* or any other of Minello's certain works, the bust was unquestionably made by the sculptor himself. Presumably it is close in date to the *S. Giustina*, although it is not impossible that the bust was worked later from a model of the *Saint*. It is hardly necessary to enumerate all the features, which make this bust the twin of *Faith* (Figs. 11, 12). Suffice it to note the diminutive, blunted chin with its dimple, the open mouth and amorphous lips, the fleshy, hairless brows, and the tight, undifferentiated



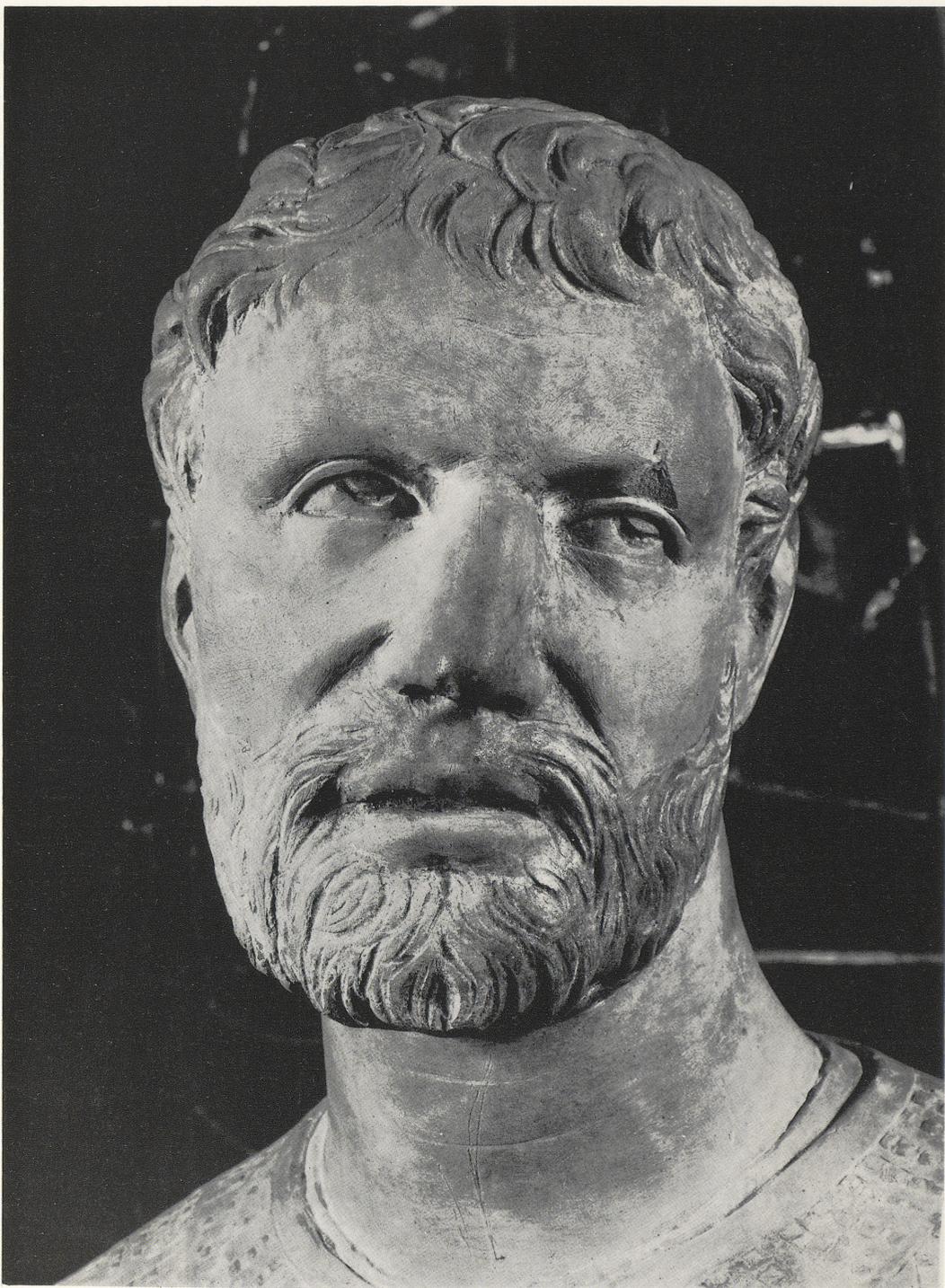
18 Antonio Minello, Effigy of Dionigi Naldi, Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

waves of the classicizing coif. Its facial type and hair, the course of the broad neckline of the dress, and the minimal protrusion of the conical and widely separated breasts link the *Bust of a Woman* equally to the *Orsini Prudence* (Figs. 8, 10, 11, 13).

*Prudence* and *Faith* bear a striking resemblance to the woman in the right section of Minello's relief of the *Investiture of St. Anthony*. With the woman's face, the face of *Prudence* shares its low, rounded forehead (Figs. 13, 14). In both, the brow is formed by a thick pad of flesh; in neither is there any indication of hair. The large eyes are widely spaced and hardly recessed within their sockets. Because the nose is so very short and the



19 A. Minello, *Investiture of St. Anthony* (detail). See Fig. 1.



20 A. Minello, Effigy of Dionigi Naldi (detail), Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo.



21 A. Minello, Investiture of St. Anthony (detail), Padua, S. Antonio, Cappella del Santo.

bridge so very high, the eyes arrive at the mid-point of the nose. The nose is very broad and is not discernibly tapered at its tip or indented at its bridge. Although they enclose very considerable hollows, the small nostrils barely project because the nose itself is so very thick. Between septum and mouth is a shallow, oval indentation. The narrow, open mouth is bounded by thick lips, which do not meet in the corners. The indentation in the center of the lower lip and the regularly scalloped lower border of the upper lip are not sufficiently accentuated to confer upon the lips a precise configuration. Indeed, the amorphous features consistently lack outlines or sharp edges. Small, blunted chins are succeeded by double chins. These, together with the rounded jaws and distended cheeks, which hide the skeletal structure of the head, endow both faces with a nearly circular contour.

A comparison of the profiles of *Faith* and Minello's woman (Figs. 15, 16) shows how small is the degree of recession and projection of the features on the inflated surface of the face. Despite its numerous waves, the head of hair retains its uniform surface and regularly rounded contour, which, at the rear, swells the volume of the head to an extraordinary extent. Scarves are draped and tied in a similar fashion. In both, a curl escapes just above the ear.

