THE EARLY WORKS OF ALESSANDRO VITTORIA (c. 1540 - c. 1570)

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Volume I
Text and Appendix I: Corpus of Documents

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FOR MY PARENTS

IN GRATITUDE
SUMMARY

THE EARLY WORKS OF ALESSANDRO VITTORIA (c. 1540-c. 1570)

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The thesis is divided into eight chapters, with various approaches adopted. Chapter One is primarily historical and outlines the artistic scene in Trent during Vittoria's youth until his departure for Venice in 1543, investigating the patronage of Prince-Bishop Cles and of his successor Cristoforo Madruzzo, as well as artists whose work was to exercise a subsequent influence on Vittoria.

The next three chapters are ordered chronologically, and discuss Vittoria's activities, both documented and hypothetical, during his years as an apprentice and then as a journeyman. Chapter Two investigates the contacts that Vittoria is likely to have made during the time he spent in Sansovino's shop between July 1543 and mid-1546, and those commissions upon which it is known, or reasonable to suppose, that he helped, as well as those places he may have visited, following his elevation to journeyman, and contacts which he probably made outside Venice from mid-1546 onwards.

Chapter Three deals with the first two commissions he executed in his own right in Venice around 1550, one subcontracted, the other independent, and his sojourn in Trent from autumn 1550 until late September 1551, where he was patronised by Madruzzo and by various of the foreign dignitaries. It discusses a probable short return trip to Venice in autumn 1551 during which relations with Sansovino were strained, Vittoria's precipitate removal to Vicenza as a result, and the breakdown of relations between the two sculptors in December 1551.

Chapter Four investigates his employment during his sojourn in Vicenza, and the rôle that Aretino appears to have played in obtaining eminent sitters for Vittoria to portray on medals, focussing primarily on the ignominious affair of the colossal d'Este Hercules and Vittoria's part in the stuccowork for Palazzo Thiene. Other non-Vicentine patrons are briefly discussed.

The following four chapters chart Vittoria's establishment in Venice, following his return by May 1553, and his rise from being regarded as one of several talented pupils of Sansovino to being recognised in the late 1560s by Venetians and non-Venetians alike as the pre-eminent sculptor of the city. Because of the increasing number of commissions undertaken by Vittoria, and the fact that some of them were protracted for several years, the strictly chronological approach is now abandoned in favour of dividing his work according to type of commission, and investigating these chronologically.
Chapter Five focusses on work he produced for the façades of buildings, which fall into two basic categories: large-scale, almost always free-standing, figures for public buildings, and smaller-scale reliefs for the palaces of private patricians. These were subcontracted to Vittoria by the proto in charge of the construction, and with one exception they are all secular subjects.

Chapter Six deals with Vittoria’s decorative stuccowork for a variety of locations. It falls into three main categories: life-size (or larger) figures in niches; ornate (often figurated) fireplaces and mezzo-rilievo reliefs for walls or vaults. The smaller scale commissions tend to be for domestic palaces and ordered direct from the owner; the more ambitious and grandiose commissions for public buildings gained through Sansovino in his capacity as Proto-magister. Once more, their subject-matter is derived from pagan sources.

Chapter Seven investigates the sculpture which Vittoria made to decorate altars or monuments in churches, which are as diverse in terms of their size, medium and subject as their commissioning patrons.

Chapter Eight deals with small-scale statuary made by Vittoria, comprising two different commissions from Scuole for silver statuettes of saints; a number of bronzes of pagan subjects - including a statuette originally conceived as St. Sebastian, but then given the alternative designation of Maryyas - made by Vittoria apparently for his own delectation; and a couple of lost secular works in stone for foreign patrons. It also investigates his own art collection. This is followed by a Conclusion.

Two appendices follow. The first is a Corpus of Documents (in Volume I) relating mainly to Vittoria’s sculptural career, included so that the reader may check my interpretation of events against the sources. Some of the documents have previously been published, while others are transcribed here for the first time. The second appendix (in Volume II) consists of a Catalogue Raisonné of Vittoria’s sculptures, to complement that made by Thomas Martin of Vittoria’s portrait busts. It discusses the varying degrees of autograph works, works executed by the workshop after designs by Vittoria, works by the circle of Vittoria, lost works and rejected sculptures. Volume III comprises the Illustrations.
PREFACE

Although Alessandro Vittoria was, arguably, the most talented sculptor active in North Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century, his work has been seriously neglected in comparison with that of his contemporaries. The earliest account of Vittoria's career was provided by Temanza in his *Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani* (Venice, 1778), and this was edited by Gianantonio Moschini into a monograph in 1827, which benefitted from his discovery of Vittoria's account-book. Count Benedetto Giovanelli wrote a biography of Vittoria (manuscript finished in 1830) which, published posthumously by Tommaso Gar in 1858, is full of inaccuracies, and as Martin summarises (1988, v) "is primarily an example of Tridentine campanilismo and little else". In 1908 Riccardo Predelli published the personal papers of Vittoria, including his invaluable account-book, which serve as the basis for my Corpus of Documents.

Luigi Serra's monograph of the early 1920s is brief and often chronologically inaccurate; Francesco Cessi's five booklets on the different aspects of Vittoria's oeuvre published in the early 1960s are full of error, and are useful mainly for their illustrations. The most thorough appraisal of Vittoria's oeuvre remains the unpublished Doctoral dissertation by Leithe-Jasper (Vienna, 1963), but this is not widely accessible and - thirty years later - needs some revision. Most recently, Thomas Martin has written a Doctoral dissertation on *The Portrait Busts of Alessandro Vittoria*, which is scholarly and well-informed. My dissertation aims to provide a similarly thorough assessment of Vittoria's sculpture.

My text focusses on Vittoria's career until 1570, since the works produced during this period afford the most rewarding insights. They are varied in composition and style because Vittoria, as a young sculptor, was keen to explore a variety of sources, and are particularly well executed, for Vittoria was trying to create a name for himself and build up a network of patrons. These works are also notable because they are less heavily reliant on his workshop than were those executed later on (when the weight of commissions forced him to delegate work), and are therefore, generally, of a superior quality. The date 1570 is taken as a convenient place to conclude, for by this time Vittoria had established himself as the pre-eminent sculptor of the Republic, as is proven by Vasari's apotheosis of his work in 1568. With the death of his master Sansovino in November 1570, Vittoria was without an equal.

A Corpus of Documents and a Catalogue Raisonné are appended to the text, and together with the illustrations, this dissertation aims to provide a comprehensive account of Vittoria's sculptural oeuvre.

N.B. In the dissertation, dates conform to our calendar system, rather than to the *more veneto*.
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=*=*

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

The main text and footnotes do not exceed the prescribed 80,000 word limit; the additional material (appendices, list of illustrations and bibliography) are exempt as specified by the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Architecture and History of Art.
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CHAPTER ONE:

VITTORIA’S EARLY YEARS AND APPRENTICESHIP IN TRENT

(c. 1537 - 1543)

Alessandro Vittoria (figs. 150, 178-79, 453, 454, 757-58) was born in Trent some eighty miles North-West of Venice. This prosperous Alpine city, then under Habsburg control, was ruled by a prince-bishop. Whether from pride in his native city, or from a desire to emulate his master Jacopo Sansovino, Vittoria on occasion added his birth-place to his signature (figs. 258, 425, 471, 505, 513). His Tridentine origins are also recorded in all but one of his nine wills.

His birth-date is unknown, as civil registers were kept in Trent only from 1545 onwards, but an obituary-notice of 1608 gives Vittoria’s age as eighty-three at his death. If accurate, then he would have been born either in 1524 or 1525.

This date is corroborated by two undated but similarly worded letters which Vittoria wrote contemporaneously to the ‘Dieci Savi sopra le Decime in Rialto’. In the non-autograph version, Vittoria complains that he is in debt partly because of his age, sixty, and thus hardly able to continue in his “tiring and very difficult” profession as a sculptor. In the autograph letter he states that two weeks previously he had nearly died from various maladies as his doctor Giambattista Peranda would testify. Such serious illnesses might well have induced him to write a will: Martin convincingly argued that these letters probably date from 1584, since “the only time the artist made a will between 1576 and 1595 was in May of 1584, when he describes himself as sick and in bed”. If Vittoria was sixty years old in 1584, this would reconfirm the traditional birthdate of 1524 or 1525.
Alessandro was probably the eldest child of a tailor named Vigilio Vittoria della Volpe, and therefore, presumably, from quite humble stock. He had two sisters, Anna, who married a certain Pier Antonio Quadrio, and Margherita, who married the Vicentine sculptor Lorenzo Rubini. Nothing is known about a brother who probably died young.

Vittoria's youth is undocumented. The first secure reference is his own testimony that he arrived in Venice on St. James' day (25 July) 1543. This absence of documentation has allowed speculation on his early training in Trent. The literary tradition, founded by Giovanelli, suggests that when the young Vittoria showed a decided inclination towards sculpting, his father sent him to school, intending him to become a judge. But Vittoria played truant and loitered around stonemasons' yards, until his exasperated father allowed him to enter a sculptor's workshop. In all its elements this vignette conforms to the conventional topos for the childhood of any great sculptor, but considering the unusually large number of masons' workshops in Trent in the late 1530s due to the patronage of Prince-Bishop Bernardo Cles (see below), this version of events may be near the truth.

It has traditionally been suggested that Vittoria was sent initially to the workshop of the Lombards Martino da Como and Antonio Medalia da Pelo, and subsequently to the studio of Vincenzo and Gian Gerolamo Grandi who had come from Padua to work for Cles. Vittoria's talent was supposedly so precocious that he came to the notice of Cles' successor, Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, who sent him to Venice in 1543 to study in the workshop of Jacopo Sansovino.

While fascinating to conjecture about the possible first teachers of Vittoria, it should be borne in mind that he cannot have spent more than four years in the Tridentine workshops, assuming that he was apprenticed at the normal age of fourteen, since he was in Venice at eighteen. Consequently the influence of his early masters would have been limited.
The city in which Vittoria grew up was experiencing an artistic renewal under the munificent patronage of Bernardo Cles, Prince-Bishop from 1515 until his death in 1539, and subsequently under Cristoforo Madruzzo (fig. 149), who ruled from 1539 until 1567. As Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, and close friends of the Emperor Charles V, the careers of Cles and Madruzzo were inseparably linked to the Imperial fortunes. Both played important roles on the European political scene, and spent much time away from their Principality on diplomatic missions for the Habsburgs. But this did not prevent significant artistic patronage in the city. Trent's central position in sixteenth-century Europe - both politically and geographically - led to a steady stream of foreign official visitors who had to be entertained lavishly. The stream turned into a flood when the Ecumenical Church Council was held in Trent (fig. 145) intermittently between December 1545 and December 1563, an event which gave added impetus to the urban renewal initiated by Cles.

Under Cles certain areas of the city, especially along the cathedral-castle axis, received a 'face-lift': the nobles were asked to regularize the façades of their palaces to achieve a unified effect, and various important building projects were completed. Thus, the duomo - whose construction had been protracted over three centuries - finally received its cupola and campanile. The rebuilding of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore on the site of an earlier foundation was directed by Maestro Antonio Medalia - the chief architect of Cles and supposedly one of Vittoria's first teachers.

Most important was the building of an extension to the Episcopal Buonconsiglio Palace between 1528 and 1536. Although absent from Trent for much of this time, Cles kept a tight rein on proceedings through bi-weekly letters sent to his overseers, containing precise instructions for the workmen, as well as letters specifically addressed to individuals. Cles wanted only the best artists to work on the palace, asking among others, the Marquis of
Mantua, Federigo Gonzaga, to send him the architect Battista Covo, and the Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso I d'Este, for the painter Dosso Dossi. Indeed, so many artists of renown were requisitioned, that Giulio Romano complained that Mantua was devoid of painters and gilders because so many had gone to Trent. Cles wanted continuous and rapid progress on the work, and repeatedly ordered his overseers to recruit more artisans. He constantly chastised individuals for laziness, and when his exhortations to greater productivity proved futile, resorted to drafting in additional labour. Thus Trent in Vittoria's childhood became a melting-pot for artistic ideas, and a cultural centre on a par with the courts of Mantua and Ferrara.

Of these foreign artists seconded to Trent to work on the palace, it was the sculptor Zaccaria Zacchi whose work was to exert the greatest influence on Vittoria, although this has hitherto gone unnoticed. Despite Zacchi's dilatoriness, his talent was recognised by Cles who employed him in many different rooms of the castle, as Matthioli in a long poem dedicated to the Buonconsiglio Palace records:

"Delli scultori il nobil Volterrano
V'è stato certo in tal materia degno,
Che maggior parte ha fatto con sua mano
Della scultura, e co'l matur disegno".

As a result of Zacchi's abilities, Cles accorded him a rare freedom (normally every preliminary sketch was sent for the Prince-Bishop's approval), commanding his overseers: "because Zacchi promises great things, we desire that for a few days he should have that liberty in all things that we have ordered before". Among the rooms which Zacchi decorated were the Chapel, the Room of the Figures and the Audience Chamber. He was also responsible for the terracotta heads of historical personages (eg Aaron, Cleopatra,
Sappho, Semiramis and Themistocles) inserted into the wall walk of the Lions’ Courtyard.

The Chapel (fig. 1) was probably Zacchi’s largest, and most important undertaking, and from Matthioli’s detailed description of it following completion, it appears that the sculptural component remains virtually intact. The high-relief terracotta figures of the Apostles in the niches (figs. 2-3, 5-6, 485, 487), and the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church, (an Evangelist is paired with a Doctor in each of the four corner spandrels - (figs. 1, 4) are particularly interesting on account of the influence they exercised on Vittoria.

Although most of the saintly figures are anatomically insecure, they have strong individual personalities. The heads are vigorously modelled, with high cheek-bones, cavernous eye-sockets, broad, and often furrowed, foreheads with protruding ridges over the eyebrows, and slightly parted lips. Hair and beards are schematically rendered, with lumps of clay built up in close proximity to create the necessary volume, and then scooped out to give definition to each curl or lock. Such lively characterisation, almost caricature, was retained by Vittoria, and we find close parallels, for example, in his two high-relief stucco Apostles, the surviving elements from the once highly praised Assumption altar-piece for the Zane Chapel in the Frari church. The Apostle whom Zacchi portrayed fingering his beard with the index and middle finger of his left hand (figs. 2, 487) is recalled in Vittoria’s St. Andrew (?) (figs. 484, 488); while the Apostle pointing with his left forefinger to his book (figs. 3, 485) is recalled, though perhaps less strikingly, in the St. Peter (?) (figs. 483, 486). Zacchi’s repeated motif of a bare, powerfully built arm appearing from beneath the swathes of drapery and brought down across the body, to counteract the upward and outward twist of the head, and to emphasize the diagonal running from the head down through the outstretched arm, clearly struck Vittoria, who re-used it effectively in the St. Andrew in the Frari. Finally, the deliberately complicated way in which Zacchi disposed the hands and
fingers of his saints, making them clasp their books in a rather mannered way (figs. 4-6), or draw their fingers through their beards, was taken up by Vittoria, who arranged fingers and hands with great care and delicacy (figs. 139, 206, 246, 315, 425, 430, 435, 438, 480, 512, 653, 657, 674).

While the stuccowork of the ground-floor Room of the "torrion da basso", (derived from ceilings in Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli), and the Room of the Black Fireplace with their abstract patterns of intertwining foliage motifs was never adopted by Vittoria, the possibilities introduced by Zacchi's figural terracotta- and stucco-work were. Zacchi created a terracotta ceiling extravaganza in the Room of the Figures (figs. 7-10). Here, the vault is divided into geometrical fields by a continuous gold frame, and in each panel, against a blue background, stands one or two terracotta bas-relief figures originally painted white to imitate marble. There are personifications of the planets, separated from each other by half-length robed astronomers, and at either end two pairs of angels bearing the Clesian impressa of a sheaf, divided by the Clesian coat-of-arms. Below are putti carrying palms and laurals, and in the lunettes heads of astrologers, painted to simulate bronze. While the personified Planets and paired angels are quite heavily proportioned, poorly articulated and rather stilted in pose when viewed individually and close to, when viewed from ground level and as a whole, the effect is of abstract shapes created by outstretched limbs against a uniform blue background: a play of negative and positive spaces. This would have been more striking still when the figures were painted white.

Zacchi repeated this scheme in the Audience Chamber where the figural stuccowork is confined to eight quadrilateral fields surrounded by an elaborate stuccowork border (figs. 11-14). Each field is filled by a single, nude male who holds some drapery and/or an attribute, and is set off against the plain blue background. The abstract possibilities arising
from off-setting an all-white figure with a dark background were later pursued by Vittoria, to even greater effect, in his stucco decorations on the vaults of the staircases in both the Doge's Palace and Library, as may be seen in such figures, each centrally placed in a pendentive, under all four domes which punctuate the vault of the Library staircase (figs. 380, 396, 398, 400-01, 420).

Another artist who was patronised by Cles and who exerted an influence on Vittoria, was Vincenzo Grandi. He had been called from Padua to carry out the main entrance portal and the fireplace in the Large Room, a space used purely for receptions and entertainments, and was at work in the palace from mid 1531 until 1532. The fireplace (fig. 15), though reconstructed, is unquestionably impressive. Two satyr-caryatids (fig. 16), with drunken grimaces and with the Clesian emblem hanging upon their chests, support an architrave, on which are metopes carved with Silenus masks. Above this is a heavy cornice on the ends of which stand two marble trophies. It was highly praised in its own day by Matthioli, and Vittoria must have become familiar with it during late 1550-51 when in Cardinal Madruzzo's employ, for leering satyr masks were to become part of his decorative vocabulary: witness those on the ceiling of the Stanza dei Principi, Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza (1552) (figs. 216, 217-19). Vincenzo Grandi was also employed by Cles to make a number of small bronzes (figs. 28-32), and it is in this capacity, as well as that of creator of the stone Cantoria (singing gallery) in the chancel of Santa Maria Maggiore (figs. 17-27) that Vincenzo has most significance for Vittoria.

As mentioned above, Cles had ordered the rebuilding of Santa Maria Maggiore - one of the oldest churches in Trent - between 1520 and 1524. Once the work had been completed he turned his attentions to fitting the interior with a singing gallery and lavish organ. A plaque on the Cantoria, is dated 1534, the year that Vincenzo Grandi and his shop started
work on this project.\textsuperscript{41} Vincenzo's nephew, Gian Gerolamo, was also employed, and Cessi proposed that while the marble-cutters would have been directly commanded by Vincenzo, the bronze-makers were probably under Gerolamo's control.\textsuperscript{42} Despite workshop participation and the stipulation in the contract, (presumably of 1534), that the project should be completed within two years, the Cantoria was not finished until 1541, and the final settlement of 150 Rhenish Florins to Vincenzo was not made until March 1542.\textsuperscript{43}

The construction of the Cantoria was undoubtedly the most important sculptural project in Trent during the mid to late 1530s, now that work on the 'Magno Palazzo' had drawn to a close, and the workshop of the Grandi was certainly the largest, and most prestigious in town. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Vittoria would have entered this particular workshop, especially as his 'coming of age' for apprenticeship around 1538, would have coincided with renewed work on the Cantoria, following an injunction of September 1537 enjoining its prompt completion.\textsuperscript{44} Had Vittoria been apprenticed to the Grandi around 1538,\textsuperscript{45} and stayed with them until the project's completion in 1541 (when the workshop dispersed and the Grandi moved back to Padua),\textsuperscript{46} he would have spent at most four years under their tutelage. In this time he would have learnt the rudiments of stone-cutting, and something about the manufacture of bronze sculpture, but it is unlikely that he would have executed independent works, on the cantoria or elsewhere in Trent, if one considers the menial tasks which he was to undertake in his first years of apprenticeship under Sansovino in Venice. The proposal that Vittoria is to be identified as that "altro più insigne virtuoso" who carved the two shield-bearing putti under the Cantoria (\textbf{figs. 18, 22}), is therefore to be rejected.\textsuperscript{47}

The Cantoria (6.2m x 1.6m), carved from a white stone from the quarries at Pila, is supported on four large modillions decorated with fleshy acanthus leaf scrolls on the projecting ends, and reliefs depicting mythological scenes. The gallery is enclosed by a
parapet decorated with free-standing statuettes of lombardesque Sibyls in niches, two high-relief scenes of *The Adoration of the Magi* left and *The Adoration of the Shepherds* right (fig. 20), and three panels with an interlace motif. The underside of the gallery is divided into three fields carved with an intricate motif of inhabited scrolling foliage (figs. 21, 23-24), in the centres of which are bronze medallions with half-length male portraits (fig. 19), while each division of the tripartite backwall has a piece of black marble as a foil for the two flanking shield-bearing putti, and the centred dedication plaque. On the outer sides are *all’antica* scenes (fig. 25-27).

The importance of this work for the subsequent artistic development of Vittoria has been much exaggerated by critics, above all by Serra and Venturi, for few traces of Grandi’s sculptural ideas were retained by Vittoria. The *Adoration* scenes, for example, are laboured, and peopled with rather stocky types in stilted poses, which Venturi calls “goffo”, and far removed from the attenuated Parmigianinesque figures filling the known bas-reliefs by Vittoria, such as the oval narrative scenes in the Stanza dei Principi, Palazzo Thiene (figs. 209-15, 236, 388) or the frontal of the altar of the Mercers’ Guild in San Giuliano, Venice (fig. 699). Neither the cantoria’s bas-relief decoration nor the calligraphic depiction of drapery falling into classicising, rivulet-like, parallel folds as on Grandi’s *Sibyls*, was adopted by Vittoria.

The only aspect of the carving on the Cantoria which could be argued to have made any lasting impact on Vittoria is the very characterful depiction of certain heads, which Venturi calls “l’accento personalissimo di rude schiettezza realistica”. The three bronze heads of "Prophets" (fig. 19), ascribed to Gian Gerolamo Grandi, are particularly striking for their forceful characterisation, with certain features exaggerated to give an air of resoluteness and strength. In these heads especially critics have found precedents for certain facial types
in Vittoria’s oeuvre, although Serra also saw reminiscences of the figures of St. Joseph in both Adoration reliefs in the St. Jerome statues executed by Vittoria (figs. 489-95; 674-76). Indeed, several other works by Vittoria could be brought into connection with the highly stylised heads of the Grandi, for example, the bald Slave-Caryatid on the Contarini Monument in Padua (fig. 293) with the bronze head of the man with tight curls on the Cantoria, who share the Vitellius as a prototype; or the St. Anthony Abbot, in the Grimani Chapel, (fig. 426), and the San Zaccaria statuette, (fig. 440), with the Prophet David with his long beard free-flowing to the right (fig. 19). The Grandi bronze-busts seem to find their logical conclusions in such striking portraits by Vittoria as that of Marcantonio Grimani (fig. 422), or Benedetto Manzini. However, as this use of emphatic facial features could equally well have been learnt from Zaccaria Zacchi, the importance of the Cantoria for Vittoria should not be exaggerated. The same is true of the small-scale bronzes manufactured in the Grandi workshop. The only documentary proof of the Grandi producing small bronzes for the prince-bishops of Trent is the letter sent from Padua by Vincenzo to Madruzzo, on 18 October 1546. It accompanied a bronze ink-stand commissioned by Madruzzo with precise instructions as to its eventual form and the allegorical subjects to be represented. However, there is a fairly small group of works generally attributed to the Grandi, and datable to the reign of Bernardo Cles, either because they bear his emblems, or because they are stylistically similar to those with Clesian insignia, and it is with these that Vittoria would have become familiar during his apprenticeship.

Among these small functional pieces are two bronze buckets which are extremely interesting for the low reliefs running around the exteriors. The first is supported on paws and decorated with four scenes divided from each other by little pilasters with acanthus leaves.
around their bases (figs. 28-29). Two of the scenes depict putti playing with coats of arms, (one of these is identical with that on the other bucket), and the other scenes depict *The Judgement of Paris* and *A Triumphal Procession*. The second is decorated with Clesian emblems, putti, horses and a profile portrait of the Prince-Bishop etc. (figs. 30-31). The small-scale figures on these reliefs are much livelier than any of those on the Cantoria, and Venturi remarked that the nude goddess seen from behind in the *Judgement of Paris* was worthy of Vittoria in her gracile fluidity. It may be that Vittoria recalled the lively cherubs playing with pieces of gracefully looping ribbon, present not only on the buckets but also on a number of bronze bells attributed to the Grandi workshop, and fused them with Sansovino's mischievous putti on the Sacristy door (figs. 43-45) in his cherubs which decorate the stuccoed staircase vaults of the Doge's Palace and the Library.

Bernardo Cles died on 30 July 1539, and not long afterwards the Grandi began to turn their attention back towards Padua. While March 1542 may be seen as the 'official' cessation of their activity in Trent, the Grandi workshop in Padua must already have been re-opened by spring 1541, for on 15 May Vincenzo was commissioned to execute stonework in the tomb-chapel of St. Anthony (*Arca del Santo*), then under construction in the Basilica of the Santo, and on 10 June he and Gian Gerolamo were assigned one of the reliefs for its walls.

According to tradition, following the Grandi departure, Vittoria was "adopted" by the new Prince-Bishop, who, recognising his talent and the lack of suitable teachers in Trent sent the youth to Venice with a letter of introduction to Jacopo Sansovino. Certainly, Madruzzo, like Cles, was a great patron of the arts, and even though the building projects undertaken in his reign were less grandiose, there were many opportunities for artistic patronage afforded by the visits of the Habsburgs and subsequently by the arrival of the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries for the Council of Trent. The city celebrated the arrival of eminent persons with
spectacular temporary architectural constructions, such as triumphal Roman arches, or wooden castles which had mock battles fought in them. We know Vittoria was later involved with temporary festive constructions, and it is quite possible, assuming he stayed on in Trent after the Grandi had departed, that he may have worked on such structures. For example, for the entry of the Emperor Charles V on 7 July 1541, three triumphal arches decorated with coats-of-arms, paintings and garlands were erected, and the construction was supervised by Alessio Longhi, whom Vittoria could have met as a member of the Grandi workshop.

However, although we know that Vittoria was in Madruzzo's employ by April 1551, if not by November 1550, there is no documentary evidence of a relationship between the sculptor and the cardinal before then, nor any proof that it was Madruzzo who arranged Vittoria's into Sansovino's workshop. It could be argued that, following the death of Cles (1539) and the transferral of the Grandi to Trent (by 1542), Vittoria found himself without patron and prospects and decided to follow the Grandi to Padua in order to continue his apprenticeship under them. A devastating plague of locusts which infested Trent in summer 1542 might well have been the catalyst in his decision to leave his native-city. However, in the absence of documentation, the early Tridentine activity of Vittoria has to remain speculative.
1. Of the Venetian works by Sansovino, the majority were signed with his Florentine origin proudly proclaimed. See Boucher (1991), passim. Vittoria's works which indicate his birth place are less numerous than Sansovino's, and fall in the earlier part of his career. See Cat. Nos. 3, 31, 43, 45, 51, 57.


3. Temanza (1778), 475 discovered this in a necrology in the archives of San Giovanni in Bragora (now ASV); reprinted here as Doc. No. 238(i). This has been reconfirmed by a similar obituary-notice discovered by the author in a necrology preserved in that church: Doc. No. 238(ii). See Martin (1988), 2, n. 4 for Temanza's error "in giving 27 March as the date of Vittoria's death because he misread marzo -- Venetian for maggio -- as marzo."

4. See Leithe-Jasper (1963), 44, n. 2. Temanza (1778), 475; Giovanelli-Gar (1858), 1; Cérésole (1885), 93; Ambrosi (1894), 41; Predelli (1908), 14; Planiscig (1921), 437; Serra (1923), 10; Venturi (1937), 64; Cessi (1960-1), 19; Leithe-Jasper (1963), 1; Martin (1988), 4.

5. Published by Predelli; reprinted here as Doc. Nos. 180-81. According to Martin (1988), 3, n. 7 both provide in essence the same information, one being a draft, the other being an official copy.


8. Martin (1988, 3-4, n. 8). This is more convincing than Predelli's generally accepted theory that the letters were written in reply to a senatorial decree of 12 January 1582 in which every Venetian had to declare his property (Predelli, 1908, 63). As the deadline was 1 April 1582, the letters must have been written between mid-January and late March 1582, and therefore a birth-date of either 1521 or 1522 is arrived at. However, as pointed out by Martin (1988, 3, n. 8), Predelli was unhappy with such an early date, and preferred to follow the c. 1525 date proposed by Temanza, stating that Vittoria was born in 1524 (Predelli, 1908, 14). Since this meant that Vittoria would have been sixty in 1584 or 1585, he resorted to compromising the date of the two letters elsewhere: on p. 9 he dates them to "1584?", whilst on p. 18 to "circa l'anno 1585".

9. The document of April 1551 (Doc. No. 9), in which Vittoria is identified as "M[aestr]o Alessandro Vittoria fil che fu di m[aestr]o Vilio Sartor, sculor ...", is revealing not only because it informs us of the profession of Vittoria's father, but also because it provides a terminus ante quem for his death. That Vittoria was keen, from the start of his career, to elevate himself socially from his relatively humble origins, is visible not only in the sort of painted portraits he commissioned of himself, which adorned his house (Rgs. 150, 453, 454, 757), but also in the two medallie self-portraits he made in the early 1550s (Cat. Nos. 11-12). The extremely elaborate funerary monument which he erected to his own memory, significantly took the form he had used for his noble patrons, and included a fanciful coat-of-arms bearing a fox, alluding to his full surname, Vittoria della Volpe, which further indicates that he wished to be seen as coming from a social rank more elevated than his own really was (Cat. No. 110).

10. The only reference to Vittoria's brother comes in a letter written by Pietro Aretino to Lucietta Saraceno in November 1552 (Doc. No. 18; for lost medal see Cat. No. 130). This brother must have died by August 1560, for in this month Vittoria penned his first will, in which he mentioned his late father's inheritance having been shared between his two sisters and himself, without any reference to his brother (Doc. No. 70). See Gerola (1925), 4, n. 2.

12. Giovannelli-Gar (1858), 2; see also Cérésolé (1885), 94.

13. For example, Vittoria’s contemporary, the Flemish sculptor Giambologna (1529-1608) had a curiously similar childhood according to Borghini (1584), 585.

14. See Martelli (1946). Medalia is recorded in Trent only until 1538, and as Vittoria would then have been only fourteen, the amount of time spent in this workshop, if any, must have been minimal.

15. Giovannelli’s proposal regarding Vittoria’s training in Trent has been accepted uncritically by most authors: Zanella (1879), 17; Atz (1909), 391; Zanolini (1909), 3; Serra (1923), 7, although he only saw certain affinities in Vittoria’s work with that of Vincenzo Grandi; Weber (1933), 308; Venturi (1937), 75-82, talks of the influence of the Grandi on Vittoria; Cessi (1960-1), 19; Leithe-Jasper (1963), 1-3, 44, n. 3.

16. Cessi (1960-1, 19) proposed that the decision to apprentice Vittoria would have been taken when he was only eight or nine years old, and that having spent “some time” under Medalia, he would have entered the workshop of the Grandi, around 1534-35. Such a suggestion would mean a total of seven or eight years under their tutelage. Why Vittoria should have been apprenticed so early is left unexplained, and an apprenticeship of this length would surely have made a greater impact on Vittoria, than is the case.

17. For Cles, see Chini and de Gramatica (1987), with bibliographical references. For Madruzzo, see Trent (1993).


20. Ibid., 91 and Zanella (1879).

21. For the building of the “Magno Palazzo” see Bocchi and Oradini (1983), 92, and particularly Ezio and de Gramatica (1987), 90-97, and for additional bibliography. Although Vittoria would therefore have been too young to have participated on any of the interior decorations, he must have studied them at length when he returned subsequently (e.g. his sojourn of 1550-51 when in Cardinal Madruzzo’s employ), for some of his works imply a knowledge of particular pieces of statuary or stucco-work, such as his stucco Apostles on the Zane altar (Cat. No. 61).

22. See Amsüer and Gerola (1925), 1-191.

23. Gerola (1911), 176.

25. "... esser Mantova vota di pitori e doratori, perché molti ne sono andati a Trento", see Gerola (1911), 175.


27. The stonemason Alessio Longhi was constantly rebuked for laziness, and Cles seems, in the end, to have despaired of him. (See Ausserer and Gerola (1925), docs. 35, 36, 77, 98, 99, 102, 186, 190, 246, 254 and 259). The overseers who, despite entreaties and admonitions, could extract little diligent labour from him, resorted to employing additional workmen to compensate, and ensured that Longhi’s own workshop was constantly being renewed with fresh blood. In a letter of 12 January 1532 they reported: "Non demanco del continuo ha mantenuto 16 taipred et in questa setemana ne aspecta 8 in 10", while on 27 January 1532 they reported: "Maistro Alexio del continuo tene persone 18 in la pradera et in botega, ne aspecta de hora in hora 6 altri". (Ausserer and Gerola (1925), 58, doc. 75, and 61-62, doc. 78 respectively).

Another very slow sculptor was Zaccaria Zacchì from Volterra, and Cles wrote numerous letters to him personally, and to the overseers, exhorting him to work harder. (Ausserer and Gerola (1925), docs. 64, 65, 75, 77, 141, 142, 162, 184, 185, 186, 188, 224, 237, 238, 267 and 271).


29. Zacchì was born in Arezzo in 1473, and after receiving his training in Florence, (where, according to Vasari he made friends with Baccio da Montelupo), he worked in Volterra and between 1520 and 1530 in Bologna, on the reliefs of the lateral doors of San Petronio. He arrived in Trent around 1531, and remained in the service of Cles until 1535, whence he went back to Bologna, and then on to Rome, where he died in 1544. See Rasmo (1947) and the following monographs: Maffei (1905); Gennari (1938) and Covi (1982).

30. Matthioli (1539). The poem was published by Marcolini in Venice, and it is conceivable that Vittoria would therefore, have read it, especially considering his connection with the ‘Magnó Palazzo’.

31. "E perché el [Zacchì] ne promette cose grande, voleremo per qualche giorno in qualche cosa habia tal libertade, come havemo ditto alias", see Ausserer and Gerola (1925), 120, doc. 165.

32. Matthioli (1539) describes in minute detail the appearance of the chapel. His description shows that the terracotta figures were originally painted white, for he mistakenly thought that they were from marble, while the angelic nimbus encircling God the Father was gilded, and the empty wall-spaces decorated with an arabesque motif in gold and blue. From the rest of Matthioli’s description we know that there were originally statues of the Virgin and Child, St. Vigilio and St. Massenza on the altar, as well as lavish silver ware, and that an inlaid wooden choir ran around the walls of the chapel.

33. Cat. No. 61.

34. The ceiling bears the date 1532. Once again this room earned great praise from Matthioli (1539).

35. Though different in style, it would have recalled the basic blue and white glazing on della Robbia terracottas.

36. This has been long recognised. See Cessi (1967).
37. The high quality of Vincenzo's work brought him to the attention of Cles' overseers, who were constantly looking for able sculptors to work on the palace, but they hesitated over his prices which were much higher than those of Alessio Longhi, and referred the matter to Cles. (Ausserer and Gerola (1925), 19-20, doc. 12). We can gauge the positive response of Cles to Vincenzo's design for the fireplace in a letter he wrote to his overseers on 2 January 1532, in which he called it "molto sumptuoso et vago" and that the asked-for price of 180 ducats was not exhorbitant considering its quality (Ausserer and Gerola (1925), 55, doc. 70).

38. See Gerola (1934), 98.


40. See Cessi (1967), 23, n. 15.

41. His shop may have included some of those Paduan stonemasons who had been drafted in by Cles' overseers to compensate for the dilatoriness of Alessio Longhi.

42. Cessi (1967), 23.

43. Progress was slow, and a lawsuit was brought against Vincenzo Grandi by the commissioning patron in September 1537, because he had failed to bring the work to completion within the two years stipulated in the initial contract. Yet, despite an injunction to finish the Cantoria with all speed, work dragged on, and in 1541 another suit was brought against Vincenzo Grandi for the same reason. As Gerolamo Grandi was present at many of the resulting hearings, Cessi (1967, 23-24) tentatively proposed that he had, perhaps for some time, been head of the Trent workshop.

44. See n. 43.

45. See n. 16.


47. The suggestion of the putti being by a hand other than that of either Vincenzo or Gian Gerolamo Grandi was first proposed in a note in an old manuscript: Trent, Biblioteca Francescana, Ms. Tovazzi 85, fol. 125, n. 7. For the identification of this hand as Vittoria's, see Rizzi (1925), 127. Atz (1909), 391, proposed that Vittoria's first efforts could be identified in several putti on the façade of the Casa Lavis, Trent, and in the head of a youth in Innsbruck. Such precocity seems untenable considering that upon his arrival in Venice, Vittoria merely cleaned Sansovino's wax models for the second pergolo in 1544 (Doc. No. 2) and the Sacristy door in 1546 (Doc. No. 3), both for St. Mark's Basilica.

48. Serra (1923), 9-10; Venturi (1937), 74-82.

49. Venturi (1937), 76. Cessi (1967, 29), saw a disparity in the quality of carving and suggested a division of labour whereby the more lively parts were attributed to Vincenzo, and the more indifferent parts to Gian Gerolamo.

50. Venturi (1937), 78-82.

51. ibid., 82; Serra (1923), 10.

52. See Martin (1988), Cat. No. 9 and 14 respectively.
53. Certain critics have exaggerated the importance of the Cantoria on the artistic formation of the young Vittoria: Venturi (1909, 515) went so far as to suggest that Vittoria would have remembered the two *Laocoön* reliefs on the Cantoria (fig. 25) when he carved his *St. Sebastian* for the Montefeltro Altar (Cat. No. 53).

54. Benedetti (1923), 28-40. The ink-stand was decorated around its base with a frieze composed of testoons and bucranums, and was surmounted by a figure of *St. John the Evangelist*, seated on top of his eagle, and decorated also with the Madruzzo emblem of the phoenix and the motto "VT VIVAT".

55. Published by Venturi (1907), and discussed by Cessi (1967, 62-63, Tav. 22 & 23).

56. First published by Venturi (1907). This bucket is considered to be the earlier of the two by Cessi (1967, 62, Tav. 21) because of the juxtaposition of very low relief objects, such as the portrait of Cles, and the nearby bird, putto and horse, which belong to the Quattrocento, while the two putti in greater relief who are raising the Clesian emblem speak rather of "un ambiente decisamente nuovo".

57. Venturi (1937), 82.

58. For the Grandi bells, see Cessi (1967), 64-67, Tavv. 28-29. For Sansovino's putti, see Boucher (1991), Vol. I colour plate VII, and Vol. II, Cat. No. 23. For the *Scala d'Oro* of the Doge's Palace, see Cat. No. 38, and for the staircase of the Library, see Cat. No. 39.


60. In the end this commission was removed from them: (Cessi (1967), 36-37, 54 n. 1).

61. See Belli (1993), 455-79.

62. See Chapter Three, 55-56; Doc. No. 9.


64. See Doc. No. 9 re. erection of temporary structures for the visit of Prince Philip of Spain.

65. See Doc. No. 8.

66. The plague continued into the following year; see Mariani (1673), 329.
CHAPTER TWO: VITTORIA'S APPRENTICESHIP UNDER SANSOVINO AND HIS WANDERJAHRE IN THE VENETO (1543 - spring 1550)

The first record of Vittoria occurs in his account-book, in which he recorded his arrival in Venice on 25 July 1543.¹ This ricordo does not indicate whence or why he came, but it has been assumed that he came straight from Trent armed with a letter of recommendation from Madruzzo, and immediately entered Sansovino's workshop. However, he may have taken a little time to find work since the first notice of his being associated with Sansovino is not until 1544, when Vittoria's name is included among a list of workers paid by Sansovino for assistance on the second pergola (tribune) on the North side of the choir in St. Mark's basilica: Vittoria was reimbursed, together with a certain Nassimbene, for having cleaned the three bronze reliefs depicting posthumous miracles of St. Mark, from an unspecified date (after December 1542 when the panels were cast) until 15 July 1544 (figs. 40-42).²

In the period under consideration in this chapter (1543 - spring 1550), only two further documents relating to Vittoria's activity are known. The first concerns work executed for the Sacristy door in St. Mark's (figs. 43-45):³ in May 1546 Vittoria, now specified as 'scultore', was paid, together with one Antonio, for cleaning the wax casting model.⁴ The second, nearly four years later, of 29 March 1550, records a payment to Vittoria of 20 ducats from Sansovino for carving four River Gods for the spandrels of the arcades of the Libreria (figs. 123, 125-38).¹

Although the absence of documents means that one can only speculate about Vittoria's
activities during his apprenticeship and journeyman years, from what is known about the training of apprentices more general comments can be made. When Vittoria entered the bottega he would almost certainly have been employed as a garzone (apprentice), and the accordo between Sansovino and himself, setting out the conditions of the apprenticeship, would have been registered with the magistracy in charge of the guilds - the Giustizia Vecchia. Unfortunately, no apprenticeship records in this archive survive before 1575, and it is impossible to prove that Vittoria was formally apprenticed to Sansovino. However, although none of the contracts drawn up between Sansovino and his apprentices survive, those made later between Vittoria and his garzoni do, and from these a clear picture emerges of the patrono-garzone relationship.

Normally, in return for a modest wage - which increased annually by a small amount - board and lodging, and even items of clothing and shoes, the apprentice would be a general factotum. He would have had very little freedom of movement, as he was financially dependent on the master, and under contractual obligation to work for him full-time.

During his apprenticeship years, Vittoria would have expanded whatever technical expertise he had acquired from the Grandi in Trent in the preparation of wax and terracotta models for casting into bronze, in the making of full-scale stucco models and the transfer of their measurements to the blocks of stone or marble from which the final sculptures were to be carved. Vittoria would also have imbibed Sansovino's style, from studying the drawings, bozzetti, and models available to him in the studio, and those commissions with which he assisted Sansovino would have had a formative influence on Vittoria, no doubt keen to emulate his master. Thus, his first documented task of cleaning the bronze reliefs of the North pergola meant that he became acquainted with all three of its panels. Indeed, the original terracotta models for these relief panels, as well as the three for the South pergola,
would have been in Sansovino's studio so Vittoria could have studied them all closely.5

Likewise Vittoria would have had every opportunity to familiarize himself with the various component-panels of the Sacristy door, through study of the wax master model, the gesso piece-moulds made rapidly after February 1546, the wax models taken from these piece-moulds which he cleaned in May 1546, and eventually the bronze casts themselves as he worked carefully over their surfaces, before they were soldered onto the door.

That Vittoria was an able apprentice is demonstrated, as Planiscig first noted,9 by his progressing from the relatively humble task of polishing the bronze reliefs of the pergolo to the more skilled task of cleaning the wax casting models for the reliefs of the Sacristy Door, in less than two years.

Vittoria would have met the other assistants in the workshop, most notably Danese Cattaneo, Tiziano Minio, Girolamo Lombardo, Tommaso Lombardo and Pietro da Salò. Vittoria may even have overlapped with Bartolomeo Ammannati very briefly if the latter was still in Venice in 1543 as Davis suggests, although Kinney believes that by this date Ammannati had returned to Urbino to execute the tomb of Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere, before returning to Padua by early 1544 to carve the Hercules for Marco Mantova Benavides (fig. 181).10 Vittoria would also have used the time to build up contacts, gradually ingratiating himself with Sansovino and his circle of patrons and friends, in particular with Pietro Aretino and Titian.11

Vittoria was fortunate to arrive in Venice when Sansovino's workshop was at the height of its fame, due to the enthusiastic patronage of Doge Francesco Donato (1545-1553),12 and involved in many significant commissions. Of particular importance for Vittoria's development were the works in bronze produced in Sansovino's workshop during his apprenticeship years. Besides his participation on the North pergolo and the Sacristy Door,
it seems likely that Vittoria was involved in the manufacture of the contemporary bronze statues of Pallas, Apollo, Mercury and Peace for the Loggetta of the campanile in St. Mark’s Square (figs. 279, 284, 501-03, 509-511). The Loggetta was started by February 1538 and finished by the end of 1540, in February 1541 Sansovino presented an estimate for casting the four bronze deities, but, according to Boucher, "the models only reached an active state of preparation by early 1542". The four statues must have been cast between then, and February 1546, when they were in situ and final settlement was made - in other words precisely during those years when Vittoria was an apprentice. He might well have helped polish and chase the bronze-casts, or clean the wax models for them. Vittoria would have been able to study the small clay models which would have been made for the approval of the Procurators of St. Mark’s, and the full-scale gesso figures made for casting purposes. That such models were conserved is proven by the record of a gesso Apollo by Sansovino in the collection of Marco Mantova Benavides in Padua.

Other projects, not involving bronze, were also underway in Sansovino’s studio during Vittoria’s apprenticeship. Most prestigious was the Carrara marble relief of the Miracle of the Maiden Carilla, for the Arca del Santo, Padua, which had been brought to the workshop in September 1536 (fig. 52). From the intermittent payments disbursed by the massari - the commissioning stewards of the Arca - it would appear that the relief was worked on at regular intervals between 1542 and 1551, although not completed until December 1557.

Another commission which had a lasting impact on Vittoria was the decoration of both fireplaces in the salone of Villa Garzoni Carraretto in Pontecasale, with a pair of Istrian stone figures: the Caryatids, attributed by Boucher to Cattaneo (fig. 48), and the Telamones to Pietro da Salò (figs. 46-47). These were probably carved during the 1540s, and Vittoria would have been well aware of them, since they were probably executed in Sansovino's
workshop: certain aspects of them are recalled in his *Feminoni* and the *Telemones* for Andrea Gritti's fireplace.\(^{18}\)

Finally, it should be remembered that the very extensive sculptural decoration of the *Libreria* (comprising the keystones of both stories' arcades bearing male, female and lions' heads, paired river gods in the spandrels of the lower arcade and victories in the spandrels of the upper arcade, the bas-relief panels in the soffits of the lower arches, and the friezes of the upper and lower orders) was also underway by the 1540s when Vittoria was in the workshop, if, as Boucher proposes, Sansovino had presented the basic designs to the procurators as early as 1536.\(^{19}\) Although there are no documents relating to the division of labour for the sculptural decoration,\(^{20}\) both Francesco Sansovino and Giorgio Vasari enumerated some of the workers involved. Sansovino named Danese Cattaneo, Pietro da Salò and Bartolommeo Ammannati, among other masters, as having carved the keystones and Ammannati as having carved a statue of *Neptune* for the balustrade.\(^{21}\) Vasari named only Tommaso Lombardo, Danese Cattaneo, and Girolamo Lombardo as having carved figures for the Library, specifying that Lombardo had worked on sculptures of *mezzo rilievo*.\(^{22}\) Thus whilst the most prominent elements, such as the river-gods, victories and keystone heads went to the artists of proven standing, the less visible soffit-reliefs were delegated to less experienced sculptors.\(^{23}\) It could be conjectured, therefore, that Vittoria carved some of the decorative and mythological panels of the soffits, and/or the putti, when he was still comparatively inexperienced, perhaps after he had finished his part of the cleaning of the wax models of the Sacristy door, (ie from May 1546 onwards).\(^{24}\) Indeed, it may well be that Sansovino was sufficiently impressed by the talent of the young man to award Vittoria the task of carving four river gods for the spandrels, which, because of their conspicuous placing, were normally given to sculptors of greater experience and proven reputation.
Vittoria would also have acquainted himself with earlier work which had already left Sansovino's workshop, since the preparatory drawings and models would have remained in the studio as part of Sansovino's stock-in-trade. He would certainly have studied those works in Venetian locations, such as the seated St. John the Baptist statuette carved around 1534 for the Giustinian font in the Frari (figs. 50, 144), the Arsenal Madonna (mid-1530s), the Loggetta Madonna (late 1530s or early 1540s), or the Chiesetta Madonna (c. 1536-37).25

Vittoria would also have been conscious of sculptural projects executed by other sculptors, either just prior to his arrival or during his first years in Venice. An artist who exerted considerable influence on Vittoria is the Tuscan Tiziano Minio, who specialised in stucco and bronze, the very media in which Vittoria himself was to excel. Among Minio's most influential works were the stuccoes in the Odeo Cornaro, Padua,26 and the bronze reliefs on the lid of the font in the Baptistry in St. Mark's, commissioned in 1545.

