

San Marco, Byzantium, *and the* Myths of Venice



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San Marco, Byzantium,
and the Myths of Venice



Edited by Henry Maguire and Robert S. Nelson

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ca. 1487, courtesy of the Museo Correr, Venice.

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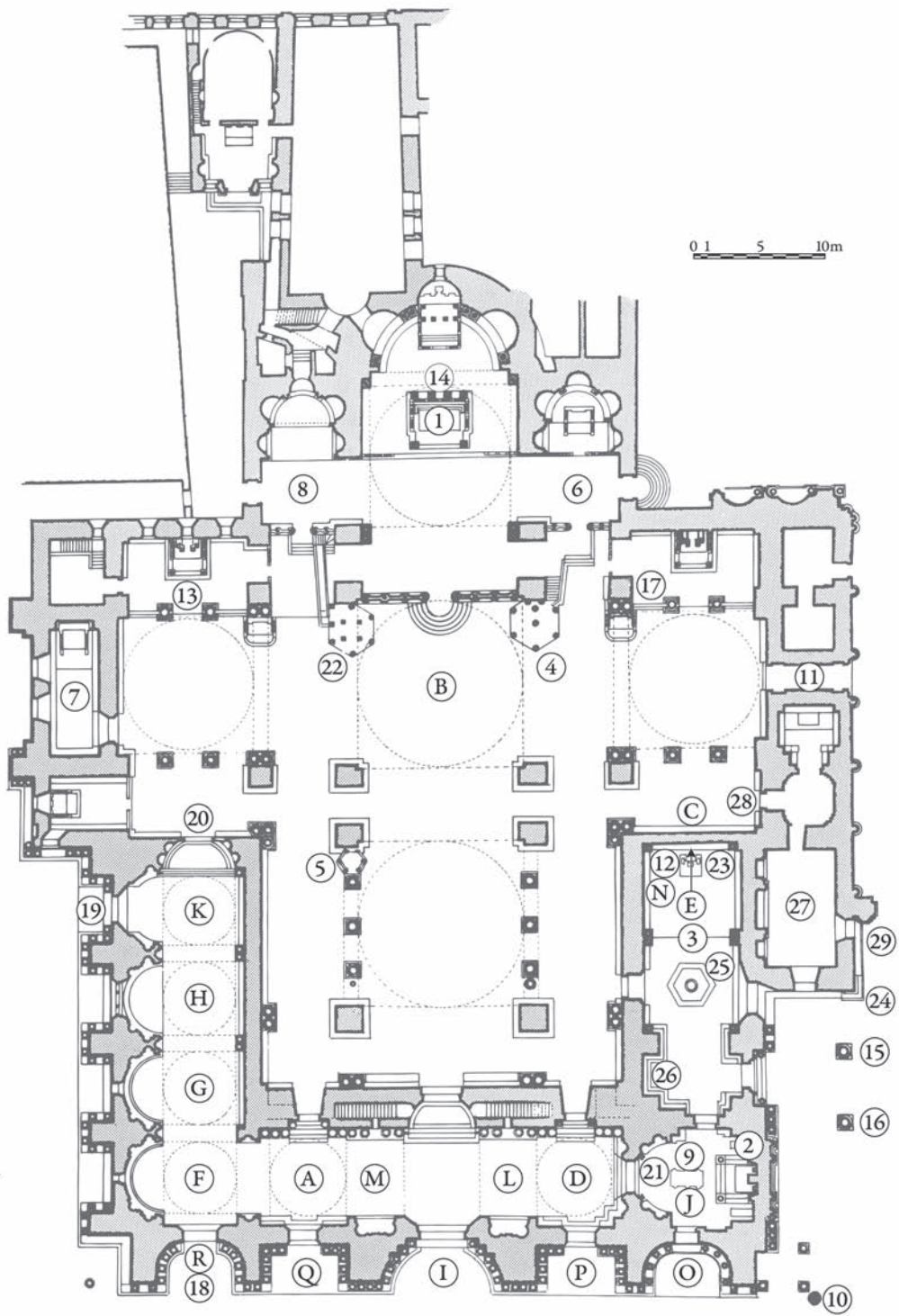
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Henry Maguire

Robert S. Nelson

Introduction



HENRY MAGUIRE *and* ROBERT S. NELSON

 IN ONE OF HIS LETTERS, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe compared the church of San Marco in Venice to a colossal crab.¹ The simile may not be entirely flattering, but it does evoke vividly the building's many excrescences and accretions, while bringing to mind its ambivalent situation confronting both the land and the sea. This book is largely concerned with these two characteristics evinced by Goethe's comparison. It assesses the significance of the various additions in sculpture, mosaic, and metalwork that the Venetians made to the church and its immediate surroundings, particularly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the core of the building had already been completed. It also examines the church and its decoration in relation to the overseas interests of Venice, on the one hand, and mainland Italy, on the other.

The papers in this volume were originally presented, in a different form, in the colloquium "From Enrico to Andrea Dandolo: Imitation, Appropriation, and Meaning at San Marco in Venice," jointly sponsored by Dumbarton Oaks and Johns Hopkins University, held in Baltimore in May 2007. The participants discussed the decoration of San Marco as an assemblage of mosaics, sculptures, and reliquaries, of which some were Venetian productions, but others were *spolia* or imitation *spolia*. The speakers addressed the diverse styles of these works, whether Late Roman, Early Christian, Byzantine, Islamic, or Gothic, and explored their sources, meanings, and significance, both individually and as an ensemble. These essays have been generated from those papers and the fruitful dialogues that took place subsequently between the speakers and the audience and among the speakers themselves.

¹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Letters from Goethe*, trans. M. von Herzfeld and C. Melvil Sym (Edinburgh, 1957), 173.

The sequence of this book is broadly topographical. The first three contributions, by Fabio Barry, Robert Nelson, and Henry Maguire, are primarily concerned with San Marco's south, sea-facing façade and its immediate surroundings. The paper by Michael Jacoff is devoted to the west façade facing the Piazza, while that of Thomas Dale provides a hinge between the church's west front and its interior. The authors of the final three papers are all mainly concerned with different aspects of the inside of the church: Holger Klein with the Pala d'Oro of the high altar and the reliquaries in the treasury, Liz James with the wall and vault mosaics, and Debra Pincus with the fourteenth-century decoration of the baptistery.

All work on the church of San Marco owes a great debt to Otto Demus. This eminent Viennese scholar made the study of the church the center of his long and distinguished career, from his dissertation on the mosaics of 1927 (published eight years later), to his 1960 study of architecture and sculpture that is often cited in the following pages, and to what in many ways is his culminating book, the four-volume study of the mosaics that appeared in 1984 and was reissued in an abridged format edited by Herbert L. Kessler in 1988.² Demus once wrote that such a major monument had been comparatively little studied, in part, because it was thought that Ferdinando Ongania's lavish publication in the later nineteenth century had exhausted the topic.³ Ongania's books brought to the world's attention a monument whose fame had increased quickly from mid-century, and their exquisite illustrations document aspects of the church before twentieth-century pollution had taken its toll. However, the miscellaneous and often undigested information found there has now been supplanted for all but historiographic inquiries by Demus's studies. We would be foolish dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants and boasting of how far we can see if we did not acknowledge that we build upon his scholarly edifice.

Nonetheless, the authors of our volume do add if not additional height at least different points of view. In part, this is due to larger developments in the humanities since the second and third quarters of the last century, the periods of genesis of Demus's work. Because of his careful documentation, we have been able to apply recent approaches that are suggested by words in our titles. In a wide-ranging article, Barry understands the several eastern monuments on the south side of the church as *spolia*, a term from antiquity and obviously known to Demus, but since his book of 1960, *spolia* studies have burgeoned.⁴ Nelson's

2 *Die Mosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig* (Baden bei Wien, 1935); *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington, DC, 1960); *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Chicago, 1984); *The Mosaic Decoration of San Marco, Venice* (Chicago, 1988).

3 Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, 1:ix; F. Ongania, *La basilica di San Marco in Venezia*, 21 vols. (Venice, 1880–93).

4 E.g., D. Kinney, "Spolia: *Damnatio* and *Renovatio Memoriae*," *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 42 (1997): 117–48; R. Müller, *Sic hostes Ianua frangit: Spolien und Trophäen im*

title plays on an article by the English anthropologist Alfred Gell and works from Gell's concern for the agency of socially important artifacts.⁵ For Maguire, the act of *display* is important to the analysis of a relief in the Cappella Zen. A concern for display itself has lately appeared in many subfields of art history.⁶ Jacoff employs social science concepts now widespread in the humanities for his investigation of the *construction of identity* at San Marco.⁷ Dale evokes a key concept of postcolonial studies, *cultural hybridity*, to discuss the program of the church after 1204.⁸ Klein's title evokes the several meanings of *fashioning* in his analysis of the great Pala d'Oro at the altar of San Marco and the reliquaries in the church treasury.⁹ James investigates the materiality of mosaics in ways that go beyond Demus's traditional, but important, archaeology, and Debra Pincus employs *past and present*, words associated with the English social history journal, in the title of her article about the baptistery mosaics, an important section of the church that Demus did not study.

In spite of the diverse and diverging perspectives taken, all papers focus on one central problem, namely, how are we to interpret the rich mantle of decoration with which the Venetians covered their state church during the Middle Ages? The question can be broken down into four major themes, each of which runs throughout the pages in this book. The first theme is the presence or absence of a determined program or programs that united all, or some, of the individual accretions to the church. Were the embellishments of San Marco, in the words of James, "part of a vast propaganda package, not unified in their conception and creation, but nevertheless all pointing in the same basic direction"? Or were the various additions to the church accidental, in the sense that they were not related to a grand design but were merely the result of individual acts of piety or opportunistic plunder? Many of the contributors to this book, including Maguire, Jacoff, Dale, Klein, and Pincus, argue strongly that the accretions did follow an agenda, or rather several agendas, that overlapped and sometimes conflicted with each other. As Barry points out in his paper, the striking fact that the west

mittelalterlichen Genua (Weimar, 2002); M. F. Hansen, *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome* (Rome, 2003).

5 A. Gell, "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology," in J. Coote and A. Shelton, eds., *Anthropology, Art, and Aesthetics* (New York, 1992), 40–63; A. Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (New York, 1998).

6 E.g., a special issue of the journal *Art History* 30, no. 4 (2007), which has been published separately as D. Cherry and F. Cullen, eds., *Spectacle and Display* (Malden, MA, 2007).

7 A useful accounting of identity, especially sexual or gender identity, is R. Meyer, "Identity," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. R. S. Nelson and R. Shiff, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 2003), 345–57.

8 Hybridity is perhaps most associated with the work of Homi Bhabha, especially his *The Location of Culture* (New York, 1994).

9 One of the most influential studies from this perspective is S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980). It has spawned studies of a wide range of phenomena, e.g., N. Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago, 2001).

façade of San Marco, together with its famous horses, was meticulously depicted in mosaic over the Porta di Sant'Alipio, on the very façade itself, demonstrates that the Venetians considered it to be a bearer of meaning and not merely an accidental backdrop to their daily lives.

A second theme that pervades this book is the mutability of the meanings attached to the building, its individual components, and the embellishment of its surroundings. As Barry shows in the case of the porphyry group of the four "Tetrarchs," and Nelson in the case of the twin piers known as the *Pilastri Acritani*, interpretations could change radically over the centuries. The mutability of meanings creates a special problem in the case of Venice. Even though the Venetians produced many chronicles during the Middle Ages, they left relatively little writing that was specifically concerned with works of art. In this respect, the Venetians differed from the Byzantines, who produced a rich corpus of literature about both the physical appearance and the ideology of their art. Most of the written interpretations of the works associated with San Marco date to the postmedieval period, so there is always a problem of how far these interpretations found in the later texts were also current at the time that the works of art were originally commissioned or set in place on the church. Another question concerns the overall meaning of San Marco and its decoration. If the various components acted in concert to convey an overall "propaganda package," to what extent was there an evolution in this encompassing meaning as the circumstances of the city changed? Both Klein and Pincus argue that in the fourteenth century Andrea Dandolo oversaw a program of new commissions and new presentations of earlier Byzantine works that was intended not only to evoke Venice's past conquest of Byzantium but also to create a new and distinct identity for the city that was beginning its expansion onto the Italian mainland.

The patronage of Andrea Dandolo brings us to a third theme, namely, the tension between Venice's emulation of Byzantium and its competition with Italian cities. Thus, Barry shows how the Piazza and the Piazzetta that fronted San Marco were inspired not only by the imperial *fora* of Constantinople but more specifically by its hippodrome, and how the twin columns at the edge of the Piazzetta evoked the triumphal columns of the Byzantine city. Klein argues that through the import of relics from the East and the fashioning of appropriate reliquaries for them Venice was able to replace Constantinople as the principal repository of sacred remains in the medieval world. Dale emphasizes the role of Byzantium as a mediator of artistic forms from the Near East, while both Pincus and James discuss the Venetian uses of the Byzantine style for the purposes of self-definition, especially in relation to Rome. On the other hand, Jacoff brings the façade of San Marco into the orbit of Italian commercial cities, while Pincus discusses the relationship of Andrea Dandolo's tomb to funerary sculpture in mainland Italy. James asks whether the Byzantine style of the mosaics in San Marco necessarily correlated with Byzantine workmen and materials, and if the mosaics should be

seen exclusively in relation to Byzantium or reinterpreted with reference to mosaics produced in Italy. In sum, Venice emerges as an artistic center that embraced eclecticism of style and iconographic reference. As Pincus shows, medieval Venetian art never fit into the picture mapped out by the Florentine critic Vasari of an orderly progression from the supposed linearity of Byzantine art to the plasticity of the Early Renaissance. Rather, in a manner at times reminiscent of Late Roman art, it preserved and imitated the past while adding overlays from the present.