In all three figures, shoulders are immensely broad and sloping (Figs. 8, 9, 17). While the chest, in its entirety, is extremely rotund, the conical breasts, very widely spaced, hardly project at all. The man immediately to the left of the woman shares with the *Virtues* their elongated legs. In all four figures movement is largely confined to gestures and the turn and inclination of the head. The ponderation suggested by the projection of the free knee, the outward turn of the free foot, and the raising of the heel, does not affect the rigidly horizontal axes of hips and shoulders, or the perfect planarity of the trunk, in whatever view presented. Folds, whose projection from the surface is minimal and almost entirely confined to edges, do not disturb the uniformity of the total surface. Yet, despite the thinness of clinging drapery, only the grossest of anatomical forms emerge.

In the approximately five years which separate the Orsini *Virtues* and the woman in the *Investiture of St. Anthony*, Minello made perceptible advances. The woman's neck and shoulders disclose slightly more modulation of anatomical surfaces. Influenced by Antonio Lombardo's Santo relief of the *Miracle of the Newborn Babe*, the woman's drapery pattern is less pedantically classicistic than that of *Faith*. Folds are endowed with some degree of volume and borders are undercut, as a consequence of which, cloth seems to possess a certain weight and texture. Idiosyncrasies of style, like the jarring, angular folds of *Prudence's* mantle or the regular series of minute scallops, which define the border of *Prudence's* peplum or the edge of *S. Giustina's* cloak (Figs. 2, 8), have disappeared.

I cannot name the author of the equestrian group of Fra Leonardo da Prato (Fig. 4). I do not know it from afar and therefore hesitate to exclude it categorically from Minello's oeuvre. But Minello is not known to have executed wooden sculpture. Indeed, had he worked in wood, he would have been almost the only stonemason active in Venice or the Veneto, of his or an earlier time, to have done so. The architectural components, of the tomb, however, match those of the Orsini Tomb so closely (Fig. 3), that we may confidently assign them to Minello.<sup>92</sup> For both tombs, an identical order, composed of attenuated lesenes on high and narrow pedestals, was employed. The shafts of the lesenes display narrow, recessed, stippled panels, framed by simple, plastic moldings. The capitals of the lesenes are composed of the same sequence of three-quarter round, plain frieze, and simple cornice. Shields are formed identically; in both, borders are filled with ornament in perfectly flat and very low relief against a stippled ground. Such ornament is found as well on the consoles of both tombs. In both, the epitaph embellishes the unframed

front face of a moderately projecting *cassone*; the inscription fills the entire height and almost the entire width of the field. Corbels are crowned in a most unusual fashion by a series of diamond-shaped bosses.

The design of Naldi's epitaph (Fig. 5), which entirely fills the unframed front face of a moderately projecting parallelepiped, constitutes the only link between the Naldi Tomb, on the one hand, and the Orsini and Leonardo da Prato Tombs on the other. That the tomb is Minello's nonetheless is proved by a comparison of the effigy and the armor-clad man from the relief of the *Investiture of St. Anthony* (Figs. 18, 19). Common to both figures are the long, columnar neck, the extremely broad and sloping shoulders, the barrel-shaped chest, and the unresolved ponderation, largely limited to the bending and displacement of the free leg and foot. The head is identically turned and tilted in both figures; lips are parted and the eyes of both roll up. Characteristic of Minello's facial type (Figs. 20, 21) are Naldi's fleshily padded, hairless brows, the thin strips which define his upper lids, the broad, arcuated grooves marking his pupils, the short, broad nose with its high bridge, the amorphous lips which do not meet at the corners of the mouth. Neither beards nor heads of hair disturb the closed and smoothly rounded contours evident here and throughout the figures.