Another project which seems to have been undertaken only just before Vittoria's arrival in Venice was the decoration of the Palazzo Grimani at Santa Maria Formosa, which seems to have awoken Vittoria to the possibilities offered by the medium of stucco. The upper floor of this palace was occupied by Vettore Grimani, a Procurator di San Marco de Supra, while his younger brother Giovanni, resided on the piano nobile. The first campaign of redecoration took place in the late 1530s, and reveals Giovanni's preference for artists trained in Florence and Rome. Two of the three mythological cycles executed on ceilings at the southern end of the first floor survive: the earlier and better preserved is the Callisto ceiling (1537-39), covered in compartmentalized all'antica stuccowork by Giovanni da Udine (fig. 38). The decorative patterns employed in the mouldings derive from the baths at Hadrian's villa, the figures from ancient gems. The second Ceiling of Apollo (1539-40) - the result of collaboration between Giovanni da Udine and Francesco Salviati, who arrived in
Venice in summer 1539 - is "a wonderful classicizing confection in praise of the acts of Apollo" (fig. 39). These ceilings introduced to Venice the latest Raphaelesque fashions from the princely and Papal Courts of central Italy and Rome. It is likely that Vittoria would have been familiar with Giovanni da Udine's stuccowork, since he appears to have studied the Grimani collection of antiquities as an apprentice and journeyman in the late 1540s: his stucco bust of the Emperor Vespasian modelled in 1552 for the Stanza dei Principi, (Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza), is based on the Grimani Vespasian which formed part of the original nucleus of the Grimani collection (now in the Museo Archeologico, Venice). Pizzo proposed that a bust of Vespasian in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (originally in the Trevisan collections) is a copy made by Vittoria after that in the Grimani collection, which served as the model not only for the Thiene stucco bust, but also for the head of the Bald Slave on the Contarini Monument (Basilica del Santo, Padua), of 1555-57 (fig. 293). Moreover, Pizzo proposed that Vittoria's bust of Orsato Giustinian (Padua, Museo Civico) is based on the Grimani bust of Pompey (now Museo Archeologico, Venice), which provides further support for Vittoria's familiarity with the Grimani collection of antiquities.

Another decorative campaign in the palace was undertaken by Giovanni Grimani, following his brother's death in 1558 and the acquisition of his apartments. In the early 1560s, Federico Zuccari, another talented young painter from Rome, embellished the alla romana compartmentalized vault of the "Scala d'Oro" with frescoes; the date and author of the stuccowork remain unknown (figs. 33-37), but it may have been executed prior to that executed by Vittoria on the vaults of the Scala d'Oro in the Doge's Palace, and if so would provide an interesting precedent. In between the classical cornices and friezes are fields with motifs derived from classical gems owned by the Grimani.

An apprentice would normally stay with his master for between five and eight years,
and would then progress to the status of a master, either by successfully passing a prova, demonstrating his skill, or having been apprenticed for the requisite number of years. There were two types of master mason: the wealthier padrone di corte (or bottega) had a workshop, whether rented or owned, and could have three apprentices and a number of lavoranti working for him. The poorer lavorante (or journeyman), did not possess his own workshop and was only allowed one apprentice or assistant after having been in the guild for ten years. From entries in Vittoria's account book, and other documents, we know that he must have been a lavorante from at least 1546 since on 20 March 1556 he hired a first apprentice; a second followed on 4 February 1557. As a lavorante he would certainly have had more freedom of movement as he could work for any padrone di bottega and was not tied geographically to Venice. It may be that from 1546 onwards Vittoria spent longer periods away from Sansovino's workshop, since between May 1546 and March 1550 Vittoria received no specific payments from Sansovino.

The lack of documentary evidence concerning Vittoria in the late 1540s means that his activities as a journeyman have to remain speculative. However, it can be shown that the traditionally accepted account of his wanderjahre, by Temanza is flawed. According to Temanza, Vittoria moved to Vicenza in 1547 following a break down of relations with Sansovino, and worked there until 1552 without returning to Venice. There he executed the elaborate stuccoes of the barrel-vaulted room in Palazzo Bissari-Arnaldi, and then, having ingratiated himself with Palladio, those of the Caldogno, Porto and Thiene palaces.

Temanza erroneously believed that the quarrel between Vittoria and Sansovino took place in 1547. However, this break can be dated firmly to late 1551. The reason why Temanza dated the start of the quarrel so early was because it furnished a highly plausible and convenient explanation as to why Vittoria should have been working independently and away
from Venice in 1547 when he was "ancor assai giovane". Yet, as Martin argues, Vittoria would have been around 23 years old by that year, and it would have been unusual for him to still be working exclusively in his master's bottega. Therefore no exceptional circumstances in Vittoria's career are needed to justify his working independently in the late 1540s.

However, even if the postponement of the quarrel by four years need not affect Temanza's claim that Vittoria was working independently in Vicenza, the likelihood of such a prolonged stay is greatly reduced because all but one of Temanza's attributions of work to Vittoria during this period are unsustainable. The only residence in which Vittoria was certainly employed was Palazzo Thiene, whose stuccoes were not made until the early 1550s.

Temanza's proposal regarding the Caldogno palace can be dismissed immediately because, as first pointed out by Serra, it was not built until the 1570s. His claim that Vittoria worked on the stuccoes in Palazzo da Porto Festa (figs. 90-101) is also suspect, for Palladio named only Bartolomeo Ridolfi as responsible for these stuccoes. Zorzi ascribed three large masks and two Victories on the exterior façade to Vittoria, but these are mediocre works and unlikely to be by him.

Equally unreliable is Temanza's account that, following his arrival in Vicenza in 1547, Vittoria spent two years executing the stuccoes on the ceiling of a small rectangular, barrel-vaulted room on the first floor of Palazzo Bissari-Arnaldi (figs. 53-86). Having described the stuccoes, Temanza mentioned that above a fireplace was a beautiful low relief and a marble portrait-bust which bore the date 1547. Temanza assumed that this date also applied to the ceiling decorations, believing that the ceiling and bust were part of the same project. However, as was first pointed out by Leithe-Jasper, and reiterated by Martin, it is unsound
to use the date inscribed on a portable portrait-bust to date a quite separate stucco ceiling, especially when the date on the bust was itself controversial, with various critics after Temanza reading it as 1546. Consequently, Temanza’s thesis that Vittoria arrived in Vicenza in 1547 is also untenable.

Finally, Leithe-Jasper undertook a detailed stylistic analysis of the ceiling, and concluded that the stuccoes had little to do with Vittoria, and should be excluded from his oeuvre. He found they had closer stylistic affinities with the Vicentine school, and tentatively proposed that they were made by a little-known artist called Giovanni, mentioned by Vasari as being particularly renowned for his portrayal of animals. Although this new candidate seems rather unlikely, Leithe-Jasper’s removal of this ceiling from Vittoria’s oeuvre is undoubtedly correct, for if one compares it with other vaults securely attributed to Vittoria, such as that of the Stanza dei Principi in Palazzo Thiene of 1552, one sees just how alien in composition, form and handling the Bissari-Arnaldi vault is.

One major difference between the vaulted room in Palazzo Bissari-Arnaldi and the Stanza dei Principi is the division of space (compare figs. 53-55 with figs. 207-10). This cannot be explained by the fact that the former has a barrel-vault while the latter’s ceiling is octagonal, or that the one has fields of frescoes included in the ceiling decoration while the other does not. In the former, the overall design appears somewhat confused, because the stuccoes, although employed as framing elements, in fact dominate the ceiling. The nine diversely shaped frescoes are small compared to the frames which, though relatively narrow, are densely packed with an astonishing variety of figures and foliage designs (figs. 56-67). Every conceivable area outside the frescoed fields is decorated profusely, and the areas between frames and frescoes are given as much prominence as the frames themselves. Today, the division is made less confusing through highlighting selected areas with salmon
pink and peppermint green paint, but there is no guarantee that this follows the original colour scheme.\textsuperscript{46}

On the ceiling of the \textit{Stanza dei Principi}, on the other hand, space is divided into much larger, and more immediately comprehensible areas, and the rhythmic nature of the divisions also aids the clarity of the scheme. The framing elements are much simpler than those on the Bissari-Arnaldi ceiling, with large areas of plain stucco and repeated swags. The stucco figures are much larger and therefore more legible, and they are independent of the frames.\textsuperscript{47} Colour is employed in a purely decorative way.

In the Bissari-Arnaldi vault the pink and white frames are full of lively, classicising narrative scenes, populated with satyrs, nymphs, river gods, putti and winged \textit{Victories} (figs. 73-83). Many of the scenes are ribald or humorous, such as the reclining satyress who watches as a putto holds out a bowl into which another micturates (fig. 75); or the scene in which a nude, bearded and winged man (perhaps \textit{Chronos}) reclines on a sledge which is pulled along by two determined-looking putti, accompanied by a third beating a drum and a fourth performing a backwards somersault. On the far side of the sledge a pair of putti joust with mallets, while behind it two more pretend to be old, hunched cripples, wearing overly large masks of old bearded men, and hobbling along on crutches (fig. 74).

In the \textit{Stanza dei Principi}, by contrast, the narrative sequences are confined to eight relatively small, oval fields (figs. 209-215, 236, 388). Respect for the surface plane is paramount, and overlapping of forms is minimal, so that the action unfolds flatly across the foreground. The maximum number of actors in any one oval is three. Consequently, the comic details which enliven the narratives of the Bissari-Arnaldi ceiling, do not occur here. Nevertheless, humour is not entirely lacking in the \textit{Stanza dei Principi}, but rather than the slapstick narrative episodes, Vittoria indulges in more subtle, visual games which involves
spotting where an established pattern is broken. For example, although all four pairs of saturn urn-bearers appear as perfect mirror-images, upon closer inspection only one pair is exact (fig. 220). However, the other pairs differ only in the tiniest of details, such as the direction in which their hair blows (fig. 403), or in the way that one is bearded and older (fig. 221). The only elements of the ceiling where ribald humour occurs is in the expressions pulled by the satyr-masks, which alternate between lewd grins, and impertinent stuck out tongues (figs. 214, 217-18).

Another difference between the two stucco ceilings is the frequent use made of carefully described backdrops (mostly of rustic settings (fig. 70), although one domestic interior is also portrayed (fig. 78)) on the Bissari-Arnaldi vault. Several narratives take place in aquatic environments (figs. 68-69, 71, 79-80) whilst others are set in idyllic pastoral landscapes (fig. 77). Moreover the depiction of fauna also delighted this stuccoist, and nowhere is this more carefully rendered than in the large pink frame surrounding the central fresco. Here there are four separate scenes of animal fights, each set in forest glades: wolves attacking sheep (fig. 65); wolf-like dogs attacking boars (fig. 66); lions attacking cows (fig. 67); a dragon about to attack a unicorn peacefully drinking at a pool. In each scene the ferocity of the fight has been marvellously captured, as has the idea of dense forest and wild undergrowth.

This hyper-naturalistic rendering of the flora and fauna is noticeable for its absence in the Stanza dei Principi. Everything is now subordinated to the demands for surface patterns. Forms are flattened to create clean-cut silhouettes against the neutral green background and the few natural elements which are portrayed have been schematized to the point of abstraction.

Although the elegant Parmigianinesque female-types of the Palazzo Bissari-Arnaldi
room, such as the pretty kneeling girl pouring a libation, or the maiden who sits cross-legged by a globe recur in the Stanza dei Principi, many of the other types do not. Indeed, Leithe-Jasper argued that the sometimes very agitated figures demonstrate an ideal which, on the whole, is still uninfluenced by the forms of Mannerism of the School of Fontainebleau (figs. 114-120). Fasolo, and later Cessi, saw direct connections between the little white portrait-medallions(figs. 61-64) and the bronze medals which Vittoria created exclusively at the start of his career (figs. 167-180), but, to my eye the similarities are few. While the stuccoed portraits are schematically rendered with densely arranged lumps of plaster to represent a coiffure or beard, Vittoria's medals show a greater concern for a more naturalistic and accurate rendering of the sitter's physiognomy, the placement of the locks of hair and beard, and a precise description of the sitter's dress with each texture differentiated.

Furthermore, the techniques of handling the stucco are very different. In Palazzo Bissari-Arnaldi it is vigorously applied in little lumps over the surface, and built up into high-relief, giving the impression that it was confidently executed at great speed by a thoroughly expert hand. A good example of this sketchiness and spontaneity is a heavily muscled satyr carrying off a crone (fig. 73). In a moment of capricious creativity, a few distinct daubs of stucco were slapped next to each other resulting in a pair of goat-legs which appear as coarse and unkempt as any satyr's legs should be! The technique of building up abstract areas of stucco to create plastic form can also be seen in a youthful nude who sits with his back towards us (fig. 84), which is so knobbly and gnarled with great raised areas of muscle and shoulder blades, and a trough along the spine, that it takes on an abstract identity, as does the part of the sole of his right foot where the toes and the cushion of the foot are described by simple lumps of stucco. The locks of his hair are also rendered in a 'minimalist' way by flattened sausage-like strands, which are very effective, and the small part of his face which
is shown is simplified into a hollow for the eye socket, and a fleshy bulge for the cheek.

If one compares this nude with a similarly posed river god in the Stanza dei Principi (fig. 87), the difference in the handling of the stucco becomes quite apparent. Rather than the very lumpy, rough surfaces of the former, whose imprecise contours are not always distinguishable from the background, the Thiene river god is sleek and smooth, as if carved from polished marble, and by contrast appears highly finished. The forms are delineated with clinical precision, so that the individual strands of wet hair which seem to drip down over their faces, for example, or the tiny muscles which riddle their torsos, are clearly differentiated. There are several compelling reasons, therefore, for excluding the Bissari-Arnaldi ceiling from Vittoria's oeuvre, although the similarity of some of his compositions suggest that he knew this ceiling at first hand.

However, our dismissal of Temanza's account of Vittoria's activities in Vicenza in the late 1540s does not exclude the probability that the lavorante Vittoria did spend some time in that city. It may be that his friendship with both Andrea Palladio and Count Lodovico Thiene stemmed from these years. If, as will be suggested below, Vittoria was anxious to model his career on that of Ammannati, he would have had good reason to come to Vicenza to study the fountain complexes that Ammannati had built as ornaments in the garden of the collector Girolamo Gualdo between April 1545 (or earlier) and the end of 1546.53 Gualdo, who had studied law at Padua and spent some time in Rome, became Canon of Vicenza cathedral and devoted himself to literary pursuits and to his art collection, which he kept in two modest neighbouring palazzini. Both the large two-storied fountain with its grotto and loggia, and the two smaller free-standing fountains have long since disappeared, but their magnificence is testified to by various sixteenth century descriptions. Other than the sculptural components which were deemed praiseworthy, the waterworks themselves were a
novelty and caused a great stir in the city, and we may assume that Vittoria would have studied the fountains at first hand.

However, to locate Vittoria exclusively in Vicenza during the late 1540s is misguided, for he would surely have made extended visits to other towns, to broaden his experience by studying the work of other artists, to renew old acquaintances and to make contacts with new patrons. Padua is close to Venice, and given its importance as a centre of Humanistic learning and patronage, there can be little doubt that Vittoria would have spent some time there. The likelihood of this increases if, as we tentatively proposed above, Vittoria moved there c. 1542 from Trent to continue his apprenticeship with the Grandi, for he would have built up friendships then which he would have been keen to renew. He would certainly have visited Gian Gerolamo and Vincenzo Grandi who were involved in various commissions in the Santo, and the manufacture of various small functional bronze objects for Cardinal Madruzzo. There was a great deal of other sculptural activity taking place concurrently in the Santo, and Vittoria would undoubtedly have been drawn there anyway to study some of the finest sculpture of the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento, including the figures and reliefs in gilt bronze by Donatello which adorned the High Altar, the cycle of Old Testament bronze reliefs for the choir screen started by Bellano and finished by Riccio in 1506, and the imposing bronze Paschal Candlestick commissioned from Riccio in 1507.

By far the most important on-going sculptural project in the Santo was the embellishment of the *Arca del Santo*, which had been built between 1500 and 1532, when it was dedicated. The walls of the chapel were to be adorned with nine monumental *mezzo rilievo* marble reliefs depicting the *Investiture of St. Anthony as a Franciscan* and eight miracles performed by the saint. Notwithstanding the erratic progress on the reliefs, seven had been installed by the late 1540s, and Vittoria would surely have studied these carefully,
as they were among the finest large-scale marble reliefs of their date carved anywhere in Italy. Vittoria’s interest in this cycle would have been augmented by the hitherto unnoticed fact that the last two reliefs had been awarded to his teachers, present and past: Sansovino was at work in the 1540s on the *Miracle of the Maiden Carilla,*58 and in June 1541 the commission of the *Miracle of the resuscitated youth* relief was transferred from Silvio Cosini to Vincenzo and Gian Girolamo Grandi.59 Despite the massari’s subsequent transferral of the commission in 1554 to Pelucha, a minor Florentine sculptor, and then finally in 1571 to Cattaneo, throughout the 1540s the project lay with the Grandi.60

Most of the decorative carving in the chapel was done between 1500 and 1521 under the supervision of Giovanni Minello, and so Vittoria could have studied the busts of the Prophets and Evangelists, and the delicate low relief carving around the walls, as well as the five statues in niches in the facade’s upper storey. In 1541 Vincenzo Grandi had been commissioned to complete the west front corner of the chapel, including the pilaster, and by 1546 the task had been accomplished but to the dissatisfaction of the massari, who believed it to be too pagan in appearance.61

Of even greater interest to Vittoria would have been the chapel’s rectangular vault, stuccoed in 1533-34 under the supervision of Giovanni Maria Falconetto with the assistance of Tiziano Minio, Silvio Cosini, Danese Cattaneo and Falconetto’s sons, Ottaviano and Provolo (figs. 102-05). This team also collaborated on the stucco work of the nearby Odeo Cornaro (see below). The key figure seems to have been Cosini, as pointed out by McHam, as he was one of the principal stuccoists at the Palazzo Doria, Genoa, whose rooms were decorated to the design of Perino del Vaga - a pupil of Raphael.62 The similarities of particular features in the central reliefs of the chapel’s vault with those in the Palazzo Doria, confirms the assertion of Marcantonio Michiel that the Paduan stuccoists were working from
drawings produced in Raphael's shop.

Although difficult to decipher today, due to candle soot, the white and gilded stuccowork would originally have been very striking. Vittoria used certain motifs or formats in his own stuccowork, especially in Palazzo Thiene. For example, the boisterous putti who struggle to hold up the two long banners with the inscription "Gaude Felix Padua Quae Thesaur Posides" in the central square compartment of the vault (Fig. 105) are recalled by Vittoria's on the vault of the Stanza degli Dei, who play with the large fruit swags which surround the strap-work frames of the frescoes (Figs. 195-96). The oval-shaped compartments containing all'antica narrative scenes created by Vittoria in the Stanza dei Principi (Figs. 209-15, 236, 388) might ultimately derive from those similarly shaped fields at either side of the central square one (Figs. 102-03). The decorative device of placing white figures against a pseudomosaic ground, which McHam proposes may have been suggested by precedents in the Sala dei Giganti, Genoa, was later taken up by Vittoria in the staircase of the Libreria (Figs. 385-87, 406, 410-18).63

In very close physical proximity to the Santo is the Odeo Cornaro, constructed c. 1530 by Falconetto in the garden of the palace of Alvise Cornaro. Its lavish interior decoration, designed by Cornaro himself, re-creates in effect a classical villa.64 Vittoria appears to have had access to the Odeo Cornaro, or at least to the designs for the decoration, since certain elements of the profuse stuccowork executed by Tiziano Minio recur in his work: the compartmentalised barrel-vault of the entrance is covered with single figures of deities set against a dark ground in geometrical fields (Figs. 106-08), a scheme which was later adopted by Vittoria on the vaults of both the Scala d'Oro and the Library staircases. The entrance passage leads into the central octagonal room (Figs. 109,111), which on account of its shape provided a natural prototype when Vittoria came to consider decorating the Stanza degli Dei.
in Palazzo Thiene. Over the archways of the room are four oval narrative scenes executed in low relief: *The Birth of the Virgin, The Adoration of the Shepherds, The Adoration of the Magi* and an unidentified scene of *Prisoners* (figs. 112-13b), which like those on the vault of the Cappella del Arca del Santo appear to stand behind the classicising, similarly shaped scenes created by Vittoria on the vault of the Stanza degli Dei (figs. 209-213, 236, 388). Moreover, certain elements in Minio’s *Birth of the Virgin* scene were recalled by Vittoria in his representation of this episode in the early 1580s, carved on the frontal of the Mercers’ Altar in San Giuliano, Venice (fig. 699).

Whilst in Padua, Vittoria may well have made contact with Marco Mantova Benavides, the internationally renowned jurist and professor of law at Padua University. Benavides was an avid collector and patron of the arts, who had turned his palace near the Eremitani church into a museum. Although the first evidence of cordiality between collector and sculptor does not occur until December 1552, relations may have been fostered much earlier through one of their mutual acquaintances. Vittoria may have been given an introduction to Benavides from Cardinal Madruzzo, since the latter had studied law under Benavides in Padua, and seems to have maintained links with his former tutor. Alternatively, it may have been Pietro Aretino who brought them together, either in Padua, or possibly in Venice, where Benavides would surely have spent some time following his appointment as Paduan ambassador there between 1545-46.

Another reason for supposing that the friendship was initiated in the late 1540s is because it would have filled the gap left by the departure of the sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati from Benavides’ household towards the end of 1547. By that date, Ammannati had executed various prestigious commissions for his patron: the colossal stone *Hercules* (early 1544 - mid-April 1545) for the palace courtyard (figs. 181), Benavides’ Tomb (May
1545 - April 1546) erected in the Eremitani church (figs. 122, 238), and the Triumphal Arch which formed one of the wings of the courtyard (probably c. end 1545) (fig. 121). As a young and very ambitious sculptor keen to establish his reputation, Vittoria is likely to have paid close attention to works which had brought such fame and recognition to Ammannati. If Vittoria desired to emulate Ammannati, this would help explain the rapacity of his attempt in 1552 to purloin from Sansovino the commission of the Duke Ercole II d’Este to carve a colossal Hercules to crown a new city gate in Ferrara (fig. 182).

In the undocumented years between May 1546 and March 1550, it is tempting to propose that Vittoria also returned to Trent, not only to visit his family and to renew old friendships, but to ingratiate himself with the dignitaries temporarily resident in the city as a result of the Ecumenical Church Council which had opened on 13 December 1545. The first eight sessions were held in Trent over the following year and a half, until various factors, such as anti-Imperial feeling and a plague, forced the Council to move temporarily to Bologna, but in May 1551 the Council returned to Trent for the eleventh session.

From a letter written by Pietro Aretino to Lucietta Saraceno in November 1552, we know that (seemingly following the return of the Council to Trent in 1551) Vittoria portrayed "diversi altri cavalieri e prelati" on medals. Only two medals of high-ranking ecclesiastics present in Trent for the Council may be given securely to his hand - that of Gaspare Borgia (fig. 146) and Francesco da Toledo (figs. 147-48) -, and both appear to date from 1551. However, now that Temanza’s reconstruction of events has been discredited, the possibility that Vittoria returned to Trent before the transfer of the Council to Bologna in April 1547, and manufactured the very first of these portrait-medals may be entertained, even if none has yet been identified.

While in Trent, Vittoria could have been involved in the preparation of apparati,
rapidly constructed in the last week of April 1547, for the festivities held on 3 May to celebrate the victory gained by Charles V over the Protestant princes at Mühlberg on 24 April, which included a wooden hall erected in the garden of the palace of Madruzzo. But even if Vittoria did not participate on the construction of these ephemerae, he must have gained some experience in this field over the next few years for, in 1551, he was to be heavily involved in the erection of a temporary wooden hall-like structure, decorated with statues and paintings, made to celebrate the second visit of Prince Philip of Spain to Trent. The importance given to these elaborate decorations, highlighted by the fact that, according to Belli, the most fashionable artists of the day participated in their production, would certainly have encouraged Vittoria to return to Trent, as would the hope of further opportunities to make contact with the grandees for whom the apparati had been made.

It seems highly likely, therefore, that Vittoria returned to Trent to help on the construction of the huge number of apparati custom-built for the celebrations held between 23 and 28 January 1549 to honour the first visit of Prince Philip of Spain. The reason why the Tridentine festivities were so elaborate was because Cardinal Madruzzo had been commanded by the ailing Charles V to accompany his son Philip on the long journey to Flanders, via Italy, Austria and Germany; a royal progress designed to present the prince to his future subjects and thereby assure for him a smooth succession. Madruzzo, desirous of proclaiming his allegiance to the Habsburgs, and to impress his princely ward, ordered lavish decorations and festivities, on a scale never before witnessed in Trent.

Although Vittoria's rôle in the manufacture of the apparati has to remain conjectural, it is worth describing briefly those ephemerae with figural elements, since it is on these that he is most likely to have worked. One recurring element in the decorations was the Triumphal Arch, and out of the five arches erected en route from the city gate of Santa Croce...
to the Castle, four were decorated with statues and reliefs, (presumably of stucco or cartapesta), any of which could have been by Vittoria: the first arch of simulated red marble was decorated with two statues, each in a niche either side of the archway; on the right an armed figure with the emblem of the city of Trent, on the left, a similar figure with Madruzzo's personal emblem. Both the second arch (of simulated white marble measuring 24 x 12 ft.), and the third arch (of simulated white veined marble measuring 30 x 16 ft.), were decorated, among other ornaments, with a pair of putti in bas-relief supporting the Prince's coat-of-arms. The fourth arch was by far the most elaborate with three square-headed openings. The entrance façade, with four enormous pilasters rising from huge ornamental bases, was richly decorated with bas-reliefs made to resemble bronze. From each pilaster hung two panels displaying a particular emblem and its motto, and above each panel rose a huge classicising herm or telamon. They supported an entablature, with the frieze decorated with swags of fruit and flowers hung between the horns of bucrania, and a pair of shields bearing the Prince's coat-of-arms. All around were all'antica trophies in high relief and also on the arch were four large female personifications, with their heads turned towards a large panel, at the top of which perched a double-headed eagle bearing the Imperial crown. The first personification, with a palm branch in her right hand, a crown of greenery in her left, and with a vase full of flowers and dates at her feet, represented "Victory". On the other side stood "Fame" holding a trumpet. The third figure was the personification of "Security" shown sitting in a chair, with one foot placed in an antique vase from which issued a flame, while the fourth personified "Happiness", and was shown holding Mercury's caduceus, and resting on top of an antique vase full of flowers, with a flower-filled vase at her feet. Whilst all of the vases were coloured to simulate bronze, the female figures were painted white as if carved from Istrian stone.
Other ephemera made in connection with Prince Philip's arrival and on which Vittoria might conceivably have worked include the colossal statues constructed to display inscriptions in Spanish: near the Piazza del Castello there was a gigantic terracotta statue of Hercules, shown in the act of lifting two columns, painted to imitate silver, and with an inscription of welcome in Spanish on the base. Over the entrance of the castle to the right there was another colossus, this time personifying the River Adige, shown reclining on top of a water-issuing antique urn, and on which was inscribed an invitation in vernacular to the Prince to refresh himself and his horse. Even if Vittoria was not directly responsible for any of these figural elements, he may well have been part of the team of stuccoists and carpenters which erected the apparati.

Whatever Vittoria's exact movements from 1546 onwards, he was probably back in Venice by mid-1549, working again for Sansovino but with increased autonomy. It is reasonable to assume that he was drawn back by the opportunities afforded by the epic undertaking of embellishing the façade of the Libreria with sculptural decoration. That Vittoria was assigned some of the decorative and mythological bas-relief panels for the soffits of the lower arches of the arcade is a distinct possibility, for Sansovino would have needed proof of Vittoria's technical ability as a tagliapietra before awarding him the commission for four river gods. As mentioned above, these reliefs were considered the least important of the sculptural decorations and were therefore given to the least seasoned of Sansovino's followers. Sansovino's overriding concern was for decorative uniformity, and he provided the basic design for every soffit relief, and checked the finished panels for conformity to his design before insertion into the façade. Such rigorous control left little scope for personal creativity. Any attempt at identifying the hands involved in the carving of these bas-reliefs is therefore doomed by the lack of stylistic differentiation. Thus Ivanoff's attribution of the
soffit panel depicting *The Fall of the Giants* to Vittoria, because of supposed similarities between a tumbling giant and one of the river gods in the *Stanza dei Principi*, Palazzo Thiene, is over optimistic, even disregarding the anachronism of his argument.\(^4\)

Vittoria might also have been given the task of carving one of the keystone-heads as a final test of proficiency. Their visible placement made them more important than the soffit reliefs, and they were therefore assigned to the best sculptors available. Francesco Sansovino reported that both the river gods and these keystone heads were sculpted by Cattaneo, Pietro da Salò, Ammannati, "and by several other noble and praised sculptors".\(^5\) The fact that Vittoria was among this latter, unspecified group insofar as he executed four river gods, perhaps strengthens the case for his also having executed one or more of the keystone heads.

The head of *Saturn* (fig. 124) which decorates the keystone of the arch second from the campanile on the Piazzetta façade was ascribed to Vittoria by Ivanoff, because it generically recalled the Palazzo Thiene river gods (figs. 88-89, 209-213).\(^6\) Despite the fact that the latter were not made until 1552, and therefore almost certainly postdate the keystone-head, there are indeed marked stylistic similarities between these works, which strengthens Ivanoff's proposal. The most striking feature of the keystone-head is the way in which the moustache grows over the mouth, concealing it completely, and integrates itself with the free-flowing beard which appears imperceptibly from the heavy jowls. This recurs in all of the Thiene river gods. But this shaggy 'moustache-beard' derives ultimately from a particular Sansovinesque type of old man, witness the pair of old men in very low relief at the back of the terracotta model for *St. Mark healing a Demoniac*, (Palazzo Venezia, Rome), the bronze statuette of *St. John the Evangelist* in San Marco, or the colossal *Neptune* on the Scala dei Giganti (fig. 539). Whether Vittoria really was the author of this keystone-head, or just profoundly influenced by it, we shall probably never know unless further documentation
regarding the decoration of the Libreria emerges.

Yet, even when documentation does exist, there may still be problems of attribution. That Vittoria made four river gods for the spandrels of the arches of the Library is attested by an entry in his account-book in which, under the date 29 March 1550, he records being paid 20 ducats by Sansovino against a total debt of 50, through the bank of Antonio Priuli. However, as Vittoria did not specify which four river gods he was assigned, critical debate has arisen over their identification. The task of tracing these gods is not eased by the rather ambiguous wording of the entry which does not specify whether the payment on account of 20 ducats was for work already completed, or for work still in progress. Most critics have assumed that the payment was for ongoing work, as payments on account were normally made to an artist once he had started to work on a particular commission, and have argued, therefore, that the river gods were carved in 1550. However, Leithe-Jasper pointed out that the entry is merely a notice of payment and could actually refer to work which was long since finished. He favoured a broad dating of 1546-50 for the river gods, arguing that they must have been completed before the commission of around April 1550 for the statuette of St. John the Baptist, which he implies resulted from them.

If the river gods were carved in 1550 then one could infer their probable appearance by analogy with the river gods in the Stanza dei Principi, Palazzo Thiene of 1552, but if they were made in the late 1540s, when Vittoria was still relatively inexperienced, one would be looking for four river gods with a closer stylistic affinity to Sansovino’s work and which displayed a more tentative handling. Moreover, it has always been assumed that Vittoria carved two pairs of river gods for the spandrels of two arches, rather than four ‘unrelated’ river gods for separate arches. Since the river gods are conceived in terms of mirror-imaged pairs, it might appear logical that one sculptor would carve one pair at a time, but upon closer
inspection there are bays with gods which, although almost perfectly mirrored in pose, are
stylistically very different. In certain cases, one of the river gods is noticeably more
accomplished than its pair (compare figs. 136 with fig. 135), which would seem to indicate
that a more mature sculptor provided the 'blue-print', and a less mature sculptor copied it in
reverse. As all of the artists named as working on the river gods by Vasari and Francesco
Sansovino were highly proficient, constituting the best sculptors then available in Venice, it
is unlikely that they were responsible for the more mediocre gods. This task of copying river
gods in reverse, each to act as the pair to one already carved by any of the leading sculptors
was probably assigned to their assistants. However, it could also be argued (supposing the
payment made to Vittoria in March 1550 was in arrears) that a couple of them were executed
by a comparatively youthful and inexperienced Vittoria as a trial run, before being assigned
perhaps a complete pair of his own.

Another reason for the great difficulty in identifying Vittoria's river gods is the lack
of secure knowledge concerning the chronological relationship between the construction of
the individual bays of the façade and the commission and execution of the decorative
sculptural elements to be inserted into them. Among other things, it has always been
presumed that the search for Vittoria's four river gods should be restricted to the first five
or, at most, six arches counting from the Campanile end of the Library's façade, as these had
been constructed by 1550, the year when Vittoria received the 20 ducat payment on account
for his river gods.91 Thus Ivanoff attributed the river gods of the second and third bays to
Vittoria (figs. 123, 125-132),92 whilst Leithe-Jasper ascribed those of the fourth and fifth to
Vittoria's hand (figs. 137-38).93 This view is based on the assumption that because Sansovino
was forced to construct the fabric of the Library piecemeal, working tentatively from bay to
bay (due to financial expediency), he would also have commissioned only those Istrian stone
decorations necessary for the particular bay then under construction.

However, as the basic design of the Library had been worked out by 1537 as a repeated system of bays, Sansovino may perhaps have commissioned some of the sculptural relief decorations ahead of time, ready for insertion as and when further bays were constructed. If so, then Vittoria's river gods need not necessarily have been inserted into bays one to six, but they could have been put on one side in Sansovino's studio, and inserted into the spandrels of arches built subsequently (ie bays seven to sixteen): between 1551 and 1554 there was concerted building activity, which saw another seven bays added to the existing seven, and by 1556 the Library was sixteen bays long. Due to the number of unknown quantities in the equation it seems rather hazardous to attempt an identification of Vittoria's four gods, since at best this could only be very arbitrary, and more profitable therefore to turn our attention to the little marble statuette of St. John the Baptist (figs. 139-42), which is Vittoria's next documented work.
1. Doc. No. 1. For information on the account-book and the rest of the documents comprising the Commissaria Vittoria, see Martin (1988), 5-7, n. 12. Incidentally, in a letter written by Feruffino, ambassador in Venice to Duke Ercole d’Este of Ferrara in April 1552, Vittoria is described as having "stato da xij [12] anni cum detto Sansovino", (Doc. No. 16), but this must surely be an error, as otherwise it would mean that Vittoria had started working in Sansovino’s shop in 1540 as a fifteen year old, which does not correspond at all with his personal account of events.

2. See Doc. No. 2. For a full transcription, see Boucher (1991), Doc. 90, though he mistakenly records the sum disbursed to Alessandro and Nassimbene as 90 ducats, rather than 40. Since the payment commences with the year 1544, it is unlikely Vittoria was involved in cleaning the bronze narrative relief scenes before that year. Furthermore, presuming that Sansovino was using the More Veneto dating system, (which he appears to be since there is a payment of 14 February immediately preceding the note of the year change to 1544), it would mean that the cleaning work commenced after 1 March 1544.


4. Doc. No. 3. The project took a long time to complete due to its size and complexity with the narrative relief scenes being cast only in 1553, and the smaller figural panels cast over the next decade. The door itself was not fully complete until 1568, and even then, due to litigation over payment, was not installed until 1572.

5. Doc. No. 4; Cat. No. 1.


7. See Doc. No. 26; Predelli (1908), 35-36.

8. For the two extant terracotta models of St. Mark healing a Demoniac, and the Martyrdom of St. Mark, see Boucher (1991), cat. no. 21; and for the bronze reliefs, see Boucher (1991), cat. no. 22, 229-30.


11. From letters written subsequently by Aretino, we know that Vittoria was considered as a son to these older men: he speaks of the relationship between Vittoria and Sansovino "fra (si poteva dire) padre e figliuolo" (Doc. No. 14), and in April 1552 Sansovino talks of Vittoria as having been part of his household "è stato suo famiglio" (Doc. No. 16); of the tender relations formed between Vittoria and Titian and Aretino, the latter’s comment in January 1553 "... e Tiziano che vi tiene come ch’io per figliuolo" suffices (Doc. No. 21).

12. For building project’s during Donato’s dogeship, see Sansovino-Martiniioni (1663), Libro XIII, 399.

13. See Boucher (1991), cat. no. 27, especially with regard to the more veneto caveat.


15. Boucher (1991), 147; and Favaretto (1972), 84, no. 66.

17. For these figures, see Boucher (1991), cat. nos. 57 and 58. Even if they were carved in the Villa, Vittoria almost certainly would have seen drawings and/or reduced models of them in Sansovino's studio, and he may even have been involved in the work in Villa Garzoni.


10. With the exception, of course, of the record of payment noted by Vittoria for four river gods for he spandrels; see Doc. No. 4.


2. Vasari (1568), VII, 514, 520, 523.


4. Ivanoff (1961), 242-50. Ivanoff identified Vittoria's hand in the panel depicting the Fall of the Giants, but proposed that it was carved after Vittoria had worked in Palazzo Bissari-Arnaldi in Vicenza, rather than in the late 1540s.


6. See below, 34-35.


9. ibid., 113.

0. For discussion of the Scala d'Oro, see Chapter Seven, 187-93; Cat. No. 38.

1. See Connell (1976), 54; Boucher (1991), 144-45, especially n. 12; and Martin (1988), 6-7, n. 16.

2. Vittoria recorded becoming a padrone di bottega in the guild of the Venetian tagliapietre on 25 July 1557, (see Doc. No. 46). See Martin (1988), 7, n. 16. Thus, while Vittoria was merely named Sansovino in the 1544 payment for work on the second pergola (Doc. No. 2), by 1546, he is assigned as being a "scultore" by Sansovino in the payment disbursed for work on the Sacristy door (Doc. No. 3).

3. Vittoria first rented a house on 26 July 1553, (Doc. No. 25), and until then had nothing binding him to Venice.

4. See below, Chapter Three, 65-68.

5. Temanza (1827), 477.


7. See below, Chapter Four, 74-75; Cat. No. 20. Although Temanza (1827), 478 does not specify exactly what work was done by Vittoria in the da Porto and Caldogno palaces, it would appear that he was implying stuccowork, as in both the other palaces enumerated, this is the named activity.

1. For the Palazzo da Porto stuccoes, see Palladio (1570), II, 8; figs. 90-101.

1. Zorzi (1951), 146-47, tav. 149-53. Martin (1988), 27 comments that "these figures are hardly
markable and an attribution to Vittoria seems overly optimistic". In n. 71 he suggests Lorenzo
ibini as a more likely candidate.

. See Cat. No. 185.

. Temanza (1827), 478. Incidentally, although Temanza did not attribute the portrait-bust bust to
vittoria, merely stating that it was above the fireplace, later critics have assumed that he did. See

. See Leithe-Jasper (1963), 15-16, and n. 49-51 for the alternative reading of the date. Martin
988), 28. As the bust is now lost, it is impossible to verify the date.


. The fact that Vasari called him an "intagliatore e architetto", who left "molte scultura" in Vicenza,
d made no mention of him being associated with any stucco-work projects, would seem to imply
at this Giovanni operated exclusively as a stone-mason. Perhaps Bartolomeo Ridolfi is a more likely
nial, since some of the stuccowork in Palazzo Bissari-Arnaldi is not dissimilar to that found on
vaulis of either the da Porto or Thiene palaces.

. The swags of fruit around each of the nine frescoes are white, with the surrounding geometrical
ames in pink, as well as the border strip; except for the little portrait-medallions which are placed
every point where one pink frame intersects with another. In the intervening spaces there are white
ames either cross-shaped if surrounding the central pink oval frame, or T- or L-shaped if elsewhere,
d in the triangular areas created between these white frames, which are painted green, there are
gle motifs in white of animals or masks. As Leithe-Jasper (1963), 19 makes no mention of any
een paint, one has to assume that this is a later addition to make the internal structure of the
coes even clearer than with the two tone colour scheme.

1. See below, Chapter Four, 86-93.


1. ibid., 23 mentions stylistic similarities of certain female figures such as the charming goddess in
middle field, or the figure that is crowned by Chronos, with those on the ceiling of the Stanza dei
incipi; but questions whether the similarities are nothing more than a period style.


. Fasolo (1934), 76.


. See Kinney (1976), 17-3-98; 2.56-61, pls. 1, 2.

. ibid., Doc. 18, 243.
55. The Grandi workshop produced the De’ Rossi monument (1545), and the Simone Ardeo monument (1548) both in the Santo (Cessi (1967), 46-48 and 48-50 respectively); and the lost monument to P. Gerolamo Confalonieri (1549) in the small Paduan church of S. Maria Maddalena (Cessi (1967), 50-51). We know that contacts were maintained between the Grandi and Madruzzo from a letter of 18 October 1546, written to the Cardinal by Vincenzo in Padua, to accompany a lost inkstand of bronze, covered with the allegorical designs which had been carefully elaborated by the Cardinal. Various other objects have been attributed to the Grandi such as a pair of large bronze candlesticks bearing the crest of Madruzzo as the apostolic administrator of Bressanone, today in the Cappella del SS. Sacramento, in Trent cathedral, (see Lupo (1993), 346).

56. For the most recent analysis of the construction and decoration of the chapel, see McHam (1994).

57. The reliefs were carved in the following chronological order: the Miracle of the Newborn Babe by Antonio Lombardo (1500-4); the Miracle of the Reattached Leg by Tullio Lombardo (1500-5); the Investiture of St Anthony by Antonio Minello (finished 1519); the Miracle of the Miser’s Heart by Tullio Lombardo (1520-5); the Miracle of the Unbroken Glass by Giambattista Mosca and Paolo Stella (1520-9); the Miracle of the Child Paristo by Minello and Jacopo Sansovino (1520-36); and the Miracle of the Jealous Husband by Giovanni Rubino and Silvio Cosini (1524-36). (For these reliefs see McHam (1994), 37-9; 40-2; 43-4; 45-7; 47-50; 52-4; and 54-6 respectively).


59. See McHam (1994), 225, Doc. 73.

60. ibid., 58.


63. ibid., 82.

64. Wolters, 1980, 72.


66. We know that Benavides was on friendly terms with Aretino for he asked Vittoria to personally convey his greetings to Aretino (Doc. No. 20).

67. See Kinney (1976), 120-33.

68. ibid., 134-49.

69. ibid., 150-66. Ammannati also created a number of smaller works which are now lost, but are attested to in the inventory of the museum’s contents compiled by Marco’s great-nephew Andrea Mantova Benavides in 1695, such as an amphitheatre containing statuettes personifying the seven planets. (Kinney (1976), 167-70).

70. For further discussion of this affair, see Chapter Four, 16-497, Cat. No. 136.

71. See Chapter One, n. 18.

72. Doc. No. 18.
73. See Belli (1993), 457.

74. See Chapter Three, 55-56; Doc. No. 9.

75. Belli (1993), 455.

76. Vittoria’s contemporary, Giambologna, was also employed in the construction of apparati in 1549, for the subsequent triumphal entry of Philip into Mons in August. See Wellens (1965), 33-44, esp. 38, n. 22 & 25.

77. For the fullest accounts of the apparati and the celebrations in Trent, see Calvete de Estrella (1930), 121-44, and Guazzo (1552), 697r-705r. For a brief summary in English, see Mitchell (1986), 188.

78. Guazzo (1552), 697r. Nicolini (1955-56), 264 interprets these figures as painted images but, although the contemporary descriptions do not seem to specify the medium, it seems more likely that the figures were sculpted at least in bas-relief if niches had been created to house them.

79. See Guazzo (1552), 697r and 698v-99r for descriptions of the second and third arch respectively.

80. Guazzo (1552), 699r-701r.

81. ibid., 699r. Martin (1988), 12, n. 34 was the first to cautiously suggest that Vittoria might have been employed in Trent on the decorations for Philip’s 1549 sojourn, and proposed that he might have made the Hercules.

82. Guazzo (1552), 701r-v. For a slightly fuller account, see Ulloa (1560), 560.


84. Ivanoff (1961), 242-50, and summarised in Ivanoff (1968), 50. He erroneously claimed that from 1547 until he returned to Venice to work on the Library, Vittoria worked on the Palazzo Thiene stuccoes, and this experience profoundly affected the appearance of his work in stone immediately afterwards. However, Vittoria did not work in Palazzo Thiene until 1552, and the two gods brought into comparison by Ivanoff are not particularly close stylistically. It seems more likely that Vittoria, while not responsible for carving the soffit panel in question, studied its composition, and used it when he succeeded the Stanza dei Principi.

85. See n. 21.

86. Ivanoff (1968), 50.

87. See Doc. No. 4.

88. See, for example, Martin (1988), 9.


90. ibid., 12.

91. For a detailed account of the documentation on the construction of the Library see Lorenzetti (1928-29), and for a concise description of the progress of the building works see Howard (1987), 17-28.
92. Ivanoff (1968), 50-51.


94. See Howard (1987), 19 and Appendix I, 158 for a full translation of Aretino’s letter to Sansovino describing the basic model of the Library.

95. See Cat. No. 2.
The earliest notice of the Baptist (figs. 139-42) occurs in the second entry in Vittoria’s account-book, dated 26 April 1550, in which he records being paid 2 ducats on account by Angelo Priuli for the figure which was to crown a baptismal font in San Geremia. This contrasts with the payment for the river gods received a month earlier, as it shows Vittoria working independently, on a commission unrelated to Sansovino. There has been some controversy over the dating of the Baptist; while most critics date it 1550, Venturi favoured 1543, and Cessi a date between 1543-47. However, from a careful reading of the 1550 entry, it is apparent that the payment is a first instalment of the agreed price of 10 ducats for the Baptist, coming either as an advance, before Vittoria started work, or, as was the norm for payments on account, when sufficient progress was deemed to have been made. Another reason which supports a dating of 1550 for the Baptist is the fact that the figure was not yet in situ, for in the account-book entry it is described as to go above a font, for if the figure had been made as early as either Venturi or Cessi proposed, it would surely already have been in place when the entry was written.

The indebtedness of Vittoria’s figure to Sansovino’s statuette of the Baptist (figs. 50, 144) as well as other works by him has been noted: Boucher saw the Sacristy door (figs. 43-45) and Medici Tabernacle (figs. 165-66) as influential, while Leithe-Jasper indicated the Medici Tabernacle, and the Santo Miracle of the Maiden Carilla (fig. 52) as sources, especially the motif in the latter of the mantle thrown over one shoulder of the old bearded
man on the left. Although the debt to Sansovino is undeniable, there is another prototype for Vittoria’s figure: the Lombardesque statuette of the **Precursor** in Santo Stefano (fig. 143). According to Francesco Sansovino this was carved by Mosca in 1503 for a font. There are numerous similarities between the two **Baptists** which argue for Vittoria’s intimacy with Mosca’s statuette. The poses of both are similar, extending from the general - both are standing figures for fonts on circular bases - to the particular. The most striking resemblance occurs in the disposition of the arms; the position of the upper right arm, in both - held away from the rib-cage, and bent at a right angle at the elbow - is virtually identical. The forearm is held straight out and the wrist bends rather limply to tip a small bowl held by the gracefully arranged fingers; the only differences are the more acute angle at which Vittoria’s **Baptist** holds the bowl, and that Mosca showed some water spilling out. It would appear that Mosca’s figure also inspired Sansovino’s, for the latter’s **Baptist** shares the extended right arm, similar facial features and the set of the head. However, that Vittoria turned back to Mosca’s prototype, rather than to Sansovino’s, is demonstrated through the even closer links which his **Baptist** has with Mosca’s.

The left arm of Vittoria’s **Baptist** is also similar to that of Mosca’s figure, although the influence of yet another sculpted **Baptist** - Donatello’s in the Frari - is also to be felt in the general fall of the left arm, and the cloak which swathes it from shoulder to wrist. The position of the left hand in Vittoria’s figure is a combination of that of Mosca’s **Baptist**, (lifted away from the thigh, with the wrist delicately twisted and the fingers gracefully disposed, so that the pincer-like forefingers can grip the fringe of his camel-hair shirt, and draw it up to catch a bundle of falling drapery), and that of Donatello’s **Baptist**, (which is brought down to his groin, and while the thumb and ring and little fingers are used to grip
the top of his unfurled scroll, the two forefingers are extended and parted, and pressed down on it to prevent it from it rolling up again). However the gesture resulting from their combination is redundant, as it is used neither to catch any wayward swatches of drapery nor to hold down an inscription, and thus appears rather incongruous.

Other similarities in pose between the Baptists of Mosca and Vittoria include the way in which the foremost, slightly bent, leg breaks free from the garments at mid-thigh level, and the projection of the toes of this left foot over the edge of the base. There are also obvious similarities between the physical type of Mosca's Baptist - a lean and scraggy young ascetic, with understated musculature and attenuated proportions - and Vittoria's. The only real differences are the shapes of the heads - Mosca's figure has a square head; Vittoria's a more oval, long face - and their coiffures, for while Mosca's Baptist has thick, bushy curls which give him added height, Vittoria's Baptist has tightly twisted little curls piled up around his forehead which give him a faun-like appearance. However, their ascetic features are similar (heavy eyebrow ridges, prominent cheek bones, fairly wide- and deep-set eyes, a long, straight nose and a small mouth), and both have the merest indication of a moustache, a very unobtrusive goatee-beard, and slight growth around the jowls. Even the pathos-filled expression is similar with eyes half-closed, indicating a sense of wonderment and ecstasy, and lips slightly parted, as if speaking.