The fourth, and most important, theme that runs through this book, and which has also inspired its title, is the construction of myths, both with art and about art. Here we are concerned not only with the central political myths that Venice, like most states, created about itself, but also with the host of other lesser stories concocted by the Venetians in the Middle Ages, by their contemporaries, and by later historians. Thus, we learn from Barry's paper that the mythical *spolia* from Byzantium on the south façade of the treasury have been shown not to have been spoliated at all but to have been manufactured in Venice. Maguire relates the myth of the icon of the Virgin Aniketos, which was said to have been carved from the very rock struck by Moses when he gave water to the Israelites in the desert. Jacoff's paper centers on the myth of the perfect concord and harmony of the doge, the patricians, and the tradesmen expressed on the west façade of San Marco. Dale discusses the mythical translation of Saint Mark's body from the Middle East and the equally mythical rediscovery of the relics in 1094, events that buttressed Venice's claims to political and commercial hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean. Klein introduces us to a host of relics, of mythical authenticity, wrested from Constantinople and other sites around the Mediterranean. The papers of Nelson and James introduce us to myths of a different kind, those of later commentators who have constructed stories about the monuments that the Venetians have left to us. Thus, James looks at the myth that artists imported from Byzantium were primarily responsible for the making of the mosaics in San Marco, while Nelson traces the genesis and flowering of the myth that identified the Pilastri Acritani as trophies of the Venetian defeat of the Genoese at Acre in the mid-thirteenth century. In reality, archaeological excavation has proved that the two piers came from the sixth-century church of Hagios Polyeyktos in Constantinople. But myth should not be dismissed as a subject of study just because it is at odds with fact. As modern politicians know, myths are often more powerful motivators than facts. This is the fascination of Venice, a city built, and still surviving, on the shifting tides and currents of its fables.


6

Refashioning Byzantium in Venice,

ca. 1200–1400



HOLGER A. KLEIN

 WHEN, IN THE EARLY DAYS of February 1438, Emperor John VIII Palaeologus and the delegation of advisers who accompanied him to the Council of Ferrara and Florence arrived in the Venetian lagoon, he was greeted with a splendid reception that—except for better weather—left nothing to be desired.¹ Accompanied by the *bucintoro*, the doge’s elaborate ceremonial barge, and escorted by twelve ships and numerous smaller boats and vessels, the emperor’s galley sailed into Venice, where it was greeted with great fanfare, chants, acclamations, and church bells resounding from all parts of the city. The doge’s ostentatious display of Venice’s might and splendor did not fail to have its desired impact on the illustrious guests. By the time the emperor and his entourage reached their quarters on the Grand Canal, the visitors were mesmerized by the city’s beauty, which one of them later described as “marvelous in the extreme, rich and varied and golden . . . and worthy of limitless praise.”²

The Byzantine delegates’ admiration for the lagoon city, however, was not limited to the newly finished façade of the Palazzo Ducale, the golden domes of San Marco, or the patrician palaces on the Grand Canal.³ It also extended to those

¹ For a colorful description of the arrival of the Byzantine emperor and his delegation in Venice, see *Les “Mémoires” du grand ecclésiarque de l’Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439)*, ed. V. Laurent (Paris, 1971), 216.20–218.5. For a further discussion of the event, see J. Décarreaux, “L’arrivée des Grecs en Italie pour le Concile de l’Union d’après les Mémoires de Syropoulos,” *Revue des études italiennes* 7 (1960): 27–58, esp. 38–44.

² *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini*, ed. J. Gill (Rome, 1953), 4.12–16. See also J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), 100; D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge, 1988), 377.

³ For the “Gothic” building phases of the Palazzo Ducale, see most recently A. Lermer, *Der gotische “Dogenpalast” in Venedig: Baugeschichte und Skulpturenprogramm des Palatium Communis Venetiarum*, *Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien* 121 (Berlin, 2005), esp. 44–66, with further literature.

objects that had been brought from Constantinople to Venice in the decades following the Latin conquest of 1204 and were now the proud possessions of the most prestigious religious foundations on the Rialto, foremost among them the church of San Marco. The *Memoirs* of Sylvester Syropoulos, a deacon and patriarchal official of Hagia Sophia who formed part of Emperor John VIII's retinue during that visit, gives us a vivid account of the attitudes and reactions that the sight of these treasures prompted among those Byzantine delegates who followed the Constantinopolitan patriarch Joseph II into the church of San Marco and were granted permission to see its sacred treasures (ἱερὰ κειμήλια).⁴

The objects there were very precious and very rich indeed, studded with priceless stones of exceptional size and clarity. There were also numerous sacred figures made of different materials, all of extreme quality and refinement. Some were carved in stone with great skill, others were made with great taste from the purest gold. We also looked at the divine icons from what is called the holy templon, radiant in their golden shine and overwhelming the onlookers with the number of their precious stones, the size and beauty of their pearls, and the sophistication and diversity of the arts employed. These objects were brought here according to the law of booty (νόμῳ τῆς λείας) right after the conquest of our city by the Latins, and were reunited in the form of a very large icon on top of the principal altar of the main choir. Its mighty doors opened only twice a year, on the Nativity of Christ and the holy feast of Easter. Among the people who contemplate this icon of icons, those who own it feel pride, pleasure, and delectation, while those from whom it was taken—if they happen to be present, as in our case—see it as an object of sadness, sorrow, and dejection. We were told that these icons came from the templon of the most holy Great Church. However, we knew for sure, through the inscriptions and the images of the Komnenoi, that they came from the Pantocrator Monastery.⁵

Syropoulos's account of the patriarch's visit to San Marco is an important document, because it relates the delegates' conviction—justified or not—that some, if not all, the icons reunited in the Pala d'Oro (fig. 6.1) once belonged to the Monastery of Christ Pantocrator in Constantinople. It also offers a rare description of a Byzantine viewer's reaction toward the dispersal of some of the most prized possessions of the Byzantine Empire and their recontextualization in a Western

4 Sylvester Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, 222.20–33. On Sylvester Syropoulos and his account, see J. Gill, "The Acta and Memoirs of Syropoulos as History," *OCP* 14 (1948): 305–55; J. L. van Dieten, "Sylvester Syropoulos und die Vorgeschichte von Ferrara–Florenz," *AnnHistCon* 9 (1977): 154–79. For a short biographical sketch, see *ODB* 3:2001.

5 Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, 222.19–224.4.

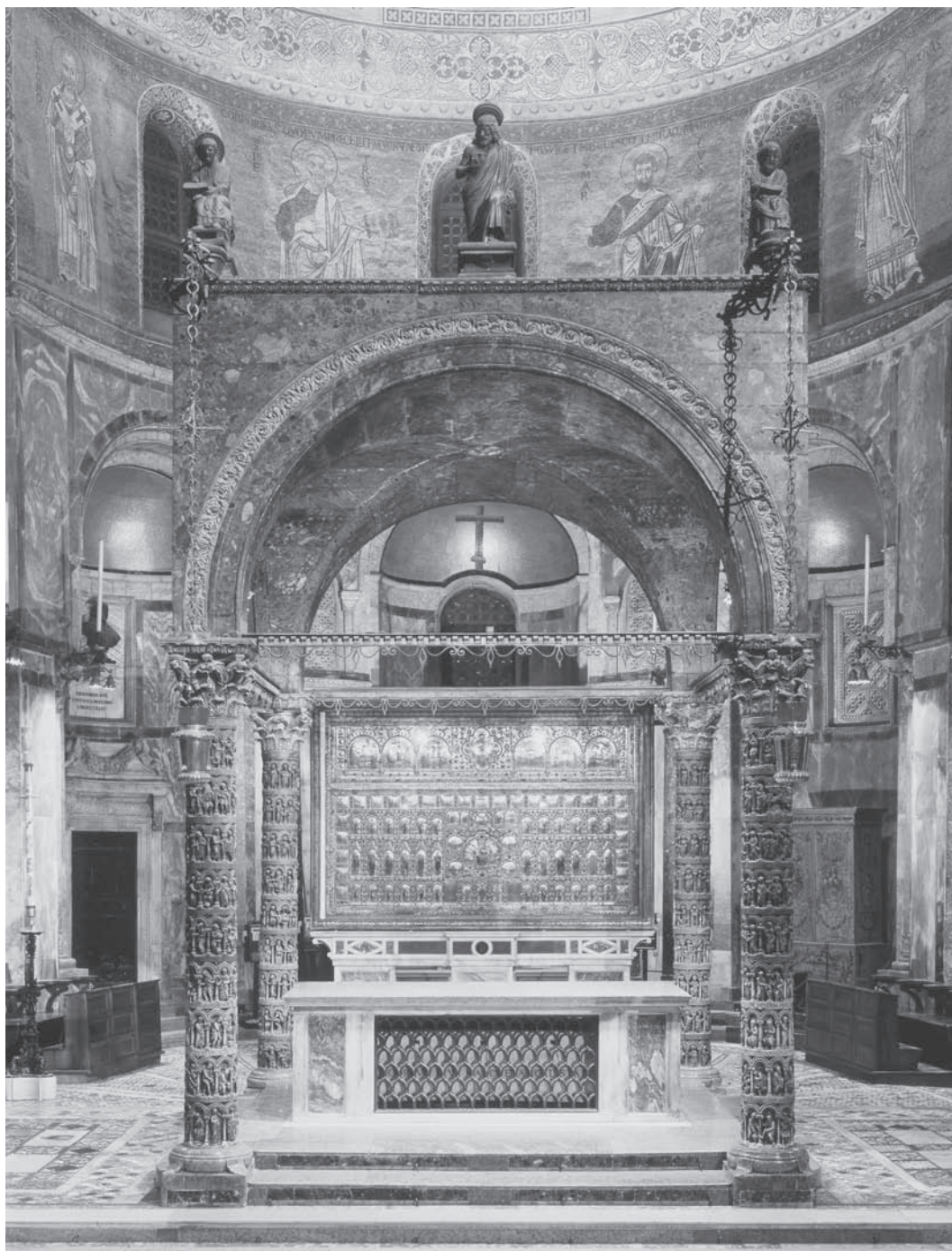


FIGURE 6.1 Venice, San Marco; sanctuary with Pala d'Oro
(source: Cameraphoto/Art Resource, NY)

or, more specifically, Venetian environment.⁶ Even though the provenance of a great number of Byzantine artifacts looted in 1204 and transferred to the Rialto during the Latin occupation can rarely be determined with any certainty, and the full extent of subsequent trade in such items is beyond the grasp of the historian, this article takes a closer look at the fate of some Byzantine *spolia* that reached the shores of Venice from the early thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, explores their political and religious function within the Venetian context, and highlights some aspects of their artistic and ritual adaptation.

The Pala d'Oro and Andrea Dandolo's Projects for San Marco

More than any other monument preserved in Venice, the Pala d'Oro epitomizes Venetian attitudes toward the reuse and display of Byzantine artifacts from the *dogado* of Enrico Dandolo (1192–1205) to that of his homonymous successor Andrea (1343–54).⁷ With the exception of San Marco itself, which was literally clad in Byzantine *spolia* after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, the “icon of icons,” as Syropoulos calls the golden *pala*, must be considered as one of the most ambitious attempts to bring together precious Byzantine artifacts of different periods and contexts, and present them within a single Venetian frame.⁸ As is commonly accepted by scholars and visibly documented by two fourteenth-century inscriptions, prominently placed on the lower part of the Pala d'Oro,

6 While the association of some of the *pala*'s enamels with the Monastery of Christ Pantocrator may be less certain than Syropoulos and his fellow delegates suggest—on this point, see O. Demus, “Zur Pala d'Oro,” *JÖBG* 16 (1967): 272–73—the Byzantine visitors' claim of their ability to identify the icons' true provenance based on their inscriptions and imagery may be taken less as a mistake on their part than an attempt at one-upmanship, at least on an intellectual level. On the provenance of the *dodekaorton* enamels, see also R. Polacco, “La Pala d'Oro di San Marco dalla sua edizione bizantina a quella gotica,” in *Storia dell'arte marciana: Sculture, tesoro, arazzi; Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia, 11–14 ottobre 1994* (Venice, 1997), 368–79; H. R. Hahnloser and R. Polacco, eds., *La Pala d'Oro* (Venice, 1994), 99 and 129–32; Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, 224, nn. 1 and 2; R. Gallo, *Il Tesoro di S. Marco e la sua Storia* (Venice, 1967), 160–61.

7 For a summary account of the early literature on the Pala d'Oro, see Gallo, *Tesoro*, 157–66.

8 For a summary assessment of the thirteenth-century façades of San Marco, see M. Jacoff, *The Horses of San Marco and the Quadriga of the Lord* (Princeton, 1993), 1–11, with further literature. See also O. Demus, “Der skulpturale Fassadenschmuck des 13. Jahrhunderts,” in *Die Skulpturen von San Marco in Venedig: Die figürlichen Skulpturen der Außenfassaden bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. W. Wolters (Munich, 1979), 1–15; O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*, DOS 6 (Washington DC, 1960), 109–90. For the impact of the façades on the architecture of the city, see more recently M. Schuller, “Le facciate dei Palazzi medioevali di Venezia: Ricerche su singoli esempi architettonici,” in *L'Architettura Gotica Veneziana*, ed. F. Valcanover and W. Wolters (Venice, 2000), 290–300. For preliminary results of the recent restoration of the north façade, see M. Schuller and K. Uetz, “Progetti e procedere dell'adattamento architettonico della Basilica di San Marco nel Duecento: Primi risultati della Bauforschung alla facciata nord,” in *Quarta Crociata: Venezi—Bisanzio—Impero Latino*, ed. G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani, and P. Schreiner (Venice, 2006), 825–55. See also the various contributions in I. Favaretto, ed., *Arte, storia, restauri della Basilica di San Marco a Venezia: La facciata nord*, Quaderni della Procuratoria 1 (Venice, 2006).

the work as we see it today can principally be understood as the product of two successive renovation campaigns, one executed in the early thirteenth and the other in the mid-fourteenth century.⁹ Both renovations aimed at an augmentation and reframing of the golden *pala* that is said to have been commissioned by Doge Ordelaſſo Falier (1102–18) in Constantinople in 1105 to adorn the high altar of the church.¹⁰ Falier's *pala* was, in fact, not the first commission of its kind; a sumptuous *pala* of silver and gold (*miro opere ex argento et auro*) is mentioned in the eleventh-century chronicle of John the Deacon as having been ordered in Constantinople by Doge Pietro Orseolo (976–978) in 976.¹¹ The fate of Orseolo's *pala* is unknown, but it is generally assumed that little or nothing of it has survived in the current arrangement.¹² Considerably less unanimity exists concerning which of the *pala*'s surviving enamels once constituted the *pala* of Ordelaſſo Falier and which were added during the renovation campaigns of 1209 and 1345.¹³ It was most likely during the renovation of 1209, overseen and perhaps even initiated by Angelo Falier, procurator of San Marco under Doge Pietro Ziani (1205–29), that the enameled figure of Ordelaſſo Falier received a replacement head in order to depict him with a halo, a mode of representation previously reserved exclusively for Byzantine rulers.¹⁴ The addition of a haloed

9 Depicted below, p. 252 fig. 8.3. The inscription on the left reads: ANNO MILLENO CENTENO IVNGITO QVI(N)TO / TV(N)C ORDELAſſVS FALEDRV(S) IN VRBE DUCABAT / H(EC) NOVA F(A)-C(T)A FVIT GEMIS DITIſſIMA PALA / Q(VE) RENOVATA FVIT TE PETRE DVCANTE ZIANI / ET PROCVRABAT TVNC ANGEL(VS) ACTA FALEDR(VS) / ANNO MILLENO BIS CENTENOQ(VE) NOVENO. The inscription on the right: POST QVADRAGENO QVINTO POST MILLE TRECENTOS / DA(N)DVL(VS) ANDREAS PR(E)CLAR(VS) HONORE DVCABAT / NOB(I)LIB(VS)Q(VE) VIRIS TVNC P(RO)CVRA(N)TIB(VS) ALMA(M) / ECCL(ESI)A(M) MARCI VENERA(N)DA(M) IVRE BEATI / D(E) LAVREDANIS MARCO FRESCOQ(VE) Q(V)IRINO / TVNC VETUS HEC PALA GEMIS P(RE)-CIOUSA NOVATUR. Transcription after W. F. Volbach, "Gli smalti della Pala d'Oro," in Hahnloser and Polacco, *Pala d'Oro*, 9–10, with references to earlier records.