I can make no brief for the quality of Minello's three tombs of *condottieri*. Nor, apparently, did they arouse exceptional enthusiasm on the part of their Venetian audience; at any rate, Minello does not seem to have been commissioned to make any more Venetian tombs. Why then, in a state that could command the services of Giambattista and Lorenzo Bregno, not to mention Tullio Lombardo and the old, but still active, Pietro Lombardo, did ser Giorgio Emo select Antonio Minello? Here, where documents do not assist us, we can only speculate. First, the fact that Minello was a native Paduan must have been thought particularly apposite in the case of tombs of heroes of the siege of Padua. Second, and far more important, is the low remuneration that Minello can be supposed to have been willing to accept. The text of the Arca del Santo's deliberation concerning payment for the left-hand section of the *Investiture of St. Anthony* is instructive in this regard. It reads: "...since master Antonio ... carved a marble panel with the story of the passage of St. Anthony from the order of the Canons regular to the order of St. Francis, no price having been made, agreed upon, or determined by the stewards of the Arca, it is decreed that Master Antonio Minello be paid a price of 60 ducats at most for the execution of said panel. And if he will not agree to this price, he must return to the Arca the marble and all the money received for the panel and he may keep for himself the panel carved ineptly enough".<sup>93</sup> Thus, where Antonio Lombardo was paid 260 ducats for his relief in 1505 and Tullio received 250 for one of his<sup>94</sup>, Minello was awarded 60 ducats for a third of his relief. To be sure, it eventually was paid at a slightly higher rate, but the whole sum paid Minello was, at best, 20 per cent lower than that paid Antonio and Tullio Lombardo. Presumably Minello would have been content with less from the Signoria, as he later was at the Santo.<sup>95</sup> Thus, by employing an artist of Minello's rank, by choosing simple schemes and using cheap and second-hand materials, the Signoria was able to construct three monumental tombs on a budget better suited to three tomb slabs. But lest the Signoria be thought mean, let us recall the poverty to which the burdens of the War of the League of Cambrai had reduced the Venetian fisc and admire, rather, the republic's ingenuity in conferring so conspicuous an honor at such small expense to itself.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> E. Rigoni, Giovanni Minello e la Cappella dell'Arca di S. Antonio, in: *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienze lettere ed arti* (Classe di scienze morali lettere ed arti), n.s. LXVI, pt. 3, 1953/54, pp. 90 and 93f, docs. I, II, III, repr. in *eadem*, *L'arte rinascimentale in Padova: studi e documenti* (Medioevo e umanesimo, 9), Padua 1970, pp. 259 and 261f, docs. I, II, III; A. Sartori, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte a Padova*, ed. C. Fillarini, Vicenza 1976, pp. 157, 163f.
- <sup>2</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 149f. For the choir screen itself, see B. Gonzati, *La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova*, Padua, I, 1852, pp. 66f.
- <sup>3</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 151; A. Sartori, *Archivio Sartori. Documenti di storia e arte francescana, I. Basilica e Convento del Santo*, ed. G. Luisetto, Padua 1983, pp. 279, docs. 106, 108, p. 281, doc. 10. In *ibid.*, p. 281, the "maestro Anthonio tayapria," responsible for the alabaster heads of seraphim, is incorrectly identified as Antonio Minello. That the two Antonios are different people can be deduced from document 10 transcribed on p. 281.
- <sup>4</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 155f; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 335, docs. 34, 39.
- <sup>5</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 156.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 349, doc. 262; S. B. Wilk, *La decorazione cinquecentesca della Cappella dell'Arca di S. Antonio*, in: *Le sculture del Santo di Padova*, ed. G. Lorenzoni, Vicenza 1984, p. 124, n. 49.
- <sup>7</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 140f; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 361, docs. 436, 437, 439; Wilk (n. 6), p. 133, n. 73.
- <sup>8</sup> *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 336, doc. 63.
- <sup>9</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 73f.
- <sup>10</sup> A. Gatti, *La fabbrica di S. Petronio. Indagini storiche*, Bologna 1889, pp. 97f, 100, 102.
- <sup>11</sup> Gonzati (n. 2), I, pp. 79-82.
- <sup>12</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 157-160; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 339, doc. 110, p. 349, docs. 263-266. Sartori gives the unlikely sum of 323 lire 4 soldi as Minello's recompense. I am inclined to doubt the reliability or completeness of Sartori's transcription here.
- <sup>13</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 158-160; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 349, docs. 263, 266, 267, p. 340, doc. 131; Wilk (n. 6), p. 128, n. 62.
- <sup>14</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 159f; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 349, docs. 267-271.
- <sup>15</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 127; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 341, doc. 162.
- <sup>16</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 157; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 339, doc. 106.
- <sup>17</sup> Gonzati (n. 2), I, p. xcic, doc. xc; *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 157 (without date); *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 339, doc. 108 (with only the year 1513).
- <sup>18</sup> Marcantonio Michiel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano* (Marcantonio Michiel's *Notizia d'opere del disegno*), ed. and trans. by T. Frimmel, Vienna 1896, p. 8: "La figura tutta tonda della S. Giustina, par al naturale, de marmo, fu di mano di Antonio Minello, sopra la cornice in alto." For the ownership of *Mercury*, see J. Fletcher, *Marcantonio Michiel's Collection*, in: *Warburg Journal*, XXXVI, 1973, pp. 382f.
- <sup>19</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 158; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 339, doc. 113.
- <sup>20</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 160; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 339, doc. 121.
- <sup>21</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 161. See also *ibid.*, p. 560.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139f, 29; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 360, doc. 432; Wilk (n. 6), pp. 130f, nn. 67, 69.
- <sup>23</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 161; P. Stepan, *Die Reliefs der Cappella del Santo in Padua. Quellenstudien und Untersuchungen zu ihrer Ikonographie*, Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München 1982, p. 307; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 349, doc. 272.
- <sup>24</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 161; Stepan (n. 23), pp. 308, 53, 54.
- <sup>25</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 162f; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 350, doc. 275; Gonzati (n. 2), I, p. civ, doc. xcvi.
- <sup>26</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 163; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 351, doc. 277.
- <sup>27</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 206f; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 356, doc. 353, p. 357, doc. 359.
- <sup>28</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 159.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161f; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), pp. 349f, doc. 273.
- <sup>30</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 159; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 340, doc. 143.
- <sup>31</sup> Rigoni, in: *Atti e mem. dell'Acc. patavina*, 1953/54, pp. 93ff, docs. I, III, IV, V, repr. in *eadem*, 1970, pp. 261ff, docs. I, III, IV, V.