The main difference occurs in the treatment of drapery, for whereas Mosca makes little distinction between the textures of the camel-hair shirt and the cloak, as the former is worn skin-side down and only the tiniest area of coarse camel hair is shown curling up on both thighs, Vittoria turns the pelt hair-side out, so that the tufts of bristly hair contrast with the smoother stuff from which his cloak is made, a lesson learnt from the Baptists of both Donatello and Sansovino. The disposition of the drapery is also different (except for the way
in which both sculptors trail the cloak all the way down to the base, and only undercut the forward leg, thereby reinforcing the rear ankle and helping to support the weight of the figure above). Mosca clothes the whole of his figure's torso in 'wet drapery', which sticks smoothly to the body except for a few thin, discrete ridges and folds, and so reveals the contours underneath, and exposes all of the limbs. Vittoria, on the other hand, exposes the right part of the upper body, and the left part of the lower body, and hides the rest of the figure, as well as most of the camel-hair shirt, under the swathes of the cloak. The great diagonal sweep of drapery falling from upper right to lower left across the abdomen recalls that found in Sansovino's Baptist, as does the effect of the camel-hair against the clavicle and rather emaciated thorax. Thus, stylistic analysis of Vittoria's earliest fully identifiable work reveals that the young sculptor was aware not only of the work of Sansovino, but also that of others in Venetian churches, and by quoting from them he seems to have been begging a comparison between their accomplishments and his own.

Vittoria may have left Venice shortly after the end of April 1550 because, as subsequent litigation over the Baptist shows, he never received more than the first instalment of the agreed price of 10 ducats for the statuette. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but as Vittoria is not documented as working in Venice again until late spring 1553, it is reasonable to suppose that he may have experienced difficulty in obtaining further commissions in the city, and preferred to move to other cities where he could operate independently. Certainly, on the terra-firma he would have met with less fierce competition, and would have been awarded commissions which he could not have dreamed of in Venice, where he would have been viewed as one of Sansovino's pupils. Another possible reason for his return to Trent may have been family business: although we do not know exactly when his father died, a terminus ante quem is provided by April 1551, at which time Vittoria is
mentioned as the son of the late "m[esser] Vilio Sartor"; and it may be that a sudden decline in his father's health, induced Vittoria to return home, where he portrayed him on a medal (lost).\textsuperscript{13}

The next document concerning Vittoria is a letter written by a Tridentine nobleman called Teodoro Busio to Cardinal Madruzzo on 2 October 1550, and is not generally well-known, despite having recently been republished by Passamani.\textsuperscript{14} Busio, who was lord of Nomi and had his seat at Cognola, was a close friend both of Madruzzo and Vittoria.\textsuperscript{15} Perhaps acting as Madruzzo's agent, he informed the Cardinal, who was then in Augsburg, that Vittoria, in the company of another stonemounter, had been to the marble quarry, and found its contents to be truly marvellous, and added that Vittoria would himself be writing to Madruzzo to tell him about it. Although Vittoria's letter has not emerged among Madruzzo's correspondence, it may be surmised from Busio's letter that Vittoria had been in the Cardinal's employ for some time before 2 October 1550.

Passamani proposed that the tone of Busio's letter indicates that Vittoria's task was to ascertain the quality of a new quarry opened especially for a particular undertaking of great importance. He suggested moreover that this might be linked with Madruzzo's contemporary projects of the Fonte Giulia, or the loggia of the villa of Ponte Alto, or, indeed, with the preparation of the stone blocks for the ornamental parts of Madruzzo's suburban Villa delle Albere.\textsuperscript{16} The Fonte Giulia, although no longer extant, is known from a description by Cardinal Massarelli. It was a complex of marble containing statuary built around the source of a spring which welled up at an unspecified point in the hills of Trent, dedicated to Cardinal Maria del Monte, who had been elected as Pope Julius III in February 1550, in memory of the times when, during the first sessions of the Ecumenical Council, he had loved to bathe in it.\textsuperscript{17} The loggia or belvedere of the Villa of Ponte Alto is also no longer extant, but is
known through de Giuliani's description as composed of a ground floor whose exterior was
decorated with doric columns with classical bases among other ornaments, while the first
floor had frescoed ceiling and walls.\textsuperscript{18} The third project suggested by Passamani for which
the new marble may have been intended was on specific parts of Palazzo delle Alberce. Once
again, radically transformed from its original appearance, we have to rely on a sixteenth-
century description of it by Mariani. He was of the opinion that the room of exceptional note
was a large room full of pictures narrating episodes from the life of the Emperor Charles V
in which was situated a noble fireplace, which Passamani more tentatively proposed might
have been the reason for Vittoria’s trip to the quarry.\textsuperscript{19}

As none of these three sites survive, Passamani’s suggestions must remain conjectural
until the discovery of further documentation.\textsuperscript{20} However, the conclusion that Vittoria was in
Madruzzo’s employ at least by the start of October 1550 seems inescapable, and we know
that he continued in the Cardinal’s favour, for in the following spring he was involved in the
construction of some temporary \textit{apparati}, as shown by a notice of payment of April 1551.\textsuperscript{21}
Although this document is incomplete, with the day and amount owing left blank, it is clear
that Madruzzo had borrowed three large wooden doors, which were painted and decorated,
to be used as part of the decorative architectural ephemerae erected on the "ischia" of a
certain Mr. Bonaccursio Balduino,\textsuperscript{22} to honour the arrival of Prince Philip of Spain and his
cousin, Maximilian, the future Holy Roman Emperor.\textsuperscript{23} Although the payment talks of the
celebrations being held jointly for Philip and Maximilian this does not seem to have been the
case, for their visits hardly coincided: the former, on his return home to Spain, arrived in
Trent from Austria on Saturday 6 June 1551 and left on Friday 26 June, but the latter did not
arrive in Trent until Tuesday 23 June. From the diaries of Cardinal Massarelli it is apparent
that whilst Philip’s visit was honoured with the erection of temporary \textit{apparati}, Maximilian’s
three day stay was not. 24

Massarelli records that the festivities for Philip were centred around a "place … set in the river Adige, surrounded by water on both sides so as to produce an island, where a most magnificent dinner had been prepared in a place made out of [wooden] stakes and [decorated with] most ornate tapestries and statues and a picture". 25 As Martin correctly pointed out, "Although Massarelli does not note any "portoni de legname depenti con tutti li suoi ornamenti", we may assume that this "insula" in the Adige is the "ischia" mentioned in the document of April 1551." 26 Unfortunately no drawings or engravings of the temporary architecture survive to illustrate Massarelli's cursory description, but Vittoria may have been partly responsible for the construction of the wooden castle (perhaps synonymous with the "salone" mentioned in the April 1551 payment), or, more likely, with the statues that decorated it.

The festivities were on a less grandiose scale, with fewer pieces of temporary architecture constructed, than for Philip's previous triumphal entry some two years earlier, perhaps due to a more sobre mood prevailing in Trent due to the renewed presence of the Ecumenical Council in the city, following the period at Bologna. 27 Nevertheless, the decorations may have been more elaborate than previously thought if a beautiful presentation drawing in pen and wash for a Neptune Fountain, initialled by Vittoria and dated 1551, recently discovered by Adolf Reinle, was designed for Prince Philip's triumphal entry into Trent, as Reinle proposes (figs. 151-53). 28 Vittoria's fountain design is extremely important as it is the only signed drawing that has emerged, and is therefore invaluable in the attribution of further sketches to him. It proves that by the age of twenty-six, Vittoria was an extremely competent and confident draughtsman. 29

Certain features seem to indicate that the design was for a large scale fountain - and
not a table-ornament (see fig. 164 for an example of a centrepiece) - probably destined for a public square rather than a private villa context. This is indicated by a series of steps, frequently used to form a visual transition between the piazza and the fountain itself, and the receiving basin with high edges, which meant that the water could be seen only from close to. The fountain is composed of an octagonal lower basin - the visible sides of which are decorated with either an inscription or a narrative relief scene - from which rises an elaborately carved shaft, covered with sirens, putti pissatori, and dolphins below an upper basin decorated with masks, and eagles above, all of which spout water. The ensemble is crowned by a bearded, male figure, nude except for a loin-cloth, who brandishes a trident in his right hand and who clasps a large eagle to his side with his left. The two narrative scenes shown on the lower basin are of a religious nature: on the left, a standing Bishop presents a kneeling cleric to the enthroned Virgin on whose knees stands the Christ-Child, who blesses the kneeling figure; on the right, a cleric (wearing a beretta and a monk’s habit) is enthroned and extends his left arm towards a woman who prostrates herself in front of him.

There is no indication on the folio as to the scale of the design, the medium in which it was to be executed, for whom it was made or its ultimate destination. However, since the drawing bears the date 1551 and we know that Vittoria was in Trent from at least autumn 1550 until September 1551, we may safely assume, with Reinle, that the drawing was made during his sojourn there. Equally, as his main patron was Madruzzo, the drawing was presumably made for the Prince-Bishop and it may be he who appears in clerical garb in the narrative relief(s).

Reinle argues that Vittoria’s design was for a temporary stucco fountain made specifically for the visit of Prince Philip of Spain in June 1551 for the following reasons: the date of the drawing coincides with the year when Philip visited Trent; the absence of a
fountain from Massarelli's descriptions of the ephemerae constructed for the resulting festivities does not exclude the possibility of a fountain being among them for his account is quite generalized; and Trent had a history of constructing particularly elaborate short-lived festival architecture. Reinle sought confirmation for this thesis in the iconography, focussing particularly on the male crowning figure with his apparently contradictory attributes of a trident and an eagle, for is he to be interpreted as Jupiter clasping a trident, or as Neptune clasping an eagle? Reinle pointed out that in Trent both attributes had specific relevance and connotations. It was maintained that the city's cathedral was built on the site of an ancient temple to Neptune, demonstrated by the relief of a trident inserted into the cathedral's wall, and the city's Italian name was a translation from the Latin word "tridentum" meaning trident. The eagle was present because it was included in the arms of the Prince-Bishop of Trent. Reinle also stated that the eagle might symbolise the Holy Roman Empire. He resolved the question of the identity of the figure by arguing that the unusual accoutrement of a loin-cloth demonstrated that the statue could not be interpreted straightforwardly as an antique god (be he Jupiter or Neptune) as they were always shown nude, but was rather a living authority allegorically portrayed in the guise of a heroic god. He cited various examples of contemporary monumental statues of eminent men being represented as gods, such as the marble statue of Andrea Doria as Neptune by Bandinelli (carved in the 1530s), and proposed that the head of the statue in Vittoria's drawing was so individualistically rendered, in comparison with the highly idealised body, that it should be thought of as a portrait. Reinle thought that the features were those of Philip, and therefore proposed that the statue was an allegorical portrait of Philip as Neptune, the god who - since Virgil's description of him mightily calming the storms - symbolised the absolute ruler.

Reinle thus interpreted the attributes as follows: the trident - the state sign for Trent
symbolised of a protector for Philip, and the eagle - representing the Holy Roman Empire - symbolised the lands which the prince hoped to inherit following the compromise reached in March 1551 that the Imperial crown would pass from Charles V to his brother Ferdinand, but then back to Philip (rather than to Maximilian, Ferdinand’s son). According to Reinle’s interpretation therefore, the fountain was a piece of large-scale, albeit temporary, political propaganda on the part of Madruzzo, demonstrating his personal friendship towards Philip, and Trent’s submission to him in his future capacity as Holy Roman Emperor.

However, such an interpretation is not fully satisfactory. It seems highly improbable that the design was to be executed in stucco: water and stucco are inimical, even in temporary constructions, and this presumably explains why fountains were so rare in festive apparei compared with triumphal arches, colossal statues or wooden castles. From contemporary descriptions it appears that in these rare temporary fountains the issue of water was limited to one main stream; the sheer number of jets envisaged in Vittoria’s drawing seem to preclude it from being a design to be translated into stucco. If this grandiose, multi-jet fountain had been constructed as part of the temporary architecture erected for Philip’s visit, and had miraculously survived the twenty day duration of the visit, there would surely have been some record of it due to its novelty. The total lack of public acclaim, however, would seem to indicate that the ephemerae for Philip’s visit did not include a stucco fountain.

It seems preferable to argue that Vittoria’s drawing was a project for a permanent public fountain to be made from marble, bronze or a combination: either an unsolicited proposal presented to Madruzzo by Vittoria in the hope that a commission might result (which could help explain the pseudo Latin inscription) or, more likely considering the fairly sophisticated iconography, a project devised by Madruzzo, and painstakingly given visual form by Vittoria, for a fountain for either the square in front of the Buonconsiglio Palace or
the one in front of the Duomo. It might even be ventured that it was for this unexecuted project that Vittoria went to investigate the local marble quarries.

Reinle's interpretation of the iconography also seems shaky, and rather than seeing the fountain as specifically linked with Philip's short sojourn in Trent, I propose instead that it was designed as a permanent testimony to, and celebration of, Madruzzo as Prince-Bishop of Trent, and the return of the Ecumenical Council to that city from Bologna. Indeed, this event of supreme importance for Madruzzo occurred in May 1551 - following the election of Pope Julius III less than three months earlier - the very year of Vittoria's drawing.

Reinle's interpretation of the freestanding figure who crowns the fountain is particularly suspect for a number of reasons. First, the eagle embraced by the heroic figure simply cannot be read as the Reichsadler, symbol for the Holy Roman Empire, since this was always portrayed as wearing the Imperial crown and usually as double-headed. Whereas in other cities a single-headed eagle might have been more liberally interpreted on occasion to represent the Holy Roman Empire, in Trent this could never have been the case for, as Reinle correctly pointed out, a single-headed eagle was the device of the Prince-Bishopric of Trent and ultimately symbolised both Madruzzo and Trent. That such divisions were rigorously adhered to in Trent, in order to avoid confusion over meaning, may be seen if one consults the descriptions of some of the ephemerae which had been constructed just two years earlier for Philip's first triumphal entry into the city: the fourth arch through which he passed in 1549 was highly ornate and culminated in the Imperial eagle at the very top: "A la summità del quadro ui era un'Aquila molto grande con due teste, & sopra la corona Imperiale, & signoreggiaua tutra la macchina", whilst on top of a globe which had been strung up in the square in front of the castle was another Imperial eagle: "A la cima di quella [terra] stauasi una grand'Aquila con la corona Imperiale in testa..." (emphasis added).35
Secondly, Reinle's argument that the loincloth indicates that the figure must *ipso facto* be a living authority rather than an antique god is unconvincing, for it implies that there are no precedents for semi-draped images of gods, which is not the case.  

Thirdly, Reinle's proposal that the features are those of Philip is far fetched. Little of the face is actually visible and the head, dominated by the slightly straggly beard and the unkempt hair blowing forwards, conforms to the traditional representation of Neptune.

It seems more logical, therefore, to read the figure as a straightforward representation of Neptune, who personifies the city of Trent, and the eagle as a symbol of Madruzzo, and thus to interpret the group as Trent gratefully embracing its Cardinal for engineering the return of the Ecumenical Church Council with all the economic benefits which that entailed. Such an interpretation would also fit better the iconography of the two visible relief panels around the octagonal basin, both of which show scenes of an ecclesiastical nature.

The complexity of the fountain should be interpreted as an attempt by Madruzzo to rival his predecessor Cles, who had patronised the construction of various extremely elaborate fountains within the precincts of the Buonconsiglio Palace during his reign, and which, though virtually forgotten today because they are no longer extant, were highly praised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, these seem to have furnished important, hitherto unnoticed, prototypes not only for Vittoria's fountain, but also for many of the fountains constructed from the late 1530s onwards which Reinle cites as possible sources for Vittoria's design. According to Mariani: "Sgorgano in Castel di Trento varie Fontane d'acqua condotta di lungi" (emphasis added), but among which the *Lion Fountain* and significantly for us, the *Neptune Fountain* in the garden with hidden water jets were the most notable, on account of their astonishing complexity and beauty. Although neither fountain survives intact, one can gain an accurate picture of their appearance soon after their construction, from their
detailed description in Matthioli’s poem about the ‘Magno Palazzo’.

The Lion Fountain made from bronze and marble was the more elaborate, and had a greater profusion of sculptural ornament. Its large marble basin rested on a foot composed of four intertwined dolphins of white marble, and Vittoria’s arrangement of his fountain’s upper basin might have been drawn directly from this. Two life-size lions, also of white marble, stood on their hind legs and rested their front paws on the edge of the basin, in order to drink. Seemingly splashing around in the basin was a bronze group of the nude Diana bathing with her nymphs and the unfortunate Acteon already metamorphosed into a deer. From the middle of the basin rose a marble column crowned by a group of Daphne and Apollo. Both of these metamorphoses became increasingly popular in northern fountains of the second half of the sixteenth century and one wonders whether the Lion Fountain was not, in part, responsible for this (figs. 163-64). Apparently around the column four large "larve" (?snails) formed a sort of seat on top of which were four young boys "che l’acqua danno", which could conceivably have provided prototypes for Vittoria’s micturating putti if this is the meaning of the phrase.

The Neptune Fountain of white marble, which stood in the centre of the palace garden, would also have influenced Vittoria’s design: the marble basin (large enough to hold the water from multifarious jets) was raised on three high steps. From the middle of the basin rose a column crowned by an imposing figure of Neptune, who held a trident in his right hand, while around were conch-shells spouting forth water jets. Although the description does not state that the shaft was decorated, there would probably have been sculptural ornamentation from which further jets would have issued. Except for the foot under the basin, and the absence of an upper basin, therefore, Vittoria’s fountain design appears very similar to Matthioli’s description of the Neptune Fountain commissioned by Cles.
Although Matthioli does not name an author for either fountain, from an exchange of letters in 1531 between Cles and his agent in Nuremberg, Dr. Christoph Scheurl, we are informed that the Cardinal was much impressed by the work of the Nuremberg sculptor, Peter Flötner (1493-1546) - in particular, by either his model or drawing for the Apollo Fountain in his native city (figs. 158-59) - and wanted to engage him on the task of erecting a fountain for the Buonconsiglio Palace. An even clearer idea of the original appearance of parts of the Lion Fountain may perhaps be gained, therefore, by study of the bronze group of Apollo and Daphne, which is attributed to Flötner and the bronze-founder Pankraz Labenwolf, and dated to circa 1530 (fig. 161), or the design for a fountain with a putto pissatore by a Nuremberg artist under the sway of Flötner (fig. 160).

Among the fountain prototypes mentioned by Reinle, that at Gaillon seems the most pertinent (fig. 155). Cardinal Amboise had rebuilt his château between 1501 and c.1511, and in December 1506 a great fountain was commissioned in Genoa from Antonio Solari, Pace Gaggini and Antonio della Porta. It was shipped to near Amboise in early 1508, and was erected in the Cour d’honneur by Bertrand de Meynal by May 1508. If this fountain was, as Gebelin believed, a gift from the Venetian Republic, this might explain how Vittoria could have known of it, even though the earliest engraving of it dates from 1576. Its octagonal basin (raised on three steps) with rectangular bas-reliefs on each side, as well as the profusely figurated column which include putti pissatori, and the presence of secondary basins with masks on their undersides which spit water downwards are all elements which Vittoria appears to have re-used on his fountain, (although some of these may also have re-appeared in the two fountains in the Buonconsiglio Palace). But, many of these elements were current in Venetian and northern Italian miniatures and engravings from the later quattrocento onwards, such as the Fountain of Love engraving of c. 1470 (fig. 154), and
Vittoria would certainly have known such images through Sansovino and his circle in Venice.

Despite the beauty of the presentation drawing made by Vittoria, and the precedents in Trent for elaborate large-scale bronze and marble fountains, it seems that the project never progressed beyond the drawing-board, for there are no records of it in Madruzzo’s or Vittoria’s papers, or any descriptions of it in the guide-books to Trent. The fact that no bronze or marble elements have appeared in art collections or on the art market which correspond at all closely to the design, argue against the fountain having been erected, and then dismantled before any descriptions were written. Perhaps the implicit expense was too great and the proposed imagery too shamelessly pagan in a city that was piously hosting the austerely Christian Ecumenical Council.

Yet, despite the lapsing of this ambitious project, Vittoria must have kept himself busy in Trent, for a letter written by Teodoro Busio to his sister on 21 September 1551 proves that Vittoria was still in the city (see below).43 Besides those projects proposed by Passamani which, in the absence of documents, have to remain conjectural,44 it is certain, from Aretino’s letter to Lucietta Saraceno of November 1552, that Vittoria produced many portrait medals of eminent noblemen and prelates attending the Council, which had reopened in May 1551.45 In an attempt to persuade the noblewoman to have her features preserved on a medal modelled in wax by Vittoria and then cast by a third party into bronze, Aretino enumerated some of those who had already sat for the sculptor, including in Trent: "Massimiano, il Principe di Piemonte e di Spagna, non che in Trento il padre, il fratello e il nipote con diversi altri cavalieri e prelati", in other words, Maximilian, "King of Bohemia",46 his cousin Philip, Prince of Spain;47 Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont;48 Viggilio Vittoria della Volpe, Vittoria's father;49 his brother;50 his nephew;51 and several (unspecified) knights and prelates. Unfortunately, none of the medals of those sitters specified by Aretino have
survived, and so we are left with the task of identifying Vittoria’s hand in unattributed medals whose obverses bear the profiles of high ranking ecclesiastics or laymen who were present in Trent when Vittoria was there too (ie latter part of the fourth session, and some, if not all, of the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth, and after the return to Trent for the eleventh and twelfth sessions). Only two such medals can be securely given to Vittoria: that of Francesco da Toledo (figs. 147-48), and that of Gaspare Borgia, Bishop of Segorbe from 1530 (fig. 146).

Despite the contacts made as a result of his skills as a portrait-medallist, by late September 1551, as Busio’s letter witnesses, Vittoria was keen to return to Venice. Busio wrote to his sister requesting that she employ Vittoria’s sister, Anna, as a lady-in-waiting, because the sculptor had to leave Trent to come to Venice, but was unwilling to leave her alone in Trent on account of the number of foreigners. Unfortunately, Busio does not specify why Vittoria “dovendosse partir de chi per andar a sta r a Venetia”, but a lack of important commissions following the construction of the festive ephemerae in April and the abandoning of the Neptune Fountain project may have been partly responsible: manufacturing portrait medals might have paid the odd bill, but would not have brought fortune and fame to the ambitious Vittoria.

Given his eagerness to return to Venice in late September 1551, it is surprising to find Vittoria was well-settled in Vicenza by December. On an unspecified day in December, Pietro Aretino wrote to Vittoria to thank him for a basket of Vicenza’s most tasty pears, and his lack of surprise over Vittoria’s whereabouts, proves that Vittoria must have been there some time. His letter also provides the first notice of any contention between Vittoria and his former master, Sansovino. However, as Aretino provides no precise dates, much ink has been spilt as to precisely when the split occurred, with some critics favouring Temanza’s
proposal of 1547, and others the date of 1551, first proposed by Giovanelli.\textsuperscript{58} However, as first argued by Leithe-Jasper,\textsuperscript{59} the split between pupil and master can have occurred only shortly before Aretino's letter was written. Due to its fundamental importance in clarifying the long-disputed start of the quarrel, I have translated the letter in full:

"To Mr. Alessandro, the sculptor:

Beautiful and tasty are the pears sent to me all the way from Vicenza by you, who are no less courteous in your gifts than talented in carving marble; and you can well imagine how the great Titian ate as many of mine as of his, because you know very well that we happily dine together all the time, and when Sansovino started praising them (he still spends lots of time with the two of us, as you've witnessed many times), I told him that those kind pears were a gift of your kindness, and he was pleased to hear that. But he told me how sorry he was about a certain letter written to him, in his words, very scurrilously by you, adding, "I, brother Aretino, will show it to you without doubt." However, I haven't actually seen it as yet, and so I don't know what to say, but that I'm truly sorry that, so to speak, between father and son, there should be some quarrel and disharmony, and so I offer you, however strong your indignation may be, to make use of those good relations that my disposition has always created with friends. In the meantime I thank you for the kindness you've shown in such pleasing things for my palette, and I beseech you, if I may be of any help to you, that you would freely ask me,

December 1551, in Venice."

That Sansovino was apparently pleased to hear news of Vittoria, and then spoke only with sadness of an opprobrious letter sent from his former pupil, proves that it had arrived recently, for he had not yet succumbed to the anger and bitterness which were to characterise his attitude towards Vittoria later, as the rift deepened.\textsuperscript{60}
Furthermore, Aretino's letter to Vittoria can only have been written shortly after the supper in question had taken place, for despite the professed frequency of his meetings with Sansovino, the latter had not yet shown him the vituperative letter. As a result when writing to Vittoria, Aretino is uninformed as to both the motivation behind the young man's letter, and its contents. As Martin argues, it is Aretino's genuine surprise at finding hostility to exist between Sansovino and Vittoria, whose relationship he regarded as that of a father and son, which provides the strongest evidence that the dissension took place in 1551: "By that year, Aretino and Sansovino had been friends for over twenty years and, as one can see from the letter, Aretino was also quite familiar with Vittoria at this time. It is thus highly improbable that in December of 1551 Aretino should have only just learned of a quarrel that had been going on since 1547. If the dissension had taken place in 1547 surely Aretino, the master of Venetian gossip and a friend of both principals, would have known of it before four years had elapsed."  

While Martin is correct in disengaging the date of the quarrel with the departure of Vittoria from Sansovino's shop, he is probably incorrect when he argues that "by the end of 1551 Vittoria and Sansovino were not in close personal or professional contact", for otherwise why was the argument so acrimonious and personal? Conceivably, Vittoria's ardent desire to return to Venice (indicated in Busio's letter) was produced by his increasing frustration at the lack of serious commissions in Trent, and hearing that Sansovino had fallen ill whilst at work on a colossal Hercules for the Duke of Ferrara (fig. 182). He presumably knew that Sansovino, in order to speed up progress on the colossus, had engaged three assistants since June, and it seems likely that Vittoria returned to Venice in late September or early October, in the hope of assisting on this prestigious project. Perhaps the incapacitated Sansovino interpreted Vittoria's sudden return to Venice as too predatory for
his liking, and thus blocked Vittoria from participation on this project, or indeed any other commission; or perhaps the ambitious Vittoria disdained the work which Sansovino offered. However, realising that he may have transgressed, thereby angering Sansovino and spoiling his chances for patronage, Vittoria seems to have left Venice precipitately under a black cloud after only a few weeks and was settled in Vicenza by December.

However, one work which Vittoria could have made during this brief return to Venice was the crowning component of Sansovino’s bronze Medici Tabernacle (now in the Bargello) (figs. 165-66). Leithe-Jasper argued that on account of the similarities of physical type and certain positions of the bronze putti struggling with garlands on the top of the Tabernacle with those of stucco on the vault of the Stanza degli Dei in Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza (1552) (figs. 195-96), this surmounting decoration should be ascribed to Vittoria and dated slightly earlier as their movement and torsion is less exaggerated, c.1546-1550.

However, an even closer analogy is found with the Neptune Fountain drawing of 1551 (figs. 151-53). The bronze strapwork cartouche recalls that in the drawing, as do the putti who jostle with each other attempting to lift the heavy swags, those on the drawing who struggle to support part of the fountain shaft, especially in the way that their bodies bend into a curve under the strain, and their calves and feet interweave. As the Tabernacle putti and cartouche seem to form a link between those on the Neptune Fountain drawing (1551), and those on the ceiling of the Stanza della Notte (1552-early 1553) it seems plausible to argue that Vittoria executed the model for the surmounting bronze decoration during his brief return to Venice in the autumn of 1551. After all, it was of small dimensions and would have been made of a malleable material like wax which was easily modelled, and so could have been executed in a short time.
1. Doc. No. 5.

2. Doc. No. 4. This was first pointed out by Planiscig (1921), 439, and reiterated by Martin (1988), 10.

3. Venturi (1937), 82.


5. See Leithe-Jasper (1963), 11.

6. "... il quale aa sopra uno batisterio" (emphasis added); Doc. No. 5.


11. Weihrauch (1935), 72-3, and (1938), 467 and Boucher (1991), 323, for example, both saw Sansovino's Baptist as providing the source for the motif of the extended arm of Vittoria's figure.

2. Doc. No. 7.

3. Cat. No. 129. In the letter to Saraceno of November 1552 (Doc. No. 18), Aretino reported that Vittoria had portrayed in medallion form "non che in Trento il padre, il fratello e il nipote con diversi altri cavalieri e prelati". The knights and prelates would have been in Trent for the eleventh session of the Ecumenical Council which opened on 1 May 1551, but we know that by this date Vittoria's father was already dead. However, because Aretino groups the family medals together with those of the representatives of the Council, it would be reasonable to suppose that Vittoria had commenced with the medallion portraits of his own family, presumably as a trial run, when he first arrived back in Trent at some point before October 1550 (Doc. No. 8) and when his father was still alive, presuming, of course, that the medal spoken of by Aretino was not posthumous, and stayed in Trent after he had died to sort out the family affairs, and took the opportunity to portray the clerics as they arrived in the town for the re-opening of the Council. Ambrosi (1894, 41) is in error when he links the marriage of Vittoria with the death of his father: "alla morte del padre avvenuta il 1 novembre 552, si recò a Trento, dove raccolta l'eredità paterna, prese in moglie Paola ... ."


5. If by September 1551 (Doc. No. 13), Busio was calling Vittoria "molto virtuoso et mio micissimo", it seems reasonable to suppose that their friendship was well-established, and probably also pre-dated Busio's letter to Madruzzo of October 1550 by quite some time.


7. ibid., 284, 304 n. 9 for bibliographical references. Passamani further points out that the complex was also named by Madruzzo after the new Pope out of gratitude for the 20,000 scudi credited him by Julius III, which was a more than generous reimbursement of the expenses incurred as a result of hosting the Ecumenical Council in Trent. Unfortunately, the Fonte Giulia underwent a radical transformation which included the removal of the sculptures, and their subsequent dispersal.
18. "... composta di un piano terra ornato esteriormente di dorico intercolumnio con trabeazione e piedestallo del classico stile, con modanature e varie decorazioni esterne, mentre la volta del piano superiore interna e le pareti erano messe vagamente a fresco", Giuliani (1884), 139.

19. Mariani (1673), 449. With regard to this fireplace he mentions the fact that "fu già armato da due alte Statue di Bronzo, gittate così al vivo, che han fatto i piedi, e si come stando qui parlauano il motto della caducità delle grandezze terrene: così partendo han' insegnato in pratica la lor teorica". Unfortunately no engraving or drawing of these bronze figures survives to inform us of their original appearance, but it is tempting to conjecture, following Passamani (1993, 284-85) that Vittoria may have been involved in their manufacture. (Passamani (1993, 284), alternatively proposes Gian Jerolamo Grandi as their author).

20. My only reservation is that Passamani (1993, 285) talked of Vittoria having to sound out the quality of the stone, whilst Busio's letter specifically spoke of Vittoria visiting a marble quarry. It is impossible to know whether the Fonte Giulia, the loggia of Ponte Alta or the fireplace of the Villa delle Alberle were constructed of marble or not, but it seems that these projects would have been executed by stonemasons rather than a figure-sculptor, as was Vittoria. In my opinion it seems rather more plausible that Vittoria was visiting the quarry in order to determine whether the marble was suitable for carving a specifically commissioned figure from it. This was in accord with contemporary practice, for most sculptors would visit quarries to select the marble they required for particular commissions. This is particularly true of Michelangelo who went to Carrara on numerous occasions for this purpose (see Murray (1984), 72). It could be conjectured that the commission which took Vittoria to the local marble quarries was that of the Neptune Fountain for which an initialled drawing survives, and which is dated to the following year. See Cat. No. 3, and below.

1. Doc. No. 9.

2. As first pointed out by Martin (1988, 11 and n. 32), the "ischia" is to be understood as one of the "ischic" of Trent, which were large peninsulas formed by the River Adige, but which no longer exist following the river's diversion in the late nineteenth century.

3. Leith Jasper (1963, 16) interpreted the phrase "Principe di Spagna et Re di Bohemia" as meaning Ferdinand I, but I think there can be no doubt that two different individuals are implied by the phrase, and that since the decorations in the note of payment are similar to those mentioned in Massarelli's diary entries (Doc. No. 10) which were erected in Prince Philip's honour, then he must be the Principe di Spagna" mentioned in the note of payment, and as his visit overlapped with that of his cousin, then the "Re di Bohemia" must refer to Maximilian II.


5. ibid., 235; translation from Martin (1988), 12; Doc. No. 10.


7. The comparative lack of temporary architectural settings was made up for by the exotic animals ("rare sorti di animali") which Madruzzo had loaned from his friend, the Duke of Ferrara, with which to populate certain parts of the island in the Adige, and to transform it into an enchanted garden. See Madruzzo's letter to the Duke of Ferrara in Sartori (1988-89).


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29. The design should also be seen in the wider context of fountain construction around the middle of the sixteenth-century, such as the two free-standing fountains which Tribolo designed for the villa of II Castello near Florence - the Hercules and Antaeus Fountain and the Florenza Fountain (now at La Petraia); Montorsoli's Orion Fountain in the Piazza del Duomo, Messina built between 1547 and 1553; Bandinelli's Neptune Fountain for the Piazza della Signoria in Florence; and that design for a Neptune Fountain attributed to Peruzzi, and dated to the early 1520s (fig. 157).

30. See Harris Wiles' comments on Montorsoli's Fountain of Orion, in the Piazza del Duomo, Messina (1933, 27).

31. The subjects of these allegorical reliefs may be interpreted as fairly standard: (left) a patron saint presents a donor (Madruzzo(?)) to the Virgin and Child; and (right) possibly the City of Trent prostrates herself before Madruzzo.

32. He erroneously dates the visit of Philip to between 6 - 9 June, whereas he did not leave until 26 June: the length of his stay provides a strong argument against Reine's suggestion that the drawing was for a temporary fountain of stucco, made as part of the festive apparatus, for it is unlikely that it would have survived for three weeks.

33. We know from Ulloa's description of the 1549 entry of Philip into Trent that by the entrance to the castle there was a colossal river god personifying the Adige, who lent upon an urn which spilled forth water, and although the material was not specified, we may assume that this was of stucco just as the rest of the temporary decorations. (Ulloa (1560), 560; see Chapter Two, 31). The only other temporary fountains that I have come across in the literature are the four fountains constructed on the Ponte Santa Trinità, Florence, in 1536, as part of the decorations for the triumphal entry of Charles V into the city: the colossal figure of the Arno was modelled by Montorsoli, while the smaller personifications of the Rhine, Bagrades and Hiberius were by Tribolo and Raffaello da Montelupo.

4. Guazzo (1552), 700v.

5. ibid., 701r.

6. Take, for example, Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's engraving of a Fountain surmounted by a statue of Neptune (fig. 156), of c. 1500 where a flowing piece of drapery hides Neptune's genitalia, an image Vittoria could well have known. It seems that Vittoria, conscious of the increasingly strict and prudish notions of propriety prevalent in Trent because of the Council, and not wishing to offend, modestly draped a linen-cloth around his deity.

7. Mariani (1673), 159.

8. In the Lions' Courtyard today there are the remains of the 'Lion Fountain'; see fig. 162.

9. On account of the general unavailability of the text, the relevant sections have been reprinted here as Doc. Nos. 11 and 12.


2. Gebelin (1927), 112 n. 41.

The critics who favour 1547 as the beginning of the break are: Temanza (1778), 480; Zorzi (1951), 141-43; Cessi (1960-I), 25-33; Ivanoff (1968), 51; Pope-Hennessy (1970), 415; Magagnato (1966), 53.


The degree of anger harboured against Vittoria is clearly expressed in the letter written by the ambassador Feruffino to his master, Duke Ercole of Ferrara, on 21 April 1552, when he reports that Sansovino spitefully called Vittoria, "uno che niente sa". (Doc. No. 16).

2. See Martin (1988), 15-16; and Leithe-Jasper (1963), 17. I am in full agreement but would only add that the falling-out probably occurred either in late November, or early December 1551, depending exactly when the Aretino's letter to Vittoria was written.


4. Ibid., 17.

5. On 29 June 1551 Feruffino wrote to the Duke regarding the statue, "et il Sansovino non manca far quello che bisogna di sua mano, et li tiene tre suoi che la lavorano ..."; and on 26 August 1551 wrote again to the Duke: "... Sono già ben sei giorni ch'il Sansovino mi prego di voler scrivere a vostra Eccellenza, facendo Le sapere ch'egli continuamente tiene doi et tre lavoranti pagati intorno a statua ...". See Boucher (1991), 222, Doc. Nos. 213 and 214.
5. If Vittoria had helped with the terracotta Hercules made as part of the celebrations for the first visit of Prince Philip of Spain to Trent in 1549, he would certainly have felt himself competent to help Sansovino with his commission. Certainly, in the letter which Feruffino wrote to the Duke on 21 April 1552, he reports how, until the evening when Sansovino maligned his reputation, Vittoria had wished to save his former master’s honour and give him a hand with the Hercules which was causing him such problems, but after the humiliating rebuff of being called an ignoramus, Vittoria had now resolved to enter into direct competition with Sansovino and produce his own, superior model. See last sentence of Doc. No. 16.

6. We know from the reports of Feruffino that Sansovino had become irascible and rather difficult to deal with in his old age. On 13 August 1550 Feruffino had written to the Duke that Sansovino was molto fantastico, è necessario cum lui proceder cum dextra mano ...”, and on 10 September this assessment was repeated: “è necessario cum lui procedere drestamente, perché è cervello bizarro et he ha modo, et per puoco ritornaria li denari et saria per non farla ...”. Three days later, Feruffino wrote another desperate letter to the Duke confessing: “è cosa diabolica d’haver a far cum un fantastico et tanto bizarro quanto questo.” It seems that Vittoria shared a similar reaction when he returned to Venice one year later. See Boucher (1991), 220-21, Doc. Nos. 201, 202, and 205.

7. See Cat. No. 6.

8. See Chapter Four, §4-§6 and Cat. No. 20.
CHAPTER FOUR:
VITTORIA'S WORK IN VICENZA

(autoumn 1551 - spring 1553)

Vittoria was not to return and settle in Venice until early May 1553. In the intervening year and a half he seems to have lived in Vicenza, occasionally travelling to Venice and Padua. He concentrated on consolidating his reputation and building up a network of influential patrons. He was helped by Pietro Aretino, who not only recognised his precocious talent, as proven by the praise of the young sculptor frequently expressed, but who also had great personal affection for Vittoria, whom he considered as a son.\(^1\) That Aretino was friendly with the upper echelons of Vicentine society is shown by the cordial epithets he added to their names as in the familiar letter of November 1552 written to Lucietta Saraceno, in which he talks of the sublime Caterina Chiericati, the delightful daughters of the most beloved Count Marc'Antonio Thiene and the notable Maddalena Leopardi.\(^2\) Within these élite circles, Aretino promoted Vittoria’s skills as a portraitist, employing his skills of rhetorical flattery to persuade them to have their profiles recorded on medals made by Vittoria. Thus, in the aforementioned letter to Lucietta Saraceno he prevailed on her to commission a medal. Describing the skills of the sculptor, he enumerated various sitters whom Vittoria had portrayed to date: the males seem to have been chosen because Aretino knew that their high rank would appeal to Lucietta’s snobbishness, whilst the females were chosen to assure her that Vittoria was capable of reproducing the most delicate features in medallic form. Lucietta succumbed to Aretino’s flattering rhetoric, and Vittoria did make a portrait-medal of her, even though it has not survived,\(^3\) and it was probably through similar propaganda that Vittoria
Aretino presumably realised the advantages that medallic portraits had over other forms of portraiture: their cheapness, reproducibility and transportability would not only appeal to the Vicentine grandees, but would serve to promote the fame of the medallist as well. In a letter of January 1553, Aretino claimed to be more pleased about the glory that would Vittoria gain, than that brought himself, through having one of the sculptor’s medals of himself reproduced in several copper and silver casts to satisfy demand from Rome. The rationale of Aretino’s promotion of Vittoria as a medallist seems to have been that small-scale, inexpensive commissions would win him the patrons’ confidence, and result in larger commissions of greater consequence. Portrait-medal would be proudly shown off to friends and family, and Vittoria’s reputation would spread by word of mouth.

A case in point are the Thiene, among the richest and most influential families in Vicenza. It may be inferred from the sources that Vittoria was introduced to this noble family through Aretino initially as a medallist, and had produced medals of the daughters of Count Marc' Antonio by November 1552 (fig. 167), when they are mentioned in Aretino’s letter to Saraceno. Aretino must have effected the introduction shortly after Vittoria’s arrival in Vicenza, for by mid-April 1552, Vittoria seems to have been adopted by Count Ludovico Thiene, grandfather of Marc' Antonio: a letter of 16 April 1552 from Vittoria to Duke Ercole II d’Este of Ferrara reveals that they had been introduced to each other by Thiene in his palace some while back. Since the professed purpose of the letter is to inform the Duke that he is now free to undertake work for him, Vittoria cannot yet have started work on the famous stucco vault decorations of the palace as some have supposed, and so the most likely explanation for his presence in the palace would be in the capacity of medallist, perhaps sketching the profiles of Ludovico’s various great-grand-daughters or checking the accuracy
of the wax models from which the medals would be cast. Indeed, it may well have been these medals that persuaded the Thiene family of Vittoria’s abilities, and led to his commission of a good part of the stuccowork in the palace.

Vittoria’s letter of 16 April 1552 recalling the events of the meeting with Ercole d’Este also demonstrates how his medals of rulers of the day were collected by their devotees - Count Ludovico appears to have owned a medal by Vittoria of the Prince of Spain, which he showed to Duke Ercole.9 Impressed by this medal, Ercole summoned Vittoria and asked him whether he could make either a bronze or marble bust of him. At that time he had been otherwise engaged, but Vittoria informs the Duke that he is now free of commitments and keen to undertake any work that Ercole may have for him.

History does not relate whether such a bust was ever made, despite Vittoria’s attempt to secure the commission by his subservient epistle, but the fact that the Duke asked for a portrait-bust from Vittoria, rather than a medal, perhaps suggests that Vittoria had already carved busts (which have either not survived or not been identified), for it is unlikely that he would have asked Vittoria without some evidence of his proficiency.10

Ludovico must have introduced Vittoria as more than just a medallist to the Duke of Ferrara, for it transpires that at this meeting the Duke had also requested Vittoria’s opinion on his colossal Hercules which Sansovino was still carving in Venice (fig. 182):11 by 21 April 1552 Vittoria had fulfilled the Duke’s orders as reported in a letter of that day by Girolamo Feruffino, the Ducal ambassador in Venice to Ercole.12 That Vittoria was selected by the Duke testifies further to his growing reputation and artistic maturity, and adds weight to the argument that, since his arrival by December 1551, he must have produced more than just portrait-medals in Vicenza, as does the fact that he is referred to as sculptore Vicentino rather than sculptore Veneziano.
The Duke's orders gave Vittoria an opportunity to challenge his former master, and Vittoria appears to have lost no time in returning to Venice to assess the colossus. Vittoria would have realised how unfavourably the *Hercules* compared with the only other large-scale statue recently been carved in Venice - Ammannati's *Neptune* for the balustrade of the Library, as well as with that sculptor's *Hercules* in Padua (fig. 181). Perhaps he expressed his unfavourable opinion directly to Sansovino, for when Feruffino, Vittoria and a Vicentine painter called Isepo,\(^{13}\) tried to assess the *Hercules* on 21 April, Sansovino absented himself, having ordered his henchmen to refuse to find the keys to the particular workshop in which the colossus was being carved. Feruffino related these events to the Duke in his letter written that evening, and how by leaving word with Sansovino's servants that upon Ercole's orders he, and the "experts", would be returning the following morning, he had incited Sansovino to a terrible rage. Sansovino sent word that he did not want the agent to return with the other two men. It was not the painter to whom Sansovino objected so violently but Vittoria, "who had once been part of his household, but could now be dead for all he knew, and he marvelled at the Duke's wish to show the statue to one who knew nothing".\(^{14}\) If the Duke wanted real expert opinion on his statue, then he should consult Baccio Bandinelli in Florence and Bartolomeo Ammannati who was now in Rome.\(^{15}\)

As a result of Sansovino's disparaging opinion of Vittoria as an ignoramus, the younger sculptor had determined that very evening in Feruffino's presence, to defend his honour by making a model for a statue of *Hercules*, in direct competition with Sansovino's, claiming that experts would judge it to be very much better.\(^{16}\) Just over five and a half weeks later he had finished this self-appointed task, and wrote triumphantly to Feruffino on 30 May 1552 to inform him that the model was ready, adding:

"... whilst I once desired that some honorable fee should be granted to me, all I want now is that it should be judged which of us is to be preferred in such work, and that if your
lordship is not content with seeing only the model, then I will set about finishing it off and come to Venice with this . . . and if you want want to reply to me then direct your letters to the palace of the great Count Marc'antonio Thiene, where I am currently living, and I infinitely recommend myself to your lordship." 17

Although nothing has survived of this model, perhaps the long-forgotten head of Hercules by Vittoria, which originally belonged to Bernardo Moresini and was then donated by him to Girolamo Gualdo, should be interpreted as the only part to have survived into the seventeenth-century. 18 Moreover, it could be conjectured that the bronze statuette of Jupiter now in Écouen (figs. 186-87), 19 reflects to a certain degree Vittoria's lost model. Although Leithe-Jasper has recently reaffirmed his earlier dating of the bronze to c. 1580-85, 20 it seems to me that the Jupiter should be dated much earlier - to Vittoria's Vicentine sojourn of 1552.

Not only does the bronze recall the Neptune crowning the Fountain Design of 1551 (figs. 151-53), in the rather incongruous juxtaposition of extremely muscular proportions with a rather effeminate, almost balletic stance, but his physiognomy is virtually identical to that of the stucco Jupiter, which Vittoria modelled in the Stanza degli Dei, in the months immediately after the Hercules competition (fig. 185). Given that the pose of the Écouen Jupiter - in contrapposto with one arm akimbo, and head twisted imperiously - is that traditionally given to a figure of Hercules, the suspicion arises that Jupiter's composition derives from Vittoria's model of Hercules, with just the attribute changed. This hypothesis appears confirmed by the unusual, yet hitherto unnoticed, fact that Jupiter is left-handed. This is exceptional in Vittoria's oeuvre - since a lone attribute is always carried in the right-hand; the left hand only employed if there is a second attribute - with the notable exception of a small mezzo-relievo figure of Hercules modelled in stucco in the Stanza di Proserpina, Palazzo Thiene, whose right arm is also akimbo and who holds a down-turned club in his left (fig. 183). Since Vittoria's contribution to this room appears to have followed that of the Stanza degli Dei,
(i.e., also decorated shortly after Vittoria had finished his model of Hercules for the Duke of Ferrara), it is fair to assume, given their identical subject, that this Hercules reflects Vittoria's model. Thus the left-handedness - common to both this Hercules, and the Écouen Jupiter, but to no other figures by Vittoria - may be seen as deriving from their shared prototype, the Hercules model. Perhaps Ludovico Thiene, or another Vicentine patron, saw and liked the model, and commissioned Vittoria to make a variant: the attention to detail, the quality of the cast, its careful chasing and high polish, as well as the fact that Vittoria inscribed his initials onto the front of the base-plate before casting, all prove that this was made for a discerning collector.

Despite Vittoria's keenness to prize Sansovino's commission from him, his letter of 30 May is the last we hear of the competition over the Hercules, and the last time that the feud between the two sculptors is mentioned. Why such an aggressive attempt to purloin work from Sansovino should so suddenly have been abandoned by Vittoria is hard to explain, but perhaps it was linked to his gaining the important commission for the stuccowork in Palazzo Thiene, which then occupied him until the end of the year.²¹

The palace was conceived for the brothers Marc'antonio and Adriano, enlightened and exacting amateur architects and patrons. The building history of the palace is confused, but it seems that the first designs were furnished by Giulio Romano, and that a contract was signed in 1542 with a team of stone-masons - among them Andrea Palladio. However, progress was slow and it was not until 1546, the year when Marc'antonio was reconfirmed in his knighthood and when his brother-in-law, Iseppo da Porto, may have decided to build his new palace in the nearby contra Porti, that work got underway. Over the next decade Palladio reworked Romano's original designs into what would have been his most grandiose domestic project, comparable to the largest Renaissance palaces in Florence and Rome, thus
showing the Thiene brothers' ambition. Although only the North-East corner of Palazzo Thiene was ever realised, building work did not terminate until the later 1550s - the dates 1556 and 1558 are inscribed on the external and internal string courses of the palace. Thus, when Vittoria came to stucco the vaults of several rooms in the palace in 1552, construction was still underway, and presumably Marc'antonio still believed that his dreams would be realised. Only the best artists available worked on the interior decorations: in both the preparatory manuscript for the Quattro Libri (first published by Zorzi and dated between 1561 and 1567) and in the published version, Palladio talked in laudatory terms of the four artists comprising the team of interior decorators - Vittoria among them.

Although Palladio attested to Vittoria's participation on the stuccowork, he did not specify when it was carried out and, in the absence of contracts or payment-records, most critics have simply placed the execution of the stuccoes within the date-bracket of Vittoria's Vicentine sojourn, between late 1551 and early 1553. However, it is possible through a close reading of Vittoria's correspondence to date his stuccoes more precisely. It seems that he did not commence work in the palace until sometime between mid-April and the end of May 1552, for on 16 April Vittoria had written to the Duke of Ferrara offering his services, because he was now free to work for him. Yet within a month and a half he was actually residing in Palazzo Thiene, for in the previously mentioned letter of 30 May he gives the palace as his address. He had presumably started work in the meantime.

As for a completion-date, it is likely that the project was drawing to a close by late 1552, because Vittoria seems then to have become increasingly involved with other projects: from November 1552 there is a sudden spate of correspondence relating to his work as a medallist; and from Andrea Loredan's letter of 5 December 1552 it transpires that Vittoria had gone to Venice on business for Marco Mantova Benavides of Padua. It may be surmised,
therefore, that Vittoria was engaged on the stuccowork of Palazzo Thiene for about eight months, between late April 1552 and the end of the year.