10 Ordelaſſo's commission is attested in one of the fourteenth-century inscriptions cited above, a full-length enamel portrait plaque that identifies him as OR(DELAſſ) FALETRVS D(E)I GR(ACI)-A VENECIE DVX on the lower *pala*, and in Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 12.1 (Bologna, 1938), 225, 284. The *pala*'s early thirteenth-century renovation under Pietro Ziani is mentioned both in the fourteenth-century inscription and in Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 225.10–12: "tabulam altaris Sancti Marci, additis gemis et perlis, Ducis iussu, reparavit."

11 John the Deacon, *Chronicon Venetum*, in *Cronache Veneziane antichissime*, ed. G. Monticolo, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 9 (Rome, 1890), 57–171.

12 See Demus, "Pala d'Oro" (above, n. 6), 264, and Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 23–24: "some of the larger medallions set into the new arrangement of the fourteenth century may be remnants of the Orseolo Pala."

13 For a recent attempt to assess the various phases of renovation of the Pala, see R. Polacco, "Una nuova lettura della Pala d'Oro," in Hahnloser and Polacco, *Pala d'Oro* (above, n. 6), 114–47. For earlier views, see M. E. Frazer, "The Pala d'Oro and the Cult of St. Mark in Venice," *JÖB* 32, no. 5 (1982): 274: "the lower Pala is a single integrated program commissioned from Byzantium by Ordelaſſo Falier in 1105." A somewhat more balanced view is offered by Demus, "Pala d'Oro," 276, mainly in response to the arguments presented by H. R. Hahnloser, "Magistra Latinitas und Peritia Graeca," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965* (Berlin, 1965), 77–93.

14 On the changes made to this enamel, see most recently D. Buckton and J. Osborne, "The Enamel of Doge Ordelaſſo Falier on the Pala d'Oro in Venice," *Gesta* 39 (2000): 43–49, with

head to the figure of the doge, as well as the assumed removal of the figure of Emperor Alexios I (and possibly other members of the imperial family), whose former presence on the pala is suggested by the surviving plaque of his wife, Empress Irene, may well reflect Venice's new pride in its status as "Lord of one quarter and a half of one quarter of the Roman Empire," an immediate result of the fall of Constantinople.¹⁵ While the full extent of the early thirteenth-century renovation of Falier's *pala* and its use on the altar of Saint Mark—as an antependium, a retable, or a combination of both—remains elusive, it may be presumed that at least the upper *pala*'s six enamels with scenes from the Byzantine feast cycle (*dodekaorton*) and the magnificent plaque representing the archangel Michael were added to the earlier ensemble soon after their acquisition during the sack, namely, in 1209. It was probably also during that time, or shortly thereafter, that a precious marble ciborium was built in the sanctuary to frame the main altar and its newly enlarged *pala*.¹⁶

The subsequent renovation of the Pala d'Oro began with preliminary repair work during Andrea Dandolo's tenure as procurator of San Marco in 1342 and turned into a complete overhaul of the existing structure—including the commission of the so-called *pala feriale*, a painted cover for the golden *pala*, from the workshop of Paolo Veneziano—soon after Dandolo's election as doge on 3 January 1343.¹⁷ As recorded in the document authorizing new work on the *pala*, a goal of this renovation was to create a work "worthy of a saint as great as San Marco and a city as magnificent as Venice."¹⁸ Despite numerous smaller repairs and restorations in the decades and centuries that followed, it is essentially this

references to the most important earlier literature. For a similar argument, see Demus, "Pala d'Oro," 267.

15 Buckton and Osborne, "Enamel," 47. For the division of the empire and its implications, see A. Carile, "Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie," *StVen* 7 (1965): 125–305; R. Cessi, "L'eredità di Enrico Dandolo," *AVen* 67 (1960): 1–25.

16 Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 225.11, records that Ordelafo Falier had placed the newly commissioned *pala* "above the altar" (*super altare*) of Saint Mark, which seems to imply that the *pala* was already used as a retable during Dandolo's lifetime. However, his statement does not help to clarify when it was placed on the altar. See also Demus, "Pala d'Oro," 265, 272, 276. For the date of the installation of San Marco's ciborium and its enigmatic historiated columns, see A. Middeldorf Kosegarten, "Zur liturgischen Ausstattung von San Marco in Venedig im 13. Jahrhundert: Kanzeln und Altarziborien," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 29 (2002): 7–77, esp. 48–54; Polacco, "Nuova lettura," 141–47; T. Weigel, *Die Reliefsäulen des Hauptaltarciboriums von San Marco in Venedig* (Münster, 1997), 256. I would like to thank my colleague Franz Alto Bauer for an in-depth discussion of the various issues surrounding Ordelafo Falier's *pala* and for his comments on an earlier draft of this article.

17 An inscription found in 1834 under one of the enamels on the upper *pala* reveals that work must have been begun in 1342 by a certain Master Giovanni Bone[n]segna. The "pala feriale" likewise bears a date (1345) and inscriptions attesting the work of Paolo Veneziano, his sons Luca and Giovanni, as well as one Master Perin, who was apparently responsible for the execution of the *pala*'s wooden support. Hahnloser and Polacco, *Pala d'Oro* (above, n. 6), 85–88, 151–59 (for the upper and lower *pala*); 163–67 (for the "pala feriale" of Paolo Veneziano).

18 The document is preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Venice, Maggior Consiglio, reg. Spiritus, c. 129 t. See Gallo, *Tesoro* (above, n. 6), 177; Hahnloser and Polacco, *Pala d'Oro*, 87 with n. 18.

work, executed between 1342 and 1345, that survives today on the main altar of San Marco.¹⁹ While work on the upper and lower *pala* was executed by independent masters, it followed a coherent overall plan, in which the various enamels were displayed in a central field framed by raised borders executed in gilded silver over a wooden core and richly decorated with repoussé busts and scrollwork.²⁰ The placement of enamels was systematized and each plaque surrounded by an elaborate metalwork frame composed of contemporary Gothic architectural and floral motifs. On the lower *pala*, each figure in the rows of angels, apostles, and prophets was placed under an elegant aedicule composed of enameled buttresses and openwork arches of various shapes and sizes. Spaces between each aedicule, as well as the arches and squinches, were studded with pearls and precious and semiprecious stones, set on mounts that resemble building blocks, blossoms, and flowers.²¹ A similar approach was taken on the upper *pala*, where the six large feast cycle enamels were organized in two groups of three, flanking the quatrefoil enamel with the archangel Michael and enclosed in micro-architectural settings. With its innumerable gems, pearls, and a plethora of luminous enamel plaques and medallions, Andrea Dandolo's new *pala* was indeed, as Sylvester Syropoulos so aptly described, meant to radiate in its "golden shine" and overwhelm the onlooker with "the sophistication and diversity of the arts employed."²²

Andrea Dandolo's initiative to reframe and reinstall the Pala d'Oro on the main altar of San Marco was not an isolated undertaking but part of a much broader program of artistic patronage that seems to have begun shortly after his appointment as procurator of San Marco in October 1328.²³ By 1336, a silver-gilt antependium of about 1300 (fig. 6.2), previously used to decorate the main altar of San Marco on high feast days, was permanently installed on the altar, as a note inserted into the 1325 inventory of the treasures of San Marco reveals.²⁴ While conclusive evidence is lacking, it was probably also under Dandolo's watch as procurator that two serpentine columns with the crowning marble statues of the archangel Gabriel and the annunciate Virgin were installed behind San Marco's

19 For the later repairs and restorations, see Hahnloser and Polacco, *Pala d'Oro*, 83–84; Gallo, *Tesoro*, 179–91.

20 Hahnloser and Polacco, *Pala d'Oro*, 107–11.

21 Ibid., 102–6 and 151–59. This chapter was also published independently as E. Taburet-Delahaye, "Gli arricchimenti apportati alla Pala d'Oro nel 1342–1345 e leoreficerie di confronto," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia, 11–14 ottobre 1994* (Venice, 1997), 352–67.

22 Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, 222.24–25.

23 For the date of Dandolo's election, see Ester Pastorello's introduction to Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, iv.

24 Gallo, *Tesoro*, 277, II. "Haec sunt illa quae habemus in secunda camera sive volta Ecclesiae sancti Marci. In primis describimus ea quae pertinent ad Altare in magnis festivitatibus, videlicet: 1.–Palam unam argenti, quae ponitur loco panni ante altare, cum figuris. 1336. Nunc autem est ante dictum altare et stat ibi continue." For the *antependium* or *paliotto* (inv. no. Tesoro 38), see Hahnloser, *Tesoro*, no. 152, 152–56; *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, ed. D. Buckton, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1984), no. 40, 278–81, with further references.



FIGURE 6.2 Venice, San Marco; antependium (source: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, NY)

main altar, where they served to support a system to raise and lower the upper portion of the Pala d'Oro on feast- and weekdays.²⁵

Perhaps less well known than these projects for San Marco is Dandolo's commission of three liturgical books for the celebration of Mass on high feast days. Transferred to the Marciana library in 1801, this set of service books consists of a Gospel lectionary (Venice, BNM, Lat. I, 100 [= 2089]), sacramentary (Venice, BNM, Lat. III, 111 [= 2116]), and epistolary (Venice, BNM, Lat. I, 101 [= 2260]).²⁶ As Rancee Katzenstein has convincingly argued, the three manuscripts were designed together to serve the liturgical needs of the basilica of San Marco and executed in one of Venice's most distinguished manuscript workshops during the 1330s or 1340s.²⁷

All three books were richly illuminated in a style that combines Byzantine and Italian Gothic—particularly Bolognese and Paduan—elements and iconographic motifs, a common feature of trecento Venetian art that can also be found in other illuminated manuscripts, mosaics, frescoes, and panel paintings of this period (fig. 6.3).²⁸ Perhaps even more interesting than the mere fact that

25 For the statues of the Annunciation group, see W. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300–1460)*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1976), 1:160, no. 27.

26 For Andrea Dandolo's manuscript commissions for the high altar of San Marco, see R. Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in Mid-Trecento Venice" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1987). See also D. Pincus, "Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354) and Visible History: The San Marco Projects," in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250–1500*, ed. C. Rosenberg (South Bend, 1990), 191–206, here 198, and S. Marcon, ed., *I Libri di San Marco: I manoscritti liturgici della basilica marciana* (Venice, 1995), no. 33, 128–29; no. 35, 130–31; no. 37, 133–34.

27 For the circumstances of the manuscripts' transfer to the Marciana library, see Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts," 61–63. For the presumed date of the manuscripts, see *ibid.*, 68–78.

28 On the hybrid character of Venetian trecento art in general, see most recently Hans Belting and Francesca Flores d'Arcais's contributions to *Il Trecento adriatico: Paolo Veneziano e la pittura tra Oriente e Occidente*, ed. F. Flores d'Arcais and G. Gentili, exhibition catalogue (Milan, 2002), 18–31, 70–79, and H. Belting, "Dandolo's Dreams: Venetian State Art and Byzantium,"

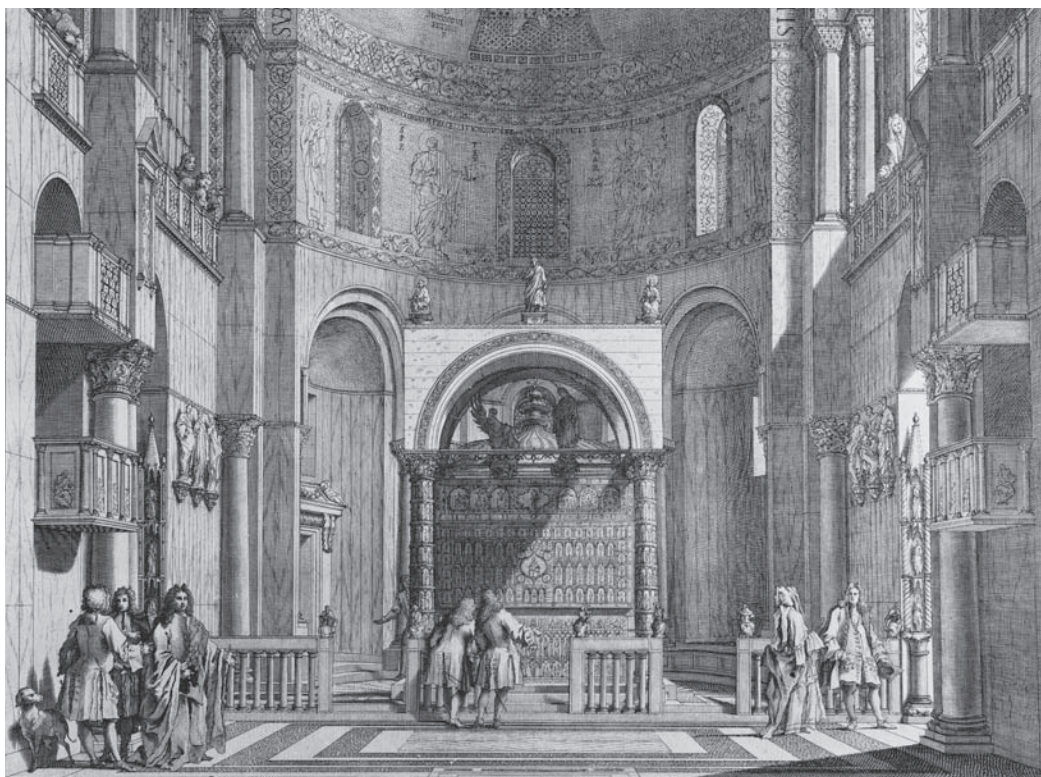


FIGURE 6.3 Sanctuary with Pala d'Oro; detail of image from A. Visentini, *Interno della Regia Cappella Nella Basilica di San Marco* (courtesy of the Musei Civici di Venezia, Museo Correr, St. Molin no. 372)

Dandolo commissioned these works—a direct response to changes in the cult of Saint Mark and the liturgy celebrated at his church—is his decision to enclose them in preexisting luxury bindings, which predetermined their formats and sizes.²⁹ Like the manuscripts they once contained, they are now preserved in the

in *Byzantium, Faith, and Power (1261–1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S. Brooks, exhibition catalogue (New York, 2006), 140–47. See also Katzenstein, “Three Liturgical Manuscripts,” 1–43. The three Marciana manuscripts have been linked to a Venetian workshop active from about 1320 to 1360 with links to both the Procuratoria of San Marco and the ducal chancery. Katzenstein identifies three artists at work on the sacramentary, one on the lectionary, and another one on the epistolary, whose styles betray Bolognese and Paduan training. See *ibid.*, 44–83 and 227–32.