- <sup>32</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 162.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162f; corrected in *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 350, doc. 275. I have corrected Sartori's reading against the original document: AS Padova, Archivio notarile, Volume 1819 (not. Alvise Bartoli), cc. 487r-488r. See also the document of sale of Lorenzo Bregno's shop: AS Venezia, Archivio notarile, Atti, Busta 3346 (not. Giovanni Maria Cavagnis), cc. 496v-497r.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, cc. 496v-497r, published with many lacunae by P. Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice 1893, II, p. 116, doc. 106.
- <sup>37</sup> A. Moschetti, voce, Bardi, Antonio, in: *Thieme-Becker*, II, 1908, p. 486.
- <sup>38</sup> AS Treviso, Archivio notarile, ra serie, Busta 439 (not. Giovanni Maria Spilimbergo), filza "1524 die XXVII octobris 1525", cc. 166v-168r, summarized by G. Biscaro, *Per la storia delle belle arti in Treviso. II. Una statua ed altre opere di Lorenzo Bregno*, in: *Atti e memorie dell'Ateneo di Treviso*, 1897, p. 276.
- <sup>39</sup> E. g., J. Pope-Hennessy, A Statuette by Antonio Minelli, in: *Burl. Mag.*, XCIV, 1952, p. 27.
- <sup>40</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 163.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.
- <sup>42</sup> A. Radcliffe, in: London, Royal Academy of Arts. *The Genius of Venice, 1500-1600*, November 25, 1983 - March 11, 1984, cat. ed. by J. Martineau and C. Hope, London 1983, p. 367, S12.
- <sup>43</sup> *Rigoni*, in: *Atti e mem. dell'Acc. patavina*, 1953/54, pp. 93-96, docs. I, II, V, VII, VIII, repr. in *eadem*, 1970, pp. 261-264, docs. I, II, V, VII, VIII.
- <sup>44</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 173.
- <sup>45</sup> Bernardino Scardeone, *De antiquitate urbis Patavii*, Basel 1560. p. 376.
- <sup>46</sup> Michiel/Frimmel (n. 18), p. 82.
- <sup>47</sup> Scardeone (n. 45), pp. 376, 431.
- <sup>48</sup> For the history of the monument, see A. Sartori, *Precisazioni su Giovanni Calvurnio*, in: *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienza lettere ed arti* (Classe di scienze morali lettere ed arti), n.s. LXXVI, pt. 3, 1963/64, pp. 72-74.
- <sup>49</sup> G. Brunacci, *De Ben. Tyriaco Mantuano*, in: *Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, ed. A. Calogera, Venice, XLIII, 1750, pp. xxivf.
- <sup>50</sup> Orsini was also commemorated by a cenotaph with a recumbent effigy in armor, formerly in Ghedi, now in the Museo Cristiano, Brescia, for which see [P. Litta], *Famiglie celebri italiane*, Milan, fasc. LXII, 1848, "Orsini", n. pl. and G. Panazza, *I musei e la pinacoteca di Brescia* (Gallerie e musei del mondo), Bergamo 1959, p. 89. This monument apparently was made in response to a provision in Orsini's testament of June 5, 1504, in which he ordered that he be buried in his chapel in the Church of S. Maria, Ghedi, should he die in Lombardy. See G. Bruscalupi, *Vita di Niccolò III Orsini Conte di Pitigliano*, Siena 1872, p. 107. Not long after its burial, Orsini's cadaver was exhumed from its resting-place in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The heart was reinterred in 1530 in a marble urn with epigraph in S. Pietro, Pitigliano. Of this monument, only a fragment of the inscription survives in the Museo Comunale, Pitigliano. For the monument, see G. Bruscalupi, *Monografia storica della contea di Pitigliano*, ed. G. C. Fabriziani, Florence 1906, pp. 316, 634f, n. 100. The rest of Orsini's cadaver was interred in a monument with recumbent effigy in armor, which Orsini had had erected during his lifetime, in S. Stefano, Fiano Romano. For this tomb, see *ibid.*, pp. 316, 647, n. 130 and [Litta], fasc. LXII, 1848, "Orsini", n. pl.
- Other images of Orsini include: 1. the six medals published by Hill, I, pp. 172f, nos. 664-668 and p. 305, no. 1183; 2. the marble relief in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, for which, see Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André. *Sculpture italienne*, cat. by F. de la Moureyre-Gavoty (*Inventaire des collections publiques françaises*, 19), Paris 1975, no. 123; 3. three frescoes transferred to canvas attributed to Bartolomeo Montagna in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, for which, see Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum. *Katalog der Galerie alter Meister*, cat. by A. Pigler, Budapest 1968, I, pp. 459-461, nos. 1234-1236; 4. the fresco transferred to canvas attributed to Girolamo Romanino, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia, for which, see Brescia, *Duomo vecchio et al.*, *Mostra di Girolamo Romanino*, cat. ed. by G. Panazza, Brescia 1965, pp. 27-29, no. 3a (erroneously identified as the Gattamelata); 5. an engraved portrait in *Francesco Sansovino, De gli huomini illustri della casa Orsini*, Venice 1565, p. 73 v; 6. a portrait in oil on panel by Cristofano dell'Altissimo (Cristofano di Papi), before 1568, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, for which, see Florence, *Galleria degli Uffizi*. *Gli Uffizi*, catalogo generale, Florence 1979, p. 647, Ic. 349; 7. a wood-cut portrait by Tobias Stimmer and an anonymous engraving, for which, see H. W. Singer, *Allgemeiner Bildniskatalog*, Leipzig, IX, 1933, p. 200, no. 22643; 8. an engraved portrait by Aliprando Capriolo in *A. Capriolo, Ritratto di cento capitani illustri*, Rome 2 1600, no 63. Several lost or untraceable portraits of Orsini are listed by Bruscalupi/Fabriziani (op. cit.), p. 636, n. 101.
- <sup>51</sup> Important contributions to the reconstruction of the history of these tombs have been made by Paoletti (n. 36), II, p. 274; L. Puppi, *Il tempio e gli eroi*, in: *La grande vetrata di San Giovanni e Paolo: storia iconologica restauro*, Venice 1982, pp. 24-35, repr. in *idem*, *La grande vetrata della Basilica di San Giovanni e Paolo*, Venice 1985, pp. 16-31; Hale, in M. E. Mallett and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice c. 1400 to 1617*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 292f.