The division of labour on the stuccowork decoration is problematic, for although Palladio recorded that Vittoria and Bartolomeo Ridolfi collaborated, he did not specify their respective contribution. As Vittoria was much younger than Ridolfi, one might presume that he played a subordinate rôle, working to the more experienced stuccoist's designs but, as was first highlighted by Leithe-Jasper, in both the draft and final texts of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*, they are given equal credit, and Vittoria is recognised as a master in his own right. As such, Leithe-Jasper argued, they would probably have worked separately, not collaboratively, and division attribution can only be established by stylistic comparison.

Since Leithe-Jasper's thesis, more visual evidence has emerged to clarify the stylistic traits of both sculptors in the early 1550s. Of great significance is the dating now established for Palazzo da Porto Festa, designed by Palladio for Marc'antonio's brother-in-law, Iseppo da Porto, and stuccoed - according to Palladio - exclusively by Ridolfi. Ridolfi was traditionally thought to have worked in Palazzo da Porto Festa in the later 1550s but recently discovered documents prove that the palace was habitable by December 1549 when Iseppo drew up a contract for the completion of the façade within three years. The once-visible date of 1552 on both the exterior and a fireplace appear to testify that the contracted work was finished on time. If the palace was decorated by 1552, then most of Ridolfi's stuccoes in Palazzo da Porto pre-date those of Palazzo Thiene, presuming that he started work on the latter palace simultaneously with Vittoria in spring 1552. Only the stuccowork in the barrel-vaulted *Studiolo* has survived, but this provides a clear indication of Ridolfi's style (figs. 90-101). As for Vittoria, the *Neptune Fountain* drawing of 1551 provides evidence of his figure-style only shortly before he started work in Palazzo Thiene (figs. 151-53). A comparison of
these works by Ridolfi and Vittoria confirms Leithe-Jasper’s proposals for the six rooms in question: the *Stanze di Proserpina*, *degli Dei*, *dei Principi*, and *di Psiche* (on the ground floor); and the *Stanze delle Metamorfosi* and *di Proserpina* (on the first floor).

It appears that the two sculptors generally worked in separate rooms, following their own designs. Of the two, Vittoria was clearly the more advanced, for he included more modern motifs in his ceilings, such as cartouches, which derived ultimately from the school of Fontainebleau, and which were only subsequently and sparingly to enter Ridolfi’s decorative vocabulary.

The rectangular *Stanza di Proserpina* (or *Sala del Caminetto*) has a pavilion vault decorated with five rectangular fields disposed in a cruciform design containing narrative fresco scenes (fig. 188); four diamond-shaped fields with a male deity set in a cartouche straddle the corners (figs. 189-92). The framed fields are separated from each other by garlands of fruit and foliage bound with gold ribbons, and the thin fields in between are decorated with sphinxes alternating with sheaf-like motifs; at every intersection there is a lily-like flower with a golden stamen. The uppermost band of the tri-partite frieze is filled with a single row of Tritons interlocked with sea-monsters; the middle band with golden waves; and the lowest band with golden acanthus-like motifs underscored by a string of gold pearls (fig. 190).

Leithe-Jasper attributed this ceiling to Ridolfi, arguing that because the spatial division and ornament was rather *passé* - the former deriving ultimately from Roman antiquity and transmitted through the Raphael School, and the latter from engraved copy books and the work of Tiziano Minio - the ceiling was more likely to be by the older sculptor. The only areas where Leithe-Jasper discerned Vittoria’s hand were the four diamond-shaped corner fields featuring more modern ornaments, such as the strapwork cartouches replete with crowning...
mask and fruit swags at the sides. These motifs pioneered in Fontainebleau by Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio ([figs. 114-20]), were disseminated outside France through the engravings of Antonio Fantuzzi and René Boyvin from the mid-1540s onwards, and were rapidly assimilated by the younger generation of artists.

That the vault should be attributed to Ridolfi, except for the cartouches, is confirmed by a comparison with his stuccowork in Palazzo da Porto. This manifests a similarly rigorous, "old-fashioned" division of space, with thin borders separating the larger from the smaller fresco fields ([figs. 90-92]). Identical motifs are employed: the gilt-tipped acanthus leaves underscored by a string of gold pearls ([figs. 97, 100]), the waves ([figs. 98, 101]); the fruit and foliage swags ([fig. 99]) and the full-faced grotesque satyr masks. These motifs which recur on other vaults decorated by Ridolfi, such as those of the Sala Quadrata and the Small Barrel-Vaulted Room in Palazzo Chiericati may be taken as hallmarks of Ridolfi's style.

Any doubts as to whether the male deities in the cartouche-ovals ([figs. 183, 193, 397]) should be given to Vittoria (because they are more stocky and display a more generalised and painterly handling of the stucco than is common in Vittoria's oeuvre) may be allayed because specific details recall other works by him - for example, the head of Jupiter's eagle ([fig. 193]) is virtually identical to that in the Neptune Fountain drawing ([fig. 152]); and the masks which crown the cartouches ([fig. 192]) are very similar to those on the vault of the Marciana Library staircase ([figs. 394, 395]). The use of the enframing cartouche gives further weight to the suggestion that Vittoria was the stuccoist responsible for the corner fields.

The vault of the Stanza degli Dei (otherwise known as the Sala Quadrata or the Sala della Notte), may be ascribed, on the other hand, to Vittoria as argued by Leithe-Jasper. Here a pavilion vault is decorated with five frescoed fields ([fig. 194]), but the visual effect
is completely different from that created by Ridolfi in the *Stanza di Proserpina*. Large and powerful gods and goddesses recline in pairs along the springing of the vault and dominate the room rather oppressively (figs. 196-204). Leithe-Jasper convincingly explained this as youthful misjudgement by Vittoria, who failed to appreciate the low and constricted proportions of the room. Vittoria's intention that each segment of the vault be viewed as a single entity - witness his use of large, separating frames - cannot be easily achieved since the viewer cannot retreat far enough to prevent the two segments at either side from entering his field of vision. Vittoria also failed to master the curving of the vault when executing his figures. Thus, only through photographs can one gain a clearer idea of the sculptor's intentions, as these allow one to study the segments as self-contained entities.36

Each of the four trapezoidal segments is identically arranged with a centrally placed squarish fresco field surrounded by a stucco frame set within a strapwork cartouche, the upper scrolled lobes of which curl parallel to the sloping frames (fig. 196). Around the edges of the cartouche are luxuriant swags, inside which stands a putto bearing the attribute of the god or goddess below. At the top there are two more swags, each played with by a pair of putti (fig. 195); a fourth swag rests on the ledge at the bottom. As Leithe-Jasper commented, individual elements are subordinated to the decorative whole, which was to become more pronounced later. The strapwork has been given importance equal to the figures, which in turn become decorative: their bodies emphasise the movement in the strapwork, repeating the curves of the cartouches in either parallel or opposing swings, and almost become strapwork in human form.37

That the ceiling is by the youthful Vittoria is also demonstrated by the form of particular elements which either recall previous works by him or which look forward to his later work. Most significantly, the strap-work cartouches are more complicated variants of
that containing the invented Latin inscription in Vittoria’s Neptune Fountain drawing (fig. 151) and the one on his surmounting decoration of Sansovino’s Medici Tabernacle (fig. 166). The decorative possibilities inherent in cartouches appealed to Vittoria’s creative mind, and they frequently recur in his later work, but they were not an integral part of Ridolfi’s decorative vocabulary.38

The powerfully proportioned male deities recall not only the River Gods of Sansovino’s Libreria, but also some of Michelangelo’s works, with which Vittoria was to become increasingly fascinated. His Cronos, for example, makes a passing reference to Michelangelo’s Dusk in the Medici Chapel, in the way in which the foot of his far leg crosses over the top of the nearer one (fig. 202); the complex gesture of his right hand (fig. 206) recalls both Michelangelo’s Moses (San Pietro in Vincoli, fig. 436) and Jeremiah (Sistine Chapel). Similarly complicated gestures occur in other works by Vittoria, such as in the figure of “Winter”, in Villa Pisani at Montagnana (fig. 315).39

Likewise, the luxuriant fruit and foliage festoons used as swings by exhuberant putti, unknown in Ridolfi’s work, are common in Vittoria’s repertory, witness the Medici Tabernacle (fig. 165), and the Design for the Monument to Alessandro Contarini (fig. 291).40 The putti compare well with those on the Neptune Fountain drawing and the Medici Tabernacle: all are well rounded, robust little creatures with chubby limbs marked by dimples in their knees and elbows, and pot-bellies with carefully rendered navels. All have fairly small, realistic heads with typical infantile features and a full head of hair arranged either in tight curls with particularly bushy forelocks and clumps at the sides, or swept back so that the curls become almost flame-like. Except for the common characteristic of very deliberately disposed hands, they are distinct from Ridolfi’s putti in the Studiolo of Palazzo da Porto Festa, which generally display poorly articulated limbs, stilted poses and distinctive
rather swollen faces (figs. 93, 96-98, 100-01). The rather insolent views that the spectator
gets of some of Vittoria’s putti recall the comic effects achieved by some of Sansovino’s on
the Sacristy Door (figs. 43-45) and particularly on the reliefs of Christ in Glory (figs. 51, 
165). Some of the putti in Vicenza were reused with only slight modifications: for example,
that above Minerva (?) (fig. 409) reappears guarding an urn in the cupola at the bottom of the
upper flight of the Library staircase (fig. 408).

The amount of stuccowork here and on the other vaults presupposes the presence of
assistants, and the inferior quality of a figure such as the so-called "Minerva", (despite her
incongruous attribute of a trident) confirms their presence (fig. 203). With her bulky
proportions and poorly articulated anatomy, "Minerva" is constrained by her environment and
compares unfavourably with the lithe proportions of the similarly posed Diana who fits
gracefully into the allotted space (fig. 199). The "Minerva’s" large forehead, thin nose, rose-
bud lips, tiny chin, and heavy-lidded, wide-spaced eyes are more characteristic of Ridolfi’s
female type, witness those adorning the frieze in the Studiolo of Palazzo da Porto (figs. 93-
95), which suggests that the assistants were both Vicentine and familiar with Ridolfi’s idiom.
Further parallels with Ridolfi’s work may be seen in the idiosyncratic articulation of
"Minerva’s" left leg, where an implausible join to the hip is masked by a miscellaneous piece
of drapery covering her loins.

The Stanza dei Principi (or Sala Octagonale) has been given almost unanimously to
Vittoria by the critics (fig. 207). It is the only room in the palace without fresco fields: the
vault is entirely covered in stuccowork, with the relief varying from bas-relief to virtually in
the round; a juxtaposition of gradients that recurs in Vittoria’s Design for the Contarini
Monument (fig. 291). While the precise iconographic programme is unclear, its pseudo-
antique intent is unmistakeable. There are eight classicising portrait-busts, each set within
a scallop-shell and resting on a centrally-placed console (figs. 209-213). Seven are Roman Emperors: 

Pompey the Great; Marcus Brutus; Antoninus Pius; Julius Caesar; Octavian Augustus; Vespasian and Mark Anthony, while the eighth portrays King Henry II of France (fig. 213), Marc'Antonio's war-lord. The obscure all'antica scenes in the eight ovals, which probably relate to the virtues of either the patron and/or the Emperors, are based on classical cameos, gems and coins (figs. 214-15, 236, 388).

The domical vault is divided into eight segments, separated from each other and the octagonal boss by thin, rib-like swags of fruit, bordered by an egg-and-dart and pearl motif (figs. 209-10). At each of the eight corners of the boss is a satyr mask which, as Leithe-Jasper noted, is almost like a capital for the rib below (fig. 208). These are linked by swags tied by golden ribbons to their horns. These grimacing masks, together with those on the compass-points of the cartouches and on the urns, often enveloped in head-dresses, anticipate those on the cupolas of the Library and the Scala d'Oro (figs. 394-95). They derive ultimately from the work of artists like Falconetto, Ridolfi's father-in-law, who placed such masks around Villa dei Vescovi at Luvigliano, Padua, and in the Odeo Cornaro, which Vittoria would have known. At the points where the ribbons cross the egg-and-dart borders of the ribs, other festoons are knotted by more golden ribbons, and these hang straight down the length of the ribs to the ledge. The ribbons, pulled down by the weight of the festoons, form a pattern of alternating and intersecting U- and V-shapes. This combined use of ribbons and fruit swags recurs in Vittoria's work, such as in the Design for the Monument to Alessandro Contarini (fig. 291).

The eight main fields are identically composed, with a dominant strapwork cartouche surrounding a horizontal oval narrative field, like an enlarged classical cameo. Its lobes are unfurled to an unusual degree so that the cartouche fills the greater part of the surface: as in
Vittoria's *Stanza degli Dei*, the figural elements are subordinated, forced into the rather cramped and irregularly shaped areas left between the cartouche and the frame. The arches and ellipses of these lobes are emphasised by the gilding around the edges and the string of golden pearls which follows the contours. The two lobes at the bottom unfurl in a great semicircular sweep, thereby forming arched frames that yoke together the pairs of addorsed river gods, modelled in high relief, reclining on the springing of the vault, set against a background of clipped reeds (*figs. 211-13, 216*).

Rather than being simple mirror-images, positioned so that their heads are centrally framed by the 'yoke' and on the same surface plane, each river god reclines in a different manner, and seems to regard the frame as a stage-prop, using it here as a head-rest (*figs. 89, 216*), and there as a grip; sometimes part of their bodies are placed behind it (*fig. 211*), but elsewhere they move forward of it (*figs. 88, 213*). These river gods are perhaps most remarkable for the incongruity between their heads and the rest of their bodies: their torsos are preternaturally developed and recall those of young men but their rugged faces and bedraggled, unkempt beards and locks - exaggerated to the point of caricature - are those of greybeards. As such they are related to the *Neptune* on the fountain design, and to the river-gods of the Library, and like the latter fulfil a similar rôle of space-filling, but depicted in greater relief, and in more complex and contorted poses, they seem less purely decorative. As Leithe-Jasper noted, their dispositions are independent variations of Michelangelo's *Ignudi* and the *Times of Day* on the Medici Tombs, although their legs, in particular, are in less animated positions due to the restricted space.

Balanced on the uppermost lobes of the cartouches, against a plain background, sit pairs of satyrs or draped females addorsed against an urn (*figs. 217-221, 403, 405*). Modelled in lower relief than the river-gods, they serve a primarily decorative function. The
varied and complex poses of their bodies which, as Leithe-Jasper pointed out, derive from the grotesque candelabra in the engravings of the Raphael School, which reproduce in part the grotesques of Giovanni da Udine in the Vatican Loggia, are designed to fill the available space.

From the incongruities in anatomy displayed in certain urn-bearers, the presence of assistants may be detected: the basic symmetry of each pair meant that Vittoria could prepare a template which would then be copied in reverse by an assistant, while the much higher relief and uniqueness of each recumbent river-god probably excluded any one being wholly executed by an assistant. The most successful female urn-bearers are those above Henry II (fig. 405) whose poses are recalled by those putti seated over the fresco of the maiden with the dagon and number-tablet in the third cupola of the Library staircase (fig. 404). Their delicate heads are paradigms of Classical beauty while their bodies, seen through 'wet' drapery display attenuated proportions - a characteristic feature of Vittoria's work in the late 1550s - early 1560s. Their limbs are disposed in such a way as to fill the allotted space to perfection, but without touching the frames.

In contrast to these are the pair of female urn-bearers above Vespasian (fig. 219). Although shown in similar poses, they have less refined faces, and less carefully arranged limbs, so that their bent knees come too close to the frame and knock into it, which Vittoria would not have permitted. Moreover, the upper thighs do not plausibly join on to their torsos, and the swathes of drapery only serve to emphasise the incorrect articulation which suggests this pair was executed by assistants.

A similar divergence of quality in the paired satyrs also points to workshop intervention in those with the weakest anatomy. The most successful pair is that above Brutus (fig. 403), the only satyrs with their backs twisted towards the front-plane - a view favoured
by Vittoria since it gave him the opportunity to experiment with the curve of the spine, witness the fact that in every pair of river gods, except those flanking Augustus, one has his back turned towards the viewer. Both satyrs sit in complex mirror-image poses recalling the simpler of Michelangelo’s Ignudi. Once again, they are well contained within the frame, and the shape of the negative space created between one satyr’s back and the urn is almost perfectly reflected by the other satyr. It is such details which proclaim Vittoria’s hand. These satyrs contrast greatly with those above Augustus which appear as hunch-backs with dislocated heads and massive legs, the left satyr appearing to have have three knees. While the complexity of poses of these satyrs indicate that Vittoria was the designer, their incompetent anatomy betrays inexperienced assistants as their executants.

The busts of the Emperors may confidently be given to Vittoria and are the earliest known by his hand; only has the bust of Henry II of France had its autograph status questioned on account of its undeniably inferior quality and characterisation (fig. 213). Perhaps this is due to it being the first of the series to be executed by Vittoria, unless it is given to an assistant or even to Ridolfi who did occasionally produce portrait-busts, such as that framed by a scallop-shell in the Studiolo (fig. 90).15 As Martin has shown, the Imperial portraits belong to the production of all’antica busts which had become increasingly fashionable in the Veneto in the first half of the Cinquecento.46 Although they purport to portray the Emperors whose names are inscribed on the bases, several do not bear the features which the Cinquecento usually ascribed to them. Favaretto and Candida47 have established that the busts of Julius Caesar, Antoninus Pius and Vespasian conform to Antique representations, but the features of Pompey derive from portraits of Menander. Those of Augustus are based loosely on an Augustus Velatus which was in the Grimani collection in Venice, while the features of Mark Anthony are actually those of Commodus. A specific
prototype for the *Bratus* has not been identified. This demonstrates that Vittoria did not simply copy genuine Graeco-Roman prototypes in his bid to create pseudo-antique busts and then assign them different names, but rather consulted a number of Antique portrait-busts and combined elements from each to create convincing and 'original' imitations. Martin argues that Vittoria imparted further character and a real liveliness to these "hybrid" heads, by attaching busts with great dynamism and torsion, frequently set off-centre on the bases.

Gesso models by Vittoria for the heads of the stucco portrait-busts of *Mark Anthony*, *Pompey*, *Julius Caesar*, *Bratus* and *Augustus* (Museo Liviano, Padua) were recognised as such by Favaretto on account of their exact correspondence with the final versions and because Vittoria would never have made such accurate copies if the models had not been his own. These gesso models originally formed part of Marco Mantova Benavides' collection. Since Vittoria was patronised by him in the early 1550s their presence there can easily be explained as a gift. As mentioned above, a bust of Vespasian in Copenhagen is believed by Pizzo to have been carved by Vittoria from the bust of that Emperor in the Grimani collection (now Museo Archeologico, Venice), which also served as the model for the head of the bald *Prisoner-Caryatid* on the tomb of Alessandro Contarini (Basilica del Santo, Padua) (fig. 293). Models for the two remaining busts of *Antoninus Pius* and *Henry II of France* do not survive.

Together with the drawings of the *Neptune Fountain* and the Contarini Tomb, these gesso models give us a unique insight into Vittoria's working methods early in his career. They demonstrate a traditional training in which he was taught to make both drawn and modelled preparatory sketches, but also his meticulousness in their high level of finish. They also show Vittoria's study of the antique sculpture housed in his patrons' collections. This juvenile interest in Graeco-Roman portrait-busts was to culminate in his subsequent purchase of two antique busts, the only genuine antiquities in his collection.
The motif of ovals with white stucco figures set against a coloured background to imitate cameos, and encircled with a gold frame (figs. 209-215), derives from that in the Sala Octagonale of the Odeo Cornaro, although there the fields are narrower, more densely populated and have more elaborate backgrounds (figs. 112-130). The figures in the Thiene ovals are posed so as to animate and fill the surface and, through the introduction of flying mantles and loops, the drapery is used to an even greater extent than in the urn-bearers to cover the surface. In the rendering of drapery there seem to be dual influences: that of Tiziano Minio's reliefs of the Odeo Cornaro, in scenes such as the Marriage and the Coronation, where the drapery is arranged in parallel, vertical folds; and that of Bernardino India which predominates, where the drapery is "wet", and sticks so closely to the contours of the body that, were it not for the ridges and folds which break the contours to create surface patterns, the drapery would be like a second skin. The introduction of the sail-like mantles into Vittoria's vocabulary is attributed by Leithe-Jasper to India's influence, for they are to be seen in his frescoes of the history of Psyche, also in Palazzo Thiene; but Ridolfi could have been equally responsible - though this depends on an early dating of his stuccoes in Palazzo da Porto - for his Philosophers, women and putti in the frieze, and the Victories all sport billowing draperies and loops of material (figs. 93-95, 97, 99-100).

The figures in the ovals are the most attenuated of any on this vault, and strike poses which derive from Emilian Mannerism. That such figures were already present in Vittoria's work is demonstrated by a comparison of the Neptune from the 1551 fountain drawing (fig. 152) and the Thiene Neptune driving his chariot across the waves (fig. 215). They are virtually identical in both physical type and pose. This figure recurs in his subsequent Design for the Contarini Monument (fig. 291). Other figures in the Thiene ovals recur in Vittoria's work, and especially in his stuccoes of the late 1550s-early 1560s. For example, the old,
bearded and cowled "prophet", in the background of the Coronation scene, enveloped in a long mantle in which his crossed arms are tucked (fig. 214), reappears beneath a cupola of the Library's staircase (fig. 380).

In the small barrel-vaulted Stanza di Psiche stuccowork plays a lesser rôle (fig. 222). In the centre of the vault is a large circular fresco, surrounded by a wreath of bound fruit and foliage, to which are added four small triangular fields at the corners to produce a square, recalling the central field in the Studiolo. This and the twelve smaller square fresco-fields at the sides are separated from each other by border-strips of interlocking S-motifs and, as in the Stanza di Proserpina, the intersections are marked by a lily-like flower with a golden stamen. This particular motif was also employed by Ridolfi in the small barrel-vaulted room on the ground floor of Palazzo Chiericati, with only the areas of gilding slightly changed, and perhaps the framing elements should be ascribed to him, or to the Vicentine assistants familiar with his idiom.

In the lunette at either end is a frescoed tondo supported by addorsed Victories, the only figurative elements of stucco in the room (figs. 223-26). These are designed as elegant space-fillers, and Leithe-Jasper saw in them the culmination of Vittoria's decorative efforts in the palace. They are designed so that their wings and bodies fit with precision into the space provided; three of the four twist their upper bodies frontally so that the span of their outstretched wings follow the arching of the lunette. In the fourth Victory (fig. 226) a different 'space-filling' solution is adopted: she remains in profile but brings her outer hand upwards to grip her chin, which creates a triangular shape and serves an analogous function to the far-side wing in the others. Her drapery is the most successfully arranged, allowing her plausibly articulated body to show through it; in contrast the Victories in the opposite lunette, though certainly conceived by Vittoria, appear to have been executed by assistants:
that on the right is particularly weak (fig. 224), as the folds of drapery below her waist are muddled, and her knee which is discernable through the folds is at such an odd angle that it appears detached.

On the piano nobile are two rooms which contain sixteenth-century stucco decorations, attributable to Ridolfi. In the octagonal Stanza delle Metamorfosi painted decorations by India predominate (fig. 227). The stuccowork is reduced to a wreath surrounding the central tondo; thin, plain borders framing the quadrangular fields; a heavy moulding around the springing of the vault; a mask placed centrally at the top of each of the eight walls, and four pairs of winged Victories in the spandrels of the four niches which alternate with the four doors (figs. 228-29). Many of the delicate borders which comprise the moulding, such as the waves, or the "acanthus-like" floral motif, are to be found elsewhere in Ridolfi's work, but are not part of Vittoria's decorative vocabulary.

The masks have more rounded faces than do Vittoria's, and recall the features of Ridolfi's monstrous fireplace in the Stanza di Proserpina (fig. 191), as well as those in Palazzo da Porto, and in the Sala Quadrata of Palazzo Chierici. The Victories are singularly ill-adapted to the shape of the fields: on occasion feet and wings are cut by the frame, yet are small in comparison to the field and so cumbersome wings are attached in an attempt to fill the space. In concept these Victories have nothing to do with those designed by Vittoria in the Stanza di Psiche, which are well adapted to fill equally bizarrely-shaped fields. Ridolfi lacked Vittoria's ability gracefully to compose figures to fill even the most unpromising spaces, for he produced a further unsuccessful group of Victories in the lateral lobes of the cartouches in the Sala Quadrata (Palazzo Chierici), which are over-sized for their thin fields.

The neighbouring barrel-vaulted Stanza dei Miti is more richly decorated with stuccoes
(fig. 230), and in arrangement recalls the Sala degli Stucchi in Palazzo del Te. The variously shaped fields which are multi-figured in the case of the frescoes, and generally single figured in the case of the stuccoes, are separated from each other by identical frames of rather lumpy floral festoons, which are to be found in a similar form in Ridolfi's later work in Palazzo Chiericati. At the intersections between the various fields are masks which add a touch of liveliness, because unlike the festoons, they appear to have been individually crafted. Each stucco field is decorated *alla romana*, and the classicising figures recall those in the Odeo Cornaro. The figures are rather crudely modelled and lack Vittoria's refinement, and once again no attempt is made to fit them to the shapes of their fields (figs. 231-32). Indeed, in the case of those fields with curved bases (due to the scallop-shells placed immediately below), rather strange triangular blocks are inserted at the bottom of the fields so that the figures have a horizontal base on which to stand; a solution which is wholly incompatible with Vittoria's decorative rationale.

To summarize Vittoria's rôle in Palazzo Thiene, it seems that he commenced with the vault of the *Stanza degli Dei*, helped by some assistants. Concurrently he intervened on Ridolfi's ceiling in the *Stanza di Proserpina* by designing and executing the four corner cartouches. He then proceeded to stucco the *Stanza dei Principi* allowing assistants to execute a few figures to speed the work. Finally, Vittoria designed the two pairs of winged *Victories* in the *Stanza di Psiche*, although he probably only executed one pair. The larger rôle accorded Ridolfi by Leithe-Jasper, and here supported by further stylistic analysis, as well as the presence of workshop hands, accords with the narrowing of the time that Vittoria spent working in the palace to roughly eight months, from late April to late December 1552.

Although Vittoria would have spent most of this time on the stuccowork of Palazzo Thiene, he appears to have undertaken several other commissions for patrons based in
Vicenza, Padua and Venice. One such was the stucco bust of the Vicentine portrait-painter, Girolamo Forni. While Zorzi dated the portrait-bust to the time of Vittoria's second stay in Vicenza supposedly from September 1576 to December 1577, Martin placed it to 1552, arguing that the rounded all'antica bust was used by Vittoria only until the mid-1560s, and that it bore a close resemblance to a stucco head in the Museo Liviano, Padua, known as "an Oriental", which, in turn, is linked stylistically to the gesso models of the Thiene Emperors. That Vittoria recorded the likenesses of other painters with whom he was friendly during his Vicentine sojourn (figs. 179-80), adds further weight to Martin's hypothesis, with which I concur, that the Forni bust was made around 1552.

The possibility that Vittoria also made busts for non-Vicentine patrons during 1552 should not be discounted. One possible sitter was the renowned collector of antiquities, Andrea Loredan. Although the bust is no longer extant, its existence is testified to by Vasari. While Martin proposed a date of 1553, following Vittoria's return to Venice, it is quite possible that the bust was made during 1552, by which time Vittoria was acquainted with Loredan. This is proven by a letter written by the latter to Marco Mantova Benavides in Padua on 5 December 1552. Loredan apologises for not having replied sooner to the letters which Benavides had sent him by hand of Vittoria, excusing himself on account of the death of his son. He laments that Vittoria had promised to return, but had not yet done so, adding: "if he comes I would be very pleased, nor will I fail to pay my debt, which binds me through his virtue." To what does the debt refer? Considering that Loredan speaks of Vittoria's virtue in this regard, and refers to him as "scultore eccellentissimo", it is possible that it was for his portrait-bust.

It is difficult to date Vittoria's mission precisely but it probably post-dates the April visit when he accompanied Ferri to Sansovino's workshop because otherwise, as Martin
noted, Loredan would here be replying to letters received eight months earlier. Vittoria was certainly in Venice between late spring and August 1552 to model the profile of Giovanni Francesco Acquaviva d’Aragona, Duke of Atri, for a medal (fig. 175). Acquaviva had come from Paris to Venice as early as the spring to help organise a Council of War held in Chioggia during August. The fact that Acquaviva’s portrait was simultaneously painted by no less an artist than Titian, is indirect proof of the esteem in which Vittoria as a portrait-medallist was held, for Acquaviva obviously only wanted to sit to the best artists available. Whether this trip coincided with the visit to Loredan is uncertain, but probable. It highlights the freedom of movement that Vittoria enjoyed whilst in Vicenza and belies the frequently painted picture of him hiding fearfully in exile in Vicenza until Sansovino’s wrath had abated.

As work drew to a close in Palazzo Thiene, Vittoria seems to have focused once more on the production of medals, as proven not only by Aretino’s letter on November 1552 to Lucietta Saraceno, but also by that written by Vittoria to Marco Mantova on 7 January 1553. From the contents of the latter, it seems that Vittoria had gone to Padua with a selection of his medals to tempt his patron, who had chosen one. Vittoria had then presumably returned to Vicenza, where he had made a cast of it. He now writes to Benavides:

"... I send you two medals: one, which I believe is the first that you wanted, and the other one so as not to make a mistake, which I showed you together with many others which I have ..."

This reveals not only the large number of medals that Vittoria had made by January 1553, but that they were becoming collector’s items: Vittoria’s uncertainty over which medal Benavides had requested manifested by his sending him two to be on the safe side perhaps implies that the latter had ordered a medal not of himself, but of some more noble or famous sitter, just as Count Ludovico Thiene owned an example of Vittoria’s medal of Philip of
Spain.

Several of Vittoria's medals may be dated between Aretino's letter of November 1552 and Vittoria's permanent return to Venice in May 1553. The later version of Vittoria's self-portrait medal with Bernardino India's profile on the reverse seems to date from this period (fig. 179), as does that with the single image of Anselmo Canera, the second frescoist who had worked with India in Palazzo Thiene (fig. 180). Not only does the confident handling suggest a slightly later date than those medals with a terminus ante quem of November 1552 but - in view of their importance as artists - it seems unlikely that Aretino would have omitted them from his list, had he known them. Vittoria might have made these medals both to record his friendship with the two Veronese painters, and to commemorate the successful conclusion of the interior decoration of Palazzo Thiene.

Similarly, as neither the medal portraying Caterina Pasquale (figs. 172-73), nor that of Caterina Sandella, Aretino's mistress (fig. 171), are mentioned in Aretino's letter to Saraceno, they almost certainly also post-date November 1552: surely Aretino would have mentioned the medal of his lover, as he would that of Caterina Pasquale because the successful translation of her good looks on to a medal would have been yet another guarantee to Lucietta of Vittoria's abilities to capture female delicacy on medals. However, as both images are extremely close in style and handling to the medals of Caterina Chiericati (fig. 168) and Madalena Leopardi (fig. 169) which were made before November 1552, they cannot be dated much later. Perhaps Vittoria returned to Venice around Christmas and recorded their likenesses then.

The likelihood of such a trip is increased by three medals of Venetians which can be dated fairly reliably to between November 1552 and January 1553. Aretino's letter to Vittoria in January 1553 reveals that he had obtained a sitting from Lucietta Saraceno and had
made a portrait-medal of her (fig. 170). It seems that Vittoria had also made two new medals of Aretino himself (figs. 176-77), which had been sent to Venice together with another crate of Vicentine pears, for while they were not mentioned by Aretino in November 1552, they are referred to in January. Writing to thank Vittoria for the fruit, Aretino informed the sculptor that the two medals had arrived safely:

"...yes, I do like the reverse as in the rest of your works, but I don’t want to talk about the obverse since in its relief it doesn’t deserve much praise. It’s enough for me if you have quite a few cast in copper and silver on your return here, because I get so many urgent requests from Rome and elsewhere, and I am more pleased about all this for your glory rather than for mine. In fact, what fame is due to me, is retained and enjoyed in old age, but you, in your youth don’t have as much reputation as your intelligence warrants, but you don’t care, therefore you will kindly have them cast when you come back as I wish."

The last phrase seems to imply not only that Vittoria had been to Venice in order to record Aretino’s features, but that another trip to Venice was imminent, perhaps facilitated by the peace between him and Sansovino that seems by then to have been negotiated - Aretino ends his letter: "To conclude, if I ever thought that the famous Mr. Jacopo Sansovino was a good Christian, the fact that he has welcomed you back into his circle of friends confirms that".

How the reconciliation was effected is not specified, but it cannot have been "upon receiving the commission for the feminoni" as Boucher (following Lorenzetti) would have it, for Vittoria did not gain that commission until the start of May. It would seem rather, as Martin first pointed out, that Sansovino was forced to swallow his pride and ask his talented pupil to return to Venice to help him with his numerous undertakings, because of the dearth of talented sculptors in the city: Ammannati had left Venice long before; Tiziano Minio had died in 1552; and a period of strained relations between Sansovino and Danese Cattaneo had just begun. The seriousness of the situation can be gauged from the terminazione issued by the Procuratia de Supra in August 1553 which stated that the Procurators were forced to look
outside Venice to find sculptors of the required calibre to complete the sculptural decorations of the Libreria, as none had been found within the city.  

Lack of competent sculptors affected Sansovino directly as he relied so heavily on others to carry out his designs. From a letter written to the Duke of Ferrara on 12 September 1550, it transpires that, due to his age and the pressure of commissions, Sansovino was accustomed to delegate much of the direct carving to trusted assistants: his intervention was limited to furnishing a model which was then handed over to be executed by an assistant, "guiding and correcting him without touching the stone myself, just as I am accustomed to do here with many other sculptures since the buildings of which I have charge prevent me from carving with my own hands". 

Despite the reconciliation, Vittoria seems to have been in no hurry to return, presumably because he had ample prospects of work from his Vicentine and Paduan patrons, and was not keen to forfeit the freedom and reputation he enjoyed in these cities, by returning to Venice where the sculptural scene was still very much dominated by Sansovino. Besides making medals, he may have started to experiment with the production of small bronze statuettes of pagan deities for humanist patrons like Thiene, Benavides and Loredan. After all, if he was making stucchi in high relief, why should he not also have modelled small-scale figures in wax of some of those divinities he had seen populating the frescoes of Canera and India, and had them cast together with his medals in a Vicentine or Paduan foundry?

Leithe-Jasper was first to propose that a statuette of Minerva, of which a good example is preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (figs. 233-35), should be dated on stylistic grounds to Vittoria's Vicentine sojourn, rather than to the 1580s, as Planiscig had suggested. He highlighted how the composition of the goddess' body in its proportions and movements precisely recalls the figures in the oval narrative reliefs in the
Stanza dei Principi in Palazzo Thiene. Furthermore, the depiction of the "wet" drapery, which presses close to the body-contours and then falls into a few groups of folds, and the helmet type, which runs to a point in front and with a plume rendered in a painterly manner are extremely close to that found on the figures in the oval narratives (fig. 236).

Another small bronze, which may have been made around late 1552 or early 1553, once Vittoria had finished his stuccowork in Palazzo Thiene, is that of Milo of Croton, where the protagonist is portrayed as a hugely powerful, old man struggling with all his might to free his right hand trapped in the split in a tree-stump, while a lion starts to devour his right ankle (fig. 237). Although Cessi dated this statuette to c. 1550-53 because of supposed similarities in its pictorialism with the reverse of the later medal of Aretino (fig. 177), Leithe-Jasper disagreed, claiming that the dynamism of Milo's movement was too sure for an early work, and should rather be connected with works like the Evangelists of San Giorgio Maggiore of 1574 (figs. 561-64), while the diagonal sweep of the arm was compared with that of St. Andrew (?) on the Zane altar (fig. 484). While I do not agree with Cessi's reasons, I do concur with his early dating, for Milo recalls the river gods of the Stanza dei Principi of the second half of 1552 in the juxtaposition of his caricatured physiognomy of an old man with his idealised anatomy of a youthful body-builder. Milo's movement is not far removed from that of some of these gods (fig. 88), although it appears to derive ultimately from the portrait-statue of Marco Mantova Benavides carved by Ammannati for Benavides' monument in the Eremitani church in Padua, which helps account for its sophistication (fig. 238). Vittoria invested his figure with even greater torsion, and plagiarised the motif of the powerful, bare arm swept across the front of the body from the statue of the old man (Chronos ?) to the left, from whom Milo's head is also derived. Cessi was the first to suggest a Paduan origin for Milo noting its provenance from the monastery of San Giovanni
di Verdara of that city. Moreover, from an inventory compiled in 1695 by a descendent of Benavides, it transpires that Milo formed part of his collection, which raises the possibility that it was he who commissioned this statuette from Vittoria, which would certainly explain the quotations from Ammannati's tomb. Given that two letters from Vittoria to Benavides survive between January and May 1553, both of which deal with patronage received, it could reasonably be supposed that the Milo also dates to the first half of 1553.

Vittoria may also have experimented with carving statuettes of Classical subject-matter. A figure which could date from late in Vittoria's Vicentine sojourn, or early after his return to Venice, is the statuette of Cleopatra in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (figs. 239, 241-44), which seems dependant on the Chained Andromeda by Bernardino India in the Stanza delle Metamorfosi, Palazzo Thiene (fig. 240) and stylistically related to the Feminoni (figs. 245-55).

This naked Cleopatra who holds a (broken) snake up to her left breast and clutches at some drapery strewn across the front of a low plinth positioned behind her, is initialled A. V. F. around the semicircular base, and the lettering and triangular stops are similar to those used by Vittoria to sign the first Feminone. Although less muscular than the Feminoni, she is still heavily proportioned, and shares their small, sloping shoulders and breasts, the wide, curvaceous hips and large thighs derived from India's Andromeda. Her classical contrapposto is modified by the curve that runs through her body, and the way in which her right shoulder is brought forward and down, and her left shoulder pulled back, is similar to that found in the second Feminone (fig. 253), and is a reversal of the Andromeda.

The disposition of her extremities also find parallels in both caryatids: thick ankles lead to rather shapeless feet, with remarkably long toes and an obvious gap between the big toe and the others; whilst the carefully arranged hands tail off into square-ended fingers and
neatly manicured nails, with the middle two fingers joined or placed close together, and the forefinger and little finger splayed away from them. Cleopatra's coiffure (figs. 242-44), with its centrally parted waves of hair, gathered up by means of a ribbon which appears at both temples and is knotted at the crown of her head and a thick plait which is wound once around the back of the head, particularly recalls that of the second Feminone (figs. 248). The caryatids and the Cleopatra also share a similar undercutting of the drapery, and use of the drill along the contours of the folds. The circumstances surrounding her commission remain obscure, but as she is carefully finished behind, she must have been designed to be viewed from all sides.

Vittoria may also have been angling for a sculptural commission in the church of Santa Giustina in Padua in early 1553, for in the synopsis made by Gennari of a now-lost letter which Vittoria wrote to Benavides on 10 May 1553, there is the tantalisingly cryptic concluding sentence: “E s’egli [Vittoria] raccomanda p[er] le cose di S. Giustina”,87 but I have been unable to establish what these "things" were.

Thus, it was only through the bait of a commission of the importance and prestige of the Feminoni that Vittoria was to be enticed back to work for the Most Serene Republic. From the one quotation which has come down to us from Vittoria’s lost letter to Benavides, it is clear that the importance of this commission was not lost on him, but also that he was uncertain whether he would stay in Venice once the job had been completed: ”I think I will stay here for now, having taken on the carving of two large figures to go either side of the main door of the Library on the Piazza; an undertaking no less honourable than useful.”88 In fact, once back in Venice, he would remain there for the rest of his life.
For Vittoria's skill, see Doc. Nos. 14 & 18; for the mutual affection that Titian and Aretino had for Vittoria, see Doc. No. 21.

Doc. No. 18.

See Cat. No. 17.

The major work for Vittoria's activities as a medallist remains the small monograph by Cessi 960-1).

See Doc. No. 21, and below, 9~, for English translation.

See below, 7f, for discussion of their new palace.

See Doc. No. 18; and Cat. No. 14.

See Doc. No. 15. The meeting as recalled by Vittoria's letter of 16 April must have taken place at least a couple of weeks beforehand, because it was here that Vittoria was commissioned to inspect Sansovino's Hercules, which task had already been completed when Ferrufino penned his letter of 21 April (see below). All of the following correspondence between Vittoria, the Duke of Ferrara and his Venetian agent, Ferrufino, has been published, first by Campori in 1872, and most recently by Bucher (1991), from whom I have copied the relevant documents.

I disagree with Martin (1988, 18) that Vittoria was introduced to Ercole in Ferrara, for in his letter Vittoria talks about being there "costi" in relation to the house of Thiene and not of Ercole d'Este (Doc. No. 15); and secondly with his identification of the medal as the future emperor Maximilian I. Martin is misled by the syntax of the phrase "[Vittoria] ha fatto Massimiano, il principe di monche di Spagna,"[...] in Aretino's letter of November 1552 (Doc. No. 18), and merges what are three separate medals into one. While Maximilian had many titles including "the King of Bohemia", he was never the prince of Spain but alone of Piedmont; the first title was accorded to his cousin, Philip, (Cat. No. 132) and the second to Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy (Cat. No. 134). Thus the medal which so impressed Duke Ercole was actually a profile of Prince Philip which no longer survives, presumably made in Trent during his visit there in June 1551 (Cat. No. 132).

1. The quality of the busts in the Stanza dei Principi made shortly afterwards suggests that Vittoria had already made a few busts. Perhaps the manufacture of busts might also be inferred from retino's comment of December 1551 that Vittoria was no less courteous in his gifts than talented in iving marble for it is unlikely to refer purely to the carving of the Baptist statue, which is the early extant marble sculpture pre-dating Aretino's remark. One such bust could be that of Vespasian by Carlberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen), derived from the bust of that emperor in the Grimani collection, which Pizzo (1989, 109-113) attributed to Vittoria. As the Grimani Vespasian served as a model for the stucco head of that same emperor which Vittoria modelled in the Stanza dei Principi om mid-1552 onwards, the carved copy must have been made before this date, and would therefore have been in existence by the time that Vittoria met the Duke.

1. For the history of Sansovino's Hercules, see Boucher (1991), 130-34; doc. nos. 201-225; cat. no. 4.

2. Doc. No. 16.

3. Campori, (1872, 510), identifies this painter as Giuseppe Scolari.

i. ibid., (270, n. 45) identifies the sculptor referred to in Feruffino's letter as "un'altro qual se rova in Roma", as Ammannati, who had recently gone to Rome to work on the del Monte chapel of the Villa Giulia.

ii. See very end of Doc. No. 16.

iii. Doc. No. 17; Cat. No. 136.

iv. Cat. No. 160

v. Cat. No. 21.


Boucher's suggestion (1991, 132) that Sansovino bought off Vittoria with the offer to carve the minimoni for the Library's entrance is unfeasible for Vittoria's comment to Benavides of 10 May 1553 almost a year later - implies that he had only just received the commission (Doc.No. 22).


viii. ibid., 59.


x. Palladio (1570), Libro II, 12: "Le stanze di questa fabbrica c'èora sono finite; sono state ornate bellissimi stucchi da Messer Alessandro Vittoria, & Messer Bartolomeo Ridolfi; e di pitture da esser Anselmo Canera, & Messer Bernardino India Veronesi, non secondi ad alcuno de' nostri mpl."

xi. Blunt (1968, 159) claimed that records of payments made to Vittoria exist only for 1552, but as e source for this is not furnished and as there are no other reference to payments of any kind to Vittoria in the literature, this must be an error.

xii. Doc. No. 15. The letter shows that Vittoria was already on good terms with Ludovico Thiene, he presented him personally to the Duke. However, the phrase "essendo io l'altro giorno costi at Palazzo Thiene)" (emphasis added) implies that Vittoria visited the palace for a day, but was at this time resident there.

xiii. See Doc. No. 17.


xv. See Doc. No. 19.

xvi. See ns. 24-25. Indeed, in both versions, Vittoria is mentioned first.


xviii. The date of 1552 inscribed on an interior fireplace would appear to mark the completion of the interior decoration.
1. See below, Chapter Seven, 187–99.

2. Cevese (1952, 106) proposed that the design was by Vittoria, but was executed by Ridolfi. Cessi (1961-1, 24) followed him. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 32, stated that both the design and execution were largely by Vittoria, and this was followed by Rigoni, C., (1992), 134.


4. ibid., 33.

5. Ridolfi used cartouches rarely, and even then relied heavily on designs invented by Vittoria, producing only minimal alterations, such as those on the vault of the Sala Quadrata in Palazzo Neri (later 1550s) which are upside down variants of Vittoria’s designs in the Stanza dei Principi in Palazzo Thiene (figs. 209-10).

6. Leithe-Jasper (1963, 10) pointed out that a similar gesture is to be found on one of the river gods the spandrels of the Library, and consequently attributed it to Vittoria. However, this river-god may have been carved by another disciple of Sansovino’s and the motif merely plagiarised by Vittoria.

7. See Chapter Six, 136–37, and Cat. No. 32.


9. Above Pompey is Neptune in his chariot carrying off Ceres across the seas; above Brutus is a wing female running to present an object to the seated Minerva; above Antoninus is apparently a stabbing scene; above Caesar is a fully armed warrior, with spear and shield at the ready, standing a two-horse chariot; above Henry II is a winged Victory writing on the uppermost of three shields ing on a palm-tree, while a male hunter accompanied by a greyhound approaches (Leithe-Jasper 963), 61, n. 104 describes the dog’s owner as Diana, but this is incorrect for this figure is definitely male); above Augustus are two bare-footed men presenting laurel branches to a copiously draped male figure sitting on an elevated “sella curulis”; above Vespasian is a warrior guarding a mourning man seated between two palm-trees; and finally above Mark Anthony is a warrior crowned with laurel-wreath by another, whilst an elderly man watches in the background.


11. It appears wholly unlikely that the figures of lesser quality were executed by Vittoria and that their inferiority was simply due to the hastiness of execution because Vittoria could produce high quality work under pressure as demonstrated by the stuccoes in the Marciana Library; or because of slight competence if they were the first to be executed, as Vittoria seems to have already executed the accoutrements in the Stanza degli Dei, maturing in the process.

12. Martin (1988), 75, n. 4 denies that it is from Vittoria’s hand.

13. The motif of decorating rooms with all’antica busts, as Martin commented (1988, 71, n. 3), seems to have originated in mid-fifteenth century Florence with a Medici commission to Desiderio da Settignano. See Middeldorf (1979), 297-312. In the second half of the cinquecento, a number of il dio’s palaces were decorated with classicising busts set in scallop-shells: the Studiolo of Palazzo Porto has one such bust by Ridolfi set above the frieze of the wall opposite the window; a room in Palazzo della Torre, which was also succeded by Ridolfi, has scallop-shells presumably for holding busts; the Salone Centrale of Palazzo Barbaran da Porto has many busts within shells atop consoles sting on the ledge of the dado c.mid 1570s by Lorenzo Rubini, Vittoria’s brother-in-law.
1. Favaretto (1976-77), 401-11; and Candida (1967).

2. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 62, n. 104 is incorrect that the portrait-busts in so far as they represent personalities from the Antique are accurate copies of Roman originals.


4. Favaretto (1976-77), 403-08.

5. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 39 first drew out this distinction.

6. ibid., 40.

7. This bust was discovered by Zorzi, and published with the relevant sections of Forni’s will of 10 (Zorzi (1966), 166-68); partly reprinted here as Doc. No. 240. For discussion of this bust, see Martin (1988), 245-50, Cat. No. 33.

8. ibid., 249.

9. See n. 47. While I agree with Martin’s suggestion (1988, 250) that the head of the so-called “oriental” in the Museo Liviano, is actually a portrait of Girolamo Forni, I contend that this was used as a model for the stucco bust of Forni discovered by Zorzi, for models were made of gesso and not stucco.

10. See below, for discussion of medals of Bernardino Indio and Anselmo Canea.

11. Loredan was a renowned collector of antiquities. See Sansovino-Martinsoni (1663), 372, 386; etc. (1558), 53. So famous was his collection that the art-dealer Jacopo Strada was commissioned Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria to purchase it wholesale in 1567. By this time it consisted of 91 vases, 43 statues and torsos, 33 reliefs, 44 fragments of statues, around 120 small bronzes, some other small pieces and a medal-cabinet comprising around 2,500 Greek and Roman coins. Strada obtained this collection for 7,000 ducats. (Jansen (1987), 12).


15. If the death-date of Loredan’s son could be established, then one would have a terminus ante quem for Vittoria’s trip.