29 On the covers, see most recently T. Papamastorakis, “Βυζαντινὰ Παρενδύσεις Ένετίας: Οι πολιτελείς σταχώσεις τῆς Μαρκιανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης,” *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.* 27 (2006): 391–410; Marcon, *Libri*, no. 34, 129–30; no. 36, 132–33; no. 38, 134–35. See also A. Grabar, “Legature Byzantine del Medioevo,” in *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, ed. H. R. Hahnloser, vol. 2, *Il Tesoro e il Museo* (Florence, 1971), 44–46, and nos. 35–37, 47–50; K. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels from the Fifth to the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1967), no. 13, 58–62 (epistolary cover); no. 27, 85–89 (Gospel lectionary cover); no. 58, 182 (sacramentary cover); *Treasury of San Marco*, no. 9, 124–28 (epistolary cover); no. 14, 152–55 (lectionary cover).

FIGURE 6.4
 Venice, Bibliotheca Nazionale
 Marciana; epistolary cover
 (front), Lat. I, 101 (= 2260)
 (source: Mario Carrieri
 © Olivetti—Procuratoria
 di San Marco)



Biblioteca Marciana.³⁰ Based on stylistic comparisons with other works of Byzantine enamel in the treasury of San Marco and elsewhere, scholars have generally maintained that the book covers for the epistolary (fig. 6.4) and Gospel lectionary (fig. 6.5) were made in Constantinople in the ninth and tenth century, respectively, while the one for the sacramentary (fig. 6.6) may have been made in Venice during the thirteenth century in imitation of a Byzantine luxury binding, such as the one containing the San Marco lectionary.³¹ For the epistolary cover, a Byzantine origin and late ninth-century date seem highly likely, as its

30 A catalogue entry in *Biblia, patres, liturgia*, ed. T. Gasparini Leporace, exhibition catalogue (Venice, 1961), 35, reveals that the manuscripts were separated from their covers shortly before 1961. See Katzenstein, “Three Liturgical Manuscripts,” 47, n. 4.

31 Basing his opinion on the poor overall quality of the cover’s execution and certain anomalies in the inscriptions of the saintly figures, Grabar, “Legature,” no. 37, 49, was the first to argue for an Italian origin and thirteenth-century date for the sacramentary cover. Grabar’s ideas have since been accepted by Papamastorakis, “Βυζαντινὰι,” 410, and Marcon, *Libri* (above, n. 26), 132.

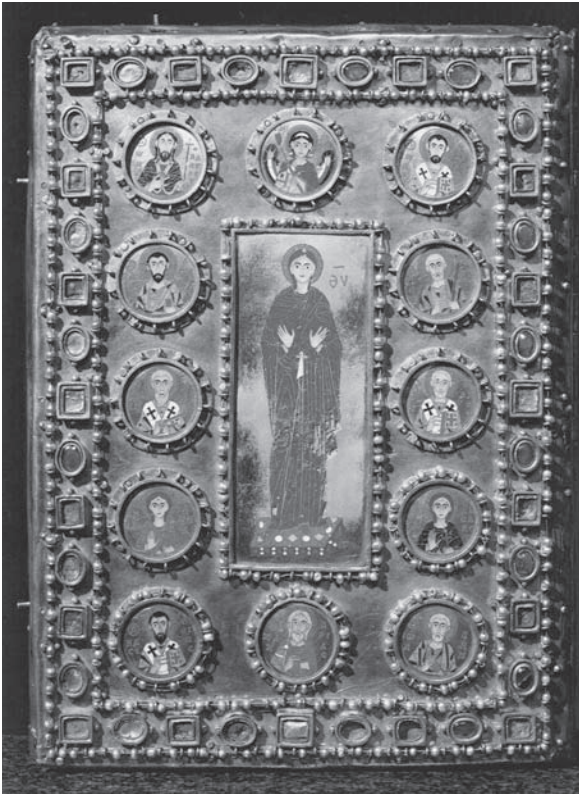


FIGURE 6.5
Venice, Bibliotheca Nazionale
Marciana; Gospel lectionary
cover (back), Lat. I, 100 (= 2089)
(source: Mario Carrieri
© Olivetti—Procuratoria
di San Marco)



FIGURE 6.6
Venice, Bibliotheca Nazionale
Marciana; sacramentary cover (back),
Lat. III, 111 (= 2116) (courtesy of
Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich)

enamels compare closely in both style and technique to the ones decorating the votive crown of Emperor Leo the Wise (886–912) in the treasury of San Marco (fig. 6.7).³² As far as the lectionary's precious binding is concerned, André Grabar and others have likewise maintained a Constantinopolitan origin and assigned dates ranging from the mid-tenth through the early eleventh century based on the enamels' style and color scheme, which resemble the enamels on the Limburg *staurotheke* (fig. 6.8) and a number of chalices in the treasury.³³ Like many other objects preserved there, the enamel decoration on the epistolary and lectionary covers is no longer complete. In both instances the surviving enamels have been rearranged and thus no longer represent their original "Byzantine" program.³⁴ Losses and restorations have also affected the strings of pearls that frame the covers' decorative borders and medallions. A late medieval restoration campaign is more clearly identifiable on the sacramentary cover, which features four enamels of mid-fourteenth-century date depicting the four Evangelists in the corners of the cover's back.³⁵

Dandolo's project to restore and reframe San Marco's golden *pala altaris* and his commission to provide a new set of service books for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy betray his keen interest in the reuse of Byzantine artifacts.³⁶ In the case of the Pala d'Oro, a large number of Byzantine enamels from various sources was added to the existing programs of the twelfth-century *pala* and its presumed thirteenth-century extension, and all were subjected to a new Venetian frame. In the case of the manuscripts, on the other hand, the three newly commissioned Venetian works were enclosed in older Byzantine or pseudo-Byzantine frames or covers. Dandolo's two most prestigious projects for the altar of San Marco thus seem to complement each other meaningfully: the *pala* spells out in no uncertain terms the city's claim to "one quarter and a half of one quarter of the Roman Empire," while the manuscripts utilize and exploit the

32 Grabar, "Legature," no. 35, 47–48; *Treasury of San Marco* (above, n. 2.4), no. 8, 120–22; Wessel, *Enamels*, no. 12, 57–58.

33 Grabar, "Legature," no. 36, 48–49; *Treasury of San Marco*, no. 14, 152–55; *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, ed. W. D. Wixom and H. C. Evans, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1997), no. 41, 88. Whether certain technical and epigraphic aspects of the Lectionary cover, such as the unusual cabochon settings or the inscription identifying Saint John the Baptist as "ΙΩΑΝΝ(Η)C Ο ΒΑΠΤΙCΤ(Η)C" rather than the more common "ΙΩΑΝΝΗC Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC" have any implications for the place or the circumstances of its manufacture, remains to be investigated more fully. The unusual inscription for Saint John the Baptist was first noted by Wessel, *Enamels*, 86.

34 Attempts to reconstruct the presumed original order have been made by Grabar, "Legature," 49, and Wessel, *Enamels*, 86.

35 For the Venetian enamels, see G. Mariani Canova, "Presenza dello smalto traslucido nel Veneto durante la prima metà del Trecento," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, ser. 3, 14 (1984): 733–55. See also Grabar, "Legature," no. 37, 50.

36 Even if the sacramentary cover was manufactured in Venice during the thirteenth century, the style and iconography of its enamel decoration make it an inherently Byzantine object that must have appealed to Dandolo for this very quality.



FIGURE 6.7
Venice, San Marco,
treasury; votive crown
of Emperor Leo the
Wise (source: Mario
Carrieri © Olivetti—
Procuratoria
di San Marco)

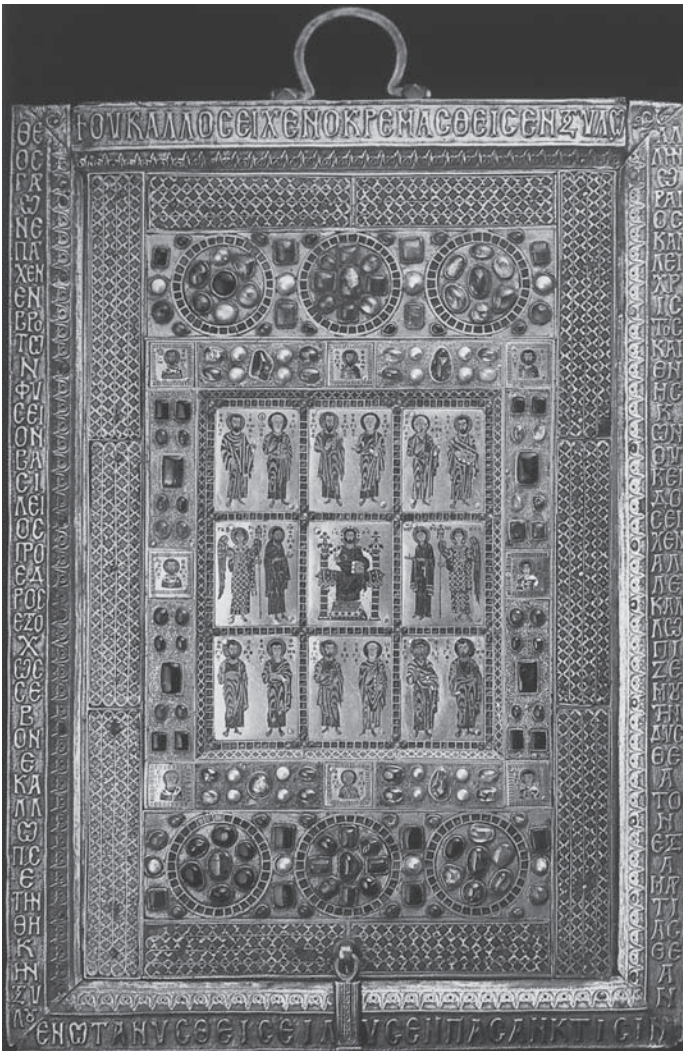


FIGURE 6.8
Limburg an der Lahn,
cathedral treasury; Limburg
staurotheke (closed)
(courtesy of Dom- und
Diözesanmuseum, Limburg)

visible authority and age of the Byzantine bindings to elevate the status of the sacred texts. One could argue that Dandolo intended to incorporate not only the Byzantine past into a Venetian present, as suggested by Titos Papamastorakis, but also the Venetian present into a Byzantine past—a past that could function as a visual confirmation of the time-honored tradition and apostolic roots of the cult of Saint Mark in Venice.³⁷

Dandolo's other projects for the church may be considered to have followed a similar agenda. His most notable commission beyond those for the main altar was his campaign to redecorate the baptistery of San Marco with an extensive cycle of mosaics (pl. XII).³⁸ As in the case of the Pala d'Oro, his involvement in the embellishment probably started during his term as procurator of San Marco, specifically in 1329, when the tomb of Doge Giovanni Soranzo (1312–28) was placed in the baptistery, the first ducal burial inside the church since that of Marino Morosini (1249–53).³⁹ As Debra Pincus has convincingly argued, Dandolo must have played a crucial role in choosing the location for Soranzo's tomb on the north wall of the baptistery's vestibule, as he was appointed *procurator de supra* of San Marco only two months before Soranzo's death in December 1328.⁴⁰ The assumption, however, that the tomb monument was placed in this location to create a sightline for those entering the baptistery through the door from the Piazzetta and "give the visitor a pointed, meaningful message at the moment of entry into the sacred space"⁴¹ should be viewed with caution in light of Jacopo de' Barbari's bird's-eye view of Venice (pl. I), which seems to suggest

37 See Papamastorakis, "Βυζαντινὰ" (above, n. 29), 401–4, 410.

38 *Raphayni de Caresinis cancellarii venetiarum chronica AA. 1343–1388*, ed. E. Pastorello, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 12, no. 2 (Bologna, 1923), 8.23–24. On the baptistery and its fourteenth-century decoration, see the in-depth study by Debra Pincus in this volume. See also Belting, "Dandolo's Dreams" (above, n. 28), 138–53; D. Pincus, "Geografia e politica nel Battistero di San Marco: La cupola degli apostoli," in *San Marco: Aspetti storici e agiografici*, ed. A. Niero (Venice, 1996), 459–73; G. Horn, *Das Baptisterium der Markuskirche in Venedig: Baugeschichte und Ausstattung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991).