- <sup>52</sup> *Marin Sanudo*, I diarii, Venice, IX, 1883, col. 479, Jan. 21, 1510; coll. 491, 496, Jan. 27, 1510; *Luigi Da Porto*, Lettere storiche, ed. B. Bressan, Florence 1857, p. 169, letter 41, Jan. 31, 1510.
- <sup>53</sup> *Sanudo*, Diarii, IX, 1883, col. 496, Jan. 28, 1510.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 496, Jan. 28, 1510.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 499, Jan. 29, 1510.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 501, Jan. 29, 1510.
- <sup>57</sup> The funeral oration was published under the title, *Oratio habita in funere clarissimi Imper. Nicolai Ursini Nolae Petilianique Principis*, n.d., n.p. and translated into Italian by *Sansovino* (n. 50), pp. 47 r-59 r.
- <sup>58</sup> *Sanudo*, Diarii, IX, 1883, coll. 502f, Jan. 31, 1510; Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS it., Cl. VII, 328 (= 8513), *Andrea Zilioli*, *Storie dei suoi tempi* (1508-c. 1528), 16th cen., cc. 38 r-v.
- <sup>59</sup> *Sanudo*, Diarii, X, 1883, col. 802, July 17, 1510; col. 834, July 23, 1510; col. 839, July 24, 1510; Museo Correr, Venice, MS P. D. 252c, *Girolamo Priuli*, Diarii, V, c. 192 r-v, July 24, 1510.
- <sup>60</sup> "Imperator ductor eques milesque Dyonisi Naldi conductor hic ossa, hic juniorem Ferdinandum Regno a Gallis pulsum restituit Florentina rempublica pedi intui prefectus ornavit, veneti dignitatem imperij sustinuit, fide et fortitudine incomparabili inter alios duces peditum praefectus patavium servavit moriens ex nimis vigiliis hoc virtutis sue perpetuum agratissimo Senato Veneto, M. meruit. Objit aetatis anno 45. M. D. X." recorded by *Sanudo*, Diarii, X, 1883, col. 839, July 24, 1510.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 839, July 24, 1510.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 1886, coll. 85f, Mar. 27, 1511; *Da Porto*, p. 232, letter 55, Jan. 1511 (?), Museo Correr, Venice, MS P. D. 252c, *G. Priuli*, Diarii, VI (n. 52), c. 131 r, Mar. 29, 1511.
- <sup>63</sup> *Sanudo*, Diarii, XII, 1886, col. 97, Apr. 1, 1511.
- <sup>64</sup> AS Venezia, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta, Registro 44 (1511-12), c. 7 v: "Die. xii. Aprilis (MCCCCXI). La singular virtute et fede uerso il stato nostro del Reverendo D. Frate Leonardo da Prato e tanto note ad cadauno, che non e necessario farne longa expositione, hauendo de continuo in ogni actione sua, et demum cum perdere la vita propria, lassato di se optimo exemplo. Vnde conuendone al Instituto nostro usar uerso de lui de qualche segno de grata memoria per accender potissimum cadauno ad ben meritar. Landera parte che per auctorita de questo Consiglio sia statuito che al quondam Reverendo D. Frate Leonardo sij constructo uno sepulcro conveniente ale conditione sue da esser collocato in quello convento de religiosi che piu grato apparera ali nepoti et parenti sui. Nel qual sepulcro spender se possi da ducati centocinquanta fin dusento. Et la executione dela presente deliberation sia data al Collegio nostro.
- |             |     |
|-------------|-----|
| De parte    | 141 |
| de non      | 1   |
| non sincere | 0   |
- This decision was reported by *Sanudo*, Diarii, XII, 1886, col. 114, Apr. 12, 1511.
- <sup>65</sup> AS Venezia, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta, Registro 44 (1511-12), c. 21 r: "Die xxij Maji (MCCCCXJ). Fv deliberato in questo Consiglio vltimamente che al q. Reverendo D. Frate Leonardo da prato defuncto in li servitij nostri se hauesse ad fare uno sepulchro, hora essendo venuto a la presentia nostra D. Mariano suo nepote et conducto de qui il corpo de esso Reverendo Frate Leonardo, Ha rechiesto, che per honore suo li siano facte le exequie, per tanto conuenendosi ali singular portamenti de esso Reverendo D. Frate Leonardo, necminus al Instituto nostro usar de' ogni demonstratione per gratificar la dicta fameglia benemerita del stato nostro.
- Landera parte che per auctorita de questo consiglio sia statuido che le exequie sijno facte per la signoria nostra al antedicto Reverendo Frate Leonardo nel zorno et loco et cum la forma che per il Collegio nostro sara deliberato.
- |             |     |
|-------------|-----|
| De parte    | 136 |
| de non      | 4   |
| non sincere | 0   |
- This decision was reported by *Sanudo*, Diarii, XII, 1886, col. 188, May 23, 1511.
- <sup>66</sup> AS Venezia, Consiglio dei Dieci, Misto, Registro 35 (1512-13), c. 70 v: "MDXII. Die vltimo Julij: In con. X cum additione. E cosa ben conueniente & degna del stato nostro hauer a' memoria le prestante operatione deli q. III. Conte de pitigliano fu capetanio Generale de le zente darne nostre: Magnifico D. Dionyse de Naldo fo capetanio de le fanterie, et del q. M.to & Reverendo Fra lunardo da prato, Governador di caualli lezieri, morti a' i servicij nostri, i dispositi dei qual sonno fatti nela chiesa nostra de san Zuane polo, et dar causa a' li altri che serveno di exponer la uita sua a' beneficio & commodo de la signoria nostra. Et perho
- Landera parte: che per auctorita de questo Consejo, siano spesi ducati tresento de le intrade deputate al phisco, in far tre sepulture honoreuele a' i prefati Tre, quali azo siano spesi utelmente, siano exnunc deputati per el Collegio nostro. Interuenendo i capi de questo conseio do Zentilhomini nostri, quali habino la cura de spender dicti denari per quella forma & cum quel auantazo sij possibile & li parera expediente. Et insuper habino carrico de farle far sumptuose secondo la qualita & Gradi de li prenominati, non possendo perho spender oltra dicti ducati CCC.
- Preterea essendo ben conueniente che se i venerandi frati de s. Zuane polo, in loco del terreno darano per far ditte arche habino qualche emolumento, Damo sia preso: chel panno doro qual e

atorno el deposito del conte de pitiglian, et quel di ueludo, che e atorno el deposito de D. Dionysio de Naldo siano donadi ad esso Conuento per far do paramenti sopra i qual siano messe le Insegne de missier San Marco: et azo etiam i pregino el signor Dio per conservatione del stado nostro.

De parte	23
De non	2
Non sincere	0''.

<sup>67</sup> AS Venezia, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Serie registri XI, filza C, c. 61 v, for which, see *Puppi* (n. 51), p. 30, repr. 1985, p. 25, with the incorrect date of August 17.

<sup>68</sup> *Sanudo*, Diarii, XV, 1887, col. 90, Sept. 17, 1512.

<sup>69</sup> AS Venezia, Corporazioni religiose soppresse, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Serie registri XI, filza C, c. 64 v, for which, see *Puppi* (n. 51), p. 31, repr. 1985, p. 26. Apparently only two columns were actually used — those flanking the portal in the Tomb of Dionigi Naldi. They are the only parts of the Naldi Tomb of marble: the other architectural members of the tomb are of Istrian limestone, including a piece reused on the left side of the sarcophagus. (I am grateful to Dott. Giovanna Bortolaso, one of the restorers of the monument in 1986, for this information).

<sup>70</sup> *Sanudo*, Diarii, XIX, 1887, col. 331, Dec. 24, 1514. See below, n. 75.

<sup>71</sup> *Puppi* (n. 51), p. 24, repr. 1985, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> *Sanudo*, Diarii, XX, 1887, col. 67, Mar. 21, 1515.

<sup>73</sup> *Puppi* (n. 51), p. 34, repr. 1985, pp. 30f.