17. Cat. No. 8.


73. Cessi, (1960-I, 52) dated the medal of Caterina Pasquale to 1551, and explains its absence from Aretino’s list “forse non trattandosi di amica sua o comunque legata all’ambiente della sua piccola corte”. While this is true, the image seems to fit more closely with those I’ve grouped within the time-bracket of late 1551 to mid-1552, and the later dating would, therefore, explain the absence of this medal from Aretino’s list. The medal of Caterina Sandella has been variously dated: by Hill and Pollard to 1548 - the year of her marriage to Pietro Aretino, whilst Cessi, (1960-I, 71, 112) dates it hesitantly to 1554, but without giving substantial reasons for doing so. Most recently, Wilson (1983, 130) suggested that it was made to commemorate her death. However, I do not agree with any of these dates, and prefer to date it together with the Pasquale medal, because of stylistic similarities.
Reconciled with Sansovino and enticed back to Venice in spring 1553 by the commission for the Feminoni, Vittoria spent the next decade establishing his reputation there. Vittoria's abilities as a modeller and a carver set him apart from his contemporaries who tended to be specialists, and the commissions he received are remarkable for their diversity of genre, size and medium. It is in order to aid clarity that the following chapters are arranged according to type of commission: Vittoria became increasingly busy, especially once he graduated to the status of master-mason in 1557 and, inevitably, many commissions were executed simultaneously with some protracted over several years, which renders impracticable the chronological approach adopted hitherto.

Many of the documents relating to the works made by Vittoria over the next two decades have long been published, but the majority have been only superficially consulted. It is from a careful study of these, together with new documentary discoveries, that fresh light can be shed on many of Vittoria's works. Probably the most illuminating source for Vittoria's working practice is a small account-book labelled "Pagamenti", published by Predelli1 - the only survivor among several kept by Vittoria throughout his career - in which he noted the names of his assistants, how many days' work they had done and their daily wages. As there were established working procedures for sculptors, one can often extrapolate from these the precise tasks for which an assistant was paid. Occasionally, Vittoria also noted down payments received from his patrons, and rising prices may be correlated with his
growing reputation.

In the decade following 1553, Vittoria executed a number of prestigious commissions for sculpture to decorate the façades of both public and private edifices, which resulted, no doubt, in part from his successfully meeting the challenge posed by the *Feminoni* commission. The eagerness with which Vittoria began carving the two *Feminoni* (figs. 245-55) is apparent from the documents. The remnants of his letter of 10 May 1553 to Benavides indicate that he had only just been awarded the commission,¹ but the initial payment to an assistant on 3 June,² proves that within the month Vittoria had set to work on the first figure (figs. 247, 249-51). Although many sculptors would have found such a task daunting,³ Vittoria leapt at this opportunity of carving a pair of colossi to prove his skill, and satisfy himself that he could rival Sansovino after the ignominious affair of the colossal *Hercules.*⁶ However, as the commission was gained through Sansovino, and as Vittoria seems to have moved back under Sansovino's roof and even been allotted space in one of his workshops or courtyards,⁷ he would surely have avoided overt competition with the older sculptor.

From an analysis of Vittoria's unusually detailed payment records for the *Feminoni* - recording his first major commission in Venice he was particularly diligent - it transpires that they were carved sequentially.⁸ The first was hewn rapidly with (mostly weekly) payments running from 3 June until 7 October 1553; the carving of the second (figs. 248, 252-55) was more protracted, payments running intermittently from 6 September 1554 to 23 November 1555.

Vittoria would have presented a small clay, wax or gesso sketch-model (*bozzetto*) of at least the first *Feminone* to the Procurators for their approval before the contract was signed.⁹ This would have been followed by a more definitive model, presumably fashioned before his first assistant was employed around 27 May. Since Sansovino, as *proto-magister,*
had furnished the designs for most of the sculptural decoration of the Library, he also may have provided a model for Vittoria's bozzetto. Such a hypothesis is strengthened when one compares the Feminoni with the Sansovinesque Caryatids which support a fireplace in Villa Garzoni Carraretto, Pontecasale, sculpted a few years earlier (fig. 48), and Sansovino's Hope, carved in the later 1550s for the tomb of Doge Francesco Venier (fig. 297). These display such similar serpentinata, facial features and costumes, that Boucher has suggested that they are variations on a single model.

The next stage in the process was to enlarge the definitive bozzetto into a full-scale model by creating a wooden armature of the same dimensions as the projected statue, covering it in straw dipped in wet gesso, and then applying subsequent layers of lime and gesso to bring it to the required size. The rough surface would then be smoothed and a final coat of plaster applied. The block from which the figure was to be carved would be trimmed roughly to size, and the measurements transferred from the full-scale model to the block by a square, plumb line, compass and pointed stick. Mapping out the major features was a mechanical process usually assigned to assistants, and it may be that the first payment made to one "Giovanni" was for work of this sort. However, because Vittoria was still himself a lavorante and restricted in the number of assistants he could employ, he would probably have been more closely involved in the mechanical stages than he would be later when he had graduated to the status of master and could employ others to carry out menial tasks.

The figure was then roughed out. This was demanding of time and energy, and usually delegated to specialist stonemasons, squadratori. The next, one-off payment made to "maestro Giacomo Tagliapietra" was probably for this task. Carving would continue with the use of increasingly fine claw-chisels, and this is presumably what "maestro Lorenzo Vicentino intagliatore" was paid for, as the intagliatore's work was usually more refined than
that of the *tagliapietra*.\(^5\) Further proof of Vittoria’s eagerness to finish this *Feminone* is provided by Lorenzo’s continual employment: his payments are weekly, (excepting a gap on 16 September) and are on average for a five-day week. The last payment to Lorenzo, on 7 October 1553, was presumably for a final polishing, and can be taken as the date of completion, although the caryatid was not necessarily put in place until her companion was carved.

The second *Feminone* would have been carved in exactly the same way. The first payment for work on this caryatid was not made until September 1554, when a "maestro Giovanni da Sasso" was paid for two days work,\(^6\) which probably marks the commencement of carving. As this was eleven months after the first *Feminone* had been completed, it would appear that Vittoria had taken on other commissions in the intervening period.

The payments which follow are intermittent and only accrue to a total of twenty-nine days’ help by assistants, as compared with eighty-two and a half days on the first *Feminone*: there is only one other payment on 9 November 1554 and then payments cease for one year. This suggests both that Vittoria’s personal intervention was greater with the second figure, and also that he was involved with other work simultaneously.

The last three of the five payments made to assistants show a concerted effort. Vittoria employed Battista, the workshop hand of another sculptor called "maestro Valentino furlano", at the end of October 1555 for fourteen days, and then employed a "maestro Gianantonio intagliatore" from Vicenza, from around 12 November for ten days. Gianantonio was presumably another of Vittoria’s Vicentine acquaintances, and it is interesting to note that all of the assistants employed by Vittoria appear to have been independent contacts, for their names do not occur among Sansovino’s accounts. These payments presumably document a bid to finish the figure, and so the final payment - 23 November 1555 - may also mark the
completion date.

Just how little attention has been paid to the information provided by Vittoria's account-book is highlighted by the traditional view that the right-hand caryatid was carved first, and solely by Vittoria, purely because the strap slung across her left hip bears Vittoria's initials (fig. 246), while her companion was dismissed as a mechanical workshop copy, because she bore no signature. While the critics were correct in judging the right-hand caryatid to be the earlier (but incorrect that this was shown by the presence of the initials), the documents indicate that Vittoria intervened to a much greater extent on her uninitialled companion.

Both figures are heavily proportioned, and are indebted to the muscular females of Michelangelo. The right-hand *Feminone* is proportioned less successfully than her companion and for this reason should be seen as the first to be carved: her head is too small, her arms too muscular, and her left breast protrudes unnaturally in the triangular area created by the arm bent across her torso while her right breast is hardly indicated (fig. 250). The drapery lies flat against the body, and were it not for the presence of a few folds, such as those which fall in a loop across the thigh, or the rather incongruous bundle clasped under her left elbow, she would appear nude. Many of these inconsistencies have been corrected in the left *Feminone*, who has a larger head, a more naturally shaped pair of breasts, shorter arms, and is dressed in thicker drapery.

Leithe-Jasper was the first to argue that the left figure was more advanced, having evolved compositionally into an enriched variant of the right caryatid. He noted that whilst the right *Feminone* conforms rigidly to the original shape of the block from which she was hewn, and has only two points of view - frontal or sideways - only slightly moderated by a gentle twist, the later caryatid develops diagonally from the block, and is given multiple
viewpoints. Her strong ponderation and twisting torso make her, in Leithe-Jasper's words, Vittoria's first *figura serpentinata* on a large scale, and a step above and beyond Sansovino. 18

Despite their solidity and size, the *Feminoni* are graceful and conform to current notions of appropriateness and propriety. In their rôle as caryatids they could not appear too slender, but their position at the entrance to a grandiose library required nobility of countenance and bearing and Vasari eulogised them as "very beautiful, graceful and to be greatly praised". 19 Whether or not they were intended as an ironic comment on the prostitutes who loitered in the doorway of the brothel on the corner of the Library by the Molo as proposed by Onians, 20 their charms certainly seem to have seduced the Procurators, who subsequently awarded Vittoria other prestigious State commissions, both for exterior and interior statuary.

Vittoria's now proven abilities in carving colossal figures did not pass unnoticed by the Veronese architect Michele Sanmicheli. In charge of numerous architectural projects in the Veneto, Sanmicheli required proficient sculptors to execute the figural components of his projects. One high-profile task which Sanmicheli had in hand in the early 1550s was the campanile of the duomo of Verona. According to Vasari, the bishop of Verona had commissioned Sanmicheli to furnish a design for its completion in 1548, 21 and by July 1555, Sanmicheli had decided that its four corners should be decorated with four colossal *Angels*. He had also decided that Vittoria was to execute the work - presumably on the merit of the first *Feminone* since her companion was still being carved - for by 3 July 1555 a contract had been drawn up. On this day Vittoria recorded receiving 50 ducats, as a down payment on 400 ducats for carving "four figures". 22 Only in the next entry, recording a payment of 25 ducats on 28 January 1556, does Vittoria specify them as "angeli ch[e] ua al Campanile".

Although the contract is lost, it may be presumed that Vittoria would have followed
standard sculptural practice and prepared bozzetti for the four Angels for approval by both the bishop and the proto, and that he would have obliged himself to carve the colossal figures according to these, within a certain period of time. It is possible that one of Vittoria’s bozzetti is recorded in a small bronze statuette in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, catalogued by Planiscig as Abundance (fig. 261), whose closed, block-like composition indicates she was intended to be worked up into a carved figure, in which extended limbs and extremities would have been precluded. While the general composition and certain details, such as the peculiar shape of the left breast pushed up by the arm pressed tightly underneath it, recall the right-hand Femeone (1553), the statuette appears more closely related in her deportment, Classical head with tresses of hair falling along one shoulder, and in the majestic way that she looks out over the other, to the single Angel that was carved (figs. 256-60).

The arms of the statuette are disposed in mirror-image to those of the colossal Angel, while its "wet" drapery is similarly arranged, pulled up at the shoulders to reveal the arms, and gathered in folds over and around the feet. Perhaps the most striking similarity is the arrangement of the drapery around the stomach, where a thin belt-like piece, tied tightly around the hips, divides the closely pressed drapery above which reveals the navel-depression, from that beneath which falls into distinctive V-shape folds.

Despite the commission’s prestige, Vittoria does not appear to have started work on the first of Sanmicheli’s Angels until mid-November 1556: on 28 November he made a one-off payment to Benedetto, a squadratore, for eleven days’ work, and then in February 1557 he reimbursed another squadratore, one Andrea Rosso, for another eleven days’. That Vittoria himself undertook some work on the Angel in the intervening period is suggested by the fact that on 28 January 1557 he received a further 25 ducats from the bishop’s agent. Judging from Vittoria’s weekly payments to one Girolamo da Medun between 20 March and
17 April, a concerted attack was now made on the *Angel*. From mid-April to early July no payments are recorded, which suggests that Vittoria worked on the figure single-handedly to bring it to completion: the final payment to an assistant was on 5 July, when Girolamo was paid for one day's work, perhaps for surface smoothing, thus signalling the completion of the colossus.

The reason why only one of the four *Angels* was carved, and why Vittoria had to wait until mid-April 1561 to receive his final account from the bishop's agent was because in 1558 Sanmicheli's bell-tower ruptured, and had to be dismantled at great cost. Although Sanmicheli presented a new design for its rebuilding, he died in 1559 before much of this project could be put into effect. Progress on the new structure was extremely slow: in 1568 Vasari referred to it as "... quell'opera che oggi camina assai lentamente", and it seems that the unforeseen cost of erecting a new campanile ate into the funds set aside for the other *Angels*, and the commission was abandoned. Perhaps it was in compensation that Vittoria received 62½ ducats as his final settlement, for although in the original contract 400 ducats had been the price agreed for the four figures - or 100 ducats per *Angel* - ultimately Vittoria received a total of 137½ ducats for the one *Angel* which was executed.

The stone colossus, which today dominates the courtyard of the bishop's residence in Verona, recalls the *Feminoni* in its muscular proportions, and its comparatively small head with its schematically rendered hair, falling into snake-like, shoulder-length tresses. Its arms are long, with carefully arranged hands and fingers which taper towards their square ends. Like the *Feminoni*, one leg breaks through the copious drapery, while the other leg is covered. However, the way in which its left arm hangs straight down its side and catches up some drapery around its hip, while its right arm is bent and brought across the chest, recalls the pose of Pietro da Salò's *caryatid* on the fireplace designed by Sansovino for the
Stanza dei Tre Capi, in the Doge's Palace of 1553-54 (fig. 49). This figure also seems to have provided the immediate model for the rather strange girdle which encircles the angel's hips and causes some of its robe to bunch up over the top of it, and the rest to fall into a gentle V-shape below - noted in the Vienna bronze statuette -; although it was derived ultimately from the garments of Mercury and Peace on Sansovino's Loggetta (figs. 284, 502; 510). The drapery is 'ironed out', allowing the body to show through quite clearly, as in the case of his right leg.

In his present location, the Angel's upper body appears too large, but it should be remembered that he was designed to be seen from far below, where this would have been foreshortened. Likewise the rather bizarre stance with both knees bent, and the dramatic, twisting movement running through the body, seem to have been calculated for the ultimate destination, on one corner of the campanile. Such implied movement would have served to relate the four corner figures one to another, instead of being thought of as separate entities.

One reason for Vittoria's delay in commencing the Angel was that he was involved in another commission which included a sculpture for a façade: a collaboration with Sansovino on the rebuilding of the façade of San Giuliano (figs. 266-67) which was to incorporate a lifesize, seated, bronze portrait-statue of the linguist, doctor and astrologer, Tommaso Rangone from Ravenna, who was financing the operation. Rangone had enjoyed an illustrious career as a university lecturer, doctor to the Venetian fleet and advisor to the Republic on Sanitation, and towards the end of his life he became obsessed with the idea of erecting a prominent memorial to himself.

After the failure of an attempt to erect a monument on the façade of his parish church of San Geminiano, on Piazza San Marco (fig. 265), due to the time-honoured veto against monuments to individuals within the precincts of the Piazza, Rangone turned his attention to
San Giuliano. This was a suitable alternative, not only because Rangone was a procurator of this church, but because of its prominent location on a campo just off the Piazza San Marco in the busy Merceria thoroughfare, which meant that his monument would be much in the public eye. As Boucher elucidated, Rangone reached an agreement with the chapter of San Giuliano, which was presented as a formal petition to the Senate: in exchange for 1,000 ducats for a new façade, he would be permitted to incorporate on it "for all eternity his figure and image in bronze, taken from life and standing or seated as seems best to your Lordships, the said image made at his own expense for the façade of the church, together with his arms, inscriptions, and every other thing pertinent to a benefactor, over and above the aforementioned one thousand ducats". On 1 September 1553 the Senate granted this petition, but refused Rangone the right to a standing figure of himself as this was a privilege granted exclusively to Venetian doges and military commanders.

From Rangone's extraordinary will of 1577 it transpires that along with Sansovino - who had earlier designed the façade of San Geminiano - and Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, Vittoria presented a design for the new façade, and that all three designs had been retained by Rangone. Although it was Sansovino's design that was ultimately selected, it is instructive both that Vittoria competed with two more established architects, and that Rangone deemed his design worth preserving. Despite not winning the architectural competition, Vittoria collaborated closely on the project. In 1554 he made a medal for Rangone to celebrate the start of rebuilding the façade (fig. 262), and subsequently made two more as new Doges were elected. Throughout the construction work, he was Sansovino's right-hand man, which would explain why he seems to have intervened later and modified Sansovino's design for the upper part of the façade.

However, of greatest significance for the present context is his collaboration with
Sansovino on Rangone's portrait-statue for the lunette over the main portal (figs. 270-73). Until the archival discoveries of Gallo, it was thought that Sansovino was responsible for the wax model from which the statue was cast, since on 27 August 1554 a contract was signed between Rangone and the founder Giulio Alberghetti, in which the latter obliged himself to "far gettar di bronzo la figura et immagine sua iuxta la forma et pronto di cerna fatto per il spettabile messer Giacomo Sansovino scultor et Architetto". However, from a subsequent contract, it transpires that it was a wax model prepared by Vittoria that was eventually used to cast the statue for, on 2 March 1556, the founders, Jacomo di Conti and Tommaso delle Sagome obliged themselves to "far gettar la sua [Rangone's] immagine de bronzo [ ... ] iuxta la forma di tal figura fatta per m[esser] alex[and]ro da Trento".

Ever since the publication of these documents, there has been discussion as to the respective rôles played by Sansovino and Vittoria in the preparation of the second wax model. Some critics are reluctant to ascribe it wholly to Vittoria, arguing that it was the result of collaboration; others have either ignored or dismissed Gallo's findings and claimed that the design is Sansovino’s, protesting that the differences between this statue and the bronze bust of Rangone by Vittoria in the Ateneo Veneto (figs. 276-77) are so great as to exclude their being by the same author. Others still have assumed that, although it was made by Vittoria, it was simply a copy of Sansovino's original. However, not only does the visual and circumstantial evidence speak in favour of Vittoria as sole-author of the model, but the documentary evidence suggests that the wax casting-model was an entirely new design.

If one compares the head of the portrait-statue with busts which Vittoria made shortly afterwards, such as that of Marcantonio Grimani (1559-1561); or Benedetto Manzini (c. 1561), there are marked similarities in the rendering of the locks of hair, and in the lively characterisation of the face, which point to Vittoria as designer of the bronze statue.
Moreover, as Boucher pointed out, while the conception of the drapery in broad, flowing folds which conceal the contours of the body underneath is alien to Sansovino, who used drapery to emphasise the body, it is consonant with other works by Vittoria, such as his statue of Tommaso Rangone as St. Thomas (figs. 275).\(^{40}\) Indeed, that Rangone chose to place this virtually identical commission (a life-size portrait-statue of himself to adorn the façade of an edifice) with Vittoria just a few years later provides further support for Vittoria being author of the present statue: if Sansovino had been responsible for the final wax casting-model for the seated statue why was he not asked to design the standing figure? Moreover, why did Francesco Sansovino in his 1581 guide-book to Venice not assign the design of the Rangone statue to his father, whose memory he was so keen to promote?

From a comparison of the 1554 and 1556 contracts it transpires that the wax casting model referred to as Vittoria's in the second contract cannot have been merely a servile copy of the original by Sansovino: while Alberghetti was to have received 110 ducats for casting Sansovino's model within a month, the contract signed by di Conti and delle Sagome stipulated that they would receive 180 ducats for successfully casting Vittoria's model within 6 months. The additional 70 ducats and the extra five months suggest that Vittoria prepared a new, and perhaps larger, model which required more bronze and more time.$^{41}$

That Vittoria's wax model was not only larger, but was actually different in composition from Sansovino's original, may also be deduced from the documents. Something must have happened to Sansovino's wax model soon after it had been delivered to Alberghetti's foundry for casting, for on 9 January 1555 the original full-scale gesso model from which it had been taken - by now in Rangone's possession - was consigned to Alberghetti,$^{42}$ presumably for help in repairing some damage suffered by the wax model. However, the wax model must have been irreparable, for a new wax figure had to be
modelled from scratch by Sansovino, as is proven in a second contract which Rangone drew up with Alberghetti on 8 July 1555, in which he accused the foundryman of "havendo guasta la detta figura [ie original wax model], et io fatta refar la detta figura di cera al detto Sansovino con assai piu parte de mia spesa". This was presumably a faithful copy of the first for, Rangone renewed the terms of the original contract unaltered, obliging Alberghetti to cast the "copy-model" within a month. The fact that Rangone went to the trouble and expense of having Sansovino's original design faithfully remodelled implies that he was more than happy with it and was determined to have this particular composition cast. On 22 November 1555, this contract was rescinded on account of Alberghetti's ill-health and lack of progress, and the "copy-model" was consigned to Rangone, together with the 50 ducats which he had paid as an advance in the first contract.44

It is therefore most surprising (even if never before remarked) that Rangone did not hand this "copy-model" - the expense of which he had lamented not eight months before - over to the new founders for casting in March 1556. Why was this "copy-model" rejected in favour of a new model which was going to cost more to cast, and why does Vittoria's name, rather than Sansovino's, now appear in the contract? Perhaps the precocious Vittoria persuaded the narcissistic Rangone that he could do a better job. Given that only a few years previously, Vittoria had prepared an unsolicited model for a Hercules in the hope of usurping a commission from Sansovino, it is not impossible that once it had become apparent that Alberghetti was not going to cast Sansovino's wax-model, Vittoria prepared a model for an alternative, "improved" design in the hope that Rangone might be persuaded of its superior merits and transfer the commission to him. However, since relations between Vittoria and Sansovino were good in these years, it is perhaps more likely that the latter, thoroughly jaded with the commission, simply handed it over to the former - Vittoria's abilities as a portraitist
would not have gone unnoticed by Sansovino. Rangone, who appears to have fostered independent relations with Vittoria, was also aware of his skills in this area: in addition to those medals commemorating the rebuilding of San Giuliano, he had already commissioned a tiny portrait-medal from Vittoria (fig. 174). That Rangone approved of Vittoria's new design finds support in the fact that there was a delay of over three months after the contract with Alberghetti had been rescinded, and before the contract with the new founders was signed: Vittoria was presumably at work, during the intervening period, preparing the full-scale gesso model according to his new, "improved" design, and taking the wax-casting model from it.

Despite the set-backs suffered by Rangone, who finally received his statue in February 1557 - some two and a half years after the original wax model had been consigned to the first founder - he must have been pleased with the result, since he commissioned Vittoria to make another portrait-statue of himself to serve a similar function a few years later. However, if my reconstruction of events is correct, this statue had no less complex a genesis than its predecessor.

The statue of Tommaso Rangone as St. Thomas (figs. 274-75), carved from Istrian stone, stands today in the lapidarium of the Seminario Patriarcale, but until 1828 stood over the entrance to the convent of San Sepolcro, on the Riva degli Schiavoni - the iron bracket which affixed it to the convent façade is still visible (fig. 269). Serra, without furnishing any reasons, dated the St. Thomas 1570, but perhaps he was aware of the accord between the nuns of San Sepolcro and Rangone on 20 April 1570 (later published by Gallo). In return for financing the building of a new entrance for the convent, on a design by Jacopo Sansovino, Rangone was granted permission to erect a dedicatory inscription and a statue of St. Thomas above it.
However, the statue of *St. Thomas* cannot have been originally conceived for the façade of San Sepolcro, since it was in existence at least three and a half years before the agreement with the nuns was formulated: as Gerola first noted, Vittoria's second will of October 1566 serves as a terminus ante quem for the statue, for he bequeathed it to Rangone "p[er] molte cortesie haute da sua mag[nificenti]a". Why was Vittoria in possession of an over-life-size stone figure of *St. Thomas*, and why did he bequeath it to Rangone? The fact that the statue represents Rangone's name-saint implies that he commissioned it, as does the fact that it bears Rangone's features, but the fact that Vittoria was in a position to bequeath it to him suggests that Rangone cannot have (fully) paid for it. Although not made for the façade of San Sepolcro, the statue's large size and fairly summary handling suggest that it was carved for the exterior of a building, as does the fact that it is a standing figure which bears Rangone's features: in 1552 Rangone had unsuccessfully applied for permission to erect just such a statue of himself on the façade of San Geminiano.

Perhaps the best way to explain all of the above is to link this statue with Rangone's abortive attempt to erect a second statue of himself on the façade of the Scuola Grande di San Marco, following his election to the office of Guardian Grande of the Scuola Grande di San Marco on 15 March 1562 - an episode only recently been brought to light through the research of Weddigen. On 25 October 1562, Rangone presented the Scuola di San Marco with one of his double-edged offers: in return for paying off debts accrued by the Scuola, giving alms and credits to the sum of 700 ducats, donating the large sum of 200 ducats and permitting two sons of the confrères to study without charge at his Paduan Institute for seven years in the faculty of their choice, he demanded to be allowed to erect on the façade of the Scuola and at his own expense, "sotto il capo del lion in un nichio", a bronze or stone statue of himself, with an inscription and a coat-of-arms. A vote was taken and, with 31 members
for, and 24 against, the motion was carried.\textsuperscript{55} I suggest that it was immediately after this, that Rangone commissioned Vittoria, who had so competently executed the new wax model for his San Giuliano bronze, to carve a large portrait-statue of himself, in which, in defiance of the rebuff suffered at San Geminiano, he was to be portrayed standing. Vittoria, keen to curry favour with this wealthy patron, would have set to work immediately, realising that speedy execution would impress Rangone, impatient to have yet another image of himself erected on a prominent façade.

Almost immediately, the Syndics appear to have had qualms about desecrating the Scuola's façade with a large statue of the presumptuous Rangone, but having got the vote he wanted, Rangone pressed on, deaf to accusations that he had violated the Scuola's constitution by refusing all its members the right to vote. His ruthless determination that his portrait-statue be erected may be seen in his forbidding a written criticism of his behaviour to be recorded in the Notatorium. This matter was brought before the Consiglio de' Dieci, who ruled that Rangone ensure that the minutes were kept in order. However, this seems to have had little effect, for on 20 January 1563 the three Syndics demanded that Rangone justify himself personally. But Rangone was in no mood to compromise: on 23 January one of the three Syndics who had gone round to Rangone's to mediate was physically ejected from his house. Moreover, the very next day - too coincidental not to be seen as a directly linked - Vittoria recorded paying a subscription of 3 ducats and becoming a member of the Scuola Grande di San Marco, noting "& il Guardian gra[n]do fu il Chaualier S[ign]or Tomaso da Rauena".\textsuperscript{56} Perhaps his entry into the Scuola for a token fee was by way of thanks from Rangone for his work on the portrait-statue.\textsuperscript{57}

However, Rangone must have realised that his Machiavellian behaviour risked his being ousted from his position as Guardian Grande and therefore on 29 January he backed
down, presenting himself before the Scuola with the proposal that: "... in materia dela
stattua da esa partte volontariamente se remove in tutto e per tutto come se maj la non fose
sta posta et prexa e quij anolatto sia nottata per dimostrar la sinzerita de l’animo suo".\textsuperscript{58}
Thus, by late January 1563, it seems likely that there was a standing portrait-statue of
Rangone in search of a home. The only item that this reconstruction does not account for is
the fact that, in Vittoria’s will of October 1566, the statue was referred to as a \textit{St. Thomas},
rather than as a straightforward portrait-statue. One explanation might be that Rangone
decided to place the figure on the façade of the Paduan church of San Tommaso, with which
his educational Institute had links and where he may have effected some restoration work.\textsuperscript{59}
In order to make the "gift" more palatable, Rangone may have asked Vittoria to convert his
portrait-statue into a figure of his name-saint instead. However, it would appear that this gift
was as unwanted in Padua as it had been in Venice, and hence the reason for the statue of
\textit{St. Thomas bearing Rangone’s features} being left in Vittoria’s \textit{bottega}, the cost of recarving
probably only partly paid for. This would explain why Vittoria was able to bequeath it to
Rangone in 1566.

When the statue was finally returned to Rangone is not known, but presumably the \textit{St.
Thomas} was in place above the portal of San Sepolcro by the time that Vittoria dictated his
third will in November 1570, when the door is spoken of in terms which imply its
completion.\textsuperscript{60} Indeed, its presence overhead was presumably the reason why Vittoria chose
to be buried directly beneath the door, so that the statue could serve as a testimony to his
skill.

Apart from carving colossi for civic edifices and making portrait-statues for church
façades, Vittoria was also called upon to carve niche-figures and relief figures for both public
and private palaces: in the late 1550s he was awarded the prestigious state commission of
sculpting a figure of Mercury for the Doge's Palace, undoubtedly upon Sansovino's advice, while in the early 1560s, he was subcontracted to execute two much smaller commissions for two private palaces on the Grand Canal then under construction by the proto Giangiacomo de' Grigi - a key-stone head for Palazzo Usper and a pair of Winged Victories for Palazzo Grimani.

The stone Mercury decorates the upper left tabernacle of the ornamental surround of the finestrone on the Piazzetta façade of the Doge's Palace (figs. 278, 281-82). Although the contract does not survive, it must have been drawn up before 28 January 1559, for on that day Vittoria recorded paying 5½ lire to a certain "maestro Domenico di maestro Zen taiapiera" for four and a half days' unspecified work. Given that Domenico's daily wage of 1 lira, 4 soldi accords with that which Vittoria gave to squadratori, it may be conjectured that Domenico was employed to help with the arduous task of blocking out the over lifesize figure. The absence of further payments in Vittoria's account-book suggests that he undertook the rest of the carving himself.

Certainly, Vittoria would have been keen to excel himself, not only because of the prestigious destination of his sculpture, but also because it would inevitably be compared with its three counterparts - the statue of Mars (lower left tabernacle) signed by Pietro da Salò, and the Jupiter and Neptune generally attributed either to him and/or Danese Cattaneo. These three deities appear to have been executed in the 1540s: Boucher noted that in 1542 the Council of Ten set aside 400 ducats "per compir el pergolo et li frisi" of the Sala dello Scrutinio, and suggested this might mark the beginning of work on these statues. Why one of the tabernacles should have been left vacant for so long is difficult to say, but perhaps funds were diverted elsewhere, and the dearth of talented sculptors noted in the terminazione of the Procurators in 1553 may also have been a factor. However, the fact that Vittoria was
chosen to sculpt the *Mercury*, rather than Pietro da Salò or Cattaneo who had worked more recently in the Doge's Palace, may be taken as a sure sign that by the late 1550s, he had become Sansovino's preferred collaborator.

The connection between Vittoria's *Mercury* and Sansovino's Loggetta figures - especially the lower half of *Mercury* (figs. 284, 502) and the upper half of *Apollo* (figs. 279, 501) - has been pointed out by many critics, although Vittoria attenuated the figure to Parmigianinesque proportions. Leithe-Jasper's proposal that Vittoria knew a chiaroscuro print by Antonio da Trento after Parmigianino, showing a *Martyrdom* (fig. 347) where a torch-bearer is very similar to the *Mercury*, gains probability, for one of the executioners in this scene appears also to have served as the model for a figure of *Virtue* which Vittoria made for a relief in Palazzo Trevisan not long before. Perhaps Vittoria even owned the original drawing, if it was included in a sketch-book by Parmigianino which he purchased on 12 February 1559. If the payment made to Domenico on 28 January was for the initial blocking out of the *Mercury*, Vittoria can have been at work on the figure for only some three weeks when he made the acquisition. He would, therefore, have been in a position to incorporate into the figure the lessons learnt from the prints and drawings by Parmigianino that he owned.

Vittoria's efforts on the *Mercury* appear to have paid off: Vasari reported that it was "tenuto buona figura", and it could be argued that the prestigious commission which Vittoria received subsequently to carve two extremely large and conspicuous figures of *Venice* and *Justice* for the crowning pinnacles of both *Finestrini* was a direct result (figs. 620-23). Vittoria's personal satisfaction with the figure is suggested not only by his bold signature inscribed in capitals along the length of the sword-strap (fig. 281) - as if to draw comparison with Ammannati's Benavides *Apollo* which is signed in like manner (fig. 280) - but also
because the composition formed the basis for a bronze statuette of Mercury (figs. 500, 504-05), made together with a pendant figure of Minerva (fig. 506), very shortly afterwards.73

In addition to Sansovino and Sanmicheli, Vittoria received commissions for façade sculpture from Giangiacomo de' Grigi, son of Guglielmo ("Il Bergamasco") and "proto a san chassan", who headed various projects on behalf of both individual nobles and the Procuratori di San Marco de Citra.74 The first work delegated by Giangiacomo was the carving of a key-stone head for the entrance arch of Palazzo Usper on the Grand Canal near San Stae, in early 1560 (figs. 285-88). The head must have been carved and inserted by 21 March 1560, for on this day Vittoria wrote a reminder that Giangiacomo owed him 4 ducats for it.75 By 9 April the debt had been settled, with Vittoria receiving payment in kind: two blocks of stone worth 4 ducats.76

Although neglected in the literature, the bearded head is noteworthy on account of its all'antica qualities, recalling Classical heads of Zeus, and the high quality of carving. It possesses greater character than most key-stone heads, with eyes alertly opened and lips parted as if to speak, while the large ears and furrowed brow are hallmarks of Vittoria's work. The tight curls of hair and furling strands of beard and moustache are still clearly visible today, after over four centuries of exposure to the elements, proving how deeply these features were undercut. The unusual pains taken over this head were probably calculated by Vittoria to impress the influential proto, who had the power to delegate the sculptural parts of those architectural projects he controlled. This paid off, for by 1561 Giangiacomo was put in charge of the sculptural decoration of the Montefeltro Altar and undoubtedly influenced the choice of Vittoria as sculptor of the three figures.77

From his account-book, it emerges that Vittoria was also subcontracted by Giangiacomo to carve a pair of winged Victories for the spandrels of the entrance arch of
Girolamo Grimani’s palace on the Grand Canal at San Luca, then under construction (figs. 289-90). On 3 December 1563, Vittoria recorded settling an outstanding debt with the proto: rather than paying cash for two pieces of stone he had had from him - used to carve the Montefeltro St. Anthony and St. Roch - he simply did not charge Giangiacomo for the Victories. As the Victories are spoken of as a fait accompli, December 1563 serves as a terminus ante quem, while a terminus post quem is supplied by 15 October 1561 - the date when Giangiacomo was first employed as proto by Grimani on his palace. 78

As with the head on Palazzo Usper, Vittoria appears to have expended more effort than was usual for such architectural decorations. These attenuated figures with small heads, are as detailed as the much more visible Victories carved by Sansovino’s shop on the Loggetta: individual plumes in their wings are carefully distinguished, and their draperies sufficiently undercut so that the complex folds are appreciable from a distance. The Victories are not mechanical copies of each other: the draperies are differently disposed, and only the Victory on the left wears a sash over her shoulder, while the palm branch of her companion is larger, and the end of her torch (?) is more forcibly jammed against her hip. Once again, Vittoria’s diligence appears to have borne fruit: the owner of the palace, Girolamo Grimani, appears to have commissioned a terracotta portrait-bust of himself from Vittoria just prior to his death in 1570 which was intended as a private portrait for his house, while in 1573, his son Marino - the future Doge - commissioned him to make a marble bust of his late father, which was erected a decade later on a monument that Marino had recently had made. 79
I. Predelli (1908). It is this publication which provides the majority of the documents in my Corpus of Documents (Appendix I).

2. Cat. No. 25.

3. Doc. No. 22.


5. For a general discussion of the challenges faced in carving colossal sculpture, see Bush (1976).

6. See Chapter Four, 75-79.

7. Vittoria was not to rent a house in Venice until 15 August (Doc. No. 25), nor a studio until a good many years after that.


9. As Vittoria had been at work since mid-May, it is difficult to explain why the Procuratori de Supra were still concerned on 11 August, as the above-mentioned terminazione shows, to find a sculptor to carve the Femioniti.


11. ibid., cat. no. 32.

12. ibid., 154.

13. See Doc. No. 24, under 3 June 1553.


15. See Doc. No. 24, and the payments from 1 July to 7 October 1553. This tagliapietra was none other than Lorenzo di Andrea Rubini, whom Vittoria had presumably met in Vicenza, and with whom he seems to have struck up a long-lasting friendship, sealed by the marriage of Vittoria’s sister, Margherita to him on 9 April 1554 (Cessi (1908), 15, n. 1). The high regard that Vittoria had for his skill is demonstrated, for example, in his second will, where he requested that Lorenzo finish his funerary monument (Doc. No. 88).


18. ibid., 65.


20. Reference made in passing during a lecture on Sanmicheli delivered to the art history department at Cambridge in 1995.


22. For all relevant payments, see Doc. Nos. 35-36.
23. Planiscig (1924), cat. no. 179, 104-05; see here Cat. No. 30.

24. The statuette is slightly more attenuated than the stone angel, but as discussed further in Chapter Eight, 26 the malleability of the wax permitted elongation of limbs without the risk of them breaking off.


26. ibid., 250.

27. This episode is well known. For the best accounts, see Weddigen (1974), 62-67, and Boucher (1991), 113-18 and cat. no. 31.

28. See Boucher (1991), doc. no. 178; the translation used here is taken from Boucher (1991) 114.

29. ibid., 115 and doc. nos. 179 & 180.


31. For these medals, see Cat. Nos. 26-27, 138.

32. Although Vittoria's activities as an architect are beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting in the context of Vittoria's collaboration with Sansovino, that the two men must have worked together on the façade of San Giuliani. Although Vittoria did not win the competition, that he subsequently intervened on the project is proven by a passage in Rangone's will of 1577 which refers to a design 'of the front of the facade of the aforementioned church, amplified by Alessandro Vittoria, a highly gifted sculptor, architect, and proto' (emphasis added; see Doc. No. 27; and for a full discussion of the division of labour, Boucher (1991), 116). The façade was finished by 23 June 1559, and as Vittoria's presence is felt only in the upper part of the building, his alterations to Sansovino's original design must have occurred fairly late, probably during 1558.

33. The saga of Rangone's portrait-statue, first revealed through the archival discoveries of Gallo (1957), 83-105, has been recently re-examined by Boucher (1991), 115-118. See here, Cat. No. 28.

34. Doc. No. 29.

35. Doc. No. 33.

36. Cessi (1961-2, 27) attributes the whole statue to Vittoria, while Pope-Hennessy (1970, 410) disregards Gallo's documentary discovery and after a stylistic analysis of the head, gives the whole statue to Sansovino. Leithe-Jasper (1963, 76) believes the work stemmed from a collaborative effort, as does Martin (1988, 80) and Boucher (1991, 117).

37. See Martin (1988), 201-04, Cat. No. 18.

38. ibid., esp. 164-65, Cat. No. 9.


40. Boucher (1991), 117.

41. Boucher (1991, 116) proposed that perhaps Sansovino's model was judged too small and was scrapped in favour of a larger one.
42. Doc. No. 30.
43. Doc. No. 31.
44. Doc. No. 32.
45. See Chapter Four, 76-77.

46. The friendship between Vittoria and Rangone is demonstrated, for example, by the fact that on 6 January 1554, Vittoria acted as a witness to an agreement drawn up by Rangone concerning his Institute in Padua (see ASV, Atti Notarile Vettor Maffei, Busta 8104, fol. 16v).

47. Cat. No. 7.

48. Vittoria would have made the new model between 22 November 1555 (after the second contract with Alberghetti had been abrogated) and before 2 March 1556 (when the contract with delle Sagome and Conti was drawn up). This explains why he did not immediately set to work, once the second Femino had been finished in late November 1555, on Sammicheli’s commission to carve four colossal angels for the bell-tower of Verona cathedral.

50. Cat. No. 52.

51. Gallo (1957), 105. This document was subsequently published more fully by Weddigen (1974), 68-69 and is reprinted here as Doc. No. 109.

52. Gerola (1925), 344, n. 3.

53. Doc. No. 88; see Leithe-Jasper (1963), 125.


55. Doc. No. 73.

56. Doc. No. 74.

57. Solm (1978), 238 commented that an artist’s admission to the Scuola di San Marco often coincided with a commission. (He proposed that Vittoria’s admission might be connected with the building of the altar of the chapel - “the coincidence of Rangone’s term as Guardian and Vittoria’s admission to the Scuola . . . could be more than chance; it might be the only surviving evidence of a project given to Vittoria by Rangone” - but this was refuted by Tafuri on documentary evidence (1989), 237 n. 52).


59. Pasi (1973), 8, 24 n. 8 explains how, in recognition of Rangone’s generosity, the students would gather in San Tommaso and hear a Latin Mass held in his honour, in the presence of the Rettori of Padua. He posits that this church, because of its dedication to his name-saint, was restored by him, for on the reverse of the lost medal made to commemorate the institution of his College, there was the inscription: GYMNAS . CONDIT . ET . TEMPLVM . (See Cat. No. 168).

60. Doc. No. 110.
61. Cat. No. 42.

62. Doc. No. 52. Several authors (e.g. Leith-Jasper, 1963, 74) have mistakenly dated the statue to 1558 rather than 1559. There can be little doubt that Vittoria was conforming to the more veneto dating system for though dated as 28 January 1558, it comes immediately after a string of payments disbursed throughout 1558, with the last one on 22 December.

63. Andrea Rosso and Benedetto, the squadratori who worked on the Verona Angel were paid 1 lira 4 soldi per diem (Doc. No. 36); whilst Giovanni del Sbraia received 1 lira 6 soldi for his day's work on blocking out the Contarini Slaves (Doc. No. 40).

64. Vasari, VII, 517. The Neptune (lower right) is given by Boucher (1991), 87 to da Salò, but Lorenzetti (1926), 231, followed by Da Mosto (1960), 245, assigns it to Danese Cattaneo, while Wolters (1990), 168, declines to assign it or the Jupiter to any sculptor on account of their deplorable condition. The Jupiter is given by Boucher to Vittoria, but by Lorenzetti and Da Mosto to Danese Cattaneo. The minor figures of the putti supporting Gritti's arms and the Victories in the spandrels are given tentatively to da Salò by Boucher (1991), 274, n. 78. The author of Gritti kneeling before the lion of St. Mark is still more uncertain, as the original was destroyed in 1797, and is replaced by an unexceptional early nineteenth-century copy.

65. Boucher (1991), 274, n. 76; Lorenzi (1868), 237, no. 508.

66. It seems that they collaborated on the two fireplaces in the Stanza dei Tre Capi and the Bussola in 1553-54, each sculpting one caryatid for the former, and one telamon for the latter. See Boucher (1991), 152-53.

67. This is borne out by the prestigious commissions for the stuccoes for the vaults of both the Scala d'oro of the Doge's Palace, and the Marciana Library staircase, which Vittoria gained in these years through Sansovino; see Chapter Seven, 187-94.

68. Leith-Jasper (1963), 74; Wolters (1990), 168; and Boucher (1991), 152.

69. See Chapter Seven, 196; Cat. No. 35.

70. Doc. No. 53. This transaction is recorded by Vittoria under the date 12 February 1558, and although neither the preceding entry (26 March 1555), nor the one immediately afterwards (21 March 1560) can absolutely verify that Vittoria was here subscribing to the more veneto calendar, it seems likely that he was, for in the majority of cases he did. For Vittoria's art-collection, see Chapter Eight, 211-12; Cat. No. 43.


72. See Cat. No. 71.

73. See Chapter Eight, 211-12; Cat. No. 43.

74. As Giangiacomo appears to have stepped into the position occupied by Sanmicheli before his death, it could be conjectured that it was through Sanmicheli that Vittoria was introduced to him.

75. Doc. No. 63; Cat. No. 40.

76. Doc. No. 63.

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77. See Chapter Six, 152-53; and Cat. No. 53.

78. Doc. No. 82.

79. For the terracotta bust, see Martin (1988), Cat. No. 8; for the marble bust and monument, see Martin (1988), Cat. No. 7 and here, Cat. No. 181.
CHAPTER SIX:

VITTORIA’S SCULPTURE FOR MONUMENTS AND ALTARS

(c. 1555 - c. 1570)

Much of Vittoria’s sculpture for funerary monuments and altars in the 1550s was directly linked to his production of façade sculpture (investigated in the previous chapter). Several of these commissions appear to have been gained directly through the good offices of the three proti who had previously subcontracted façade sculpture to Vittoria, and who could therefore vouch for his skill to the patrons of the project: thus Sansovino appears to have delegated to Vittoria two major pieces of sculpture on the Monument to Doge Francesco Venier after the latter had successfully completed the Feminoni; Sanmicheli appears to have been influential in the awarding of four statues to Vittoria on the Contarini Monument from 1555 onwards, by which point the latter would have prepared the bozzetti for the four colossal Angels of Verona; and Giangiacomo de’ Grigi appears responsible for the choice of Vittoria as sculptor of the three large statues for the Montefeltro altar, which followed Vittoria’s carving of the key-stone head for Palazzo Usper for him. Other commissions for statues for monuments and altars came direct from enlightened patrons, though the majority of these did not occur until the 1560s, by which point Vittoria’s reputation had become firmly established.

One exception may be the commission for two large stucco figures of St. Helen and St. Barbara for the High Altar of the former church of the Crociferi. Unfortunately these statues do not survive, but Vasari informs that, “alte sei piedi l’una”, they were “molto belle”, while Sansovino reports that they stood either side of Tintoretto’s altarpiece of The Assumption (fig. 673). Although no contracts have emerged, it seems likely that the
commission came from the Scuola dei Crociferi since Tintoretto’s altar-piece contains the Scuola’s coat-of-arms prominently painted on the sarcophagus of the Virgin. Since Vasari’s publication of 1568 acts as a terminus ante quem for Vittoria’s figures, and Tintoretto’s altar-piece is dated to c. 1554-55, it could be conjectured that they were commissioned as part of a renovation of the High Altar. If so, Vittoria’s figures probably date to c. 1553-54, since stuccowork - on account of its rather messy application - was usually commissioned and executed before any paintings were.

In contrast to this commission stands that for the statues for the monument to the Venetian nobleman and Naval hero, Alessandro Contarini, in the Basilica del Santo in Padua: Vittoria’s account-book records not only the payments made to his assistants but also the payments received from Pietro and Pandolfi Contarini, Alessandro’s brothers. Alessandro Contarini had requested burial in the Santo of Padua, and immediately after his death in March 1553, Pandolfo petitioned the Consiglio for permission to fulfil his brother’s wishes, and to erect a monument to his memory, consisting of “l’effige con quelli ornamenti, che gli pareranno convenienti alla dignità di tanto homo”. With 72 votes for, and just 2 against, the Paduan deputies granted the petition in 1553.

Sabine Jacob proposed that a drawing in Berlin (fig. 291) was a competition entry for this monument, because the figural and decorative ornaments (trophies, Victories, reliefs including a naval scene and one with a figure of Neptune, the lion of St. Mark, and the motto “in hoc signo vinces” draped around the Cross) were pertinent for a Venetian admiral who had fought successfully against the Infidel. Furthermore, the width of 3.4 metres (apparently) established for the tomb on the design corresponds to the space available for the Contarini Monument as defined by the width of the pier against which it was erected. Jacob argued that this design was made jointly by Sanmicheli and Vittoria, for while the architectural part,
with its simple pediment, the slender pairs of columns and the bust set on a high pedestal, is reminiscent of the monument erected to Bembo in the Santo in 1550 which she ascribed to Sanmicheli, the figural elements - and particularly the arrangement of the central field and the mythological reliefs below - are extremely close to Vittoria’s work on the vault of the Stanza dei Principi, Palazzo Thiene. She pointed out that in both the drawing and the Thiene vault there is a similarly rich change in plasticity (accompanied by a similar arrangement of the elements) which ranges from the fully rounded busts, supported by very high-relief figures, to the delicate low-relief narratives.

I should like to propose, however, that the drawing was executed single-handedly by Vittoria, without intervention by Sanmicheli. First, there are good reasons, as elucidated by Howard Burns,5 to regard the Bembo monument as designed by Palladio, rather than Sanmicheli. Second, we know that Vittoria made several trips to Padua in 1552 to see his patron Benavides and would have had ample opportunity of studying the Bembo monument for himself. Indeed, given his interest in portrait-busts, and the fact that he apparently executed a stucco bust of Bembo for Girolamo Forni, he would surely have paid particular attention to Bembo’s bust by Danese Cattaneo, finished in 1548, erected in 1550, which Martin claims “is the first public classicizing bust in Italy”.6 Could not the reason why the architectural parts of the design are so indebted to the Bembo monument be that Vittoria was aware that the Contarini monument was to be placed on the pier opposite it, and wanted to echo it for visual unity? Finally, and most convincingly, if the Berlin drawing is compared with the only autograph drawing known by Vittoria - the Design for a Neptune Fountain - the same hand appears responsible for both, with the contours of the elements carefully described and the modelling achieved purely through the use of wash, and without the use of cross-hatching.7
However, Vittoria's design was rejected in favour of a much more idiosyncratic one (fig. 292), assigned by the majority of critics from Vasari onwards to Sanmicheli, but which, on account of documentary silence and the bizarre appearance of the monument has also been attributed to Agostino Zoppo, and even to the virtually unknown Agostino Zen. Pietro Selvatico suggested that the final design might be by Vittoria, a view vigorously reaffirmed by Calore. However, this proposal may be dismissed, for not only does the monument as erected have little in common with the design which I have suggested here was Vittoria's, but also the payments in Vittoria's account-book indicate clearly that his contribution was limited to the execution of four statues: a Theis, a Fame and a pair of Slave-Telamones. The most informative entry is that of 22 December 1558, in which Vittoria recorded receiving the balance of 40 ducats on the agreed total of 190 ducats "dile dua figure tond e e li .2. schiauj". This payment not only serves as a terminus ante quem for the completion of these figures, but also answers the long disputed question of how many Slave-Telamones Vittoria carved. That Vittoria makes no mention of receiving payment for furnishing the design of the monument suggests that, despite his efforts, he did not do so, and was solely employed in the capacity of sculptor, alongside Pietro da Salò, who signed the Nereid on the right, and Danese Cattaneo who sculpted the bust of Alessandro Contarini.