39 See D. Pincus, "Hard Times and Ducal Radiance: Andrea Dandolo and the Construction of the Ruler in Fourteenth-Century Venice," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. J. Martin and D. Romano (Baltimore, 2000), 89–136, esp. 98–104; eadem, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (New York, 1999), 88–104; W. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300–1460)*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1976), 1:156, no. 17.

40 Pincus, *Tombs of the Doges*, 88–104, esp. 90–92, with nn. 12 and 13. Since Soranzo's will, drawn up on 8 August 1321, does not make any provisions for a tomb or other burial arrangements, Pincus argues that the procurators' active involvement in the choice of the tomb's location was highly likely. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that the placement of Soranzo's tomb in the baptistery—like that of Andrea Dandolo a quarter of a century later—was prompted by his having "performed some special service for the Baptistry," as suggested by Demus, and "that this special merit to which he owed his sepulchre in the Baptistry consisted in the architectural adaptation of the baptismal chapel." Demus, *Church of San Marco* (above, n. 8), 79. For the office of the *procurator de supra* and its responsibilities, see R. Mueller, "The Procurators of San Marco in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Study of the Office as a Financial and Trust Institution," *StVen* 23 (1971): 105–20, esp. 108–14.

41 Pincus, *Tombs of the Doges*, 92.

that this entrance did not exist before the print was created, in about 1500.⁴² Whether Dandolo's project for the mosaic decoration of the baptistery likewise began during his tenure as procurator is difficult to determine.⁴³ His ducal portrait in the large Crucifixion mosaic on the altar wall (pl. VIII; fig. 8.18) leaves no doubt, however, that the chapel's decoration was completed only after his election as doge in 1342.⁴⁴

No less ambitious than Dandolo's baptistery project was his campaign to build the Cappella di Sant'Isidoro, a small space on the northern flank of the north transept, and to decorate it with an extensive cycle of mosaics.⁴⁵ While the chapel's decoration was completed only in 1355, after Dandolo's death, the doge's initiative was sparked by his rediscovery of the relics of Saint Isidore, which—together with other important relics—had been brought to Venice by Doge Domenico Michiel from the island of Chios in 1125.⁴⁶ As in the image program of the Pala d'Oro, which prominently features Ordelafo Falier as the doge who commissioned the original *pala* in Constantinople, the doge responsible for

42 I would like to thank Ettore Vio, who pointed out this detail in conversations during a recent visit to San Marco in the summer of 2007. If one accepts the evidence of de' Barbari's woodcut, the new baptistery entrance may have been created when the southwest entrance into San Marco—and with it the entrance into the baptistery—was closed off from the Piazzetta to accommodate the tomb monument of Cardinal Battista Zeno between 1503/4 and 1515. Ettore Vio has meanwhile published his observations: "Nuovi approfondimenti sulle facciate ovest e sud dal modello ligneo della basilica di San Marco," in *Florilegium Artium: Scritti in memoria di Renato Polacco*, ed. G. Trovabene, et al., *Miscellanea collana della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Venezia* 8 (Padua, 2006), 195–202. On the Cappella Zen, see B. Jestaz, *La chapelle Zen à Saint-Marc de Venise: D'Antonio à Tullio Lombardo*, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie* 15 (Stuttgart, 1986).

43 Demus, *Church of San Marco*, 79, following F. Zanotto, *Novissima guida di Venezia* (Venice, 1856), 82, who suggested that the project may have started before Dandolo became doge.

44 For an assessment of the mosaics' style and date, see R. Pallucchini, *La Pittura veneziana del Trecento* (Venice, 1964), 75–78; Horn, *Baptisterium* (above, n. 38), 181; Pincus, *Tombs of the Doges*, 134 with n. 26; Belting, "Dandolo's Dreams" (above, n. 28), 142.

45 On the Cappella di Sant'Isidoro, see most recently the various studies included in the Quaderni della Procuratoria, vol. 3: *Arte, Storia, Restauri della Basilica di San Marco a Venezia: La Cappella di Sant'Isidoro* (Venezia, 2008). See also R. Dellermann, "'Iussu ducis,' auf Befehl des Dogen: Die Cappella di S. Isidoro in S. Marco; Kunst und Heiligenrepräsentation unter dem Dogen Andrea Dandolo (1343–54) im Kontext" (PhD diss., Technische Universität Berlin, 2006); E. De Franceschi, "I mosaici della cappella di Sant'Isidoro nella basilica di San Marco a Venezia," in *ArtV* 60 (2003): 6–29; P. Saccardo, *La cappella di S. Isidoro nella basilica di San Marco* (Venice, 1887; repr. 1987). For the relics of Saint Isidore, see Gallo, *Tesoro* (above, n. 6), 121–23.

46 For Dandolo's rediscovery of the relics in San Marco, see Raphaynus de Caresinis, *Chronica*, 8.6–7. See also F. Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis . . . illustratae ac in decades distributae*, 16 vols. (Venice, 1749), 10.2:107–8 and F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 10 vols. (Venice, 1717–22), 5:1239. For the story of the translation of the saint's relics, see Cerbano Cerbani, *Translatio mirifici Martyris Isidori a Chio insula in civitatem Venetam (Jun. 1125)*, *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Hist. occ.*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1844–95), 5:321–34. For the local tradition of the saint's *passio*, see P. Calò, *Legendae de Sanctis* (= Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Lat. IX 18 [= 2945]), fols. 222v–224r; P. De Natalibus, *Catalogus Sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diversis et multis voluminibus collectus* (Venice, 1516), lib. V, cap. 2. For the historical circumstances that led to the saint's translation, see H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, 3 vols. (Gotha, 1905–20; Stuttgart, 1934), 1:229; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (above, n. 2), 79.



FIGURE 6.9 Venice, San Marco, Cappella di Sant'Isidoro; view toward the east (source: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

the translation of the relics of Saint Isidore holds a prominent position in the image program of the chapel. As in the inscriptions of the Pala d'Oro, which give prominence to those who restored and further embellished Falier's *pala*, those who founded and lavishly decorated the chapel of Saint Isidore are proudly named in a dedicatory inscription of its eastern wall (fig. 6.9).⁴⁷

As Debra Pincus has shown, these and other commissions ultimately aimed at a (re)presentation of Venice's glorious past in a cumulative display of its political and sacred history.⁴⁸ The two inscription panels included in the lowest register of Dandolo's refashioned Pala d'Oro spell out literally what Falier's commission of 1105 and the Byzantine *spolia* added in 1209 and 1342 spell out visually, namely, that the greatness of the Venetian polity was—and continues to be—the result not only of divine providence but also of the commitment and successive contributions of its political and civic leadership to exalt the church and the state of San Marco.⁴⁹

Enrico Dandolo and the Spoils of Byzantium

The practice of refashioning Byzantine artifacts and placing them within a new material or institutional context or frame was, of course, not an invention of the fourteenth century, but had a long and venerable history on the Rialto. It was in the decades following the sack of Constantinople, however, that the influx into Venice of Byzantine objects and architectural *spolia*—not only from Constantinople, but from the entire eastern Mediterranean⁵⁰—greatly intensified and resulted in their successive appropriation for new uses in both the public and private sphere.

In its most basic form this process of appropriation involved the integration of Byzantine architectural sculpture and statuary into the framework of existing

47 The inscription states: CORP(VS) B(EA)TI YSIDORI P(RESE)NTI AR(C)HA CLAUDIT(VR) VENEC(IA)S DELAT(VM) A CHIO P(ER) D(OMI)NVM D(OMI)NICV(M) MICHAEL INCLITV(M) VENEC(IARVM) DVCE(M) I(N) MCXXV Q(VO)D OC(C)VLT E I(N) ECC(LESI)A S(ANCTI) MARCI P(ER)MA(N)SIT VSQ(VE) AD I(N)CEPCIONEM EDIFICACIO(N)IS HVI(VS) CAPELE SUO NO(M)-I(N)E EDHIFICAT(E) I(N)CEPT(E) DVCA(N)TE D(OMI)NO ANDREA DA(N)DVLO I(N)CLITO VENEC(IARVM) DVCE ET T(EM)P(O)R(E) NOBILIV(M) VIROR(VM) D(OMI)NOR(VM) MARCI LAVREDANO ET IOH(AN)NI(S) DOLPHIN(O) P(RO)CVR(ATOR) (E)CC(LESI)E S(ANCTI) MARCI ET (COM)PLECTE DVCA(N)T(E) D(OMI)NO IOHA(N)E G(RA)DO(N)ICHO I(N)CLIT(O) VEN(E)-C(IARUM) DVCE ET T(EM)P(O)R(E) NOBILIV(M) VIRO(RVM) D(OMI)NOR(VM) MARCI LAVREDANO ET NICOLAI LIO(N) ET IOH(AN)I(S) DOLPHIN(O) P(RO)CVR(ATORVM) ECC(LESI)E S(ANCTI) MARCI I(N) MCCCLX IVLII DIE X. The inscription is recorded by Marino Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, ed. G. Monticolo, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 22, 4 (Città di Castello, 1900), 626; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 5:1239.

48 D. Pincus, "Andrea Dandolo" (above, n. 26), 191–206; Hahnloser and Polacco, *Pala d'Oro* (above, n. 6), 86–88.

49 On the reciprocal relationship between text and image, see *ibid.*, esp. 194–98.

50 As emphasized by Demus, *Church of San Marco* (above, n. 8), 26–27, it is important to remember that Constantinople was not the only source for "Byzantine" architectural *spolia* and other building materials during the thirteenth century.

Venetian buildings.⁵¹ The insertion of the porphyry Tetrarchs into the corner of the treasury of San Marco after 1231 and the placement of the famous “Carmagnola” and the horses of San Marco on the balcony of its west façade are only the most prominent examples of such a practice.⁵² Inserted into the fabric of Venetian churches and palaces, these *spolia* soon developed a life of their own, inspiring colorful legends of popes, sultans, and emperors, as well as moralizing tales of greed, conspiracy, and murder.⁵³ Other Byzantine objects were incorporated not into the material fabric of Venetian buildings but into the ritual and ceremonial practices of Venetian churches and monasteries. At San Marco, for instance, precious Byzantine chalices, patens, and other liturgical vessels were appropriated to serve the same liturgical functions for which they were originally created. Indeed, many such objects have survived virtually unchanged in the treasury.⁵⁴ In the case of Byzantine liturgical books, the transition from one cultural and liturgical environment into the other posed greater challenges, because Greek texts were of limited use in an environment that celebrated the Divine Liturgy in Latin. Byzantine book covers, on the other hand, could be reemployed to endow newly made Latin service books with an aura of venerable age and apostolic legitimacy, as the manuscript commissions of Andrea Dandolo have already shown.

In some cases, the process of appropriating precious Byzantine artifacts involved more extensive modifications and interventions than did others. At San

51 On the concept of “appropriation” in general and the horses of San Marco in particular, see R. Nelson, “Appropriation,” in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. R. Nelson and R. Shiff, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 2003), 160–73.

52 Others included a plethora of columns, capitals, and figural reliefs. For architectural *spolia* used in the façades of San Marco, see these and related works, *Corpus der Kapitelle der Kirche von San Marco zu Venedig*, ed. F. W. Deichmann, with J. Kramer and U. Peschlow, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie* 12 (Wiesbaden, 1981). For the Tetrarchs and the “Carmagnola,” see the chapters by Fabio Barry and Robert Nelson above. See also R. Nelson, “High Justice: Venice, San Marco, and the Spoils of 1204,” in *Byzantine Art in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade*, ed. P. Vokotopoulos (Athens, 2007), 143–51. On the Tetrarchs and their identification as spoils from Constantinople, see R. Naumann, “Der antike Rundbau beim Myrelaion und der Palast Romanos I. Lekapenos,” *IstMitt* 16 (1966): 209–11; P. Verzone, “I due gruppi in porfido di San Marco in Venezia ed il Philadelphion di Costantinopoli,” *Palladio* 8 (1958): 8–14. On the Tetrarchs and related porphyry works, see also H. P. Laubscher, “Beobachtungen zu Tetrarchischen Kaiserbildnissen aus Porphyry,” *JDAI* 114 (1999): 207–52. On the “Carmagnola,” and its alleged provenance from the Philadelphion in Constantinople, see C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IVe–VIIe siècles* (Paris, 1985), 29; J. D. Breckenridge, “Again the Carmagnola,” *Gesta* 20 (1981): 1–7. On the horses of San Marco and the significance they acquired in Venice, see Jacoff, *Horses of San Marco* (above, n. 8), 12–20.

53 For the legendary accounts inspired by the horses of San Marco, the Tetrarchs, and other sculptures in San Marco, see M. Perry, “Saint Mark’s Trophies: Legend, Superstition, and Archaeology in Renaissance Venice,” *JWarb* 40 (1977): 27–49.

54 The inventory of 1325 lists “septem chalices de unicolor magnos in modum Grecorum, ornatos argento deaurato,” of which several survive with only minor restorations of later date. See Gallo, *Tesoro* (above, n. 6), 287, no. III.19. For a selection of Byzantine liturgical vessels adapted for use in San Marco, see *Treasury of San Marco* (above, n. 24), nos. 10–11, 129–40; nos. 15–18, 156–70.

Marco, the installation of new liturgical furnishings resulted in a major reorganization of the sanctuary area between 1209 and 1268; during this time, three marble ciboria were installed, one above the church's principal altar and two more above secondary altars on either side. Additionally, two large pulpits were installed on the north- and southeastern crossing piers.⁵⁵ While the date of the historiated columns supporting the ciborium of the main altar and the origin of the various *spolia* making up the pulpits of San Marco are likely to remain contentious issues, there can be no doubt that the sixth-century Byzantine *spolia* incorporated into the pulpits' physical structure was consciously manipulated to serve the needs of the state and the church of San Marco during the thirteenth century.⁵⁶ The use of the south pulpit, which incorporates four Byzantine porphyry slabs and displays them in a pseudo-authentic manner, is a case in point. It not only reveals that the Venetians were keenly aware of the symbolic associations of porphyry but also attests to their willingness to exploit these associations for their own liturgical and ceremonial needs. Recording the events that followed the election of Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–75) in 1268, Martino da Canal is the first Venetian chronicler to relate that the doge and his forty-one electors presented themselves to the people on the porphyry pulpit.⁵⁷ He also recorded that the doge followed Mass from this pulpit on high feast days, thus confirming its role as an important stage for ducal appearances.⁵⁸ The south pulpit's function as a platform for the presentation of one of San Marco's most sacred relics, namely, the relic of the Holy Blood, may be seen as an extension of such uses to Christ, the divine ruler himself, whose physical presence was invoked through the public display of his most important bodily relic.⁵⁹

55 The difficulty in establishing a firm chronology for the series of interventions in the altar area is due to a lack of contemporary sources and the uncertainty that still surrounds the dates and provenances of key objects in the discussion, namely, the historiated columns supporting the ciborium above San Marco's main altar and the north and south pulpit. For the installation of the ciborium above San Marco's main altar, Weigel, *Reliefsäulen* (above, n. 16), 256, suggested a date of about 1230. For the installation of the pulpits Middeldorf Kosegarten, "Liturgische Ausstattung" (above, n. 16), 18–20, advocated a date between 1260 and 1268.