<sup>74</sup> The epitaph of Nicolò Orsini reads: NICOLAO . VRSINO . NOLAE . PETILIANOQ . PRINCIPI . LONGE . CLA/RISSIMO . SENENSIVM . FLORENTINI . POP . II . SIXTI . INNOCENTII . / ALEXANDRI . PON . MAX . FERDINANDI . ALPHONSIQ . IVNIORIS . RE . / NEAPOLITANORVM . IMP . FELICISSIMO . VENETAE . DEMVM . REIP . / PER . XV . ANNOS . MAGNIS . CLARISSIMISQ . REBVS . GESTIS . NOVISSIME . / AGRAVISSIMA . OMNIV . OBSIDIONE . PATAVIO . CONSERVATA . VIRTVTIS . ET . / FIDEI . SIGVLARIS . S . V M . H . P . P . OBIIT . AETATIS . ANNO . LXVIII . M . D . IX. It was written by Battista Egnazio: *G. Degli Agostini*, Notizie istoriche spettanti alla vita, e agli scritti di Batista Egnazio sacerdote viniziano, in: Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici, ed. A. Calogerà, Venice, XXXIII, 1745, pp. 121f.

The epitaph of Dionigi Naldi reads: IMPERATOR . DVCTOR . EQVES . MILESQ . DIONYSII . NALDI . CONDVNTR . / HIC . OSSA . HIC . IVNIOREM . FERDINANDVM . REGNO . A . GALLIS . PVLSVM . RES/TITVIT . FLORENT . REM . PEDITATVI . PRAEFEC . ORNAVIT . VENETI . DI/GNITATEM . IMPERII . SVSTINUIT . FIDE . AC . FORTITVDINE . INCOMPAR/INTER . ALIOS . DVCES . PEDIT . PRAEFECTVS . PATAVIVM . SERVAVIT . / MORIENS . EX . NIMIIS . VIGILIIS . HOC . VIRTVTIS . SVAE . PERPETVVM . / MONVMENTVM . CLARISSIMO . LAVREDANO . PRINC . EX . AMPLISS . / SENAT . AVCTORITATE . MERVIT . OBIIT . AETATIS . ANNO . XLV . M . D . X .

The epitaph of Leonardo da Prato reads: LEONARDVM . PRATVM . MILITEM . FORTISSIMVM . ET . EX . PRO/VOCATIONE . SEMPER . VICTOREM . PRAEFECTVM . FERDINANDI . / IVNIORIS . ET . FEDERICI . REGVM . NEAPOLITAN . OB . VIRTVTEM . / TERRESTRIBVS . NAVALIBVS . Q . PRAELIIS . FELICISS . MAGNIS . CLARISSIMIS . Q . REBVS . PRO . VENETA . REPV . GESTIS . / PVGNANTEM . AB . HOSTE . CAESVM . LEONARDVS . LAVRETA/NVS . PRINCEPS . ET . AMPLISS . ORDO . SENATORIVS . PRVDENTIAE . ET . FORTITVDINIS . ERGO . STATVA . HAC . EQVESTRI . / DONANDVM . CENSUIT .

<sup>75</sup> *Sanudo*, Diarii, XIX, 1887, col. 331, Dec. 24, 1514: "in la qual (SS. Giovanni e Paolo) è stà fata in choro l'arca marmorea dil conte di Pitiano fo capitano general nostro da una banda, da l'altra di domino frate Leonardo da Prato governador di cavalli lizieri, e sora la porta si fa di Dyonisio di Naldo di Brixighella capitano nostro di le fantarie; tutti tre fidelissimi et stati in la obsidion di Padoa".

<sup>76</sup> See above, n. 66. See also the preamble to the Senate's decision of Apr. 12, 1511, to erect a tomb to Fra Leonardo, quoted above in n. 64.

<sup>77</sup> The following sums were bequeathed for tombs by *condottieri* and nonducal Venetian patricians around the time of the tombs in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. In 1501 the *condottiere* Guidarello Guidarelli bequeathed between 500 and 700 ducats for his tomb. In 1503 Benedetto Pesaro bequeathed up to 1000 ducats. In 1507 Giambattista Bonzio bequeathed 600 ducats. In 1510 Pietro Bernardo bequeathed 100 ducats; but five years later he raised that sum to 600 ducats and in 1520, he allocated 650 ducats. In 1515 the *condottiere* Benedetto Crivelli left 150 ducats for his tomb. For 100 ducats, a testator could count on getting no more than a handsome tomb slab: see the testament of 1515 of Giuliano Zancharol published by *Paoletti* (n. 36), II, p. 112, doc. 94.

<sup>78</sup> Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS it., Cl. VII, 323 (= 8646), *Cronaca veneta sino al 1528*, 16th cen., c. 232 v: "et fatoli (Orsini) una sepultura marmorea ed uno cavalo de sopra et lui acavalo con uno baston in mano in signa' Imperij". Museo Correr, Venice, MS Gradenigo 228/III, *Johannes Grevembroch*, Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudibus, III, 1759, cc. 56: "finalmente meritò (Orsini) statua equestre in S.S. Giovanni e Paolo, rimordenata (*sic*) del 1726. allorchè era Pontefice Benedetto XIII. di lui Prnipote".