Sanmicheli - or whoever planned this strange monument - presumably provided basic designs for the figural elements, but the monument is not stylistically unified because of the number of different hands involved, and the time it took to complete. As Leithe-Jasper pointed out, despite the superficial symmetry of the monument, it falls into a right and a left half; the former marked by rather stiff, closed movements, the latter by freer, more open ones. Even within the four sculptures, sculpted by Vittoria and several assistants between 1555 and 1558, there is stylistic diversity.
Vittoria’s pair of Slave-Caryatids (at bottom left) were the first two of his four figures to be carved (fig. 293). Although Vittoria probably received the commission around September or October 1555 - i.e., after that for the Verona Angel -, and had been paid six installments by Piero and Pandolfo Contarini between April 1556 and June 1557, from the payments made to his assistants it appears that work did not start in earnest until July 1557, after two abortive attempts in October 1555 and late June-early July 1556. The payments reveal that the Slaves were worked on consistently from the beginning of July to the middle of August 1557, and again from mid-January until mid-February 1558.

Vittoria’s Slave-Telamones may be compared to advantage with their counterparts on the opposite side of the monument (fig. 294), which are generally given to Pietro da Salò, responsible for the Nereid statue positioned immediately above. Vittoria’s figures appear to be bearing the weight of the cornice: their heads are bent forwards and their bodies are forced into curves, as if straining under the load. Their counterparts are slightly smaller and strain to make their heads touch the lintel that they are supposedly supporting. Whereas Pietro’s figures are frontal, Vittoria turns the upper bodies of his pair away from the front plane to the left, in order to counter the movement to the right. As first noted by Leithe-Jasper, the axis of the helmeted slave is twisted so far round, that his left shoulder and upper arm appear as a linear extension of his right leg. This means that Vittoria’s Slaves are only fully resolved when viewed straight on, and work less well when viewed diagonally.

In contradistinction to the other pair, Vittoria’s Slave-Telamones have much more characterful faces - Vittoria re-used the model he had made for the head of the stucco bust of Vespasian in Palazzo Thiene for the bald Slave - and they seem to be observing each other intently. Because the extinguished torch is moved to the far left, it acts as a vertical accent mirroring that on the right, created by the frame of the dedicatory inscription. Thus
Vittoria’s *Slaves* are boxed into their cramped environment.

The movement of the helmeted *Slave* is a greatly exaggerated mirror-image of that found in the left-hand *Feminone* (figs. 252-55). Leithe-Jasper identified that it derived ultimately from Danese Cattaneo’s *St. Jerome*, carved around 1530 for the Merceria Portal of San Salvatore (fig. 314), but also noted that the athletically built *Slaves* recall some of the figures on the reliefs of Trajan’s Column. Vittoria’s acquaintance with these Roman works of art does not depend on a sojourn there, for he would have had access to reproductions of these masterpieces through prints and engravings, and learnt about them from Palladio and Sansovino.

The next figure to be carved was *Thetis*, referred to generically as “la vecchia” in a payment of 14 August 1557 to Francesco de Natale, and then specified as *Thetis* in a payment of 23 August to the same assistant (figs. 292, 295). The influence of Parmigianino and his north Italian followers, may be seen in the slender proportions of *Thetis’* body. In comparison, her counterpart - the *Nereid* by Pietro da Salò - seems stocky and lumpy and is posed more straightforwardly; her right arm hangs rather limply by her side, gathering up some drapery folds, while her left arm is raised slightly, but to no apparent purpose. Vittoria’s *Thetis*, on the other hand, holds an urn spilling forth water which runs down her body causing the drapery to adhere revealingly. Her pose recalls that of the helmeted *Slave-Caryatid*, although the curve of her upper body is less pronounced. Yet, being carved from a deeper block, the bend of her right knee is more emphatic, for her foot is placed on the head of a sea-monster which encircles her feet, while her left leg is withdrawn so that her lower body recedes from front left to back right. This diagonal is countered by drawing her left shoulder forwards and pushing her right shoulder back, and further torsion is created by the twist of her head sharply backwards over her left shoulder. Leithe-Jasper proposed that
this pose might be a variation on that created by Rosso Fiorentino in his *Venus in a niche* at Fontainebleau, which Vittoria could have known through the engraving by Caraglio; it had also been employed by Tintoretto in the mother and child at the left of his *Miracle of St. Mark*, of 1548.20

The final figure to be carved - *Fame* (figs. 292, 296) - is difficult to study in her elevated position, but she shares both the slim proportions of the *Theesis*, and the arrangement of the diaphanous drapery into chevron-like folds across the thighs, and into parallel folds under her bosom. The only payment to an assistant for the *Fame* was made on 18 March 1558 to Antonio de Picio for five days' work, the last by Vittoria for the Contarini monument. This indicates that Vittoria played a greater rôle in carving this figure than in the others, for which many payments to assistants are recorded, basing her on his stucco *Venus as Spring* made c. 1556 for Villa Pisani in Montagnana (fig. 306).21 Vittoria received four payments from Pandolfo and Pietro Contarini specifically for the *Theesis*,22 and in the first one the 60-ducat agreed price was noted. He rendered his final account in December 1558.

Whilst work on the Contarini *Slave-Telamones* was drawing to a close in late 1557, Vittoria began a large relief of the *Pietà* for the lunette of an imposing wall-monument, being erected by Sansovino in San Salvatore in memory of Francesco Venier, Doge from 1554 to 1556 (fig. 297).23 Information is scant, and it is uncertain whether the monument was commenced before Venier's death on 4 June 1556; however, since Francesco Sansovino reported that construction was supervised by the Doge's brother Piero, most of the tomb must have been built posthumously. Although Sansovino's name does not occur in the surviving documents, both Vasari and Francesco Sansovino attribute to him the monument's design. Certainly, as Boucher explains,24 Sansovino was the obvious choice having not only executed many prestigious commissions during Venier's reign, such as the *Giganti* and the design of
the new *Scala d'Oro*, but was friendly with many of the Doge's keenest supporters.

In his old-age, Sansovino's rôle in a project which involved so much carving would have been limited to furnishing the designs, while the execution would have been subcontracted. From Vittoria's account-book, we know that he and two assistants executed the *Pietà with Doge Venier and St. Francis* relief for the lunette (fig. 298), and the recumbent effigy of the Doge in ceremonial dress lying beneath (fig. 299). That he was paid directly by Giovanni Venier, a nephew and executor of the Doge, perhaps indicates that he had signed an independent contract, rather than being subcontracted by Sansovino, through whom he would otherwise have been paid. Such a hypothesis finds confirmation in the fact that on 25 July 1557 Vittoria had acquired the status of *padrone* in the sculptors' guild. However, we do not know whether the designs which Vittoria followed were his own, or whether they were supplied by Sansovino. While I agree with Boucher that the effigy and lunette offered fewer artistic possibilities - the formal appearance of the *gisant* Doge was dictated by precedents - than the *Virtues* at the base, I disagree with him that they were ceded to him by Sansovino on account of their inferior location. Indeed, their positions are conspicuous and attention is drawn to them through the use of selected gilding, and it seems preferable to argue that Vittoria was chosen because Sansovino knew that he could count on him to 'do a good job', following his success with the *Feminoni* and the wax casting-model for the bronze portrait-statue of Rangone.

An analysis of the payments made in connection with the two sculptures, illustrates that Vittoria also considered the effigy to provide little scope, but saw the relief as more challenging. The relief was carved first with minimal intervention from assistants: Antonio di maestro Picio was paid for a total of seven days' work, the first five in late October for unspecified work "sula Pieta", the last two in early December for work "sul Dose", while
in January 1558, Tommaso da Zara was paid a small final sum for an unspecified number of days for having cleaned the Virgin.\textsuperscript{30} This suggests that Vittoria executed the majority of the carving himself: between 6 November 1557 and 8 March 1558, he received regular payments totalling 70 ducats from Giovanni Venier.\textsuperscript{31}

On the other hand, the fact that Antonio di Picio received five weekly payments "sula figura dil Principe morta" between 26 March and 23 April 1558 - amounting to a total of twenty-five days' work - suggests that Vittoria's intervention on this figure was minimal. This was because Vittoria had received the more prestigious commission for the large figure of Fame to crown the Contarini Monument (fig. 296), just before work on the dogal effigy started, and obviously deciding that this figure was the more challenging, set to work on it, delegating the more straightforward dogal effigy to his assistant.\textsuperscript{32} Certainly the patrons regarded the effigy as less important than the lunette-relief, for Vittoria received 25 ducats less for it from Giovanni Venier than he had received for the relief.

This division of labour is reflected in the works themselves. The Pietà, carved almost exclusively by Vittoria, is unquestionably the more interesting. As often remarked, Michelangelo's Pietà in St. Peter's provides a prototype, particularly for the dead Christ and the similar position of the Virgin's arms. However, as Planiscig and Leithe-Jasper observed,\textsuperscript{33} it is a free variation on Michelangelo's theme and Vittoria seems to have wished to challenge comparison with the Florentine. Boucher has also commented on Vittoria's reliance upon Sansovino, especially in the morphology of the Virgin which recalls the hooded woman in the background of Sansovino's Child Parisio relief in the Santo.\textsuperscript{34} Vittoria's figures interact with each other through gesture and glance, St. Francis delicately and reverently touching the limp wrist of Christ, while the Virgin extends her arm to Doge Venier in a maternal gesture of welcome. Although the unity of Michelangelo's composition is lost,
this has the beneficial effect of infusing dynamism into what would otherwise be a static and emotionless group.

By contrast, the effigy of the deceased Doge, carved mainly by Antonio di Picio, is dryly and mechanically handled and composed according to the established canon for such images. The figure is tilted forwards so that more of the body and face are visible. The impassivity of the features indicate that they were probably copied from a death mask. The mantle, Doge's corono and pillows have been carved and gilded to simulate gold brocade, whilst the top of the cloak has been worked to resemble ermine.

By the late 1550s, Vittoria's reputation was sufficiently established that he also received commissions direct from private patrons for statues to adorn lavish funerary chapels. Vittoria is documented as having been commissioned to produce statues for four funerary chapels between the late 1550s and the mid-1560s: Giovanni Vitturi ordered four Apostles for the chapel of the Blessed Giovanni Orsini in Trogir cathedral; Marc' Antonio Grimani ordered a bust of himself and two statuettes for his chapel in San Sebastiano; the Procuratori di San Marco de Citra commissioned three large stone statues for the chapel of Nicola Montefeltro in San Francesco della Vigna; and Gerolamo Zane ordered a lavish stuccowork altarpiece and a free-standing marble St. Jerome for his chapel in the Frari.

The first of these commissions - that for four Apostles (figs. 300-02) - has been neglected in the literature, partly because these statues are practically impossible to study in their present location near the top of the campanile of the duomo of Trogir (Croatia), and secondly because there is virtually no documentation concerning them. However, the importance of the commission is shown by its mention by Vasari, which informs that Vittoria carved four five-feet tall stone Apostles in Venice and shipped them to Dalmatia for installation inside Trogir cathedral. While a terminus ante quem of 1568 is therefore
supplied, a date nearer the late 1550s is suggested by their position in Vasari's roughly chronological list, between the Angel for Verona (of late 1556 - mid-1557) and five silver figures for the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista (from the second half of 1557).  

From the archival research of Fiskovic, a more accurate date for the carving of the statues can be established. He discovered a report of a Pastoral Visitation of Trogir Cathedral by Bishop Didaco Manola of 31 May 1756, which provides much factual information on the construction of a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Giovanni Orsini (figs. 303-05). Among other things, it is recorded how, in 1559, a certain Giovanni Vitturi had provided four statues lacking in this chapel, disbursing a total of 1,252 Venetian lire and eight soldi (ie almost 200 ducats) for them. Although the statues were specified neither as Apostles, nor as by Vittoria, Fiskovic proposed that they were those mentioned by Vasari, and were to be identified as those now on the bell-tower, since the date of 1559 given as the of the year of purchase, their number, and their destination inside the cathedral all agreed with Vasari's data.

Fiskovic also discovered the contract of 1468 for the construction of the Orsini Chapel, which spoke of 16 niches to be carved around the walls, each high enough to contain a figure five feet tall. Twelve of the niches would contain Apostles, and in the remaining four, unspecified figures. Between the Apostles would be a larger "casamento" containing the figure of Christ with two angels. Despite subsequent renovations in the chapel, the original position of the niches is clear, with six along both lateral (West and East) walls, and one in either corner of the entrance-arch wall (South), and likewise in the rear wall (North, ie flanking the centrally placed figure of Christ). The Apostles were therefore to line the lateral walls, and the four remaining, unspecified statues the entrance and rear walls.

Although most of these figures were carved in the second half of the Quattrocento by Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino, Andrea Alessi and Giovanni Dalmata, confusion seems to
have arisen over the programme. Of the four unspecified figures only three appear to have been made, perhaps because there was subsequent disagreement over whom the fourth statue should represent. There were also difficulties with the Apostles. A few are identifiable because of the names carved on their bases or their specific attributes, but even within this small identifiable group, there are two St. Johns (figs. 303 - figure marked with * and fig. 304). The identities of the other Apostles are hard to discern because they are so generalised (fig. 305).

Whatever the cause of this unusual state of affairs, by the start of the sixteenth century the plan established in 1468 seems to have been in disarray, and I suggest that this was why the last four niches were left empty for so long. It would also explain why Vittoria's Apostles are so generalised, without any of their usual distinguishing attributes, since the identities of the four disciples needed to complete the chapel could not easily be established. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the sculptures mentioned by Vasari are those paid for by Vitturi in 1559, not only for the reasons listed by Fiskovic, but because their size - "alti cinque piedi l'uno" - accords with the "grandeza zascuno de pie zinque" specified in the contract for the quattrocento sculptures, while their unusually generalised appearance conforms to that of the earlier quattrocento Apostles.

It is ironic, therefore, that little more than a century after Vittoria's Apostles had been inserted into the four empty niches, they were ejected from the Orsini Chapel. However, the reasons are not difficult to fathom: in 1664, four niches - two in either lateral wall - were converted into windows to give more light, and so four Apostles became homeless. Vittoria's Apostles were the obvious candidates for removal not only because their number accorded with the number of niches lost, but because they were stylistically inconsistent with the others, and by removing them greater visual harmony was restored to the Chapel. The
campanile, finished in 1603, had little sculptural ornament, and this may have been why Vittoria's statues were mounted on its prominent structure. Now the generic appearance of these figures was an advantage, for they could be liberally interpreted, as either the Evangelists, or the Doctors of the Church, or even as Old Testament Prophets.

Although no specific date within 1559 is furnished in the Manola visitation-report for Vitturi's donation of Vittoria's Apostles to the Orsini Chapel, it may be supposed that the statues were carved during 1558, quite probably once the Contarini and Venier commissions had been finished, and were shipped to Dalmatia in 1559. By 1558 Vittoria's reputation as a proficient sculptor of large-scale figures had been firmly established, and their carving would account for the lack of other documented activities in 1558. Such a dating is also borne out by the appearance of the Apostles, who are comparatively stocky and possess strongly characterised heads. The heavy drapery is disposed in such a way that it appears "wet" and adheres closely to the body, revealing the contours. This schematic rendering of drapery particularly recalls figures such as the Contarini Thetis and Fame of 1557 and 1558 respectively.

In contrast to these Apostles for the Orsini Chapel where documentation is scant, there is a great deal of documentary evidence regarding Vittoria's statues for both the Grimani and Montefeltro chapels, although it has only relatively recently been analysed. Traditionally the sculptures of the Montefeltro altar were seen as predating those of Grimani's, but from the research undertaken by Leithe-Jasper on the former,38 and by Martin on the latter,39 it can now be shown that the reverse is true.

Although Vittoria's account-book contains no entries pertaining to the Grimani commission, Marc'Antonio Grimani's will of 21 September 1558, and two codicils dated 7 March 1564 and 2 February 1566 contain much information about the chapel's decoration
These documents were first published by Cicogna, who claimed that the three sculptures by Vittoria - the statues of Grimani's name-saints, Mark (figs. 423, 425) and Anthony Abbot (figs. 424, 426) and his portrait-bust - were made in 1564. This was presumably because they are first mentioned in the 1564 codicil and because there was once a dated inscription in a niche in the East wall which, according to Moschini, read "Marc. Ant. Grim. D. M. procurator MDLXIII". This date of 1564 was accepted by all later critics as the year of execution, until Leithe-Jasper broadened the date bracket to between 1558-64, taking account of a passage in Grimani's first will, in which he orders his epitaph to be composed and made, and the recently built niches to be filled with statues of his patron-saints. Leithe-Jasper observed that the figures had probably not yet been contracted, since Vittoria was not specifically mentioned as their sculptor.

However, as Martin elucidated, the first codicil of March 1564 was actually written in five datable sections, which means that Vittoria's statues can be placed even more precisely within Leithe-Jasper's date-bracket. The first reference to them occurs in a part written in 1561: "... la antedita mia Capella la qual uolgio sia in sua proteccion et gouerno et Mantenimento Con tute sue et mie figure indita poste ..." (emphasis added). Therefore 1559 provides a terminus post quem for the manufacture of the statues, while 1561 a terminus ante quem.

The 1559-61 date-bracket thereby established by Martin may, perhaps, be narrowed further if one considers how busy Vittoria was during the first half of this period, executing the stuccoes of the Scala d'Oro and the Library staircase: even if he had received the commission shortly after 21 September 1558, he would have been in no position to execute the work immediately. Furthermore, the fact that Grimani - who was so obsessed with the preservation of these figures - did not mention them until that part of the codicil written in
1561 suggests that they cannot have been finished much before then. It is highly probable, therefore, that the figures were carved in late 1560 or early 1561 and installed immediately after completion.

If the saintly figures were carved later, rather than earlier, this might explain why Grimani’s wishes for their appearance and positioning were not entirely heeded, because he had re-thought matters in the intervening period: in his will of September 1558, Grimani specified that the St. Mark should fill the right niche and the St. Anthony Abbot the left, and that both should have their faces turned towards the priest celebrating the Mass on the chapel’s altar. However, it has hitherto passed unnoticed that the statues are placed the other way round - perhaps because with Mark on the left and Anthony on the right, the patron’s Christian name would be more logically spelled out as the eye naturally passes from left to right. (That the eye focused first on the left figure was guaranteed by placing Grimani’s striking portrait on the left wall directly in front of it). Also, while Anthony looks towards the centre, and therefore upon the priest as requested, Mark casts his glance away from the centre, so that rather than looking at the celebrant, he appears to be reading Grimani’s epitaph. Had these sculptures been commissioned and carved immediately after 1558, they would surely have adhered more closely to Grimani’s wishes of that date.

This dating of late 1560-early 1561 finds confirmation in the visual evidence. Martin writes that “stylistically, the bust of Grimani is closest to that of Benedetto Manzini, which was finished by 1561. These two portraits could well be more or less contemporaneous”. Moreover, both statuettes appear reliant on certain stuccowork figures executed on the vaults of the Library staircase in the first half of 1560: the composition of St. Mark recalls an unidentified bearded, male figure in a toga accompanied by an eagle (Fig. 398) in one of the cartouches beneath the cupola at the top of the lower flight in the Library; the type of St.
Anthony Abbot with his carefully rendered gnarled hands and enveloped in thick drapery recalls the (seated) figure of Melancholic Temperament on the vault of the lower flight.

The St. Mark has been less well received than the St. Anthony Abbot, called a mediocre workshop product by Venturi,50 and stumpy and bizarre by Cessi,51 but this is unwarranted. Vittoria seems to have been pleased with both figures for he signed both of them in full, around the edge of St. Mark's Gospel-book (fig. 425); and on the collar of St. Anthony's mantle (fig. 426). The St. Mark is as finely carved and composed as its counterpart. Taking Sansovino's St. Mark on the Sacristy door (fig. 43) as his prototype,52 Vittoria enriched it, as pointed out by Leithe-Jasper, giving his figure greater ponderation and a stronger twist.53 This causes the drapery to form rich patterns of V-shape folds with high crests, creating a shimmering, painterly effect across his body. The mannered way in which St. Mark holds his Gospel out from his body, rather than supporting it against his hip as in Sansovino's prototype renders Vittoria's signature on the cover more legible.

The St. Anthony Abbot has traditionally been interpreted as a reworking of the same saint on the Montefeltro altar (figs. 434-35), but the earlier dating of the Grimani chapel demonstrates the reverse.54 What makes the figure striking is the intensely characterised head and the crossed hands, which break through the extremely schematised, heavy mantle. On the left side the fall of the cloak smothers any contours of the body: one would not know that the hermit's right arm was bent across his chest were it not for the appearance of a small portion of this hand, beneath the left, pulling his mantle more tightly round him. The drapery is more mobile on the right side, lifted by his upraised left arm and hand which grasps the tau-shaped handle of his stick and his bell. The deep folds create areas of shadow and highlight, giving the figure its very painterly effect. The saints contrast with each other, appearing as personifications of the active and contemplative life.
It is little wonder that the patron became enamoured of Vittoria’s work. In a passage in the first codicil, dated by Martin to either 1562 or 1563, Grimani ordered that immediately after his death a copy in beautiful marble be made of his portrait with all diligence and care taken to ensure it was sculpted by an expert like Vittoria. His love for these statues manifested itself in increasingly obsessive contracts to safeguard their preservation. In an agreement drawn up with the monks of San Sebastiano on 27 December 1564, which Paolo Veronese witnessed, the figures were panegyrised as “most rare and excellent ... sculpted in very beautiful and exceedingly fine marble” and the portrait as “also of marble of highest perfection and beauty”, which were “all very beautiful and rare things” carved by Vittoria, “scultor eccelente.”

As if the safeguards implemented therein were inadequate, and the monks considered unreliable, Grimani drew up a second codicil on 2 February 1566, in which he transferred responsibility for the upkeep of his chapel to the Procuratori di San Marco de Ultra. Its integral preservation was important, he claimed, having spent much money on its decoration “con sj belle et preciose pierre et figure de beletiss[im]o marmoro che ognuno ne A dir et io lo molto a Core”.

Tied in to the very back of this codicil, is a separate, unnumbered, folio entitled “Codicillo in materia dela mia Capella de san sebastian Come qui sotto A parDiretluo Al[lj C]ariss][mj mei proc[urato]ri de ultra et sucesorj soi inperpetuo”, here published for the first time. This document demonstrates that Marc’ Antonio’s love for his statues was comparable with Vittoria’s for his St. John the Baptist statuette. The entire document deals with the measures to be taken to ensure the chapel remained intact, “and especially the figures of Saints Mark and Anthony together with my effigy [la mia statoa] placed in the wall of my chapel, all of exceedingly beautiful marble and as regards the Art of Sculpture objects that
are truly very rare and of great value”. Grimani urges the “Messers Procurators de Ultra to
desire taking on the care and protection of this chapel of mine which is very close to my heart
together with the figures and most of all my portrait-bust”, adding that should any untoward
circumstance make the removal of the sculpture necessary, they should be “placed in the
Procuratia de Ultra in an honorable location and kept with diligence”. As Leithe-Jasper aptly
concludes: “The patron’s almost loving affection for these figures is thoroughly
understandable for the St. Mark shows in its composition a hitherto rarely achieved peak of
movement and richness of drapery patterns, while the St. Anthony is a statue with a
psychological depth very rarely equalled in Venetian sculpture”.59

Probably as a direct result of the success of the Grimani Chapel figures, Vittoria
gained the commission for three stone figures to decorate the altar of the Montefeltro Chapel
in San Francesco della Vigna (fig. 427).60 Until the seminal archival research of Leithe-
Jasper,61 it was presumed that Vittoria was responsible for the altar’s design as well as its
sculptural component, and that he received and executed the commission in 1563.62 However,
Leithe-Jasper proved that Vittoria was responsible only for the statues, which were the final
component of the chapel to be commissioned by the Procuratori di San Marco de Citra,
executors of the will of the Condottiere Nicolò da Montefeltro who had died in 1397.

The reason for the delay in erecting Montefeltro’s funerary chapel was because he had
specified that it should be placed in San Marco, a church reserved for its titular saint.63
Only in 1552, as Leithe-Jasper’s research revealed, was an agreement formulated with the
friars of San Francesco, whereby the Procurators could take over the second chapel on the
left, on behalf of Montefeltro, dedicate it to St. Anthony Abbot and decorate it in a suitably
lavish manner.64 However, further delays ocurred and it was not until 27 July 1557, that a
stone-carver called Francesco signed a contract with the Procurators binding himself to make
the altar in accordance with a design he had presented within the space of six months.\textsuperscript{65}

On account of the rather old-fashioned design of the altar, Francesco Tagliapietra has been seen as much older than Vittoria, clinging to an outmoded architectural style. However, he may be identical with the stone-carver who prepared the three much more modern consoles for Vittoria’s statues, who, identified simply as "maestro francesco Intagiador" in a payment of 7 July 1564, and then more specifically as "maestro francesco de Bernardin Intagiador" in payments of 14 and 26 August 1564, is none other than Francesco de Bernardin Smeraldi, called Il Fraccà.\textsuperscript{66} Perhaps between 1557, when he designed the altar, and 1564, when he designed the consoles, he had developed a more modern style. Whatever the case, this is the first time that Vittoria came into contact with Francesco de Bernardin Smeraldi, and was no doubt the start of their professional collaboration and friendship.

It is probable that the triptych was not finished by the agreed deadline, for not until mid-November 1561 did Vittoria sign the contract for the three figures.\textsuperscript{67} In return for materials and a payment of 150 ducats, Vittoria agreed to carve a central figure of \textit{St. Anthony Abbot} (figs. 434-35) and for the side niches, figures of \textit{St. Sebastian} (figs. 441-42, 450) and \textit{St. Roch} (figs. 428-30, 432) by the following September. The choice of Vittoria to execute what was tantamount to a state commission, once again emphasises his reputation and, as suggested above, it seems that the \textit{proto} Giangiacomo de' Grigi who countersigned the contract, was influential in obtaining the commission for Vittoria.

While 24 July 1563 is the terminus post quem for the \textit{St. Sebastian},\textsuperscript{68} 3 December 1563 is the terminus ante quem for the \textit{St. Anthony} and \textit{St. Roch}.\textsuperscript{69} Incidentally, there is a slight divergence between Vittoria’s accounts and those of the Procurators as to when the figures were set up on the altar which is not easy to resolve: in December 1563 Vittoria claimed that the \textit{Anthony} and \textit{Roch} "fu posti a’ [an]to Francesco d[e] la uigna", but in the
account-books maintained on behalf of the Procurators there is a payment of 25 August 1564 made to a company of porters "y [per] hauer porta a s[an] franc[esc]o le 3 figure di malmoro". As the accounts of the Procurators are so much more detailed, it is their chronology which is probably the more reliable.

From these accounts, it transpires that not only did new consoles have to be prepared by Francesco de Bernardin Smeraldi (payments between 7 July and 12 September 1564), but adjustments had to be made to the base of St. Sebastian. The figures appear to have been ensconced in their niches by 12 September 1564, for on this day Francesco de Bernardin was paid, among other things, "y [per] pia spese a diversi y [per] meter sop[r]a laltar le dite figure", but one "Piero murer" had to wait until 14 October to be reimbursed for his "spese et fadige fate y [per] haver meso suso le figure sop[r]a laltar". Around 16 December 1564 the altar was consecrated, for on that day the guardian of the church was paid for having prepared the altar so that the saying of Mass could begin.

It would therefore appear from the two entries in Vittoria's account-book, that the St. Roch and St. Anthony Abbot were carved first, perhaps during 1563, while the St. Sebastian may have been carved during the first part of 1564. The payments to Vittoria for his work by the proto Giangiacomo are preserved in three separate account-books, from which it emerges that between 7 February 1562 and 10 October 1564, Vittoria received a total of 169 ducats, 8 soldi and 18 denari (ie nearly 20 ducats more than the originally stipulated 150 ducats, which implies that, despite their late completion, the Procurators were happy with the result). While difficult to interpret the payments precisely, the contract stipulated that Vittoria would be paid "per giornata secondo operrera", and so the 90 ducats received in two separate payments in 1563 were probably for the first two figures, while the 45 ducats received in 1564 - before the figures were erected and Vittoria received his final settlement -
might well be for the *St. Sebastian*, which would confirm my suggested dating for their execution.

Since the contract makes no reference to a drawing or any models either by Vittoria or by Giangiacomo, the design of the figures probably post-dates the commission. That Vittoria followed standard practice and produced various models for each of the figures, would seem confirmed by Palma Giovane’s so-called *Portrait of a Collector* in Birmingham (fig. 453). In my opinion, this painting depicts Vittoria in his studio,74 surrounded by various gesso-casts mostly from Antique sculpture, and directly behind him is what I believe to be a gesso model for the *St. Sebastian* (fig. 451). Although this figure wears no loin-cloth, there are many points of similarity between it and the Montefeltro figure, above all in the way in which the rather amorphous, block-like tree-trunk is conjoined to the martyr’s left leg, from buttock to heel. It certainly cannot be the gesso model for Vittoria’s bronze statuette of *St. Sebastian / Marsyas* (fig. 452) (in the Metropolitan Museum, New York), as claimed by Mason Rinaldi on account of their supposed perfect correspondence,75 for the model in the painting is too large for this - the statuette is only 54 cm. high - and the tree-stump has nothing to do with that of the bronze statuette.76

The prototype for Vittoria’s *St. Roch* was Sansovino’s small figure of *St. John the Evangelist* on the Sacristy Door (fig. 43), whose *St. Mark* had served as the prototype for Vittoria’s *St. Mark* in the Grimani chapel. As Leithe-Jasper remarked,77 the similarities extend to details such as the handling of drapery, where certain areas are pressed so flatly against the body that they appear wet, while other areas fall into long tubular folds. The twist of the head and its type is also close to Sansovino’s, although the open mouth, the deep eye-sockets and the heavy eyebrow ridges are more tragic and pathos-filled and influenced by the famous suffering expression of *Laocoon* (fig. 431), and the gesture of the hand splayed across
the breast is reminiscent of that adopted by Parmigianino’s *St. Roch* in the altar-piece of the Cappella Gamba (San Petronio, Bologna) (fig. 433).

The *St. Anthony Abbot* by contrast is immutable and presents the resolute character of a saint able to resist terrible temptation. There is no violent torsion of movement, or theatrical gesture to evoke sympathy, and the head is held upright, impassive and totally emotionless, with the mouth totally covered by a long "Moses-beard" (fig. 436). The hermit stares inscrutably at the onlooker, internalising his feelings. While both his companions have idealised heads derived from masterpieces of Hellenistic statuary, *Anthony’s* features appear to be derived from some octagenarian acquaintance of Vittoria, who had previously been used as the model for the figure of *Chronos*, modelled on the vault of the lower flight of the Scala d’Oro (fig. 437). This realism is extended to the hermit’s gnarled fingers grasped around his long stick or extended to gather in some tubular folds of his long mantle. *St. Anthony* recalls the same saint on the Grimani altar in the contrast between the schematised draperies and the hyper-realism of his body (figs. 424-426). While Planiscig drew attention to the Sansovinesque qualities of the figure, Leithe-Jasper correctly noted a debt to Michelangelo, and especially his *Moses*.

The most interesting of the three figures is the *St. Sebastian* (figs. 441-42, 450), perhaps because Vittoria seems to have drawn on a number of sources for its composition. The most frequently cited prototype is Michelangelo’s "Dying Slave" (fig. 448), made like the *Moses* for the abortive Julius II Tomb complex, although Vittoria’s figure is more contorted, with his head twisted sharply to the left rather than sinking down into his collar bone, and his right shoulder is pulled back and down by his hand tied to the tree-stump, while his left one is pulled forward and up by the raised arm, and taken behind his head. A more similar torsion was pointed out by Leithe-Jasper, in another work by Michelangelo: the
Ignudo who faces God in the scene of God dividing the darkness from the light on the Sistine Chapel ceiling.

Late Hellenistic sculpture was also influential. As mentioned above, Vittoria would have been fully aware of the Laocoön group (fig. 431) through Sansovino and the remarkable similarity of Parmigianino’s drawing of the head and right shoulder of the oldest son to Vittoria’s Sebastian, pointed out by Leithe-Jasper, leads one to suppose that this sketch may have been included in the sketch-book of the Emilian’s drawings purchased by Vittoria in 1559. However, to my mind the pathos-filled face derives ultimately from the head of the Dying Alexander (fig. 446), seemingly in the Roman collection of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi by 1550, while a figure such as the Apollo once in the Grimani collection also seems to have played its part (fig. 447).

According to Leithe-Jasper, Carpaccio’s understudied painting of The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians in the Accademia provides the true prototype for Vittoria’s St. Sebastian in the first martyr to the left on the tree in the foreground (fig. 443). Certainly, the subject was wholly appropriate, and the composition of the individual figures was surprisingly modern for its day, and seems to have provided Vittoria with imaginative poses, as well as other sculptors like Bartolomeo Bergamasco, whose St. Sebastian on the High-Altar of San Rocco strikes a similarly pathos-filled pose.

However, there are two drawings by Parmigianino, which I believe to have exerted a critical influence on Vittoria, which have not previously been brought into connection with the Montefeltro St. Sebastian, and which very probably formed part of that sketchbook purchased in February 1559. The first is a study for an altarpiece in which Sts. Roch (left) and Sebastian (right) are shown standing either side of the Virgin and Child seated on a bank of clouds (fig. 444). Vittoria, quite understandably considering the identical choice of lateral
saints, seems to have taken this sketch as a starting-point for the interaction between his 

Roeh and Sebastion. However, while Parmigianino's saints step towards each other in three-quarters profile, and swing their hips towards each other but bend their upper bodies away from each other, Vittoria, in effect, swaps the figures round, so that while they bend away from the centre, their upper bodies lean towards the centre, and their heads are twisted sharply over their shoulder so they can glance towards St. Anthony Abbot. Their movement is emphasised through contrast with the columnar central figure, the clean vertical lines of the niches, and the intersecting columns. Interestingly, in the Parmigianino drawing the position of Sebastian's bent left arm has not been resolved.

Perhaps of even greater significance for the composition of Vittoria's St. Sebastian is a Study of a Standing Male Figure (fig. 445) given to Parmigianino in a Sotheby's sale catalogue, an attribution confirmed by David Ekserdjian. Its correspondence with Vittoria's St. Sebastian is so exact that one can only conclude that this was among the drawings in Parmigianino's sketch book. Vittoria followed the pentimento of the head, and the twist of the upper torso, as well as the vigorous torsion of the raised right arm. The major difference is the inclusion of the tree trunk, perhaps suggested by the area of shadow behind Parmigianino's figure, and the addition of a loin-cloth.

Certainly, the composition of the St. Sebastian fascinated Vittoria, for he subsequently revised it in two variant bronze-statuettes (figs. 452, 470-72; 476-77, 479-60), and used it as the basis for a pair of large Telamones for the palace of Andrea Gritti (now in Ca' Rezzonico) (figs. 459-60), and a life-size marble statue of the same saint on the altar of the Arte de' Luganegheri in San Salvatore (figs. 714-16). However, the most immediate offspring appears to be a pair of small Caryatids which Vittoria sculpted for his own funerary monument (figs. 463, 755-56), and which must have been carved by October 1566, since they
are mentioned in his second will of this date. A terracotta *bozzetto* (figs. 461-62), formerly given to Ammannati, but recognised as that for the right-hand *Caryatid* by Leithe-Jasper, survives in the Museo Liviano in Padua. The similarities of her composition and facial type with those of the Montefeltro *St. Sebastian*, suggest that she was conceived virtually simultaneously, c. 1564. This date is reinforced by the fact that, in the sinuous curve of the arm held away from the side of the body which is turned sharply inwards by the bent wrist, and the feet placed close together and flat-footedly on a smooth, circular base, the *bozzetto* recalls various bronze statuettes that Vittoria made c. 1562. Moreover, the attenuated proportions and tiny head of the *bozzetto* are similar to the Grimani *Victories* of c. 1563, as is the disposition of her drapery.

The carved *Caryatids*, which are somewhat less attenuated than the *bozzetto* and which now have square base-plates, were probably carved shortly afterwards, c. 1565. As Leithe-Jasper commented, they stand at the beginning of a line of similar figures which, however, do not achieve the same elegance of movement or refinement of execution. Indeed, they were plagiarised by the little-known sculptor, Francesco Casella, for the *Caryatids* adorning the monument to Girolamo Grimani in San Giuseppe di Castello (figs. 465-66), so that until the recent documentary discoveries of Martin, this monument was given to Vittoria. Vittoria was certainly pleased with his creations, for he appears to have donated the surviving *bozzetto* to his Paduan patron Marco Mantova Benavides, and he kept the pair of carved *Caryatids* in his house, flanking the (front?) door, to ensure their safekeeping before they were placed on his monument, as his fourth will of 1576 reveals.

By far the most prestigious commission that Vittoria received from a Venetian patrician in the early 1560s was that from Girolamo Zane for the altar in his chapel in the Frari (figs. 482). Although it was traditionally thought that Vasari's account of this altar
provided a secure terminus ante quem of 1568 for the completion of the complex.\textsuperscript{91} Leith-Jasper’s discovery of Girolamo Zane’s will of 10 February 1570 proved otherwise.\textsuperscript{92} Zane bitterly inveighed against Vittoria’s dilatoriness, complaining that the sculptor, having received a beautiful block of marble (which cost 44 ducats) from which to carve the central, free-standing figure of \textit{St. Jerome} (Figs. 489-95, 497) some three or four years earlier, had done next to no carving in the intervening period, even after Zane had paid for the cost of transporting the block to Vittoria’s new house. Zane therefore had withheld payment of the agreed one hundred ducats. Considering Vittoria’s known dilatoriness in executing commissions - witness the second \textit{Feminone} or the \textit{Slave-Telamones} for the Contarini Tomb - Leith-Jasper’s hypothesis that the half-finished \textit{Jerome} mentioned in Vittoria’s fourth will of July 1576, referred not to that for the Scuola di San Fantin as traditionally thought, but rather to that commissioned by Zane over a decade earlier, seems more than likely.\textsuperscript{93} However, it may be inferred from Zane’s will that the rest of the altar-complex had been finished by the time that the piece of marble was delivered in 1566, since he states that the block was given Vittoria “so that he could make a \textit{St. Jerome} to be placed in the middle of our altar in the place especially reserved”. This means that Vasari could have seen at least the enormous stucco \textit{pala} depicting the \textit{Assumption of the Virgin} with various saints ranged below on his 1566 visit to Venice.

This finds confirmation in a long-forgotten letter from Cosimo Bartoli - the Florentine agent resident in Venice - to Vasari on 23 August 1566.\textsuperscript{94} Bartoli relates how he had bumped into the excited Vittoria that morning, “who insisted on my coming to his house to view some little models that he has made for the large marble \textit{St. Jerome} which will go in the Frari in \textit{that chapel of his which you saw}” (emphasis added), and that the sculptor was exceedingly happy, having received a beautiful marble block from which to carve the figure. This letter
is therefore of great importance: it indicates that the stucco altarpiece was finished; it shows that Vittoria made several models for the *St. Jerome*, which is interesting as so few of Vittoria's preparatory sketches have survived; and it confirms the delivery of the marble-block mentioned in Zane's will. Indeed, if the documentary information published by Sartori is believed, the altar was completed by 20 February 1564, with the friars granting Zane permission to erect his altar as early as 11 December 1562, but as he failed to provide references, this cannot be verified.  

While the free-standing, centrally-placed marble *Jerome*, and the pair of females reclining graciously on the pediment and centrally placed putto (fig. 496) remain *in situ*, only two saints from the stucco altarpiece survive (figs. 483-84, 486, 488), following its replacement with an unexceptional painting by Giuseppe Nogari in 1753. Leithe-Jasper's discovery of the request by the Franciscan monks to the then-owner of the altar, one Girolamo Ascanio Giustinian, for permission to do this, clarifies many of the discrepancies between the descriptions of earlier critics. From this document, it is clear that the main altarpiece was of stucco - indeed, as Planiscig remarked, a marble altarpiece would scarcely have been replaced by a painting - and probably included four saints beneath the *Assunta*. The outermost pair were probably in the highest relief and were those subsequently removed to the custom-built niches at the sides of the altar, the inner pair, presumably in lower relief and standing behind the marble *St. Jerome* placed on a pedestal in the centre of the altar.  

The original arrangement of the saints ranged in the lower order may be reflected in a little ebony St. Augustine Altar in the Viennese Treasuries (fig. 481). Made in Augsburg in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the composition is said to derive from a composition by Guglielmo della Porta. However, the fact that the central figure (*St. Augustine*) is modelled fully in the round and stands on a projecting pedestal in front of four
high-relief figures of saints suggests a knowledge of the Zane altar-piece. This appears confirmed because the composition of the outermost saints is remarkably similar - St. Peter (far left) is particularly close to the same saint on the Zane altar; and St. Jerome (far right) adopts the physiognomy and pose of the Zane St. Andrew, except that his left arm now grips part of his toga-like garment at the shoulder, and all of the figures display the same attenuated proportions. One wonders, therefore, whether the inner pair of saints might not reflect the appearance of their destroyed counterparts on the Zane altar - certainly it is tempting to conjecture that the Viennese St. John the Baptist reflects the same figure on the Zane altar, while the St. Cyriacus with cope and devil by his feet may be derived from the lost St. Leonard, who was traditionally shown wearing a deacon's dalmatic and often with freed captives kneeling at his feet.

The upper half of the altar-piece - the Virgin Assunta - would almost certainly have referred to Titian's famous Assumption on the High Altar of the Frari. However, the clearest idea of its appearance is probably Vittoria's own subsequent rendition of the subject - that long-neglected marble relief (figs. 670-72), carved c. 1583 as the pala of the altar dedicated jointly to the Virgin and St. Jerome in the Scuola di San Fantin: since this altar also had a free-standing (though kneeling) statue of St. Jerome placed in front of it (figs. 674-76), it is likely that this Scuola took the Zane altar as their starting-point.99 The fact that the San Fantin Assumption is reliant on painted prototypes, such as Tintoretto's Assumption formerly on the High Altar of the Crociferi (fig. 673), strengthens the hypothesis that the Zane Assumption was indebted to Titian's altar-piece. In its magnificence, the Zane altar-piece would have recalled Tribolo's similarly sized, high-relief panel of the Assumption in San Petronio, Bologna,100 or that large tableau of the Assumption in the parish church of Condino, near Trent, carved by Maffeo and Andrea Olivieri between 1538 and 1546,101 both of which
Vittoria may have known.

As observed by Leithe-Jasper, the surviving stucco saints adapt remarkably well to their new setting. There is apparently little damage and modification to the original disposition of drapery and limbs, with just the folds along St. Peter's right arm probably being restored, since they are less convincing than elsewhere; his right hand is unfortunately broken off at the wrist. Leithe-Jasper calls these two saints Vittoria's masterpieces of the period between 1560 and 1575, as they are the culmination of his efforts in synthesising increased movement with distilled emotion, paving the way for subsequent works.

Both figures are extremely attenuated, their verticality stressed by the long, tubular folds of drapery which fall vertically down the middle of their bodies, plus the "wet" drapery which clings to the contours of their legs. The contrast between smooth and deeply furrowed areas creates a painterly effect, and the depiction of the drapery in these figures has been praised from Vasari onwards. Although the heads are small, this is not immediately apparent because of their forceful characterisation and the carefully rendered locks of the hair and beards, which ultimately seem to recall those terracotta heads modelled by Zaccaria Zacchi in the Palazzo del Buonconsiglio in Trent (figs. 485, 487). Furthermore, the vigorous twisting of the head and the thrust of the arm across the body in the case of St. Andrew are devices also found in Zacchi's Trent terracottas.

Also in situ are the two female figures reclining along the gables of the pediment, who support tablets bearing Vittoria's signature, and the little centrally-placed putto (fig. 496). While they derive ultimately from Michelangelo's Times of Day in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Florence, they find geographically closer prototypes in contemporary Venetian paintings, such as those by Veronese which decorate the doorways in Villa Barbaro, Maser.

The marble St. Jerome connects strongly to the four stucco Evangelists of San Giorgio
Maggiore, modelled in 1574 (figs. 561-64). Thus, although Vittoria had prepared models for the Jerome as early as 1566, the figure was probably modified when he came to carve the saint after February 1570. Temanza was certainly right in linking the athletic greybeard to the work of Michelangelo, and, as elaborated by Leithe-Jasper, it was less the figure of Moses than the colossal figures of Christ in the Last Judgement and Adam which dominate the Sistine Chapel with their physical presence that seem to have provided Vittoria with his inspiration.

Part of the directness of impression of the figure was achieved by the angle at which he used to be positioned: as Leithe-Jasper pointed out there was a wedge-shaped foundation under the back of the socle (now removed) which tilted the statue forwards and thereby increased the momentum of his step (fig. 495). Despite Leithe-Jasper’s reluctance to affirm the originality of the wedge, as the base of the Montefeltro St. Sebastian was altered and is also wedged at the back, it seems highly probable that both reflect Vittoria’s intervention, and so its recent removal is regrettable.

The popularity of the St. Jerome is attested by its adoption by other artists: the little known Giuseppe Scolari reproduced the noble ascetic in a woodcut generally dated towards the end of the sixteenth century (fig. 498); while the design later even reached England, witness a painting of St. Jerome in the chapel at Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire, by Sir James Thornhill, completed in 1724 (fig. 499). Vasari praised the Zane altar-piece as the best work that Vittoria had produced to date, and it certainly reinforced his talents and helped ensure that by the end of the 1560s, he was considered to be the pre-eminent sculptor of Venice.

2. For Tintoretto’s altar-piece, see Sponza (1994).


4. Jacob (1975), 25-26, No. 44; see here Cat. No. 32.


6. Martin (1988), 55. Vittoria made a stucco bust of Bembo, apparently as a companion to that of his friend Girolamo Forni which we have argued above dates to 1552 (see Chapter Four, 15-16: Doc. No. 240). Although this stucco bust of Bembo is now lost, we may conjecture that like the Forni bust, it was classicising and was probably indebted therefore to Cattaneo’s illustrious precedent.

7. For further discussion of this, see Cat. No. 32.

8. Doc. No. 38; Rosetti (1776), 73-74 and (1780), 77; Temanza (1778), 185-87; Milizia (1785), 181; Albertolli (1815), 9; Venturi (1937), 86; Cessi (1961-1), 22; Leithe-Jasper (1963), 66.


10. Moschini (1817), 39.

11. Selvatico (1842), 188-89 and (1869), 79-80.


13. Doc. No. 39. Calore (1988), 73 is therefore incorrect when he claims “Rimangono sconosciuti gli autori delle rimanenti statue e di tutti i rilievi”, which includes the figure of Fame: he only gives the two Slaves and the Thetis to Vittoria because they bear his signature. Incidentally, while Vasari does attribute Vittoria with all four figures in his life of the sculptor (Doc. No. 105), he fails to attribute the Fame to Vittoria in his discussion of the monument in his life of Sanmicheli.

4. Opinion has been divided over whether Vittoria carved some of the other four Slaves, as none of these bear any signature. Venturi (1937), 65 attributes all six Slaves to Vittoria’s hand; Cessi (1961-1), 22 gives all three Slaves on the left to Vittoria, as proven by his Tav. 9, which is a shot taken three-quarters from the left.


7. ibid., 68.

8. ibid., 67.

9. Although Vittoria may well have started collecting a few engravings after Parmigianino’s work, Leithe-Jasper (1963, 69-70) is incorrect when he claims that the Thetis’ resemblance to works by Parmigianino is not accidental as by this time he had obtained a sketch book and a painting by Parmigianino, for Vittoria did not make this purchase until certainly 12 February 1558, and probably 2 February 1559. See Chapter Five, n. 70.
20. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 70.
21. See Chapter Seven, 171-75.
23. The construction of this tomb has been thoroughly investigated by Boucher (1991, 118-123); see here, Cat. No. 36.
25. See Chapter Four, 106.
27. Doc. No. 46.
29. See Doc. No. 49, under 30 October and 9 December 1557.
30. See Doc. No. 49, under 22 January 1558.
31. Doc. No. 48. The rather long time that it took to carve the lunette was probably because Vittoria was working simultaneously on the Slavetelemones for the Contarini Monument: Vittoria paid Francesco da Salò on 23 November 1557 for working on the "fascela" of the Slaves (Doc. No. 40); and once Tommaso da Zara had finished cleaning the Virgin in the lunette (22 January 1558), he was put to work on the Slaves, receiving payments for them on 1, 5, and 17 February 1558.
32. Although hitherto unremarked, the way in which Vittoria swapped commissions with his assistant Antonio di Piccio is revealing: although Antonio had done five days' work on the Fame by 18 March, he following week he was set to work on the Doge instead, for by 26 March he had already worked on the effigy for five days; while Vittoria who had by then prepared the model of the Doge, concentrated on the Fame (after the initial payment to Antonio, no further payments are recorded to assistants, which implies that the Fame is fully autograph).
33. Planiscig (1921), 125; Leithe-Jasper (1963) 78.
36. For these silver figures, see Chapter Eight, 124-25 and Cat. No. 140.
37. Fiskovic (1940), 61-62.
38. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 112-118.
42. Moschini (1815), Vol. 3, 315. His guide-book appears to be the only record of this now-lost inscription, which seems to have gone unremarked by subsequent authors. He is also the only author, except Temanza, (1778, 487) to mention two putti at either side of Grimani's bust. As these putti are no longer extant, it is impossible to judge whether they were by Vittoria or not, but as they are not mentioned in any of the documentation concerning the carving or subsequent protection of the other three sculptures, it appears that they were later (? Baroque) additions. It would appear that the niche and its inscription were added in 1564, after the sculptures had been put in place. That inscriptions were added later is proven by the fact that the socle of the bust is inscribed MARC.ANT.GRIM.D.M.PROCURATOR BENEMERITUS, and, as noted by Martin (1988, 166-67) "Grimani was [only] elected a procurator in 1565, at least two or three years after the bust was made and put in place. . ."