56 For a recent in-depth study of the pulpits and ciboria of San Marco, see Middeldorf Kosegarten, "Liturgische Ausstattung," 7–77. See also G. Lorenzoni, "Le vie del porfido a Venezia: Gli amboni di San Marco," in *Le Vie del medioevo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 28 settembre–1 ottobre 1998*, ed. A. C. Quintavalle (Milan, 2000), 125–30; S. Minguzzi, "Aspetti della decorazione marmorea e architettonica della Basilica di San Marco," in *Marmi della Basilica di San Marco: Capitelli, plutei, rivestimenti, arredi*, ed. I. Favaretto et al. (Milan, 2000), 29–121; S. Minguzzi, "Elementi di scultura tardoantica a Venezia: Gli amboni di San Marco," *Felix Ravenna* 141–42 (1991–92): 7–93.

57 Tiepolo's predecessor Raniero Zeno (r. 1253–68) was proclaimed doge in front of the main altar in 1253, which may be taken as an indication that the installation of the pulpit and changes in the ducal proclamation ritual went hand in hand. See Middeldorf Kosegarten, "Liturgische Ausstattung," 19.

58 Martino da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise: Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, ed. A. Limentani, *Civiltà veneziana: Fonti e Testi* 12, 3rd ser., 3 (Florence, 1972), 280, 362–63.

59 San Marco's relic of the Holy Blood was displayed on the south pulpit on Maundy Thursday and during the Vigil for Easter Sunday. While the south pulpit's use as a "pulpitum reliquiarum"

According to Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica extensa*, the relic of the Holy Blood of Christ was one of four allegedly sent to San Marco by Enrico Dandolo soon after the sack of Constantinople: "The doge obtained the gold-mounted, miracle-working cross that Constantine, after its invention by his mother, took with him into battle, and an ampoule with the miraculous blood of Jesus Christ, and the arm of the martyr Saint George, and a fragment of the skull of Saint John the Baptist, which the doge ordered to be removed to Venice to be housed in his chapel."⁶⁰

The earliest surviving record of the existence and physical appearance of these relics is a marble relief commonly dated to the later thirteenth or early fourteenth century (pl. X).⁶¹ It is set into the wall of a narrow passageway that connected the ducal palace with the church of San Marco through the south wall of its south transept and served as a ceremonial route in medieval and postmedieval times.⁶² Placed within a double frame composed of an outer band of four long plaques of salmon-colored *pietra di Verona* and an inner band of shorter plaques of alternating red, white, and pink variegated marble, lined on both sides by thin

is first recorded in the sixteenth-century *Rituum Ecclesiasticarum ceremoniale* of Bartolomeo Bonifacio (BNM, Lat. III 172 [= 2276], fol. 8), the practice itself is likely to be significantly older. For a synopsis of sources relating to the pulpits' functions, see Middeldorf Kosegarten, "Liturgische Ausstattung," 18–23. See also S. Sinding-Larsen, *The Burden of the Ceremony Master: Image and Action in San Marco, Venice, and in an Islamic Mosque: The Rituum Ceremoniale of 1564*, Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia 12 (Rome, 1999), 291.

60 Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 280.7–11: "ex optinuit dux mirificam crucem auro inclusam, quam, post inventionem matris, Constantinus in bellis secum detulerat, et ampulam sanguinis miraculosi Iesu Christi, et brachium sancti Georgii martiris cum parte capitis sancti Iohannis Baptiste, quas dux mictens Veneciam, in sua capela collocari iussit."

61 On the marble panel and its date of execution, see the foundational study by D. Pincus, "Christian Relics and the Body Politic: A Thirteenth-Century Relief Plaque in the Church of San Marco," in *Interpretazioni Veneziane: Studi di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. D. Rosand (Venice, 1984), 39–57, who attributes the relief to the period of the 1250s and 1260s. K. Krause, "Immagine-reliquia: da Bisanzio all'Occidente," in *Mandylion: Intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova*, ed. G. Wolf (Genoa, 2004), 209–35, esp. 216 with n. 65, instead suggested a date in the later thirteenth or early fourteenth century. In a previous article on a related subject, I followed Karin Krause's dating of the relief and would still contend that a date in the early fourteenth century cannot be excluded. See H. Klein, "Die Heiltümer Venedigs: Die 'byzantinischen' Reliquien der Stadt," in *Quarta Crociata: Venezia—Bisanzio—Impero latino*, ed. G. Ortalli, G. Ravegnani, P. Schreiner, 2 vols. (Venice, 2006), 2:699–736, esp. 799. See also the discussion by Thomas Dale, p. 178. The recent article by R. Polacco, "Proposte per una chiarificazione sul significato e sulla funzione del 'bassorilievo delle reliquie' dell'andito Foscari in San Marco a Venezia," in *Hadriatica: Attorno a Venezia e al medioevo tra arti, storia e storiografia; Scritti in onore di Wladimiro Dorigo*, ed. E. Concina et al., Miscellanea collana della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Venezia 1 (Padua, 2002), 133–37, escaped my scrutiny earlier and must be included here. I would like to thank Debra Pincus for kindly drawing my attention to this study.

62 On the use of the passageway, see S. Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic*, Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia 5 (Rome, 1974), 211–12. The reasons for the placement of the relief on the western wall of this passageway, which also forms the exterior of the eastern wall of the treasury of San Marco, have not yet been explained fully.



FIGURE 6.10
Venice, San Marco, treasury;
reliquary of the True Cross of Henry
of Flanders (*Santuario* 55) (source:
Mario Carrieri © Olivetti—
Procuratoria di San Marco)

strips of bricked molding, the relief seems to depict the five most venerable relics of the church.

At the center of the composition, two kneeling angels, their wings spread widely, are holding between them a cylindrical reliquary ostensorium. In its formal appearance, this object closely resembles the reliquary of the precious blood of Christ, still preserved in the treasury of San Marco (*Santuario* 63; above, pl. XI), and has therefore often been identified with it.⁶³ Framing the central group of relic-bearing angels on either side are two reliquary crosses, a Latin cross mounted on a simple knobbed foot, on the right, and a more elaborate Byzantine-style cross with three crossarms and the flanking figures of the mourning Virgin and Saint John, on the left. Given their formal characteristics

63 For the first identification of the reliquary as *Santuario* 63, see A. Pasini, *Il Tesoro di San Marco in Venezia* (Venice, 1887), 3. This identification was later confirmed by Hahnloser, *Tesoro* (above, n. 29), 140; Pincus, "Christian Relics," 42 with n. 21; and Krause, "Immagine-reliquia," 216, who generally follows the identifications given by Pincus. See also Klein, "Heiltümer von Venedig," 2:802.

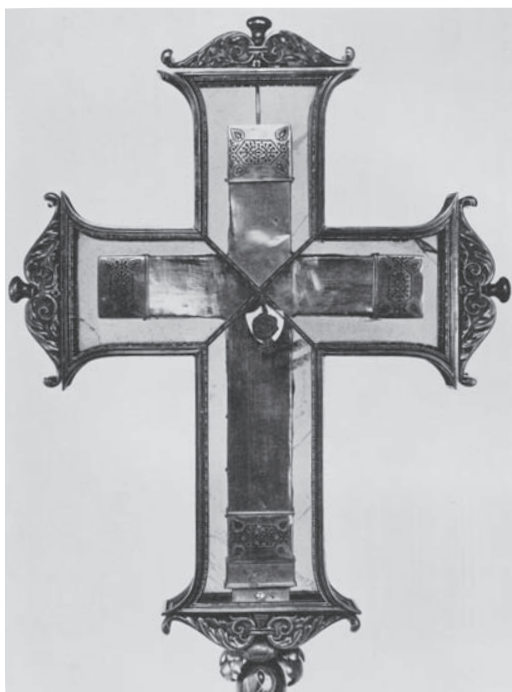


FIGURE 6.11
Venice, San Marco, treasury;
staurotheke of Empress
Irene Ducas (*Santuario* 75)
(source: Osvaldo Boehm)



FIGURE 6.12
Venice, San Marco, treasury; reliquary
of the arm of Saint George (*Santuario*
53) (source: Mario Carrieri © Olivetti—
Procuratoria di San Marco)

and apparent similarities with preserved reliquary crosses in the treasury of San Marco, these two objects have been most commonly identified as the cross of Henry of Flanders (*Santuario* 55; fig. 6.10) and the reliquary cross of Empress Irene Ducas (*Santuario* 75; fig. 6.11).⁶⁴ Completing the display in the spaces directly above the kneeling angels are two additional reliquaries of a more unusual format, as well as the blessing hand of God and an angel emerging from segments of heaven in the relief's upper corners. The object depicted on the right can perhaps best be described as tubular in shape, resembling a quiver. It is decorated with floral motifs set in a diamond pattern and features on its lateral sides two chains, a longer one that may have allowed the object to be carried in processions, and a shorter one, which may have been used to secure a lid. The object on the left resembles a rectangular box, its lid tilted toward the back, thus revealing a round object decorated with a cruciform appliqué at its center. While none of the reliquaries preserved in the treasury of San Marco closely matches these objects any longer in shape or format, the objects depicted on the relief have been convincingly associated with the relic arm of Saint George, now enshrined in an early fourteenth-century reliquary (*Santuario* 53; fig. 6.12), and the cranium of Saint John the Baptist.⁶⁵

The presumed identity of at least three of the relics depicted in the treasury relief finds confirmation in a ducal letter sent by Raniero Zeno (1253–68) to the Venetian ambassadors in Rome on 30 May 1265.⁶⁶ Through his letter, the doge instructed his ambassadors to notify the pope of a miracle that had taken place in the church of San Marco during a catastrophic fire that devastated the basilica's treasury on 13 January 1231 and destroyed most of the sacred objects housed within it. Miraculously, three sacred relics—namely, a relic of the True Cross, a crystal ampoule with the blood of Christ, and a piece of the skull of Saint John the Baptist—had escaped the destruction virtually intact and were discovered among the charred remains in the treasury following the great fire. The doge further advised his ambassadors to support a delegation of Dominican and

64 While most scholars have associated the Byzantine-style cross on the panel's left with the reliquary cross of Henry of Flanders, it must be noted that the third crossbar depicted on the relief and the missing figurines of Ecclesia and Synagogue remain puzzling features that resist an easy explanation. Hahnloser, *Tesoro* (above, n. 29), 140, cautiously states that the relief represents "una croce simile (ma solo con due figure) tra le cinque principale Reliquie della Basilica. . . ." Danielle Gaborit-Chopin's entry in *Treasury of San Marco* (above, n. 24), no. 34, 244–48, likewise cautions against a direct identification. For a more emphatic identification, see Pincus, "Christian Relics," 42–43, and Krause, "Immagine-reliquia," 216. For the identification of the cross reliquary on the panel's right as that of Irene Ducas, see Pasini, *Tesoro*, 3; Pincus, "Christian Relics," 43; Krause, "Immagine-reliquia," 216; Klein, "Heiltümer von Venedig," 2:801–2.

65 The reliquaries represented on the relief have been identified as such by Hahnloser, *Tesoro* (above, n. 29), 140; Pincus, "Christian Relics," 43; Krause, "Immagine-reliquia," 216; and Klein, "Heiltümer von Venedig," 2:799–800.

66 Archivio di Stato, Venezia. *Commemorali*, Reg. 24 (1573–84), 173–74. The full text of this letter, which was first published in Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetiae antiquae*, 10:232–36, was most recently included as an appendix in Pincus, "Christian Relics," 57.

Franciscan monks in obtaining official papal acknowledgment of the events described.⁶⁷ Interestingly, Enrico Dandolo's name does not appear anywhere in the ducal letter. Instead, the transfer of the miracle-working relics from Jerusalem to Venice via Constantinople is attributed to divine agency working through Saint Helena and ultimately through Christ himself, who wanted the relics of his divine presence on earth to be placed with those of his evangelist Mark.⁶⁸

The rank and importance of the three relics mentioned in the ducal letter is confirmed two decades later by the earliest surviving inventory of San Marco, compiled in June 1283, and by a second one, dated 5 September 1325.⁶⁹ In both inventories, a crystal ampoule containing the Holy Blood and a relic of True Cross take pride of place as the first items listed.⁷⁰ The relic of the skull of Saint John the Baptist and its precious container, on the other hand, are no longer listed in immediate proximity to these more important relics of Christ.⁷¹ In the inventory of 1283, for instance, the relic's precious but damaged container is described as item 8: "Item capseleta una fracta cum pezoletis de argento in qua credimus fuisse caput Sancti Jo. Baptistae cum fuit in igne,"⁷² thus indicating that even the treasury's custodians were no longer certain whether the relic was, in fact, still preserved inside this container. The same ambiguity is revealed in the inventory of 1325, in which two relics and reliquaries of the head of Saint John the Baptist are described. The first one is listed as item 6: "Item de capite Sancti Johannis Baptistae, in quadam capsicula argenti deaurata, cum literis de nielo circumdata et cum figuris in cohopenatura."⁷³ The second reliquary is listed a few lines below as 9: "Item habemus in alio superiore canto, versus austrum, capseletam unam fractam cum quibusdam pezioletis argenti, in qua similiter esse credimus de capite s. Johannis Baptistae, quae fuit in igne."⁷⁴ The preserved inventories of San Marco from 1283 and 1325 thus seem to indicate that Raniero Zeno's effort to promote the three miracle-working relics of 1231 was not entirely successful even in Venice, at least as far as the relic of Saint John the Baptist was concerned.