- <sup>79</sup> For the Savelli Tomb, see *W. Wolters, La scultura veneziana gotica, 1300-1460*, Venice 1976, I, pp. 229f, no. 155.
- <sup>80</sup> *Francesco Sansovino, Venetia citta nobilissima et singolare, descritta in xiiii. libri*, Venice 1581, p. 20 r.
- <sup>81</sup> *Tomaso Garzoni, La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, Venice 1616, p. 296; *D. Martinelli, Il ritratto di Venezia*, Venice 1684, p. 141; *T. A. Zucchini, Nuova cronaca veneta*, Venice, I, 1785, p. 381; *G. A. Moschini, Guida per la città di Venezia*, Venice 1815, I, pt. 1, p. 142; *L. Cicognara, Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia sino al secolo di Napoleone*, Venice, II, 1816, pp. 152f; *G. B. Soràvia, Le chiese di Venezia*, Venice, I, 1822, p. 54; *A. Quadri, I due Templi de' SS. Giovanni e Paolo e di Santa Maria Gloriosa detta de' Frari in Venezia*, Venice 1835, "Tempio de' SS. Gio. e Paolo", p. xi, no. 9; *Zanotto*, in: *A. Diedo and F. Zanotto, I monumenti sepolcrali di Venezia*, Milan 1839, n.p.; *E. Paoletti, Il fiore di Venezia*, Venice, II, 1839, p. 233; *P. Selvatico, Sulla architettura e sulla scultura in Venezia*, Venice 1847, p. 228; *F. Zanotto, Descrizione della città, in: Venezia e le sue lagune*, Venice 1847, II, pt. 2, p. 97; *P. Selvatico and V. Lazari, Guida artistica e storica di Venezia*, Venice et al., 1852, p. 122; *J. Burckhardt, Der Cicerone*, Basel, 1855, p. 622d; *F. Zanotto, Nuovissima guida di Venezia*, Venice 1856, p. 288; *G. Moroni, Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Venice, XCI, 1858, p. 139; *O. Mothes, Geschichte der Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs*, Leipzig, II, 1860, p. 153; *C. C. Perkins, Italian Sculptors: being a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy*, London 1868, p. 209; *A. Metelli, Storia di Brisighella e della Valle di Amone*, Faenza 1869, pt. 1, II, p. 30; *F. Fabpanni, Delle statue equestri erette a' suoi capitani generali di terre della repubblica di Venezia*, in: *Bull. di arti, industrie e curiosità veneziane*, II, 1878/79, p. 84; *R. Fulin and P. G. Molmenti, Guida artistica e storica di Venezia*, Venice 1881, pp. 221f; *G. Merzario, I maestri comacini*, Milan 1893, II, pp. 24f; *Paoletti* (n. 36), II, p. 274; *idem*, voce: Bregno, Lorenzo di Roberto, in *Thieme-Becker*, IV, 1910, p. 570; *P. L. Rambaldi, La chiesa dei Ss. Gio. e Paolo e la Cappella del Rosario in Venezia*, Venice 1913, p. 21; *D. Zauli-Naldi, Dionigi e Vincenzo Naldi in Romagna (1495-1504)*, Faenza 1925, p. 95; *G. Lorenzetti, Venezia e il suo estuario*, Venice et al., 1926, p. 329; *idem*, voce: Bregno, in *Enc. ital.*, VII, 1930, p. 793; *G. Mariacher, Problemi di scultura veneziana*, in: *Arte veneta*, III, 1949, p. 97; *M. Muraro, Nuova guida di Venezia e delle sue isole*, Florence 1953, p. 239; *A. Caccin, La basilica dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia*, Venice 1961, p. 53; *F. Zava Boccazzi, La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia*, Padua 1965, pp. 176, 179; *R. Munman, Venetian Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1968 (typescript), pp. 298, 302, 303-306, 307f; *G. Mariacher*, voce: Bregno, Lorenzo, in *Diz. Biogr.*, XIV, 1972, p. 114; *B. Cetti, Artisti vallintellesi*, Como 1973, p. 130; *idem*, *Scultori comacini: i Bregno*, in: *Arte cristiana*, LXX, 1982, p. 35; *Puppi* (n. 51), p. 31, repr. 1985, p. 26; *Restauro a Venezia 1967-1986*, in: *Quaderni della Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici di Venezia*, XIV, 1986, p. 62.
- <sup>82</sup> *A. Markham Schulz, Lorenzo Bregno*, in: *Jb. der Berliner Museen*, n.s. XXVI, 1984, p. 151.
- <sup>83</sup> *Paoletti* (n. 36), II, p. 274. Previously, the style of the monument, when defined at all, had been called "lombardesco": *Selvatico/Lazari* 1852 (n. 81), p. 126; *Zanotto* 1856 (n. 81), p. 298; *Fulin/Molmenti* (n. 81), pp. 227f.
- <sup>84</sup> *Paoletti*, in: *Thieme-Becker*, IV, 1910, p. 570; *Rambaldi* (n. 81), p. 29; *G. Fogolari, I Frari e i SS. Giovanni e Paolo a Venezia*, Milan 1931, p. opp. pl. 47; *Muraro* (n. 81), p. 240; *Caccin* (n. 81), p. 73; *Zava Boccazzi* (n. 81), p. 179. By contrast, *Lorenzetti* (n. 81), p. 335; *Hubala*, in: *E. Egg, E. Hubala, P. Tigler, W. Timofiewitsch, M. Wundram, Oberitalien Ost (Reclams Kunstführer, Italien, II)*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 793; *Munman* (n. 81), p. 345, and *Puppi* (n. 51), p. 31, n. 68, noted the attribution, but took no position.
- <sup>85</sup> *Lorenzetti* (n. 81), p. 329; *A. Moschetti*, voce: Lombardo, Tullio, in *Thieme-Becker*, XXIII, 1929, p. 345; *Fogolari* (n. 84), p. opp. pl. 47; *Muraro* (n. 81), p. 239; *Caccin* (n. 81), p. 50. *Hubala* in *Egg et al.* (n. 84), p. 788, tentatively ascribed the *Virtues* to Tullio's circle. Prior to Lorenzetti's attribution, the monument was characterized as Lombardesque on those rare occasions when its style was remarked at all: *Zanotto* in: *Diedo/Zanotto* (n. 81), n.p.; *Mothes* (n. 81), II, p. 112; *Fulin/Molmenti* (n. 81), p. 221.
- <sup>86</sup> *Zava Boccazzi* (n. 81), pp. 179f.
- <sup>87</sup> The *Effigy of Dionigi Naldi*, its base and supports are carved from a single block of limestone, probably from Vicenza. The effigy measures 199.5 cm. in height, including its 11.6 cm. high base. In the effigy the following elements were gilt: the figure's hair, beard, and moustache; in the cuirass — studs, belt, the border of the central vertical opening, and the neck-band. The skirt of chain mail shows traces of an unidentifiable, dark pigment; at the bottom of the skirt, a border ca. 4 cm. wide was originally gilt. At the rear of the statue gilding was applied only to the hair. The area around the effigy's left eye is badly nicked; a fairly large chip is missing from above the center of the eye. The figure's neck is scratched. The left sleeve is chipped in several places, especially near the elbow. The last two fingers of *Naldi's* left hand, as well as most of the second and third fingers, and a bit of the hand itself have broken off. The effigy has lost all the fingers of its upraised right hand, along with whatever it was holding. (This was probably a lance. It was already missing by 1754: see Museo Correr, Venice, MS Gradenigo 228/I, *Johannes Grevembroch, Monumenta Veneta ex antiquis rudibus*, I, 1754, c. 104 [Fig. 5]). The sword breaks off neatly

about 20 cm. beyond the lower border of the hilt. The top of the hilt is chipped around its edge. The border of the skirt of chain mail is chipped in a few places, particularly at the rear. Nicks mark the surface of both legs, but especially the right. The upper edge of the base is chipped. Graffiti are scratched into the vertical face of the base, the tree stump, and the figure's left leg.