43. Giovannelli-Gar (1858), 32; Serra (1923), 48-49; Cessi (1961-II), 29; Pope-Hennessey (1964), Vol. II, 529. Venturi, (1937, 104) does not supply a specific date but says that the when carving the St. Anthony Abbot, Vittoria "ricordò l'immagine scolpita anni addietro per San Francesco delle Vigne".

44. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 123.

45. ibid., 123.

46. Martin (1988), 164, n. 1: "... The first codicil was in fact written over a period of five years and only given to the notary on 24 March 1564. The whole testament can be plotted out as follows:

Will: ff. 18r-40r: 21 September 1558

First Codicil: ff. 40r-42r: 10 October 1559

ff. 42r-42r: 3 February 1560 (1559 m.v.)

ff. 42v-45r: sometime in 1561

ff. 42v-53r: 8 March 1562

f. 53r: 7 March 1564

Second Codicil: ff. 53v-61r: 2 February 1566 (1565 m.v.). . .".

17. ibid., 165, n. 3 writes: "The dating of this passage [which he quoted from the original in ASV, Zilliol, b. 1264, fasc. 1, f. 44r] can be determined as follows. On f.45r, Grimani writes, 'Item in el nome de dio benedetto millecinquecentosessanta ad 8 de mese de marzo azonzo a questo mio codicillo'. On f. 42v he writes, 'Atrovandomi fino l'anno passato 1560'. Since the passage of f. 44r comes after the reference to 1561 and before the reference to 1562, it must be from 1561."

18. Doc. No. 66.


0. Venturi (1937), 104: "un mediocre San Marco, certo eseguito da aiuti".

1. Cessi (1961-II), 29: "preferiamo assegnare alla bottega la responsabilità della tozza e arzigogolata figura di San Marco".

2. Planiscig (1921), 462; Serra (1923), 11, n. 49.


5. Doc. No. 67(ii); Martin (1988), 166, n. 5.
56. Doc. No. 68.

57. Doc. No. 69.

58. Doc. No. 69.


60. Cat. No. 53.


62. Venturi (1937), 90-96; Cessi (1961-1), 35 followed Serra’s dating of the construction of the architectural frame to 1561 but still assigned it to Vittoria.

63. Doc. No. 76.

64. Doc. No. 77.

65. Doc. No. 79.

66. Doc. No. 85. In both his fourth and fifth wills, Vittoria instructed that it be Francesco who finished constructing his tomb (Doc. Nos. 128 and 179). Although their collaboration extends beyond the chronological parameters of this thesis, it is worth summarising those projects on which they worked jointly:

1579: Smeraldi prepared the design for the altar of the Scuola del Merciai, for which Vittoria supplied the sculptural components (Mason Rinaldi, 1975, 197-204; see here, Cat. No. 80)

1582/83: Smeraldi did minor works on the altar of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento, for which Vittoria and his school made some terracotta figures, and prepared the ceiling (Mason Rinaldi, 1975-76, 439; see here, Cat. No. 100)

1587/88: Smeraldi is proto for the Cappella del Rosario, where Vittoria was responsible for the some of the statuary (see Cat. Nos. 82, 155)

Until my documentary discoveries, it used to be thought that he was also the proto for the Tiepolo family chapel dedicated to San Saba, in the church of Sant’Antonin, but the proto was in fact Francesco di Fermo, at that time also Proto della Procuratia de Citra; see Cat. No. 108.


9. Doc. No. 82.


1. See Doc. No. 85 under 5 September 1564 for payment to a sawyer “y [per] hauer segado il zocho i piera viva di s[an] sebastian”.

2. Doc. No. 85.

74. Although this portrait is thought by Mason Rinaldi (London, 1983, 193, Cat. 70) to be of a
collector, Bartolomeo della Nave (?), I agree with Volpe’s suggestion (1962) that the sitter is Vittoria.
To my mind, his physiognomical features are extremely similar to those known to be Vittoria’s, from
his portrait-bust in San Zaccaria (figs. 755-56, 758) and the portrait of him by Veronese in New York
(fig. 454). Not only does the sitter appear in working clothes, but the dingy interior is far more
evocative of a sculptor’s workshop than the more luminous study of a collector. This identification
also contradicts Charles Davis’ suggestion (1984) that the painting is a self-portrait of Palma il
Giovane.

75. Mason Rinaldi (1984), 76, Cat. No. 30: “Tale modello ... è perfettamente coincidente con il
bronzetto del San Sebastiano nudo e appoggiato a un tronco eseguito da Alessandro Vittoria e ora
conservato al Metropolitan Museum di New York”.

76. Compare figs. 450, 451 and 452.


78. Ibid., 117.

79. Haskell and Penny (1982), 134. This head was described in Ulisse Aldrovandi’s text “Delle
Statue Antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, & case si veggono”, in Lucio Mauro’s Le
Antichità della Città di Roma, published in Venice in 1556 (115-316), which was based on notes made
in 1550. Another edition was published in 1558, with a fourth appearing in 1562, and given the place
of publication, it seems reasonable to suppose that Vittoria would have had access to a copy, and
therefore to the description of the Alexander. Considering how similar the two heads are, Vittoria
must also have known its visual appearance through a print or a sketch by one of his Roman
acquaintances, such as Franco, or by someone like Veronese who went to Rome.


81. I am extremely grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Paul Joannides, for bringing this drawing to my
attention. In David Ekserdjian’s opinion the drawing dates from Parmigianino’s Rome-Bologna years
(1524-30), advising “the facial type, the penwork, the use of wash, the pentimento all look entirely
characteristic of him”, and compares it to Popham No. 217 (private correspondence, 30. IV. 96).

82. See Chapter Eight, 216-20 and Cat. Nos. 57 and 58.

83. See Chapter Seven, 201 ; and Cat. No. 56.

84. Cat. No. 81.

85. Doc. No. 88.

86. Doc. No. 55.

87. See Chapter Eight, 211-16.

88. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 121.

89. Cat. No. 181.

90. Doc. No. 128.
91. Doc. No. 105.


93. Doc. No. 128.


95. Leithe-Jasper (1963, 158, n. 69) was the first to point this out.


97. Planiscig (1921), 464.


99. See Cat. No. 79.


101. For description of this altarpiece, see Trent (1993), 307-09, No. 50.


103. Cat. No. 65.

104. Temanza (1827), 26.
CHAPTER SEVEN:  
VITTORIA'S DECORATIVE WORK IN STUCCO AND STONE  
(c. 1556 - c. 1570)

In the half-decade between 1556 and 1561, Vittoria executed a number of large-scale commissions for decorative stuccowork to embellish interiors of buildings by Palladio and Sansovino. This helped to establish Vittoria's reputation as a fine stuccoist, and from the 1560s onwards, he received an increasing number of commissions direct from Venetian patricians for decorative stuccowork (and stonework) for their palaces. While Palladio had a host of painters he could call upon to execute frescoes (among others, Bernardino India, Anselmo Canera, Battista dal Moro, Veronese and Giambattista Zelotti), he relied almost exclusively on Bartolomeo Ridolfi to execute the stuccowork. The dearth of talented stuccoists, and the resulting abundance of work for Ridolfi, did not go unnoticed by Vittoria, who knew that stucco was a medium in which he excelled, and rivalled Ridolfi, as proved by their collaboration in Palazzo Thiene.¹

Indeed, it was probably on the merit of the Thiene stuccowork that Palladio was keen to have Vittoria model four over life-size stucco figures representing Allegories of the Seasons for the atrium of the villa in Montagnana, which he had just completed for his beloved patron, Francesco Pisani (figs. 306, 309, 313, 315).² In the absence of any records in Vittoria's account-book, there has been divergence of opinion over the dating of these lively figures, ranging from 1553 to 1577.³ Zorzi concluded that construction of the villa in Montagnana was completed by 1555, as it was here that Veronese signed a contract to paint an altar-piece for the duomo on 3 June 1555.⁴ However, Leithe-Jasper drew attention to
Palladio's autograph marginal comment in the fragmentary first draft of his *Quattro Libri*, (written between 1561-66), noting that Pisani's death in 1567 prevented him from completing the villa's construction: "el quale impedito dalla morte non li posse dar compimento".\(^\text{3}\) As the *Seasons* were mentioned in this draft, 1566 provides a terminus ante quem, but as progress was so slow that only the main building was finished by Pisani's death, Leithe-Jasper argued that Zorzi's hypothesis that the *Seasons* were made by 1555 was untenable.

Leithe-Jasper then proposed that the note made by Vittoria on 14 January 1560 recording his purchase of Parmigianino's *Self-Portrait* from Palladio, might have some bearing on the date of the *Seasons*' manufacture.\(^\text{6}\) From the names of those who acted as witnesses to the transaction - Francesco Pisani himself; his servant Bernardo; Antonio, parish priest of Montagnana; and Paulo "marangon" (carpenter) from Vicenza - Leithe-Jasper argued that the transaction took place in Montagnana, rather than in Palazzo Pisani in Venice as Zorzi believed,\(^\text{7}\) and argued that the reason Vittoria was staying there was because he was in the process of executing the stuccoes in the atrium.

However, it is clear that this gathering took place a year later than Leithe-Jasper thought: although the date transcribed in Vittoria's "ricordo" is 14 January 1560, he generally subscribed to the Venetian (*more veneto*) calendar, in which the new year did not start until March, and so dates recorded in January and February are dated under the previous year. As the preceding two entries on that page of his account-book are dated "21 Marzo 1560" and "9 Aprile 1560" it is certain that Vittoria did use the *more veneto* dating system when he recorded the purchase of Parmigianino's painting - as the entries on individual pages are always in chronological order - so the gathering at Pisani's villa did not take place until January 1561.

The corrected date calls into question Leithe-Jasper's proposal that this transaction may
be used to date Vittoria's stucco figures, because it would mean that Vittoria started work on the *Seasons* in the latter part of 1560 if he was still resident in the Villa in January 1561. They would therefore post-date both the stuccoes of the *Scala d'Oro* in the Doge's Palace (c. early summer 1558 - before mid-August 1559) and those of the Marciana Library staircase which were finished by the end of June 1560. This however would be anachronistic, as the *Seasons* are linked stylistically to the earlier Contarini Tomb figures (figs. 292-93, 295-96), and because a couple of the figures on the Nymphaeum at Villa Barbaro, seemingly completed by 1558, clearly derive from the Pisani *Seasons*.\(^8\) The 1561 dinner-party should therefore be excluded from the question of dating.

Circumstantial and stylistic evidence point to the stucco figures being executed around 1556. Certainly, after late February (when Vittoria had finished the wax model for the seated portrait-statue of Rangone) and November (when he began the first *Angel* for Sanmicheli's bell-tower), the only commission on which Vittoria is documented to have been working (apparently rather sporadically) is that for the Contarini *Slave-Telamones*, and so it is perfectly conceivable that this is when the Pisani "*Seasons*" were executed. Such a date would also accord with the fact that on 31 October 1556, Francesco Pisani wrote a codicil to his will of 1550 specifying that his wife was to have "the usufruct and enjoyment of the palace and everything belonging to it located outside Montagnana. . . ",\(^9\) which certainly implies that the palace - including the stuccowork - was finished. That Palladio's preferred stuccoist, Ridolfi, was almost certainly occupied during this time on three vaults in Palazzo Chiericati, Vicenza, may provide additional support for this new dating.\(^10\)

The stockiest of the figures is a matronly *Juno* (?) as *Summer* (fig. 309), who recalls the second *Feminone* (figs. 252-55) in morphology and ponderation, although she is much less bulky. The S-shaped curve which runs through the body, the position of the limbs on the left
side, and the twist of the head over the left shoulder are virtually identical. There are also obvious similarities in the disposition of the drapery such as the way in which it fans out behind "Summer" from her knees downwards to the back edges of the base. This recalls a similar arrangement in the Feminone, where it helped the ankles support the figure's weight. This was not necessary in a stucco figure, built up on a wood and wire armature, but it was used by Vittoria in all four Seasons (either in the form of a piece of drapery, or a tree-trunk), perhaps to create the illusion that the figures were carved from expensive marble.

In comparison, Venus as Spring is portrayed as a slender young maiden (fig. 306). The position of her arms - her right arm is bent sharply upwards so that her hand rests on her bosom, whilst her left hangs down and clutches a large handful of flowers by the top of her legs - is loosely based on the antique type of Venus Pudica. In her elegant proportions she recalls Sansovino's bronze statues of Peace (fig. 510) and Pallas (fig. 509) on the Loggetta, and her alert, yet gentle pose seems to be a melding of the two. Her attire finds its prototype in the costume worn by Peace: a short dress which adheres smoothly to the body until the waist, where it falls into a multitude of parallel folds and pleats. Below the skirt hang long diaphanous drapes, which extend to the ground, forming rivulet-like folds across the knees. The main difference, is that the left leg of "Spring" now breaks through a split in the skirt; an arrangement that Vittoria was to re-adopt in his Contarini Fame (1558), who shares the same proportions and ponderation. Although this motif is found in the work of other sculptors - such as Ammannati, who may well have introduced it into the Veneto, (witness his Fame (fig. 122) on Benavides' Tomb in the Eremitani church, Padua) or Sansovino, who prepared the models for the caryatid-fireplace of the Stanza dei Tre Capi (fig. 49) - Vittoria was quite distinct in making the slit longer, thereby revealing most of an elongated and 'well-turned' upper thigh. Also typical of Vittoria is the central divide of the garment over the
front of the thigh, with its point emphasised by the use of a raised button, a motif derived from Ammannati. As Leith-Jasper pointed out, pictorial influences were at work on Vittoria, not only Parmigianino, but also Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, whose figures they recall in their type and in the ironed-out treatment of drapery. This figure served as the prototype for the figure of Providential Fortune (fig. 308) inside the Nymphaeum of Villa Barbaro at Maser, seemingly executed by Marcantonio Barbaro, on designs furnished by Vittoria.

Saturn as Winter (fig. 315) is an athletically built greybeard, recalling in his anatomy and facial type the River God to the right of Augustus in the Stanza dei Principi in Palazzo Thiene (fig. 88), while the strange gesture of his right hand derives from the Chronos on the nearby Stanza degli Dei (fig. 206). His prototype (in reverse) is undoubtedly the St. Jerome carved by Danese Cattaneo on the Merceria portal (fig. 314), which is underlined by the fact that its companion - a St. Lawrence by Jacopo Fantoni (fig. 312) - informed the figure of "Autumn". Vittoria copied the basic composition of an old man leaning his muscled body over the top of a chest-height tree-stump on which an elbow rests and the lower arm is raised to the chin. However, Vittoria altered the position of the other arm, sweeping it across the body, which motif appears to derive from the old, bearded man to the left of Sansovino's Miracle of the Maiden Carilla (fig. 52), which was at this time being completed for the Arca del Santo, in the Basilica of St. Anthony in Padua. The ragged hem-line of "Winter's" loin-cloth is similar to the frayed skirt-like garment of the helmeted Slave-Telamon on the Contarini Tomb (fig. 293), carved together with his bald companion, intermittently between late 1555 and early 1558. The fact that all three figures derive ultimately from Cattaneo's St. Jerome, and that "Winter" appears to be a combination of both Slaves - the stance of his lower body is virtually identical that of the bald Slave, while his upper body (except for the
position of his left arm) is extremely close to that of the helmeted Slave - suggests that they were made in the same period of time, which confirms the suggested dating of the Allegories of the Seasons to 1556.

Bacchus as Autumn is presented as a lithe, effeminate youth of slender proportions (fig. 313) - not unlike Fantoni’s St. Lawrence (fig. 312) - supporting bunches of grapes in his hair, with tendrils trained round his waist and a centrally-placed leaf acting as a skimpy loincloth. This is the most lyrical of all the Seasons, and recalls Sansovino’s slim Bacchus in proportions, although the swaying movement is much less pronounced, and the body spirals in on itself rather than opening up like Sansovino’s figure. The most distinctive movement is that of his left arm, raised and bent back over the top of his head, casting half of it into shadow. This languid motif was found in antiquity, but as Leithe-Jasper first pointed out, the “Autumn’s” real prototype is Rosso Fiorentino’s Bacchus engraved by Caraglio in 1526 (fig. 311). Leithe-Jasper explains how Vittoria transformed Rosso’s opposition between the figure and the niche into a decorative unity, where the figure was more bound to its setting. Indeed, all the figures fill their niches to perfection, and rotate within them rather than extending outside their confines. In this way they contrast both with Sansovino’s Loggetta figures which are much smaller in relation to their containing niches; and Ammannati’s figures on the Benavides Tomb, which step out of shallow niches that are too small to contain them. Leithe-Jasper also pointed out how Vittoria took into consideration the room’s lighting: light emanating from the right falls onto the moving parts of the body, while the static elements are veiled in half-shadow. Leithe-Jasper’s convincing assessment of these figures is as Vittoria’s earliest mature works, successfully resolving the corporeality of Michelangelo, with the grace of Parmigianino.

Another villa designed by Palladio which contained stuccowork, but on a much larger
scale, was that at Maser, built for the Patriarch-elect of Aquiliea, Daniele Barbaro and his younger brother Marc'Antonio, c. 1554-58. The villa contains very prominent, figurative stuccoes in the pediment of the main façade (fig. 316), in niches in the piers of the lateral dovecotes (figs. 307, 310, 317-20), and, most significantly, behind the villa on the exterior of the Nymphaeum (figs. 321-27), as well as two figures inside the grotto (figs. 308, 328). On account of their Vittoriesque qualities, these figures have been attributed from the late eighteenth century most frequently to Vittoria; but their amateurishness - witness their structureless heads and expressionless faces, their stolid proportions with poorly articulated limbs and unconvincing extremities, their insistent frontality and lack of internal movement - excludes him from being their executant. Given that the earliest sources ascribe the design of the Nymphaeum and its stuccowork decorations to Marc'Antonio Barbaro, he is most likely to be their author, as most recently and thoroughly argued by the late Carolyn Kolb.

However, if Vittoria did not physically participate in the modelling of these figures, several of his works appear to have been used as models. Kolb drew attention to the fact that Vittoria's figures at Montagnana provided prototypes: his Bacchus personifying Autumn (fig. 313) informed Marc'Antonio's Bacchus (fig. 327) on the hemicycle, while his Venus as Spring (fig. 306) was the model for the figure of Providential Fortune (fig. 308). Since the Montagnana figures were modelled around the first half of 1556, and the Nymphaeum appears to have been finished by 1558, Marc'Antonio must have modelled these figures in the intervening period. In addition to Kolb's comparisons, many other figures in Maser appear to derive from works by Vittoria: the Acteon (fig. 326) (especially his head) implies a knowledge of Vittoria's marble statuette of the Baptist, which until 1565 was on a font in the Venetian church of San Geremia (figs. 139-42); the strange, crossed-arm position adopted by the old, bearded Atlantids (figs. 322-23) appears to originate in Vittoria's Feminoni (figs. 249,
the stockily proportioned Juno (fig. 326) recalls Vittoria's small Cleopatra, although her upper body is reversed, and the head less inclined, (figs. 239, 241-44); while the Amymone (fig. 326) is related to Vittoria's Thetis on the Contarini Monument in Padua, and their accompanying sea-monsters are virtually interchangeable (fig. 292).

Such extensive borrowing from Vittoria's work strongly suggests that he provided Marc'Antonio with some, if not all of the designs, for the figures. This inevitably raises the question of why Vittoria, who by the mid-1550s had proven himself to be one of the most gifted stuccoists of the Veneto, did not execute at least some of the figures at Maser. His absence from the scaffolding at Maser is made stranger by the fact that at precisely the time when the stuccowork was being executed, he was being patronised by Daniele Barbaro: on 12 November 1557, he records being paid 35 scudi by Barbaro as a final payment for the posthumous (lost) bust of Giovanni Battista Ferretti that he had sculpted for the latter's monument in Santo Stefano. Moreover, the commission of the bust of Benedetto Manzini, carved by Vittoria around 1561, may have involved Barbaro, since Manzini was Rettore of the parish of San Paolo in Maser, nominated by the Barbaro family in 1554, which position he held until 1564.

One explanation, among several proposed by Lewis, was that the Barbaro brothers may have felt that the exterior work, for reasons of decorum, or theory, or cost, should be executed by an amateur hand. Thus, once Vittoria had provided some sketches or models, his rôle would have been limited to that of a technical advisor, probably making the odd visit to the villa (although it is conceivable that Marc'Antonio might have insisted on his standing beside him for prolonged periods). Another possible explanation for Vittoria's lack of direct participation on this project, also put forward by Lewis, was because Vittoria may have felt that the previous stuccowork that Palladio had persuaded him to execute at Villa Pisani had
done little to enhance his reputation: Montagnana was far from Venice and the atrium was only open when Francesco Pisani was at home, and Pisani was not active in those circles which would have brought him new patrons. Vittoria may have been unwilling to repeat the experience here, for although the Barbaro were enormously wealthy, powerful and prestigious patrons, Maser was even farther away than Montagnana, and the much larger scale of the project would have drawn him away from Venice for a much longer time, where he was just beginning to establish his reputation. Moreover, "crucially", as Lewis writes, "Palladio must have told him the truth, namely that the Barbaro brothers were self-designing and micro-managing the whole complex with a fine-tooth comb, so that no freedom of invention whatsoever was left open to the artists". Given Vittoria's pride in his designs - witnessed by his propensity proudly to sign his work - the idea of sharing the scaffold with the co-patron of the villa, who was undoubtedly keen to be the dominant hand (as he was to be later on in the decoration of the Tempietto) cannot have appealed, and this would certainly help explain why Vittoria's contribution was limited to the preparation of designs.

It is conceivable that, having obliged Palladio at Montagnana, and at least supplied designs for Maser, Vittoria may have informed him that, from then on, he wished only to undertake projects in Venice or her immediate environs, which would serve to enhance his reputation and gain him new patrons. If so, this would certainly explain the location of Vittoria's next large commission for decorative stuccowork: the newly constructed palace of Camillo Trevisan on Murano (fig. 332), which is generally thought to have been constructed on Palladian designs by Daniele Barbaro. If Palladio was involved, the commission could be interpreted as compensation of sorts for having persuaded Vittoria to execute the work at Montagnana.

Although there are no payments in Vittoria's account-book relating to the stuccowork,
it is reasonable to suppose that it was executed simultaneously with a stone / marble fireplace which Vittoria carved for the palace in the first half of 1557 as attested by payments in his account-book. Unfortunately, the fireplace has long since disappeared and Palazzo Trevisan is today in a more parlous condition than that lamented by Urbani de Gheltof a century ago (figs. 334-35). In his monograph on the palace (which is invaluable for its photographs of now lost works of art), Urbani de Gheltof believed that he had identified Vittoria’s fireplace (fig. 333), and his opinion has been accepted uncritically by subsequent authors. However, even from the scant information to be gleaned about its appearance from the entries in Vittoria’s account-book, it is clear that he was incorrect. Amongst the payments, Francesco da Salò was paid “p[er] auer raspato parte dil termine maschio”, and subsequently the garzone of Pietro da Salò, Baldissera, was paid for work “sula termina”, which clearly indicates that the fireplace was flanked by a telamon and a caryatid, whilst the fireplace identified by Urbani de Gheltof had non-figural pilasters as supports.

It would be more reasonable to suppose that Vittoria’s fireplace conformed to the type which, according to Boucher, was probably introduced into the Veneto by Sansovino, although the inspiration came, via Serlio, from designs by the Sienese architect Peruzzi. As already noted in connection with the Feminoni, Vittoria was familiar with Sansovino’s telamones and caryatids flanking two fireplaces in Villa Garzoni, Pontecasale (figs. 46-48, 458), while his colossal Angel suggests familiarity with Pietro da Salò’s Caryatid on the fireplace in the Stanza dei Tre Capi in the Doge’s Palace of 1553-54 (fig. 49). Vittoria would also have known the contemporary fireplace with flanking telamones in the Sala della Bussola, where one is believed to have been carved by da Salò and the other by Danese Cattaneo. The likelihood that the Trevisan Telamon and Caryatid were modelled on these prototypes is strengthened by the fact that both assistants employed on Trevisan’s fireplace

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would have been extremely familiar with the idiom of Pietro da Salò - one being his son Francesco, the other his *garzone* Baldissera.

The traditional assumption that the payments recorded in Vittoria's account-book also relate to the stuccowork is incorrect, since the majority of payments made by Vittoria to his two assistants refer either to the fireplace in general or to a particular part of it. Additionally, although the payments Vittoria received from Trevisan are rather intermittent (on 25 April, 25 June and 24 September 1557), and only the first is recorded as being for work on the fireplace, the total amount received was 25 ducats which, while generous for a fireplace, could hardly have paid for all the lavish stuccowork as well.

That the stuccowork was executed simultaneously with the fireplace - in the first half of 1557 - is suggested by the circumstantial and visual evidence since, apart from the colossal Angel for Verona, Vittoria does not appear to have been working on other projects during these months. However, from mid-1557 onwards, he became very busy, producing models for five silver figures for the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista around June/July, recommencing work on the Contarini Slave-Telamones in July 1557, carving the portrait-bust of Ferretti in the autumn, followed by the Pietà relief for the Venier Monument. Certainly, the palace was finished by 1560, for Valerio Marcellino's *Diamerone* (Venice, 1565) records the erudite discussions held in the gardens of Trevisan's palace in that year.

Although very little of Vittoria's stuccowork survives, its quality may be appreciated from the eighteenth-century descriptions and drawings by Fossati, Muttoni and Battisti (figs. 336, 348), the comments of Zanetti and the photographs published by Urbani de Gheltof in the nineteenth-century (figs. 337-38, 340). It is significant that while the frescoes - the dominant decorative medium - were executed by several hands, Vittoria was the lone stuccoist, which further underlines Palladio's high opinion of his work.
Judging from the various descriptions, the Androne or entrance hall contained the most stuccowork. Although none survive, a few remains were photographed by Urbani de Ghetof at the end of the last century (figs. 337-38, 340). All that remains today is the fabric (figs. 334-35): the lateral walls are identically arranged with a large, centrally-placed door opening to a staircase (that on the left side was narrower and intended for the servants, while the wider staircase on the right was for the family). To either side of this large door are two smaller doors opening to some small rooms, and at the far side of either smaller door is a niche. From Muttoni's illustration, (fig. 336) we know that these niches were once filled with statues; these might have been in stucco and by Vittoria, but it is equally possible that they were antique since it emerges from the inventory made after Trevisan's death in October 1564, that he owned some Classical statues.37

Above the niches and the large door are small squarish fields, and above the two smaller doors are larger vertical rectangular fields. While it is impossible to ascertain from the sources what, if any, decorations the smaller fields contained, we know that the four larger fields, measuring roughly a metre in height, originally contained narrative stucco reliefs from Roman history. Intact at the start of the nineteenth century,38 by 1866 they were already "mezzo ruinati",39 and by 1890 only two badly mutilated scenes survived.40 The only visual records known are two photographs published by Urbani: one is a general shot of the entrance hall which includes a tantalisingly angled view of one of the reliefs, from which little can be made out except, perhaps, two standing figures between a kneeling figure, all of which have attenuated bodies and small heads (fig. 337). The second is a close-up of another, depicting an unidentified scene (perhaps a judgement) which clearly shows Vittoria's hand (fig. 340). Seated in three-quarter profile on a raised throne at left is a figure, whose elevated position, costume of armour and general pose recalls Michelangelo's Lorenzo de' Medici (fig. 329),
although the figure has slid forwards somewhat, and rather than resting his left elbow on his knee and propping up his chin, he raises his elbow and scratches his temple as if deliberating. This composition was re-used by Vittoria in his figure of an *Enthroned Prince* on the lower flight of the *Scala d'Oro*, in the Doge's Palace, dated here to between the summers of 1558 and 1559 (fig. 354). At the sides of the scene, in the foreground, are two standing figures in high relief, swathed in long drapes which adhere closely to the contours of their bodies, forming relatively few folds. The one on the left is cowled and leans nonchalantly against the elevated throne base, and bends his inner leg backwards, tucking this foot behind that of the weight-bearing outer leg. This "prophet-like" figure anticipates the standing female receiving homage from Venice, also in one of the panels of the lower flight of the *Scala d'Oro*. He gathers up some surplus drapery with his right hand, resting it against his thigh, and looks intently at the figure on the right, who appears to be a witness. He steps into the picture plane and looks up at the seated figure, thereby revealing his back, which complements his counterpart who shows all of his front.

In the middle of the scene, in lower relief is another heavily draped figure who leans his right elbow on the plinth, and raises his head as if speaking to the seated figure. Behind him, in very low relief are four or so little heads, bearded and/or covered, which seem to have informed the hooded female in the very back of the above-mentioned *Scala d'Oro* panel. In the background, in *schiacciato*, is an *all'antica* structure punctuated with tall, evenly spaced arches which recedes into the picture plane.

It has passed unnoticed that the basic composition is a reversal of Veronese's *Pala Giustinian* (fig. 339), in San Francesco della Vigna (c. 1551). The combination of the unusually elevated throne, the sweep of cloth behind the seated figure and the recession of the columns is reused by Vittoria. Some of the gestures are also close, such as the finger
pressed to the temple in the seated figure, which is a direct quotation from *St. Joseph*; the figure in the middle who looks up to the seated figure, and whose right hand appears from beneath copious drapery at chest level, is anticipated by the seated *St. Catherine*; and the use of the throne-base as a support by the standing figure at left is loosely derived from the *St. Anthony Abbot* whose position to the side of the throne is analogous, if reversed.

The entrance wall is punctuated with the main door with a window above it, and two rectangular windows at either side with small squarish fields identical to those over the niches. The wall dividing the hall from the rectangular room with absidal lateral walls is identically arranged, except that the opening is an archway, with large spandrels above which once contained two winged *Victories* holding up-turned trumpets, as recorded in one of Urbani’s photographs (fig. 338). Instead of the centrally placed window over the door, there is little curved niche, which would presumably have held a bust. Whether it was an Antique original, or by Vittoria and either a pseudo-Antique bust like those in the *Sala dei Principi* at Palazzo Thiene, or a portrait-bust of a Trevisan family member, cannot be ascertained, for it was no longer *in situ* when Urbani undertook his photographic campaign of the palace.

From the entrance-hall one passes into a small rectangular room, with two lateral apses, each with a door framed by two niches. These may originally have contained statues, and once again the possibility that they were by Vittoria should not be excluded. Caiani first proposed that the stucco frames composed of an egg-and-dart motif, which divide the barrel-vaulted ceiling into geometrical fields for frescoes perhaps by Bernardino India, may also have been executed by Vittoria.

This room leads into the small Loggia terrena (fig. 341) which was originally divided from the courtyard - formed by the extension of the walls of the rooms at either side and which gave directly onto the garden - by two columns and two pilasters with Doric capitals.
It is here that the only stuccowork by Vittoria has survived. The wall opposite the small colonnade is similar in arrangement to that which leads into the rectangular room from the entrance-hall, and from Battisti we know the spandrels of the archway once contained a pair of winged Victories similar to those recorded in Urbani’s photograph.

Above this is a rectangular niche, the width of the arch, which contains two stucco figures fully in the round: a reclining Titianesque Venus accompanied by a Cupid (figs. 342-44). Although extremely dirty, the Venus appears virtually intact but the Cupid is less well preserved, having no arms, left leg or right foot, and a broken nose. The closest figure-type for the Venus - which is a graceful variant on Michelangelo's Aurora in the San Lorenzo Sacristy - is the Pisani Allegory of Summer (fig. 309): her contours are similarly voluptuous and her proportions comparable. Although her eyes are larger and her hair scraped back to reveal more brow, she shares the full face, small chin, almost pursed lips, and displays a large, and rather oddly positioned ear, with a lock of hair falling just above it, which are characteristic of Vittoria. At either side of the arch are rectangular window openings, and above each of these is a niche: in Battisti’s day these contained busts which, if not Antique originals, would almost certainly have been by Vittoria.

The best preserved examples of Vittoria’s stuccowork in Palazzo Trevisan are undoubtedly the two square high-reliefs, facing one another, over the doors of the loggia’s lateral walls: one shows Virtue Triumphant over Fortune (fig. 345), and the other Virtue Triumphant over Vice (fig. 346). Despite the fact that all of the figures except Fortune are headless, and Vice is missing her right arm, Fortune both of her arms beneath the elbows and her combattant her left arm from the shoulder to the wrist, the panels are well preserved. The dynamic movement and torsion in these figures move far beyond that to be found in any of the Contarini Tomb figures, and pre-empt that found in some of the figures in the vaults
of the Library staircase, such as the figure of Mars near the top of the upper flight (fig. 412). Whilst each figure-group is essentially composed of a horizontal and vertical line, by vigorously twisting the torsos and limbs, Vittoria conjoined the figures into a more stable triangular mass. As with the reliefs in Palazzo Thiene, he was careful to make the composition fill the available space, and greater volume was imparted to both Virtues by billowing their drapery out from their waists and shoulders in great Parmigianinesque loops. Perhaps Parmigianino also provided the model for the figure of the Virtue combatting Vice, for a similar pose is struck by the executioner about to decapitate St. Peter in his drawing of the Martyrdom of Sts. Peter and Paul, though he is shown from the back (fig. 347). From Vittoria's account-book we know that on 12 February 1559 he purchased one of Parmigianino's drawing books, and even if the Martyrdom drawing was not included, Vittoria would have known the composition in reverse through the engraving by Antonio da Trento, mentioned in connection with the Mercury for the Doge's Palace. Once more the drapery adheres like a second skin to the body and contains relatively few creases. Here for the first time the material breaks in horizontal folds across the knee, rather than as a split terminated by a clasp, and Vittoria delights in adorning at least two of the figures with a little mask, placed either just below the breasts on a waist band, or in between them on a strap slung across one shoulder, a recurring decoration on the female figures of both the Scala d'Oro and the Library staircase.

In the room to the right (Battisti's Sala a volta; frescoed by Veronese) was once the fireplace mistakenly identified by Urbani as that carved by Vittoria in 1557. According to Zanetti there was "above the small fireplace an Antique bust and two extremely beautiful stucco figures illuminated from the light from two lateral windows nearby, and such that one would think them real had not time removed all traces of them." Once again, it is more
than likely that these stucco figures were by Vittoria, considering his participation elsewhere, although without any record of their appearance, we cannot be sure.

The garden, which ran down to the banks of the lagoon, had as its centrepiece a Nymphaeum elevated on five steps (fig. 348). No trace of it survives and it has therefore been ignored by many critics, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries it was considered a marvel, and appears to have been unique in the lagoon. In his 1562 guidebook to Venice, the only thing which Francesco Sansovino mentioned in Murano was Palazzo Trevisan, describing it as "veramente reale, con un giardino e con una fontana alla Romana di eccessiva bellezza." 48

The façade of the Nymphaeum was composed of the Tuscan order, with an identical frieze of alternating bucrania and patere to that of the courtyard, while the façade which faced the lagoon had a more severe aspect of rusticated columns. Inside the Nymphaeum, at the right end, was a deep grotto which, according to Muttoni, was "composed of ingenious compartments, built up from tuff, coloured marbles, and crustaceans to represent various figures; and there were niches with putti which were part of water-work jokes and games". 49

The two statues elevated on large pedestals which one can just make out in Muttoni’s engraving, placed to either side of the grotto’s entrance, might conceivably have been carved / modelled by Vittoria, 50 especially given the fact that he had recently furnished designs for the Barbaro Nymphaeum. At the left end of the loggia was a smaller niche which contained just a basin and a statue about whose appearance nothing is known. Despite the great losses suffered, and the bias of the early sources in recording the frescoes in greater detail than the stuccoes, the quality and quantity of Vittoria’s contribution to the three-dimensional decoration of Palazzo Trevisan may be appreciated.

By far the two most prestigious stuccowork commissions that Vittoria received at the
end of the 1550s were for the vaults of the *Scala d'Oro* in the Doge's Palace (figs. 349-76) and the staircase in Sansovino's Library (figs. 377-421), and it would appear that the fine stuccowork in Palazzo Trevisan helped secure him these tasks. As pertinent documentation is limited, the major bone of contention has become which was decorated first. Most critics have based their interpretation primarily on visual analysis and used the documentary, textual and circumstantial evidence selectively, and often erroneously, to reinforce their stylistic arguments. As the staircases were decorated in close chronological proximity, the stylistic evolution between them is slight, subtle and therefore difficult to chart precisely. Consequently, the subjective, style-based arguments have led to diverse conclusions over the relative datings of these staircases: while Temanza, Venturi, Ivanoff proposed that the Library stuccoes preceded those of the Doge's Palace; Rearick and Cesi argued the reverse; and while Leithe-Jasper argued that Vittoria started on the lower flight of the *Scala d'Oro* and then continued to work alternately on the flights of both staircases, Wolters argued that Vittoria commenced on the cupola at the bottom of the Library's lower flight of stairs, and then stuccoed the whole of the *Scala d'Oro*, before returning to the Library.

The only way that the priority of one staircase over the other may be established is through an objective reassessment of all the available sources, and this leads to the conclusion that the *Scala d'Oro* was decorated before the Library staircase. When one analyses those hypotheses which claim otherwise, it emerges that their authors have either failed to take all of the factual evidence into account, or have misinterpreted it.

The stuccowork of the Library is relatively well documented. Predelli first published the weekly payments which Vittoria made to his assistant, Giulio del maestro Leone, for six months from mid-December 1559 to late June 1560. Vittoria recorded payments to Giulio from 16 December 1559 until 6 April 1560 for work "sul primo uolto tile scale dila
Procuratia" (which Vittoria then called the "libraria"); from 13 April until 27 April 1556 (sic) on the "p[rim]a Chuba in capo il p[rim]o ramo"; and finally from 4 May until 28 June 1560 on the "sico[n]do uolto [or ramo] dila libraria". No payments are recorded for the other three cupolas.

The contract for the stuccowork of the Library was first published by Temanza. It was drawn up between the Procurator of San Marco de Supra Giovanni da Lezze and Vittoria, with Sansovino as a witness, on 29 February 1559 more veneto, (ie 29 February 1560). Vittoria agreed to stucco the vaults over the two flights of stairs and the four cupolas "lupta il principio ci mostra p[er] esso m[esser] vittorio sin'hora fatta". This "start made" undoubtedly refers to the ten weeks' work already done on the "primo volto" from mid-December 1559 onwards (figs. 383-89). However, certain critics, ignoring the more veneto, erroneously dated the contract to February 1559, (thereby excluding the stuccowork of this first flight from consideration), and had to seek alternative solutions as to what the earlier work mentioned in the contract referred: Leithe-Jasper argued that it referred to the lower flight of the Scala d'Oro; while Boucher suggested that it was "perhaps a trial field on the staircase's vault". Wolters proposed that it referred to the "p[rim]a Chuba in capo il p[rim]o ramo" for which Vittoria recorded making three payments to Giulio on 13, 20 and 27 April 1556. While most authors, following Predelli, have interpreted this as a lapsus calami because the days of the payment fit so exactly within the pattern of weekly payments of 1560, Wolters insists that the much less sophisticated nature of the cupola at the bottom of the lower flight, which distinguishes it from the other three cupolas of the staircase, is due to its much earlier manufacture. This argument may be countered by a close reading of the first, and most explicit, of these three payments, in which the cupola is cited as at the top of the first (presumably lower) flight. As this cupola is stylistically consistent with both vaults
that Vittoria executed in 1560, the 1556 date cannot be taken literally, but must be a lapsus calami for 1560.

Thus the Library stuccoes may be firmly dated to between December 1559 and late June 1560 from the payment-records; it perhaps extended later into the summer, since three outstanding cupolas had to be stuccoed. Although the payments only record the number of days that Giulio worked, if we consider the prestige of the commission, it seems fair to assume that Vittoria would have been fully employed, supervising his less experienced associate and executing stuccoes himself.

In view of this, it is not feasible to suppose that the Scala d'Oro could have been carried out simultaneously. Therefore, Leithe-Jasper's hypothesis that Vittoria worked alternately on both staircases until they were completed, may be rejected. With regard to the relative datings of the two staircases, there are only three possibilities: (i) the Scala d'Oro was completed before work on the Library commenced; (ii) the Scala d'Oro was completed after the Library had been finished; or (iii) part of the Scala d'Oro was executed before the stuccowork of the Library was executed, and the rest completed afterwards.

Most critics reject the first possibility because they believe that part of the vault of the Scala d'Oro was still being frescoed and gilded in November 1561, with the implicit assumption that this was because the stuccowork had only relatively recently been completed. However, such a view is erroneous and results from the misinterpretation of a document of 6 November 1561. On this day the Procurators resolved to disburse an extra 700 ducats on the building works of the Doge's Palace in order to "pagar quelli che sono creditori per conto della detta fabbrica, et finir quelli lavori che nel detto Palazzo sono principiati" which, according to the report of the prono, included: "finir da dorar e depenzer il sofita pizolo sul patto de la schala nuova". Most critics have chosen to translate "patto" as "pianerottolo" or
"landing" and simply interpreted "sofita" as a ceiling, and therefore believed that the area in need of gilding and painting was the arched vault of the tiny landing in the middle of the upper flight of the Scala d'Oro.

However, if one bears in mind that there was a distinction between the term "sofita" a flat ceiling and "volto" an arched vault, and that the proto Pietro Piccolo was precise in his use of these terms, it is highly likely that when he referred to a "sofita" in his report, this is exactly what he meant. This rules out anywhere on the Scala d'Oro itself, as its ceiling is composed purely of cupolas and vaults. Since the term "patto" meant not only "landing" but also "terrace; the area at the head of a staircase", the ceiling whose gilding and painting was incomplete according to Pietro Piccolo's report, can only have been that of the Atrio Quadrato - the room one enters at the top of the Scala d'Oro. That "patto de la schala nuova" could refer to the Atrio Quadrato is confirmed by Vasari's designation of it as merely the "ricetto di detta Scala". This suggests that in the years immediately following the completion of the Scala d'Oro, the Atrio Quadrato was viewed merely as its upper extension, rather than as a space in its own right, presumably because it did not serve a specific function other than being a landing; it was not until Sansovino's guidebook of 1581 that it was called a Salotto, which gave it a certain degree of autonomy from the staircase.

The second major reason why the stuccowork of the Scala d'Oro has been placed after that of the Library is because most critics were aware of only the first of two notices about the Scala d'Oro staircase in Francesco Sansovino's guide-book of 1581: in the description of the Doge's Palace he says its decoration was carried out under the two Priuli Doges (Lorenzo ruled from 14 June 1556 until his death on 17 August 1559; his brother Girolamo from 1 September 1559 until 1567). Ivanoff, who claimed "Secondo Francesco Sansovino, la Scala d'Oro sarebbe stata eseguita durante il dogado di Girolamo Priuli", surely ignored the fact
that Sansovino said that the decoration had also been executed during Lorenzo's reign.

Only Leithe-Jasper seems to have been aware of Sansovino's second, crucial comment: in his subsequent summary of the most notable events that took place during the dogeship of Lorenzo Priuli, Sansovino stated that *all* of the stuccoing, frescoing and gilding of the *Scala d'Oro* had been finished just prior to Lorenzo's death. As Sansovino makes no mention of the *Scala d'Oro* in the summary of notable events during the dogeship of Girolamo Priuli which immediately follows, one has to admit that there is a contradiction between Sansovino's two comments, and only one of them can be true. The claim that the entire decoration of the *Scala d'Oro* was carried out within the reign of Lorenzo Priuli is more likely to be true, for it is so confidently stated within the precise span of Lorenzo's reign, that it appears to be a correction of the earlier, less specific comment. This hypothesis finds support if we now turn to investigate the rest of the relevant documents, early published sources and other circumstantial evidence.

Although no documents date the decoration of the vaults of the *Scala d'Oro*, various deliberations held by the Procurators relating to its construction were published by Lorenzi. The first document which refers to the *Scala d'Oro* is dated 21 October 1554. Discord had arisen over the form that "la Scala dil Palazo qual ha da risponder al piano della sala di questo Collegio" should take and the assembled Collegio was asked to vote on whether it should consist of one straight flight ("fatta dretta"), or be branched into two flights ("tagliata / fatta torta in doi rami"). A large majority voted in favour of the first solution. While most critics have assumed that the staircase whose form was under discussion was the *whole* of the *Scala d'Oro*, Ivanoff convincingly argued that it could only be the upper flight, which now leads from the main landing to the Atrio Quadrato, as it was absurd to think that the Procurators should have been considering, and have voted for, a single flight staircase to run
straight up from the first floor loggia to the level of the Collegio.\textsuperscript{72}

Although the construction of this problematic upper flight started shortly after the resolution of 21 October 1554,\textsuperscript{73} a sizeable body of opinion must have been unhappy with that decision, for a public competition was organised so that further solutions could be discussed. On 22 January 1555, following an on-the-site investigation by Doge Francesco Venier and the whole Collegio and debate over the merits of the five entries which had been submitted, that presented jointly by Jacopo Sansovino and Michele Sanmicheli was selected, with fifteen votes in favour and ten against. They proposed that the upper flight should include a branch to the right (leading off from where Segala’s statue of Abundance is now placed) which would ascend to the centre of the present Sala delle Quattro Porte.\textsuperscript{74}

That there were no further discussions over the form that this upper flight should take for over two years (until April 1557), seems to indicate that its construction progressed smoothly and that much of its lower part was constructed in the intervening period. Indeed, it is plausible that such building work should have been executed during this time, as it coincided with the dogeship of Francesco Venier (1554-1556) during a time of peace and prosperity: Sansovino commented "nel suo tempo le cose della Repubblica furono in molta pace ... la Città non ebbe trauaglio alcuno".\textsuperscript{75}

However, the January 1555 competition did not put an end to the debate, and by the start of April 1557, even the three Proveditori sopra le fabbriche del Palazzo, elected by the Collegio to oversee the smooth running of the building works undertaken in the Doge’s Palace, were split over the form the upper staircase should take.\textsuperscript{76} on 1 April, Alvise Contarini urged the Collegio to remember with what diligence they had made the decision to have an upper flight that consisted of two branches, since it offered greater comfort and safety than the other projects presented, stressing the amount of work that had now been done in
accordance with Sansovino’s plan, presumably in an effort to prevent them from retracting their former decision: “essendo [...] stato deliberato di far la predetta Scala di pietra nel muodo et forma ch’ella si trova al presente in doi rami come più comoda et sicura delle altre, si come è stato dechiarito a questo Conseglia, che però la si debba continuare et finire quanto più presto che si possa nel muodo cominciato et deliberato”.

Nevertheless, on 3 April, the other two Superintendents, Leonardo Gradenigo and Bernardo Venier, proposed instead that the staircase should be finished as a single, straight flight as the proto, Piero Piccolo, had unsuccessfully proposed in January 1555: “la Scala predetta che vien nella Sala del predetto Collegio sia finita juxta l’aricordo de Maistro Piero Picolo proto, si come dalla lettura della sua depositione hora letta questo Conseglia ha inteso [...] la qual operation oltra che sarà di quella honorificentia, che cadauno può benissimo considerar, sarà anco di menor spesa di quello che si farà facendola in du rami [...].”

The only issue that united the Provedditori was the need to finish the Scala d’Oro rapidly, for as summarised by Gradenigo and Venier the staircase was the means for foreign ambassadors to reach the Audience Chambers, and its incomplete state compromised the dignity of the Signoria. This sense of urgency, which pervades the rival reports, suggests that the construction of the lower part of the upper flight had reached the critical point where the branch - if voted for - would fork off; and certainly the recurring word in both reports is “finire”, which indicates that a certain amount of progress must have been made.

This impasse resulted in a decision to elect a commission of fifteen members of the Consiglio, who would return to the site, together with the three Proveditori sopra le fabbriche, and having considered the advice of the experts and given the matter due consideration, would vote on it. Whichever project - Sansovino’s or Piccolo’s - gained the majority vote would be implemented immediately by the Superintendents. Since nothing more
is heard about the form that this upper flight should take, the decision reached by the "select committee"- which must have been to revert to Pietro Piccolo's original plan for a straight, single flight as this is the form of the present upper flight of the Scala d'Oro - was unanimous. The completion of the upper half of the upper flight would presumably have been rapid, and so the structure of the Scala d'Oro was probably completed by the end of 1557 or the beginning of 1558.