67 In Debra Pincus's groundbreaking study of the San Marco relief, the ducal letter features prominently as evidence for the socioeconomic and political climate in which the relief was created. See "Christian Relics," 39 and 44–50.

68 Ibid., 57: "qualiter dictae Sanctae Reliquiae de Hierusalem, per operam Sanctae Helenae in Constantinopolim fuerunt deportate, et qualiter Dominus noster Jesus Christus ipsas in Civitate Veneriarum cum corpore beati Marci, Evangeliste sui, voluit collocari."

69 For the full text of these inventories, see Gallo, *Tesoro* (above, n. 6), 273–75, 276–87.

70 Ibid., 273 (nos. 1–2) and 276 (nos. 1–3).

71 In the inventory of 1283, the relic of Saint John the Baptist is ranked 8, following a number of "yconae" and a cumulative reference to other saintly relics and a relic of the crown of thorns, which had been deposited in the treasury of San Marco in 1239. See *ibid.*, 273–74.

72 Ibid., 274 (no. 8).

73 Ibid., 276 (no. 6).

74 Ibid., 276 (no. 9).

Instead, another saint's relic seems to have gained prominence during the last decades of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, namely, the arm relic of Saint George. Not listed in the inventory of 1283, it is first described in the inventory of 1325 as "enclosed in gold and silver and worked in enamel, with a Saint George on horseback at the top and with a base worked in silver."⁷⁵ Listed immediately after the Holy Blood and the wood of the True Cross, the relic of Saint George is thus clearly one of San Marco's most venerated treasures. It is followed in the inventory of 1325 by another relic of the True Cross that is identified as having been in the fire of 1231 and being preserved in a silver-gilt container with images of Constantine and Helena and the relic of Saint John the Baptist, likewise contained in a silver-gilt reliquary inscribed in niello and with figures on its lid.

As the first five relics described in the inventory of 1325 seem to match the relics depicted on the treasury relief in both identity and number, and the inventory's description of the relic of Saint George furthermore matches the relic's precious container as it survives today (fig. 6.12), two preliminary conclusions may be drawn. First, the surviving Venetian reliquary for the arm of Saint George, with its translucent enamel decoration, busts of Old Testament prophets, and crowning statuette of the saint on horseback, predates the inventory of 1325.⁷⁶ Second, the treasury relief was most likely created between 1283 and 1325 to promote the five most venerated relics in the treasury of San Marco, four of which were soon afterward associated for the first time with Enrico Dandolo and the events of 1204.

Whether or not the reliquaries depicted in the relief were indeed dispatched from Constantinople by Enrico Dandolo is impossible to determine with certainty. As mentioned above, the first reference to such a gift is made in the 1340s in the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo, whose eagerness to associate the greatness of Venice with its doges' efforts to endow the city with sacred relics has already been pointed out. Given the absence of earlier references to such a gift in Raniero Zeno's letter of 1265 and the early inventories of San Marco, it may not be too farfetched to assume that Andrea Dandolo's claim for his predecessor's involvement in the *translatio reliquiarum* was, once again, a product and expression of his own political agenda. It may be suggested that Andrea Dandolo's attempt to associate San Marco's most venerated relics with Enrico Dandolo takes Raniero Zeno's effort to propagate the basilica's miracle-working relics a step further by

75 Ibid., 276 (no. 4): "circumdatur auro et argento laboratum ad smaldum cum uno Sancto Georgio equitante a parte superiori et cum uno pede argento laborato." The previous entry (no. 3) describes the relic as being kept in the same container as the relic of the True Cross: "in qua capsula est brachium S. i Jeorgii circumdatum argento albo." See also Pasini, *Tesoro* (above, n. 63), appendix, 4, n. 4.

76 The horse and rider that currently decorate the reliquary are of sixteenth-century date. See Hahnloser, *Tesoro* (above, n. 29), no. 159, 162–63. See also Pasini, *Tesoro* (above, n. 63), 44.

linking divine with ducal agency. In other words, the relics' presence in Venice is still attributed to divine agency, but its presence is now working through the doge, who sent the relics from Constantinople to San Marco, just as Helena previously sent them from Jerusalem to Constantinople as a result of divine inspiration. This is not to say that Enrico Dandolo's involvement in the transfer of relics is pure fiction. On the contrary, his involvement is historically quite probable. The fact, however, that the first reference to Enrico Dandolo's role in the transfer of these relics is inserted in Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica extensa* may be considered an attempt to establish the doge of Venice as the primary instrument of God's divine will to ensure the prosperity of the Republic for the immediate and distant future.

While the lack of thirteenth-century sources attesting to Enrico Dandolo's involvement in the acquisition and transfer of sacred relics may seem surprising, it should be acknowledged that most surviving accounts of the looting of Constantinople and the transfer of its relics to Venice are lacking early evidence. In fact, many of them are likewise first mentioned in Andrea Dandolo's *Chronica extensa*, revealing the doge's keen interest in recording the provenance of Venice's most praiseworthy and distinguished sacred treasures. Apart from Enrico Dandolo himself, who is credited here with the acquisition of the city's most prestigious relics of Christ's Passion, Saint John the Baptist, and the holy martyr Saint George, less prominent members of the Venetian nobility, clerics, merchants, and mercenaries are likewise remembered in Andrea Dandolo's chronicle for increasing the city's spiritual wealth by increasing the number of its holy bodies.⁷⁷

The relics of Saint Anastasios the Persian, for instance, were allegedly removed from a Constantinopolitan church dedicated to Saint Luke—located close to the church of Saint Mokios—by a Venetian named Andrea Valaraesso shortly after 1204 and soon transferred to the church of Santa Trinità in Venice.⁷⁸ The fact that the saint's body exuded a wonderful scent when arriving in Venice was

77 On the objects and issues in question, see Klein, "Heiltümer" (above, n. 61), 699–736.

78 On the relic's provenance, see Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 92.27–30. See also F. Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis . . .*, 13 vols. (Venice, 1749), 4:358; P. Riant, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae: Fasciculus documentorum minorum, ad byzantina lipsana in occidentem saeculo xiii translata . . .*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1877–78), 2:261. On the church of Saint Luke, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, vol. 3, *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), 311. On Anastasios the Persian, see B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1992). According to the pilgrimage account of Archbishop Anthony of Novgorod, the head of Saint Anastasios was already stolen prior to the conquest of 1204. See M. Erhard, "Le Livre du Pèlerin d'Antoine de Novgorod," *Romania* 58 (1932): 44–65, here 60. See also P. Riant, *Des dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au XIIIe siècle et des documents historiques nés de leur transport en occident* (Paris, 1875), 198–99; idem, *Exuviae*, 2:262. Whether the head of Saint Anastasios now preserved at Aachen is the very head stolen from Constantinople is difficult to assess. See *Canossa 1077—Die Erschütterung der Welt: Kunst und Kultur am Anfang der Romanik*, ed. C. Stiegemann, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 2006), 2:450–51, no. 537.

interpreted as a sign of his approval of his new resting place.⁷⁹ Another holy body, whose translation to Venice was an immediate result of the plundering of Constantinople, was that of the prophet Symeon mentioned in the Gospel of Luke. Two Venetians named Andrea Baldovino and Angelo Drusiaco removed the prophet's relics from an oratory of the Virgin near Hagia Sophia, sent them to Venice, and deposited them in Saint Symeon's church on the Rialto.⁸⁰

Not only laymen were engaged in the plundering of Constantinople's sacred treasures, but Venetian clerics likewise felt little remorse at participating in what Abbot Gunther of Pairis aptly described as "sacred sacrilege."⁸¹ In 1211, for instance, a canon named Aycardus removed the body of Saint Helena from a monastery in Constantinople and transferred it to Venice, where it was deposited in a church dedicated to the mother of Emperor Constantine the Great.⁸²

Relic acquisitions and translations after 1204 often involved churches or monasteries that had either been deserted and fallen into disrepair after the sack or became part of the Venetian possessions in the capital.⁸³ The fate of the body of Saint John of Alexandria, described in detail in the account of his *translatio*, is an excellent case in point.⁸⁴ Following the distribution of Constantinople's real estate and booty among the various crusader contingents, the Venetian monastery of San Daniele supported a branch in the former monastery of

79 References to a sweet odor exuded by a saint's body when a tomb is opened or a saint's relics transferred to a new resting place are common throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In Venice, for instance, such a sweet odor was closely associated with the *translatio* and *apparitio* of the relics of Saint Mark. On the "sweet odor of sanctity," see B. Kötting, "Wohlgeruch der Heiligkeit," in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum: Gedenkschrift für A. Stuiber*, ed. T. Klauser, E. Dassmann, and K. Thraede, *JbAC* Erg.-Bd. 9 (Münster, 1982), 168–75. On the sweet odor exuded by the relics of Saint Mark, see E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), 86–87, with references to the primary sources. I would like to thank my colleague David Rosand for alerting me to this association.

80 Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 280.18–20; Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi* (above, n. 47), 82.2. For excerpts of the relevant passages, see Riant, *Exuviae*, 2:262, 265.

81 Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth, *Spolia Berolinensia—Berliner Beiträge zur Mediävistik* 5 (Hildesheim, 1994), 159–60.

82 Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 285.22–24; Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 77.2–3; Riant, *Exuviae*, 2:262. Since no monastery dedicated to the empress Saint Helena is known to have existed in Constantinople, one may assume with Riant and Janin that Aycardus got his hands on relics of the holy virgin Helena of Athyra. See Riant, *Depouilles*, 198–99; Janin, *La géographie*, 109–10. On Saint Helena of Athyra and her veneration, see most recently M. Durand, "Les fragments des reliques byzantines de sainte Hélène d'Athyra retrouvés au trésor de la cathédrale de Troyes," *CahArch* 46 (1998): 169–82. See also P. Geary, "Saint Helen of Athyra and the Cathedral of Troyes in the Thirteenth Century," *JMRS* 7 (1977): 158–59; G. Constable, "Troyes, Constantinople, and the Relics of St. Helen in the Thirteenth Century," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, 2 vols. (Poitiers, 1966), 2:1035–42.

83 D. Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance," *JÖB* 43 (1993): 141–201; D. Jacoby, "The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261: Topographical Considerations," in *Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck*, ed. C. Sode and S. Takács (Aldershot, 2001), 160–67.

84 Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 287.3–5; Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 76.9–10; Riant, *Exuviae*, 2:262.

the Theotokos Psychosostria in the quarter of Gella.⁸⁵ In 1214, shortly after the Venetian monk Robaldus arrived in Constantinople to take over the monastery from its first prior, he noticed one day a large crowd assembling in front of the closed gates of a church of the Virgin in the immediate neighborhood. When he inquired about the reasons for the commotion, he was told that the local population had arrived at the church to celebrate the feast of the martyr Saint John of Alexandria, whose body was resting there, but that they had found the doors locked. Guided by his own pious zeal and aided by three companions, Robaldus quickly came up with a plan to break into the church and remove the saint's relic. A few days later, the plan was executed, the relic carefully taken out of its container, wrapped in a cloth, and sent to Venice, where it was solemnly received on July 3 of the same year.⁸⁶

Other Venetian monasteries likewise profited from the establishment of branch locations in Constantinople. San Giorgio Maggiore, for instance, received the bodies of Saints Lucia and Eutychios from Constantinople, but details of their acquisition and transfer remain unknown.⁸⁷ More information is available on the translation of the body of the iconodoule martyr Saint Paul of Kaïouma.⁸⁸ Following the sack of Constantinople, the monastery and church of Christ Pantepoptes had been converted into a Latin monastery run by Benedictines from San Giorgio Maggiore. In 1222, the monastery's abbot decided to remove the body of Saint Paul from its original resting place in the church and requested permission from the Venetian *bailo* to transport it to Venice.⁸⁹ The request was granted, the saint's body shipped to Venice, solemnly received at the church of San Giorgio Maggiore on May 21, and subsequently deposited in an altar dedicated to the saint.⁹⁰

The removal of sacred bodies from Constantinople and their transfer to monasteries and churches on the Rialto continued throughout the period of Latin occupation. In the case of Saint Margaret (Marina), whose body was taken from a monastery just outside Constantinople, sent to Venice in 1213 by a certain Giovanni de Bora, and deposited in the church of San Liberale, the arrival of

85 On the monastery, see Janin, *Géographie* (above, n. 78), 243–44.

86 For a full account of the *translatio*, see Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae* (above, n. 78), 4:170–171; Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:179–82, esp. 180–82.

87 For the relics of Saint Lucia, which later in the century were transferred to the church of Santa Lucia, see Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 280.14–17; Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 81.8–9. For the relevant passages, see also Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:184–186; 2:262, 264–65, 271–72, 290; idem, *Dépouilles*, 178–179. For the relics of Saint Eutychios, see Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 80.4; Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, 8:156 (= *AASS*, Apr. I, 549). For the relevant passages, see also Riant, *Exuviae*, 2:261 and 272.

88 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolymitikes stachyologias*, 5 vols. (Saint Petersburg, 1891–98; repr. Brussels, 1963), 4:247–51.

89 See Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 289.24–26; Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 80.2.

90 See Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 80.2; Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, 11:138–46 (= *AASS*, Jul. 2:639–41). See also Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:141–49; 2:37–38, 263; idem, *Dépouilles*, 198–99.

the new relic even resulted in the rededication of the church to the new saint.⁹¹ In other cases, the established cult of the patron saint remained dominant. This was the case with Saint Paul the Hermit, whose body was removed from the Peribleptos Monastery in about 1239/40.⁹² The same was true in the case of Saint Barbara, whose relics were brought to the Rialto by a Venetian named Rafaele Basilio and deposited in the church of Santa Maria dei Crociferi (Santa Maria Assunta) on 11 May 1258.⁹³

While the influx of sacred bodies from Constantinople decreased considerably after the Byzantine reconquest of the city, a number of prominent Eastern relics reached Venice even after 1261. The body of Saint Theodore, for instance, one of Venice's earliest and most venerated saints, had been stolen by a certain Jacopo Dauro from the church of Hagia Sophia in Mesembria in 1257 and deposited in the church of San Nicola in Constantinople's Venetian quarter.⁹⁴ Ten years later, in 1267, Marco Dauro, a relative of the pious thief, translated it from Constantinople to Venice, where it was deposited in the church of San Salvatore, or San Salvador, as it is known in Venetian dialect.⁹⁵

Beyond 1261

Few relics of prominence are known to have entered Venetian institutions during the last decades of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century. What we see instead is an effort by the doges and the procurators of San Marco to heighten the visibility of the city's most venerable relics by a variety of measures, which included an official diplomatic campaign under Raniero Zeno to obtain papal recognition of the miracle-working qualities of San Marco's most prominent relics, a no less ambitious attempt to turn the church and sanctuary of San Marco into a stage for their display, animation, and veneration, and, finally, a campaign under Andrea Dandolo to link the history of these relics and their presence in Venice to divine providence working through the doge.