<sup>88</sup> *Prudence*, together with its base, was carved from a single block of limestone, probably from Vicenza. The figure, together with its base, measures 196 cm. in height. The base is 12.4 cm. high. PRVDENCIA is inscribed in the base. The following elements were gilt: the figure's hair and the scarf, with which the hair is tied; the neck-band and sash of the dress; the straps of the sandals; the snake and tuft of grass, which emerges from beneath the clod, and the vertical face of the base. Irises were tinted black, as were the letters of the inscription.

A large piece of *Prudence's* scarf, which once fell to her right shoulder, as it does to her left, has broken off. The figure is missing half of its right forearm and all of its right hand. These must have been pieced, for the break is smooth and is pierced by a mortise. In falling, the arm seems to have smashed the projecting portions of three folds of the figure's mantle, as well as a bit of the hem of the dress on the spectator's left. *Prudence* is missing all the fingers of her left hand, in addition to the attribute she held — perhaps a mirror. The edges of a great many folds of both dress and mantle are badly chipped.

<sup>89</sup> *Faith*, together with its base, was carved from a single block of limestone, probably from Vicenza. The bowl of the chalice was added in wood. The figure, together with its base, measures 198 cm. in height. The base is 12.6 cm. high. FIDES is inscribed in the base. The following elements were gilt: the hair and scarf, with which the hair is tied; the neck-band of the dress; the chalice; the straps of the sandals; the vertical face of the base. Irises were painted black, as were the letters of the inscription.

Near the figure's left ear, the edge of the scarf is chipped. *Faith* has lost half of her right forearm and all of her hand. The smooth edge of the break, together with the remnant of a rod inserted in the forearm, indicate that the remainder of the arm was once pieced. Above the figure's right armpit are the remains of one finger of its right hand. The upper part of the foot of the chalice has broken off and the bowl has fallen out; the deteriorated bowl now lies on the floor of the tomb. The index finger that curves around the foot of the chalice is badly chipped. The outer edge of the figure's pendant left sleeve is chipped. A long scar crosses *Faith's* left thigh. The projecting edges of folds are chipped in several places; a large chip is missing from the fold that runs upward from *Faith's* right knee.

<sup>90</sup> No. 44, inv. 1283. The bust is exhibited in Sala 18. The bust measures 95.5 cm. in height. The surface of the face is badly nicked in several places. The left shoulder is cracked and is missing a chip. The figure's right breast is chipped; a fissure descends obliquely beneath its left breast. The bottom of the bust is chipped in several places. Its polychromy is imperfectly preserved.

<sup>91</sup> *A. Lensi*, *Il Museo Bardini: stucchi e terrecotte*, in: *Dedalo*, IV, 1923/24, pp. 498f.; *B. Santi* in: *Florence, Museo Bardini. Il Museo Bardini a Firenze*, II. *Le sculture*, cat. by *E. Neri Lusanna* and *L. Faedo*, Milan 1986, p. 294 no. 323.

<sup>92</sup> Not having studied the Tomb of Leonardo da Prato from a scaffold, I cannot report on its material or polychromy.

The architectural framework of the Orsini Tomb is composed principally of grey limestone. Exceptions are the *verde antico* incrustation in the pedestals of the lesenes and the spandrels of the *Virtues'* niches, and the black-veined, white marble between the lesenes of the base and in the grounds of the lunette and tympanum. Marble fields, however, are not constituted of single large slabs, but of numerous small pieces. The frieze and triangular areas in the spandrels of the lunette are painted to simulate black marble. The backgrounds of the *Virtues'* niches and the central niche below the entablature are formed by the church's white-washed, stuccoed wall. The flat surfaces of moldings are gilded. When seen in the mid 18th century, the letters of the epitaph were gilded: *Degli Agostini*, in: *Raccolta d'opuscoli*, 1745 (n. 74), p. 121. The coats of arms in the attic are polychromed and gilded. Inscribed in the lion's book are the words: PAX ./ IVS ./ TIS ./ ET ./ PIIS ./ VITA.

<sup>93</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), p. 160; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), p. 349, doc. 267.

<sup>94</sup> *Sartori/Fillarini* (n. 1), pp. 139, 140; *Sartori/Luisetto* (n. 3), pp. 360f, docs. 418, 434.

<sup>95</sup> *Stepan* (n. 23), p. 51.

## RIASSUNTO

Antonio Minello ci è noto come autore di uno dei nove rilievi della vita e dei miracoli di S. Antonio nella Cappella del Santo a Padova. Dopo aver offerto un quadro complessivo di tutti i documenti riguardanti la vita e le opere del maestro, l'Autrice passa a considerare quattro opere mai attribuite a Minello prima d'ora. Fra queste troviamo le tombe di Nicolò Orsini, Dionigi Naldi da Brisighella e Fra Leonardo da Prato, nella Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo a Venezia. Le tre tombe commemorano i condottieri che morirono sul campo fra il 1510 e il 1511, al servizio di Venezia durante la Guerra della Lega di Cambrai. Vengono esaurientemente riportate le circostanze storiche che riguardano la commissione e la realizzazione congiunta delle tombe, tratte in parte da documenti pubblicati qui per la prima volta. L'attribuzione delle tombe ad Antonio Minello si fonda su analogie stilistiche con opere documentate dello scultore. Essenziale per la dimostrazione è la testimonianza di una quarta opera, il *Busto di Donna* nel Museo Bardini di Firenze, identificata qui come modello, o copia, del busto della figura eseguita da Minello per la facciata della Cappella del Santo: la statua di S. *Giustina*. La scelta di Minello quale scultore delle tombe dei condottieri, come d'altra parte le tombe stesse, testimoniano le notevoli ristrettezze finanziarie nelle quali si trovava la Signoria di Venezia, quando decise di onorare pubblicamente gli eroi della vittoria di Padova.

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*Alinari: Fig. 1. - Museo Civico, Padua: Fig. 2. - Böhm: Figs. 3, 4. - Museo Correr, Venice: Fig. 5. - Giacomelli: Figs. 6, 8, 9, 12. - Gamberoni, Bergamo: Fig. 7. - Laurati, Florence: Figs. 10, 11.*