91 See Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 292.19–21; Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 80.5; Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, 3:253–55. For the relevant passages, see also Riant, *Exuviae*, 2:264, 266, 296, 298; idem, *Dépouilles*, 198–99. In the case of the relic of Saint Margaret, the Byzantine reliquary survived the transition from its former Byzantine to its new Western cult context and is now preserved in the Museo Correr. M. C. Ross and G. Downey, "A Reliquary of St. Marina," *BSI* 23 (1962): 41–44; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 332, 496.

92 See Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 297.25–28. For further details, see Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, 3:324–25 (= *AASS*, Jan. 1:608); Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 81.2. For the relevant passages, see also Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:186–88, esp. 187–88; idem, *Exuviae*, 2:263; idem, *Dépouilles*, 3.

93 See Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 83.6–7; Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, 2:180. For the relevant passage, see also Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:182–83. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (above, n. 2), 186.

94 For the church of San Nicola, see Janin, *La géographie* (above, n. 78), 573.

95 See Dandolo, *Chronica extensa*, 33, 308.3–6; Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, 2:258–59 (= *AASS*, Jun. 2:27); Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, 80. For the relevant passages, see also Riant, *Exuviae*, 1:156–58, esp. 157–58, 2:263; idem, *Dépouilles*, 198–99.

Beyond the church of San Marco, little is known about the early history of the cult of those Eastern relics that were deposited in the various churches of Venice during the thirteenth century. In most cases, these relics seem to have been placed in an altar tomb and thus played only a minor public role, if any. Even for San Marco itself, information is limited to a few sources, both literary and material, that highlight the basilica's increase in wealth and sacred relics during the thirteenth century and document efforts to popularize and honor its major saints and relics through the creation of new feasts, shrines, and chapels. The feast of the *apparitio* of the relics of Saint Mark, for instance, was likely introduced rather than "renewed" under Doge Raniero Zeno, as Martino da Canal claims in his *Estoires de Venise*, and visualized inside San Marco in a newly commissioned mosaic panel (pl. V).⁹⁶ As witnessed by the thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century treasury relief (pl. X) and the surviving reliquary for the arm of Saint George (fig. 6.12), new mounts and precious containers were commissioned from local goldsmiths for the basilica's most venerated Eastern relics.⁹⁷ Others, which had arrived at San Marco through divine providence and ducal agency more than a century earlier, such as the body of Saint Isidore, were suddenly "rediscovered" in the basilica during the *dogado* of Andrea Dandolo and solemnly deposited in a newly built and richly decorated chapel in San Marco's north transept.⁹⁸

While Venice's efforts to acquire new relics for its religious institutions seem to have slowed down by the end of the thirteenth century, the city's role as a center for the trade in relics and their dissemination throughout Europe should not be underestimated. A contract drawn up in the house of a Florentine named Jacopo Bartolo in Venice on 28 May 1359 attests to one particularly high-profile case of such trade in sacred relics.⁹⁹ The document drawn up that day between Andrea Gratia, a syndic of the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, and Pietro di Giunta Torrigiani, a Florentine-born merchant residing in Constantinople, stipulated the conditions of the transfer of a collection of relics and other

96 Martino da Canal, *Estoires de Venise*, 218–19. For a summary of sources and arguments, see Demus, *Church of San Marco* (above, n. 8), 13–14, with n. 41.

97 See above, p. 217.

98 On Andrea Dandolo's *inventio* of the relics and his patronage of the chapel, see above p. 207, note 46.

99 Siena, Archivio di Stato. Archivio Spedale Santa Maria della Scala, no. 120, fols. 2r–9v. For a transcript of the document, see G. Derenzini, "Le reliquie da Costantinopoli a Siena," in *L'oro di Siena: Il tesoro di Santa Maria della Scala*, ed. L. Bellosi (Siena, 1996), 67–78, esp. 73–78, and P. Hetherington, "A Purchase of Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries in Fourteenth-Century Venice," *ArtV* 37 (1983): 9–30, esp. 29–30 (appendix II). For an evaluation of the documents, see also G. Derenzini, "Esame paleografico del Codice X.IV.1. della Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati e contributo documentale alla storia del 'Tesoro' dello Spedale di Santa Maria della Scala," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Siena* 8 (1987): 41–76. For an assessment of the historical and artistic significance of the transaction, see A. Cutler, "Loot to Scholarship," *DOP* 49 (1995): 244–45; H. Klein, "Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West," *DOP* 58 (2004): 283–313, esp. 308–10.

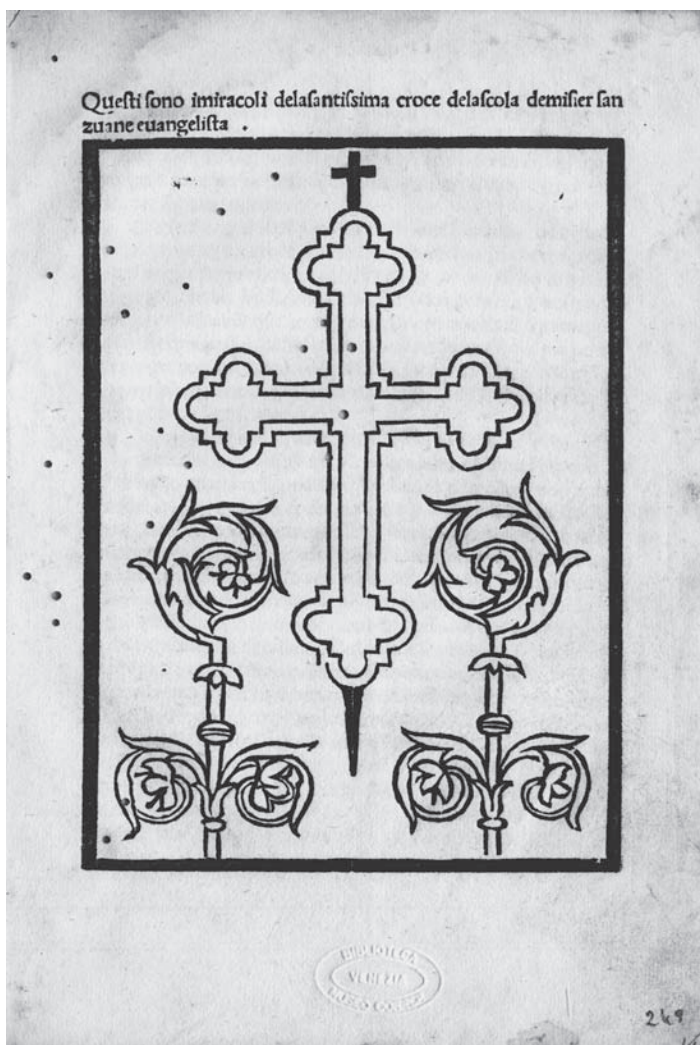


FIGURE 6.13
Venice, Musei Civici di
Venezia, Museo Correr;
Inc. H 249, frontispiece
(courtesy of the Musei Civici
di Venezia, Museo Correr)

precious objects that had been recently acquired by Torrigiani in Constantinople. Foremost among them was a relic of Christ's Holy Blood, the True Cross, and other saintly relics, as well as a Greek Gospel book.¹⁰⁰ These treasures, which formerly belonged to the imperial household, had been put up for sale in the Loggia of the Venetians in Constantinople two years earlier, and Torrigiani had seized the opportunity to acquire and sell them to the highest bidder.¹⁰¹

100 For the complete list of relics cited in this document, see Derenzini, "Reliquie," 74–75; Hetherington, "Purchase," 29.

101 This is attested by a second document, drawn up at Pera on 15 December 1357, by the apostolic nuncio in Constantinople, the Carmelite Pier Tommaso, and witnessed by three other Latin bishops as well as the Dominican inquisitor Philip de Contis. The document is preserved in Siena at the Archivio di Stato, Archivio Spedale Santa Maria della Scala, no. 120, 10r–11v. For a transcript

Transactions of this kind and magnitude are likely to have been the exception rather than the rule. However, it must be assumed that a steady stream of relics of Eastern origin passed through Venice during the fourteenth century. Only a small number of these sacred treasures are known to have remained in the city. This was the case with a relic of the True Cross given to the confraternity of San Giovanni Evangelista on 23 December 1369. An incunabulum printed between 1490 and 1506 (fig. 6.13), on behalf of the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, records that the relic had been donated to the confraternity by Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405), then grand chancellor of Cyprus, and started to work miracles almost immediately.¹⁰² While the incunabulum may tell us more about the competitive environment in which this and other relics had to perform and prove their thaumaturgical powers during the later fifteenth and early sixteenth century, it nevertheless indicates that a relic arriving in Venice during the second half of the fourteenth century had the same potential to become the focus of a major local cult as any other relic that had arrived in Venice during the previous centuries.

Conclusion

By the time Emperor John VIII Palaeologus and his delegation of advisers arrived in Venice in early 1438, the relic of the True Cross that Philippe de Mézières had given to the confraternity of San Giovanni Evangelista more than sixty years earlier had just started to work its first miracles. While it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that these miracles were first recorded in a small printed booklet and a monumental cycle of paintings commissioned to decorate the *albergo* of the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni, the miracle-working power of the city's relics, housed in the churches and oratories of the preeminent monasteries, lay confraternities, and parishes, was a reality that penetrated many aspects of ordinary Venetian life.¹⁰³ Already since the ninth century Venetians were blessed with the body of Saint Mark, whose physical presence was believed to have ensured the prosperity of the city and its citizens through history. Other prestigious relics joined the body of the evangelist during the following centuries as a result of imperial gift giving, pious theft, and, as Sylvester Syropoulos called it, the "law of booty." It was during the thirteenth and fourteenth centu-

of the document, see Derenzini, "Reliquie," 72–73; Hetherington, "Purchase," 28 (appendix I).

102 Venice, Musei Civici di Venezia, Museo Correr, Inc. H 249 (cited as H 222 bis in previous scholarship). On this document and related sources, see P. F. Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, 1988), 45, 60, 266; eadem, "An Incunabulum of the Miracles of the True Cross of the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista," *Civici Musei Veneziani d'Arte e di Storia: Bollettino* 27 (1982): 5–8. I am grateful to Irina Tolstoy for providing me with a copy of this article and with photos of the incunabulum.

103 For an overview of the paintings commissioned for the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, see Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*, 282–86, with bibliography.

ries that the majority of the city's sacred treasures were amassed on the Rialto and that a conscious effort was made by Andrea Dandolo to recast this development into an act of divine providence working through the doge as its primary agent. Dandolo's meticulous listing of names and circumstances of relic translations seems to assert furthermore that divine providence could also work through ordinary citizens, who were given an opportunity to enrich their city with holy bodies during the sack of Constantinople and the subsequent decades of Venetian dominance in the eastern Mediterranean.

The removal of holy bodies from churches and chapels in Constantinople and their transfer to the Rialto was only the first phase of this divinely inspired enterprise. The creation of an appropriate stage for the display of these holy bodies as well as the production of new reliquaries that ensured their continued efficacy and veneration in a Venetian context, most notably that of San Marco, was another. It was during Andrea Dandolo's time as procurator and doge of Venice that this second phase of the enterprise was most vigorously pursued and resulted in the creation of works of art that were indeed "worthy of a saint as great as San Marco and a city as magnificent as Venice."

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> (Paris, 1863–1940)
<i>ActaArchHung</i>	<i>Acta archaeologica, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>ActaIRNorv</i>	<i>Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AnnArch</i>	<i>Annales archéologiques</i>
<i>AnnHistCon</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'histoire des conciles</i>
<i>AnnPisa</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa,</i> Sezione di lettere
<i>Αρχ.Εφ.</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς</i>
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
<i>ArtV</i>	<i>Arte veneta</i>
<i>AttiVen</i>	<i>Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti,</i> Classe di scienze morali e lettere
<i>AVen</i>	<i>Archivio veneto</i>
<i>BAV</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BNM</i>	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte</i>
<i>BSl</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CabArch</i>	<i>Cahiers archéologiques</i>
<i>CorsiRav</i>	<i>Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina</i>
<i>Δελτ.Χριστ.Αρχ.Ετ.</i>	<i>Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>

DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
<i>Επ.Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.</i>	<i>Επετηρίς εταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν</i>
<i>ErJb</i>	<i>Eranos-Jahrbuch</i>
FR	<i>Felix Ravenna</i>
FS	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
FStI	<i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> , Istituto storico italiano per medio evo
<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i> , Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul
<i>JbAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JbPrKs</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JGS</i>	<i>Journal of Glass Studies</i>
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JÖBG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JSAH</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians</i>
<i>JWarb</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>MarbJb</i>	<i>Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft</i>
<i>MDAIRA</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Römische Abteilung
<i>MünchJb</i>	<i>Münchner Jahrbuch der bildende Kunst</i>
<i>NAVen</i>	<i>Nuovo archivio veneto</i>
<i>Νέος Έλλ.</i>	<i>Νέος Έλληνομνημων</i>
OC	<i>Oriens christianus</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia christiana periodica</i>
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. Kazhdan et al. (New York–Oxford, 1991)
<i>OpRom</i>	<i>Opuscula romana</i> , Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Orientalia christiana</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> , Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> , Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–80)
<i>RArch</i>	<i>Rivista di archeologia</i>
<i>REArm</i>	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>

<i>RendPontAcc</i>	<i>Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia, Rendiconti</i>
<i>RepKunstw</i>	<i>Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>StMed</i>	<i>Studi medievali</i>
<i>StVen</i>	<i>Studi veneziani</i>
<i>TAPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i>
<i>WJKg</i>	<i>Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte</i>
<i>ZKunstg</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte</i>
<i>ZRVI</i>	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta, Srpska akademija nauka</i>
<i>ZSavKan</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung</i>

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