It therefore seems most unlikely that the date MDLVIII (1559), which is carved on a trophy on the left door jamb at the top of the staircase, refers purely to the completion of the building of the staircase, as many authors have assumed, often because they misread the date as MDLVIII (1558). It is much more likely (given my reinterpretation of the construction) that it testifies to the completion of the decoration as well: indeed, its prominence argues for this, for while intagliatori did on occasion date their decorative grotesque carvings, it was usually much more discreet; witness the date of 1553 on the staircase of Sansovino's Library which testifies purely to the date of the carving of the grotesques and is almost invisible (figs. 391-92). If this date is interpreted as a terminus ante quem for the decoration of the vaults, it provides further proof of the veracity of Sansovino's comment that all was done on the vaults before the death of Lorenzo Priuli in August 1559. Unfortunately, the shields bearing the Priuli coat-of-arms in the lunette of the arch at the bottom of the staircase, in several frescoed fields and carved pilaster strips, and three wooden doors (which Venturi attributed to Vittoria), do not distinguish between the two brothers. However, according to my reconstruction of events, these refer to Lorenzo's reign, rather than to Girolamo's as most critics have supposed.

There is further contemporary evidence that the Scala d'Oro preceded the Library staircase. The earliest is Vasari's second edition of the Lives. In the life of Battista Franco,
he enthuses about the decoration of the Scala d'Oro and praises both Franco and Vittoria for their respective contributions. The decorations of the Library staircase are not mentioned, which would imply that Vasari believed that Franco was not involved with them, but speaking in his "Life of Sansovino" of the lavish interior decorations of the Library, Vasari mentions "the public staircase adorned with many paintings as has been expounded in the Life of Battista Franco". The omission of a description of the decoration of the Library staircase in Franco's life must be an oversight, but the fact that Vasari linked Franco's name with the staircase argues that he did play a part in its decoration. It should also be noted that Vasari relates in his "Life of Franco" how the painter was chosen to execute three tondi for the ceiling of the Salone of the Library once he had finished decorating the Scala d'Oro. This implies that in Vasari's mind in general the decoration of the Doge's Palace took place before that of the Library. This is reconfirmed in his life of Vittoria in which he mentions both staircases, but the Scala d'Oro first, and at much greater length. He attributes its frescoes to Franco.

The second literary source is Francesco Sansovino's guide-book of 1581. His two references to the Scala d'Oro have been discussed above. He refers only once to the Library staircase, attributing the stuccowork to Vittoria, and the frescoes of the first flight to Franco and those of the second flight to Battista del Moro. Although he gives no reason for the change in author, assuming that Franco was intended to fresco the whole of the Library staircase - as he had the Scala d'Oro - and not just its lower flight, it seems likely that his death in 1561 was the cause. If so, this adds further weight to the argument that the Library staircase was the later.

Finally, the visual evidence also supports the view that the stuccowork of the Scala d'Oro preceded that of the Library staircase. Wolters argues that the division of the barrel-
Vaults into variously shaped fields is much more intelligent in the Library than in the Palazzo Ducale. As the principal function of a staircase is to lead one smoothly from one level to another, the decoration of its vault should aid this process, and have a continuous, repeating pattern, which the eye can run up or down without any visual disruptions. Wolters criticises Vittoria in the Scala d'Oro for using "centred systems" on all the barrel vaults, except that which branches off from the lower flight, by which he means that the field at the very centre of each vault is uniquely shaped, rather than remaining the same as those diagonally below or above it (fig. 349). This disrupts the visual flow of an otherwise immediately comprehensible pattern, and by implication the smooth progress of the user of the staircase, whose steps falter as he attends to the central field. Wolters also points out how Vittoria highlighted this differently-shaped central field through the use of more elaborate frames around it, often involving strapwork, which distinguishes it from the other fields of the vault which have the same frames.

The "centred systems" of the vaults of the Scala d'Oro, which demonstrate a misunderstanding of the function of staircase vaults, are rejected in those of the Library (fig. 377). Here the system of the division of space is ultimately derived from the vault of the portico of the Library, but with important variations, which Wolters hazards may have been made upon the advice of Sansovino: the alternating circles and ellipses of the nine connecting fields on the portico have been exchanged for square and octagonal fields which contain single stuccoed and frescoed figures respectively, while the central field in each group is given no emphasis. Wolters proposes that the absence of any strap-work decoration on the vaults of the Library may also have been due to Sansovino's advice. As there is only one landing, Vittoria did not divide the flights into individual sections, but repeated the pattern created by the six connecting fields all the way up both flights, and altered the alignment of
his figures so that the stuccowork decoration is without direction (unlike the Scala d'Oro, where the alignment of the figures dictates that they are read as one descends). All of these factors noticed by Wolters, lead to a cool and easily comprehensible decorative system, which though traditionally criticised as less sophisticated (and therefore earlier) in comparison with the more lavish Scala d'Oro, was praised by Wolters as better suited to staircase vaults.

Although most critics have claimed that the stuc­coes executed by Vittoria on the Library vaults are "stylistically less evolved" and "heavier", when one compares the individual figures with their counterparts on the Scala d'Oro there is little to differentiate them. Perhaps even greater astonishment is caused when one realises that the design of three of the four frames, and the order in which they occur, all the way up both vaults in the Library (fig. 383) is identical to that on the vault of the lower half of the upper flight of the Scala d'Oro, which has never been called "heavy" (fig. 361). If one compares these vaults with those on the upper flight of the Scala d'Oro where the frames are virtually identical, it appears that the different impressions result from diverse application of the gilding. On the Scala d'Oro, individual frames are left white, with the gilding confined to the small acanthus leaves (at the corners of the two concentric frames around the fresco/stucco field, and the frame which encloses the irregular field of grotesques) and the crimped ribbons (which form an X-shape at the point where the larger fruit and foliage bundles interconnect). These white frames are distinguished from each other, not only by their different designs, but by the gilded borders with which they alternate. In the Library, the gilding is confined merely to picking out recurring motifs within each frame's design. Had it been combined with gilding on the plain border-strips which separate each frame, the effect would have been even more sumptuous than on the Scala d'Oro, but as these are left ungilded, the impression becomes one of unrelieved areas of stucco: the details picked out in each frame are too small to make
much of an impact from the ground, and so rather than one appreciating the subtle differences
of decoration between each of four, delicate frames, a viewer registers one wide and
cumbersome frame around each field, and tiny, irregularly shaped fields of grotesques in
between. This more sparing use of gilding - which was probably due to a wish to economy
by the Procurators - and the resulting heaviness of effect are unfortunate. Furthermore it has
had an adverse effect on the appreciation of Vittoria's stuccoes, which are in every way as
refined as those on the Scala d'Oro, and was one of the reasons why this staircase was judged
to be inferior, or "less stylistically evolved" and therefore erroneously dated before the Scala
d'Oro.

On account of its prominence and quality, Vittoria's stuccowork in both the Doge's
Palace and the Library, as well as that in Camillo Trevisan's palace, guaranteed for him an
increasing number of commissions for stuccowork from Venetian patricians. In the 1560s,
his commissions appear to have been exclusively for elaborate fireplaces, but in the 1570s,
they became more varied and often on a larger scale.

Vittoria's account-book testifies to the fact that he made a number of stucco fireplaces
in the 1560s, although regrettably few of them have survived. The first, now lost, was made
in 1561 for the palace of Giovanni Francesco Priuli.91 The entries for this in Vittoria's
account-book reveal the growing size of his workshop. For the first time, appear the names
of Andrea Palladio's son, Marcantonio - who may have been introduced to Vittoria at Maser
in 1558 .92 and a certain Giovanni da Madras from France. It seems that they worked
sequentially, Giovanni receiving the equivalent of 1 lire 8 soldi per diem, whilst Marcantonio
earned just under 1 lire 2 soldi per day.93 It is possible that the fireplace may have been
similar to that in Palazzo Trevisan, but one wonders whether this work did not entirely satisfy
the patron, or whether Vittoria was dilatory in its execution, since some fifteen years later,


3. Wolters (1968), 23, n. 76.


5. Temanza (1778), 481-82; reprinted here as Doc. No. 61.


7. Boucher (1991), 274, n. 88. While correct in general location, the amount of work that Vittoria executed before the contract was officially signed was greatly underestimated, since ten weeks' work mounted to two-thirds of the time spent stuccoing the vault of the first flight.

8. Wolters (1968), 22, n. 74.

0. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 85, proposed on the basis of his stylistic analysis that Vittoria stuccoed first the lower flight of the Scala d'Oro; then the lower flight of the Library; then the flight of the Scala d'Oro that leads to the Doge's private apartments; then the upper flight of the Scala d'Oro; and finally the upper flight of the Library. However, this is untenable, as we know that the lower flight of the Library was finished by 6 April (when Giulio received his last payment for this flight) and the upper flight commenced around 1 May (when Giulio received his first payment in regard to this flight), and in the intervening three weeks the cupola at the top of the lower flight was decorated: it is quite impossible that Vittoria could have stuccoed the flight leading to the Doge's apartments at the upper flight of the Scala d'Oro in this three week period as well.

1. Lorenzi (1868), 308-09, No. 660; see here Doc. No. 58.

2. While Gradenigo and Venier are imprecise in their use of these terms, calling the vaults over the aircase "soffitidi", Piccolo's synopsis of the work that would be necessary if a single upper flight were built, refers to different ceilings in the correct architectural language: he talks of the vault over the stairs ("la qual scala sia serata tra doi muri con el suo volto di sopra"), but the flat ceiling over the Sala del Consiglio ("il soffitto della qual sala"). As proto, it may be presumed that he used these terms precisely, and so when he referred to the "sofita pizolo sul patto", he was talking about a flat ceiling, rather than a vault, which rules out anywhere on the Scala d'Oro as being the area in need of gilding, as its roof is only composed of cupolas and vaults.

3. Boerio (1856, 482) defines "pato de la scala" as "Pianerottolo [landing] o Ripiano [terrace], sello spazio ch'è in capo alle scale degli edifizii".

4. Vasari claims that after Franco finished the frescoes of the Scala d'Oro, he painted the ceiling of the Atrio Quadrato (Doc. No. 59(i)). This has led to some dispute, for there is little evidence to substantiate this claim today: the ceiling is covered by lavish carved and gilded frames of bound fruit and foliage which contains at its centre a large octagonal canvas by Tintoretto showing Doge Girolamo Frari being presented by his patron-saint Jerome to Justice and Peace. The rest of the ceiling is covered by smaller fields filled either with carvings (foliate motifs or Nereids riding on the backs of lions who support the Priuli coat-of-arms) or paintings (either (?) the four seasons, one in each corner, in colour, or all'antica scenes in monochrome). Pignatti believes Vasari's claim is true, and
that beneath the present-day ceiling lies the remains of Franco's earlier ceiling, which is the ceiling referred to in the proto's report. However, Wolters believes that Vasari was incorrect, and that the present ceiling is the only one ever created for the Altria Quadrato, and so it is this which the report refers to. Whatever the case, the proto's report of 1561 does not refer to incomplete decorations on the vaults of the Scala d'Oro.

65. Sansovino (1581), 321: "Alla sommità della quale [Scala d'Oro], il Salotto col soffitto dipinto, & messo à oro ..."

66. ibid., 321; reprinted here as Doc. No. 60(i).


68. Sansovino (1581), 605; reprinted here as Doc. No. 60(ii).

69. Lorenzi (1868), 286-88, 297-99, 308-09.

70. Doc. No. 54.

71. Lorenzi (1868), 286, No. 612 (21 October 1554).


73. In two of the five entries submitted in the January 1555 competition, mention is made of this - Piccololo's proposal started "Che la Scala nova sia fatta in un ramo nel loco ove è principiata" whilst Giovanni Antonio Rusconi's proposed "Che la sopra detta Scala sia levata di ove è principiata" (see Doc. No. 55).

74. See also Doc. No. 56 which recounts these events.

75. Sansovino (1581), 603.

76. Doc. No. 56.

77. Latter part of Doc. No. 56.

78. See latter part of Doc. No. 56.

79. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 80 misread the date inscribed in Roman numerals as 1558, as it is written as MDLVIII, rather than MDLIX, and proposed that one could take 1558 as the beginning of the work on the stuccoes, as he interpreted the date on the trophy as indicating the completion of the building and stonemason's work on the stairs.

80. The coat-of-arms of Doge Sebastiano Venier (1577-78), spotted by Zanotto (1858, II, Parte V, 4) on a pilaster of the balustrade on the left side below the uppermost landing, and his hitherto unnoticed initials "SV" in a similar location towards the top of the lower flight, suggest that the balusters were inserted wholesale during Venier's dogship. The carved bas-relief decorations on the short pilasters of the balustrades are very different from the more complex decorations carved on the pilasters everywhere else (which we are proposing were carved during the reign of Lorenzo Priuli). That the Scala d'Oro should have been designed without balusters is perfectly reasonable: the Library staircase has none. In any case, the coat-of-arms and the initials of Venier on some of the pilasters of the balustrades, should not be interpreted to mean that the decoration of the Scala d'Oro in general was still underway.
81. Venturi (1937), 104. The Neptune door-knocker in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg which has the Priuli coat-of-arms set within a strap-work cartouche crowned by a Dogal corno might originally have been made for one of these wooden doors. Admittedly, the coat-of-arms was cast separately, and is screwed into place, and so could be a later attachment, but as the iconography of the door-knocker is so appropriate for the Scala d'Oro, whose branching flight glorifies Neptune as symbolising Venice's dominion of the seas, perhaps this popular form of door-knocker was originally designed for the Scala d'Oro, probably during the reign of the second Priuli doge, Girolamo (1559-67). Certainly, this type of Neptune door-knocker has long been associated with Vittoria and his workshop, and frequently dated to c. 1570. Vittoria's execution of the stuccoes on the Scala d'Oro would have made him a likely candidate to produce the design for door-knockers for the doors of this staircase, and as Girolamo Priuli's reigned until 1567, it could have been made towards the end of his dogeship. (For further discussion of this door-knocker type, see Cat. No. 89).

82. Doc. No. 59 (ii).
83. Doc. No. 59(i).
84. Doc. No. 59(iii).
85. Doc. No. 60.
86. Wolters (1968), 23.
87. ibid., 22 & n. 75.
88. ibid., 23.

89. Ivanoff (1961, 34) praises the decoration of the Scala d' Oro in general for being "più mossa, più ricca e più pittorica ... La sua novità sta soprattutto nel rigoglio ornamentale e nella libertà delle articolazioni".

90. Ivanoff (1961), 34.
91. Cat. No. 141; Doc. No. 72.
92. See Cat. No. 97.
93. Predelli's claim (1908, 33) that Vittoria "li paga poco meno di 1.2 al giorno" is therefore not quite accurate.
94. See Cat. No. 152.
95. Doc. No. 99; Cat. No. 147.
96. Predelli (1908), 133, c. 55t., under heading "Pani di Seta".
97. Doc. No. 110.
98. Doc. No. 108; Cat. No. 91.
99. In March-April 1574, Battista helped on the fireplace for Leonardo Pesaro (Cat. No. 149); whilst in May 1574 he assisted on that for Lorenzo Soranzo's house in San Polo (Cat. No. 150). In October 1574 he was paid for help on the Evangelists of San Giorgio Maggiore (Cat. No. 65). Not until 20
February 1578 is his name connected with stone-work, when he was paid for having cleaned the figure of Charity for the Bollani Tomb (Cat. No. 70).

100. Ivanoff (1972), 328, n. 6 and fig. 12.

101. For full discussion of this fireplace, see Cat. No. 91.

102. Doc. No. 87.

103. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 121. Bassi (1978), 120 noted that the telamones “erano già nel palazzo quando vi abitavano i Rezzonico”. Leithe-Jasper (1963), 121 equally suggested that the Ca’ Rezzonico telamones might be linked with the Priuli fireplace commission of 1561. However, this is not tenable for the Priuli fireplace seems to have been of stucco, and also predates the Montefeltro St. Sebastian on which the telamones so clearly depend.


105. On account of their analogous function, it might be inferred that Vittoria’s Telamones were intended to look away from each other, and that their present arrangement in Ca’ Rezzonico is incorrect.
CHAPTER EIGHT:
VITTORIA'S BRONZE STATUETTES OF THE 1560S, OTHER SMALL SCALE STATUARY AND HIS ART COLLECTION

Why Vittoria seems suddenly to have produced a number of highly polished bronze statuettes in a concentrated period in the early to mid-1560s is an intriguing question, especially as few earlier bronze statuettes can be given to him, and none are initialled, let alone self-consciously signed.

Part of the reason was certainly aesthetic: the malleability of wax and the tensile strength of bronze meant that the sculptor could attenuate the proportions of his figures, and arrange them in ways impossible to attain in a marble or stone figure. Additionally, Vittoria's Humanist patrons, such as Benavides in Padua, Thiene in Vicenza or Loredan in Venice favoured bronze as a medium because of Classical precedent: Pliny had asserted the pre-eminence of bronze sculpture over marble. Thus bronze was appropriate to depict pagan or secular subjects, and Donatello's followers in Padua (Bellano, Riccio) had created small-scale bronzes of mythological subjects for over half a century to satisfy demand from the circle of Humanist intellectuals, drawn to Padua because of the university. From the time spent in Padua during his Wanderjahre, Vittoria would have become familiar with this industry, especially through the Grandi, as he would through contact with Agostino Zoppo, the Paduan founder who cast the figurative elements of Sansovino's Sacristy Door.

Vittoria would also have been drawn to the manufacture of bronzes for practical reasons. In the lost wax technique a busy sculptor was obliged to supply no more than the wax-model, while the exacting and comparatively dangerous process of casting could be left
to foundry-men. The sculptor might work the surface of the cold metal to achieve his final effect, but his expenditure of time and energy was infinitesimal compared with carving marble. In Venice, a thriving bronze industry was kept alive by the needs of the fleet, which demanded the mass production of nautical equipment, but the competence of her foundry-men is also proved by works of art as the Colleoni Monument, the Moors atop the Clock-tower, the three flagstaff bases in Piazza San Marco and the Zen chapel in San Marco.

Although there were dynasties of famous Venetian founders, such as the de' Conti or Alberghetti (who cast Rangone's bronze effigy), the records in Vittoria's account-book about the casting of his two variant St. Sebastian statuettes (figs. 452, 470-72; 476-77, 479-80) (the only surviving documents regarding his activities as a bronziestro), show that he relied upon a founder called Andrea Bresciano and, after the latter's death, upon his son-in-law, Orazio. Bresciano must have headed a large and well-established shop to undertake a commission of the size of the candelabrum for the monastery of Santo Spirito which was delivered by June 1568. It is therefore likely that it was he who cast the statuettes by Vittoria discussed here: friendship between the two is indicated by Vittoria's reference to Bresciano as "mio Chiarissimo Compare" in the 1566 payment for his St. Sebastian.

The majority of Vittoria's statuettes of this period are signed, which distinguishes them from his earlier and later creations, and reduces the problems of attribution which arise with so many mid-sixteenth century Venetian bronzes. Their unusually large size also distinguishes these works from those cast in the following decades. However, lack of documentation means that we cannot be sure exactly when, and for whom Vittoria's highly finished bronzes were made, nor their precise purpose. That these statuettes later became collectors' pieces is suggested by Scamozzi's account of Andrea Vendramin's treasured cabinet which contained no less than seven statues by Vittoria. Although their medium and size were not specified,
they were probably bronze statuettes since the only figure named was a figure of St. Sebastian, presumably one of Vittoria's two bronze variants of this subject.

Many of these bronzes may not have been made on commission but purely for Vittoria's own pleasure, to be kept in his house as part of his growing art collection, or possibly as stock. Indeed, the St. Sebastian was certainly made for Vittoria's personal delectation, and when a variant was cast in May 1575 this too was retained by Vittoria: only at some point between May 1584 and February 1595 did Vittoria dispose of one of the versions, so that for anything between nine and nineteen years, Vittoria had both St. Sebastians in his house, which is a good indication of the sculptor's "collector mentality."3

The St. Sebastian is the culmination of a series of experiments in the manufacture of large bronze statuettes undertaken in the early 1560s.

The first of these experiments took place around the start of the decade and resulted in a pair of pagan deities: Mercury in the Getty Museum, Malibu (65.4 cm) (figs. 500, 504-05)4 and Minerva in the Robert Smith collection (66.4 cm) (figs. 504-06).5 Mercury's pose recalls, in reverse, the stone figure of the same subject which Vittoria had carved for the Doge's Palace shortly before (figs. 278, 281-82), but it is not as exact a mirror-image as some critics have claimed.6 Vittoria opened up the arms so that the right elbow is raised and the left arm held away from the body, which gives greater movement to the statuette. The head of Argus is smaller, but more plastic, with thick, curling locks of hair melding imperceptibly into moustache and beard. The giant's head is not reversed, and is brought closer to the centre of the base, which tightens the composition, as does the changed angle of Mercury's head, from the near profile of the statue, to a pensive downwards gaze. It has been narrowed, and given the impassivity of a Classical sculpture, with a strongly projected Grecian nose. The drapery falls over the raised thigh in the same way as in the larger statue,
but now cascades down behind the raised, right leg. This emphasises the sinuous curve of
the left calf as there is no drapery support behind to interrupt the silhouette. As Leithe-Jasper
pointed out,7 the drapery is ever more skin-tight, leaving the forms of the body completely
visible through it, and the bundles of folds are no longer strongly crested, but more broadly
modelled.

In contradistinction to the stone statue, Vittoria gave greater emphasis to the bronze
Mercury's attributes: he holds the flute with which he lulled Argus to sleep, and may have
originally held the sword with which he decapitated him,8 his petasus seems more traditionally
shaped, and the wings emphasised. Perhaps this was because the larger statue had been
misidentified as the Biblical hero David, with the head of Goliath - certainly Paoletti mistook
him thus. However, even the statuette was not immune from misidentification: in the
Steinkopff Sale of 1935, it was catalogued as a David.9

Vittoria added a number of details to reward close examination, such as the buckle at
the back of the sword-strap (fig. 504), and the Medusa mask on his left clavicle (fig. 505).
The position of his signature "ALEXANDER . VICTOR(ia) . T(ridentinus) . F(ecit) ." around the circular socle, and the fact that he now chose to include his birth-place, suggests
that he was alluding to Sansovino's Loggetta statues, which are also signed in this way (figs.
501-03).

The Minerva, too, drew inspiration from a combination of two of the Loggetta figures:
Pallas and Peace. Her stance, costume and accoutrements are similar to Sansovino's goddess
(fig. 509), other than that her right arm is raised to support the spear that she once held (a
small hole drilled near the right foot shows where its butt was secured), her right leg is more
advanced to disturb the fall of the pleats in her skirt, and her head is bent, so that she glances
downwards, in an analogous way to Peace (fig. 510). Visual reference to Peace is also
made, though perhaps through the filter of the Montagnana Venus as Spring (fig. 306), in the way that her pertly pointed breasts and navel are revealed (even though she is wearing a cuirass!), and in the diaphanous drapes which descend from her skirt to the ground, covering the right leg and revealing the advanced left. Her impassive features and long Grecian nose recall Vittoria’s earlier treatment of the subject (figs. 233-35) and unite her with her pendant, Mercury.

There can be no doubt, as Radcliffe first remarked, that the Mercury and Minerva statuettes are a pair: they are of the same facture and height to within a centimetre, and stand on identical bases, signed in the same lettering (although the Minerva omits the "T" for Tridentinus in the signature). As they both look decidedly downwards, Radcliffe suggested that they were composed for the same, particularly high setting. Furthermore, they are complementary: Radcliffe argued that "Vittoria and his patron would no doubt have been aware of Vincenzo Cartari’s book on the images of the classical deities first published in Venice in 1550, in which the conjunction of Mercury, symbolizing eloquence, and Minerva, symbolizing prudence, each necessary to the other, is discussed".11

Radcliffe suggested that this pair may have formed part of a more extensive group of classical deities, in which gods and goddesses were paired, and although no suitable candidates have emerged for the others, we know that shortly afterwards Vittoria experimented with a second group of gods, of which a lithe Diana / Venus (figs. 512-15) survives in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (71.5 cm),12 while a Jupiter (at present untraced) was published by Weihrauch in 1967 as on the art-market (fig. 516).13 The proximity of their dating to the Mercury and Minerva is established by their similar circular base-plates which are adorned with signatures analogous to that of the Mercury. The disposition of the arms is also very close, with one bent and brought across the body, the
other held downwards and away from the body, until the wrist, where the hand is turned back in towards the body, in order to keep the composition firmly closed.

Despite the similarities, the *Venus* and *Jupiter* cannot have belonged with the *Mercury* and *Minerva* for not only is the *Venus* five centimetres taller - the height of the *Jupiter* is unknown - , but both are entirely nude, have no support for the legs, and look upwards.\(^{14}\) Moreover, they are further attenuated with even smaller heads, which suggests a slightly later date of manufacture, around 1562 or 1563 - years unaccounted for in Vittoria's records. As Radcliffe observed, they too must be survivors from a group of several deities as "they clearly belong together, but cannot ... be pendants in a pair, since *Jupiter* would naturally be paired with *Juno*, and not with either *Diana* or *Venus".\(^{15}\) Considering Vittoria's friendship with Benavides, and his emulation of Ammannati, he may have intended to produce a "planetary constellation" along the lines of that created by Ammannati for Benavides: in an inventory of Benavides' collection drawn up in 1695 is listed a small semicircular amphitheatre with seven niches which contained terracotta models "alte due piedi" of the seven planetary gods.\(^{16}\) The identity and size of *Jupiter* and *Diana / Venus* agrees with such an hypothesis, as does the fact that Vittoria was simultaneously experimenting with a figure of *Apollo*.\(^{17}\)

Although it is difficult to determine the precise relationship between two similar, small bronze statuettes of *Apollo* - one with a quiver in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (28.9 cm) (fig. 518)\(^{18}\) and the other with a quiver and a lyre in the David T. Owsley Collection (26.5 cm) (figs. 521-23),\(^{19}\) and how they relate to the larger and differently posed terracotta *Apollo* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (c. 71 cm) (figs. 519, 525-28),\(^{20}\) their very existence testifies to Vittoria's interest in this god. Considering that the terracotta model is virtually the same height as the *Diana / Venus*, it would appear that Vittoria intended an
Apollo to join this particular pantheon, but whether a full-scale bronze was ever cast is conjectural.

The composition of the Berlin Apollo is clearly related to the Getty Mercury, the only difference being that his left leg is not raised. They have the same androgynous grace, and their oval faces look coyly downwards, and their arms and hands are similarly arranged. However, judging from its small scale and certain imprecisely rendered details (such as the ends of the slender fingers, the genitalia and the quiver of arrows), the Berlin Apollo was not originally intended to be considered as an independent work of art, but was rather cast to preserve a working-model which Vittoria particularly liked. Certainly the attenuation of the figure, which is a remarkable twelve heads high, would indicate this: sculptors' small-scale bozzetti often display very elongated proportions, which normalise when the figure is enlarged, witness Cellini's models for Perseus and Andromeda (Museo Nazionale del Bargello), and Giambologna's wax sketch for Florence triumphant over Pisa (Victoria and Albert Museum). However, the fact that this figure was carefully polished after casting, and Vittoria bothered to incise his initials into the base suggests that he subsequently decided to convert it into a "mini masterpiece". That this composition pleased is further suggested by the existence of an unpublished after-cast in the David T. Owsley collection, which now holds a small lyre.

The relationship of these two small bronze Apollos to the much larger Vienna terracotta is not clear. It is a variation rather than a simple enlargement of them. Its proportions are less attenuated, roughly eight heads high, and it is close in appearance to the Jupiter and Diana/Venus which strengthens the idea that it was made as their pendant. It looks to the Apollos by Sansovino (fig. 279) and Ammannati (fig. 280) more closely than the smaller figures. It recalls Sansovino's in the way in which the left arm hangs close by the
side and clasps the top of the quivers, and from the extant part of the right arm, it may be
deduced that this arm also followed Sansovino's prototype. However, the figure's nudity and
open-legged stance recall Ammannati's figure, as does the thin sash which adheres to the
contours of the body. The Classical head, held alert, with long, flowing locks down the nape
of the neck, and the distinctive bow of hair as a top-knot is common to both prototypes, as
it ultimately derives from the Apollo Belvedere.

Vittoria's experiments of the early 1560s culminated a few years later in the casting
of a statuette of St. Sebastian (figs. 452, 470-72), whose composition derived from that of
the stone figure of the same saint on the Montefeltro altar (figs. 441-42, 450). Cast in
December 1566 by Andrea Bresciano, the St. Sebastian immediately became Vittoria's
favourite bronze statuette, second only in affection to his marble statuette of St. John the
Baptist which he had recently (May 1565) repurchased. Indeed, so much did he like the
composition that in May 1575 he had a variant cast by Orazio, son-in-law of the late Andrea
Bresciano.

In the past there has been some confusion as to whether one or two statuettes were
referred to in these payments. However, that two quite distinct castings are recorded is
apparent since in both cases Vittoria was careful to mention that the payments were final -
"per resto e saldo". This is confirmed not only by Vittoria's fifth will of 6 May 1584, when
he mentioned a signed statuette of St. Sebastian and an unsigned variant, but also by the
existence today of two similar, yet certainly not identical bronze statuettes - one, which is
fully signed around the socle, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (figs. 452, 470-72)
and the other, which bears no signature, in the Los Angeles County Museum (figs. 476-77,
479-80). Both depend closely on the Montefeltro prototype.

The proportions of the Metropolitan St. Sebastian are more elongated than those of
the stone saint on the Montefeltro altar and, as a whole, the body is more idealised with a more exaggerated torsion and a tree-trunk which is no longer conjoined with his left leg. As Leithe-Jasper pointed out, the modelling is softer and more fluid, and the high lustre of the polished bronze surface reflects light much more strongly than Istrian stone.

The care expended on the Metropolitan statuette is apparent in the finely wrought details: the hands with their slender fingers and carefully manicured nails are thoughtfully disposed, enlivening the back view, and the head is more refined: despite the characteristically large ears, the eyebrow ridge is less pronounced and the jaw less heavy. The hair is particularly realistically rendered, the contours of the individual locks incised to indicate the individual hairs. The surface of the vertical tree-stump is also naturalistic, almost as if Vittoria had taken a lifecast of a thin branch. The cracking of the bark and the knots along its length, create a pleasing visual contrast with the smooth and lustred surface of the figure.

The Los Angeles version is less sylph-like. The saint’s head is thrown further back, giving greater prominence to his neck and throat, and by bending his right shoulder further back, the whole of his upper torso twists further from the front plane. The face is heavier, and less delicately detailed, the clumps of hair are less carefully individualised and more schematised, and the extremities are more slackly modelled. The surface is more agitated, causing the light to splinter over the surface. Perhaps due to the Council of Trent and its decrees, and on account of the Christ-like qualities of the saint, this cast is now adorned with a skimpy loin-cloth, loosely tied at the raised right hip. The saint is composed in a more accentuated serpentinata, which mirrors the curve of the tree-trunk. This is a little taller and meets the bound hand thereby giving the gesture more meaning. It takes root in the base unlike the Metropolitan version where the meeting of the gnarled tree and the perfectly flat,
circular base-plate is incongruous. However, while the stump’s form is more naturalistic, the bark is rendered more schematically.

The Los Angeles version was always assumed to be Vittoria’s second (unsigned) statuette cast by Orazio in 1575, but recently doubts have been raised as to its authenticity, on account of the surprisingly slack modelling and apparent lack of concern for details, as well as the very thin cast: in the latest edition of the Museum’s guidebook, the statuette is catalogued as possibly an eighteenth century after-cast from the lost 1575 original. However, this question can only be fully resolved once the requested thermoluminescence tests have been carried out, together with a full technical analysis.

If there were any doubts as to the priority of the Metropolitan statuette, one need only consult the wills of Vittoria. The third will of November 1570 (ie before the second version had been cast) reveals that the Sebastian was totally nude: singled out from the rest of his oeuvre it was described as “la mia statua di bronzo quale puo servire raconciandola overo san sebastiano, over Marsia facendoli la ferita sotto la tetta sinistra nel mezo d[e]lla tetta”. As Marsyas’ fate, after losing the musical competition to Apollo, was to be tied to a tree and flayed alive by the victor, this statuette must have been nude. Incidentally, there remains the unremarked incongruity of Vittoria’s proposed metamorphosis - Marsyas was a satyr (who should have goat’s legs and horns), and therefore, strictly speaking, could never be interchanged with a figure of St. Sebastian.

That Vittoria highly esteemed both the original statuette and its variant is demonstrated by the fact that when he penned his fifth will in May 1584, both statuettes were still in his possession, showing that he had kept the original Sebastian/Marsyas for over 17 years, and the later variant for over 9 years. In this will the Metropolitan figure - now firmly established in Vittoria’s mind as Marsyas - was left to the discerning patron and collector,
Count Mario Bevilacqua of Verona; whilst the later variant was bequeathed to Vittoria's friend Francesco Tedaldo.28

By the time that Vittoria wrote his sixth will on 25 February 1595, one of the versions must have been sold or given away since only one is now bequeathed. Leithe-Jasper is almost certainly correct in thinking that it was the Metropolitan statuette, since the figure which Vittoria retained is now always referred to as St. Sebastian, rather than Marsyas. As Vittoria seems to have distinguished the two figures by the presence or absence of the loincloth, the designation of the statuette as Sebastian implies the later, draped cast.

Whatever the case, Vittoria retained one of the versions - with almost as much paternal concern as he had for the little St. John the Baptist statuette - until his death. In his sixth will he donated "il S[an] Sebastiano de bronze al cl[arissim]o sig[nor] Benetto pred[etto] mio comiss[ari]o p[er] segno d'amoreuolezza" who was an executor,29 and in his ninth, and final testament he ordered that "il mio S[an]to Sebastiano de Bronzo, se uenira buona occasione di qualche Principe, o d'altra persona, che ne facci conto sij uenduto et il tratto sia diuiso tra la detta M[adonna] Doralice, et M[esser] Vigilio" (emphasis added).30 His wish that it be sold only to a discerning collector, and preferably a Prince, who would fully appreciate its artistic merit, yet again emphasises the value he placed on it, as does the fact that Vittoria chose to have himself depicted with a preliminary model for it, in the portrait that Veronese painted of him, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 454).31

There can be little doubt that by combining a Classical contrapposto with a Mannerist serpentinata curve within the body of a sylph-like, rather androgynous male nude, Vittoria created a compositional design that anticipated Baroque figures. The two bronze statuettes became immediately highly sought after collectors' pieces: according to Scamozzi, Andrea Vendramin owned "una pregiatissima statua di s. Sebastiano", which then passed into the
"Studio d'Anticaglie" of the rich merchant Bartolomeo della Nave, where it was to be seen: "insieme presso che 30 Statuette, e Petti ... oltre poi a molti Disegni a mano: e Modelli di terra e quel Sebastiano così raro del Vittoria onde a questo effetto ha ornato una sua stanza, delle quali ne fa mostra a virtuosi". Furthermore, we know that Girolamo Gualdo owned one of the bronzes, for in his 1650 guide-book he wrote, "Conservo del Vittoria un San Sebastiano alto piu di un braccio, opera delle sue preclare".

Plaster casts were taken from both statuettes or their models almost immediately, and these became as standard in artists' studios as casts from famous Antiques or works by Michelangelo. Veronese may have owned such a cast, or had access to the original bronzes or models kept by Vittoria, for there is a sheet of preparatory studies in pen and wash, formerly Haarlem (Koenigs), which contains two figures of St. Sebastian at the right-hand edge (fig. 467). As pointed out by Cocke, the pose of the far right figure recalls the modello by Vittoria in the portrait by Veronese. He then reversed the Sebastian and placed him in a niche, and it was this arrangement which Veronese adopted in his Doge Sebastiano Venier's thanksgiving for the Victory of the Battle of Lepanto in the Ducal Palace (fig. 468). A sketch by Passarotti (fig. 473) shows the figure, now heavily muscled and Michelangelesque in proportions, from four different views, while a still-life painting by Baschenis of Bergamo includes what is presumably a gesso-cast of the Sebastian (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo).

Casts were also available to Netherlandish artists as demonstrated by Jan Steen's painting The Drawing Lesson (fig. 474), where a young girl sketches a cast of the Sebastian, but one without the tree-stump; and the more complex double-portrait by Adam de Coster supposedly of Duquesnoy and Petel (fig. 475). Leithe-Jasper has pointed out that the model was also known by Augsburg silversmiths of the seventeenth century, as shown by statuettes in the churches of Bad Mergentheim and Ehingen in Germany. It would appear that
Vittoria's *St. Sebastian* was also copied in wood; witness a little olive-wood model published by Valentiner in 1950 (fig. 478).

If doubts exist as to whether the large bronze statuettes discussed above were commissioned or were made speculatively by Vittoria in the hope of selling them later, the recipients of several other statuettes of diverse subjects and media, which Vittoria made both before and after, are documented: Vittoria produced six models of saints to be cast in silver for two *Scuole Grandi*; a small Parian marble *Cupid* for Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria; and a small wax model of a *Horse* apparently as a gift for Giorgio Vasari, also for casting.

As Fortini Brown has shown, the piety of a confraternity was demonstrated tangibly through the commissioning of chapels, altarpieces and reliquaries, which inevitably led to inter-Scuola rivalry, as none wanted to be seen as less zealous in their honouring of God and their particular patron-saint. This had the result that, once Vittoria's reputation had been established, he received increasing numbers of commissions from both the six *Scuole Grandi* and the less wealthy, but infinitely more numerous, *Scuole Piccole*.

Vittoria's first commission from a *Scuola Grande* was extremely prestigious, although the project has been neglected in the literature because the work is no longer extant. On 27 June 1557, Vittoria recorded being paid 10 ducats by the *Banca* (ie the governing body) of the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista for "the models of the five figures which will be cast in silver". From a document first published by Cérésole, it transpires that a lavish new dais had been made for the reliquary containing the Scuola's most precious relic - a miracle-working fragment of the True Cross - then at the gilder's. The *banca* proposed to commission five silver figures to decorate it yet further: four *Prophets* for the corners, and a *St. John the Evangelist* for the middle, to be financed through a bequest from Alvise Priuli. A unanimous vote was passed in favour of the motion on 20 June, and by 27 June the
contract must have been signed with Vittoria. He received payments of 10 ducats on 21 September, 17 October, and the balance on 31 May 1558.42

Although there are no records of the final appearance of the reliquary resplendent with Vittoria's new figures, Cessi's suggestion that the silver figures of Saints Peter and Paul in the Boymans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (figs. 809-10), might be two survivors can be dismissed, for they are neither the Prophets nor the Evangelist mentioned in the Scuola's deliberation, nor do they have anything in common with Vittoria's style.43 Judging from the Scuola's previous lavish expenditure on their miraculous relic,44 and the fact that these figures were mentioned as "molto graziose" by Vasari,45 we may assume that Vittoria's figures must have been extremely beautiful, and brought further honour to the Scuola as the reliquary stood upon its new altar, commissioned in 1568.46

Vittoria was paid the equivalent of 8 ducats for each model, as he was paid 40 ducats in all, but Cérésole was incorrect in his assumption that the payments were made after each figure had been cast, because he was unaware of the subsequent deliberations taken by the Scuola, here published for the first time.47 From the deliberation of 24 February 1558 it transpires that all of the models had been made at great expense but only one of them cast. This was because the cost of casting the first figure was higher than originally quoted, leaving insufficient funds for the other four. It was therefore proposed that additional funds be requisitioned from other sources. Although the vote was passed and more money made available - which is presumably why on 31 May Vittoria could finally be paid the balance owed him for the models consigned over three months earlier - on 19 June there was a further deliberation to draw on other funds to meet the final expense. By this time three of the five had been cast. The motion was again passed, but nothing more is heard about the manufacture of the Prophets and the Evangelist; presumably the last two were cast over the
next month or so, and the reliquary completed.

The five models must have been made, therefore, between late June 1557 and late February 1558. As two of the four payments received from the Scuola occur within the space of four weeks (21 September and 17 October 1557), and this coincides with the gap in the payments made by Vittoria to his assistants on the Contarini figures (28 August and 23 November), it is probable that Vittoria prepared the five wax models then. Vittoria's figures must have been a great success, for the Scuola Grande di San Teodoro was to commission a silver statue of their gonfalon to crown a processional banner a few years later, and from the 1570s onwards many of Vittoria’s most prestigious commissions came from the confraternities.

From Vasari, we know that Vittoria designed a silver figure of St. Theodore.\(^5\) Vasari’s description is the only testimony to the existence of such a statue by Vittoria, but as he mentions it immediately after the five silver statuettes which Vittoria made for the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, it is probable that it was also a corporate commission. From its subject-matter, the Scuola Grande di San Teodoro which had only recently been elevated to the rank of a Scuola Grande (22 March 1552) could well have been the patron. It is likely that the commission was the result of direct competition with that of San Giovanni Evangelista and the other four Scuole Grandi.

I propose that Vittoria’s figure was that which decorated one of the Scuola’s two processional soleri, listed in an inventory of 13 April 1570 as "Item un santo Theodore de arzento qual non è fenido, pesa marche [...]". Gallo, who first published this entry, stated categorically - without giving any reasons - that this silver statue of St. Theodore was by Jacopo Sansovino,\(^5\) and one can only think this was because the inventory, rather intriguingly, called the silver statuette unfinished, and Gallo equated this information with the
fact that 1570 was also the year of Sansovino's death (although not until late November).

Considering that Vasari mentioned the St. Theodore in his Lives of 1568 one wonders whether he had seen a model for it on his last trip to Venice in 1566, or had merely heard about this commission from a Venetian source, such as his friend the Florentine agent in Venice, Cosimo Bartoli (see below). Until further archival research is undertaken, the date of manufacture has to remain speculative, but it is tempting to propose that the commission was granted by Tommaso Rangone, who was elected Guardian Grande of the Scuola on 7 March 1563 - in which case Vasari could have seen the wax model in 1566. Alternatively, the figure might have been commissioned during the Guardianship of Pietro Rotta, and linked with the commission in 1567 of a beautiful bronze foot for the Scuola's most precious relic - another silver and crystal cross - whose design was formerly given to Vittoria, but is now thought to be by Alessandro Bresciano who had cast Vittoria's first St. Sebastian statuette in 1566.

Vittoria also began to receive patronage from foreign dignitaries and courts, which apparently resulted from his friendship with foreign agents resident in Venice. Thus, in the 1560s we first hear of his acquaintance with men like Nicolo Stoppio and Jacopo Strada, art dealers working under the direction of Hans Jacob Fugger in his capacity as Hofkammerpräsident to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, and Cosimo Bartoli who was the Medici agent in Venice, and a great friend of Vasari. It is from the neglected correspondence of these agents that light can be shed on Vittoria's activities in the second half of the 1560s when other documentary evidence is scant.

From a letter of 3 December 1567 from Cosimo Bartoli to Giorgio Vasari, it transpires that Vittoria modelled a small wax horse as a present for the latter. Apparently, Vittoria had taken longer than anticipated over its manufacture because he had been unable
to find people who would make moulds of it as he wished, and moreover he encountered
difficulties in completing the head. However, by 3 December, Vittoria had finished the
model, packed it in a container and handed it over to Bartoli for consignment to Florence.

This gift is all the more intriguing because it seems part of a Florentine-Venetian
exchange of wax horses: towards the end of his letter, Bartoli refers briefly to another wax
horse he is expecting from a certain Bernardo. Despite Bartoli's protestations that the wax
horse from Florence should be sent without delay, it arrived only in summer 1568: in a letter
of 24 July he informed Vasari: "Io hebhi il cauallo del Fiamingo et poi un altro minore et li
fo gittar di bronzo per mio humore". The "Fiamingo" referred to is none other than
Giambologna - Vittoria's contemporary - and therefore it seems likely that the "maestro
Bernardo" mentioned in the first letter was Bernardo di Mona Mattea - master mason to the
Medici, who later owned a large collection of Giambologna's models. The second letter
implyes that Bartoli was given models of two sizes of horse, and had them cast, which may
well have been what Vasari did with Vittoria's model.

That Vittoria carved a small marble Cupid for the Duke of Bavaria is also revealed
by letters from a foreign agent resident in Venice. The correspondence of the art-dealer
Niccolo Stoppio with Hans Fugger, recently reinvestigated by Jansen, contains four passing
references to Vittoria. These prove that he had been commissioned through Jacopo Strada -
Stoppio's great rival - to make a Cupid for Fugger, acting as the mouth-piece of Duke
Albrecht, the progress of which was reported by Stoppio. From a letter of 9 September
1567, it may be deduced that the Cupid was probably a standing figure carved from marble,
because the price of a figure of Paris, specified as being made of Parian marble and being
a good palm higher than the Cupid, was estimated to be worth double the Cupid priced at 75
ducats. Stoppio's letters of 3, 10 and 24 August 1567 reveal delays in the Cupid's
completion, which implies that Vittoria was busy with other projects, one of which was also for the Duke of Bavaria: the letter of 24 August makes a passing reference to "la donna, alla quale [Vittoria] ha fatto mettere una testa et un brazzo", which was to be finished within the next fortnight and consigned by Strada, together with the Cupid, to Fugger.59 "La donna" referred to was presumably a fragmentary antique statue, possibly a Venus, whose missing head and arm Vittoria was commissioned to restore.60

This letter provides the earliest concrete evidence that Vittoria restored Classical sculpture, which is further recorded by a suggestion in a letter written by Paolo Gualdo to an unknown recipient at Pentecost 1603, that s/he could ask either Tiziano Aspetti or Vittoria to make a marble head to complete an antique sculpture.61 Indeed, the fact that Vittoria was present at the drawing up of the inventory of the collection of Gabriel Vendramin on 2 September 1567,62 and another on 16 June 1568,63 proves that by this time, he was regarded as an expert in matters regarding Antique sculpture, and his expertise was to be called upon later by the government when it came to inventory the Grimani collection of antique sculptures in the so-called Sala delle Teste in the Doge's Palace in February 1587.64

Indeed, it was probably Vittoria's familiarity with the great collections of antique sculpture in Venice which made him such an invaluable ally for Strada, who was primarily employed by Albrecht V to acquire antique sculpture; he purchased, for example, in 1568 the collection of Andrea Loredan,65 and in 1569 the numismatic collection of Marco Mantova Benavides66 - two of Vittoria's earliest patrons. Meanwhile, Strada's good relations with Fugger, Albrecht V of Bavaria, and the Emperor Maximilian II - who was his real employer,67 were invaluable for Vittoria, and it was probably through Strada that Vittoria gained the highly important commission to make a large bronze relief of the Annunciation for Fugger in 1581 (figs. 643, 648-53).68 Moreover, Jansen claims (but without providing
91. That Vittoria was friendly with the younger painter was attested by Ridolfi, who reported: "Poi se ne passò [Maganza] à Venetia con pensiero di fermaruisi, e fatte vedere alcune sue fatiches ad Alessandro Vittoria Scultore, venivua esortato à tratteneruisi, come quello, che hauerebbe potuto sortire felici incontri per la sua Virtù..." (Ridolfi-Hadeln (1914-24), 231).

92. In the "Studietto" hung a small portrait of an unidentified lady "in forma di specchio" by Titian; in the "Camera uerso la Calle" a small portrait of a main was placed above the picture-rail; while in the "Camera appresso il studietto" hung a portrait of Titian by Veronese; a portrait of Veronese by his son; a small portrait of Tintoretto in his youth by an unspecified hand; a small self-portrait of Alessandro Maganza from Vicenza; a small self-portrait of Jacopo Palma il Giovane; a small self-portrait by a Brescian painter; and no less than five portraits of the vainglorious Vittoria, described in the inventory as "Two large and three small portraits of the aforementioned Signor Alessandro at different ages and by different hands" (Doc. No. 239).

93. See Gregori (1976), 91-100; it seems that this portrait was painted in 1551-52, when both artists were in Trent.

94. For this portrait, see Salinger (1946), 7-14 and Zeri (1973), 87-88, Pl. 99. (Timofiewitsch (1912), 32ff. proposed that the painting portrayed Campagna, and suggested that the model was for the Atlas for the fireplace in the Anticollegio in the Doge’s Palace. On account of the physiognomical similarities of the sitter in Veronese’s portrait with those of Vittoria’s Self-portrait-bust, I cannot agree with this).

95. That by Moroni now measures 87.5 x 70 cm (but before enlargement was 82.5 x 64.6 cm); that by Veronese measures 110.5 x 81.9 cm. We know that another of these five portraits of Vittoria was by Palma il Giovane for in his life of this painter, Ridolfi reported that among the portraits housed in the collection of the nobleman Ascanio Spineda was a portrait of Vittoria (Ridolfi-Hadeln (1914-24), 192). This may be synonymous with the painting reputed to be of Vittoria in old age by Palma in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (fig. 757), which is much smaller. I also believe that Palma painted another portrait of Vittoria, when he was younger - that identified as "Portrait of a Collector" in Birmingham (fig. 453), see Chapter Six, 155, n. 169 n. 74.

96. Doc. No. 70.


98. Doc. No. 128.

99. Cat. No. 110.
CONCLUSION

By 1570, Vittoria had established himself as the pre-eminent sculptor of Venice. His rapid advance was the result of his own natural talent, fired by a passionate desire to preserve and promote his reputation, as the perceptive Aretino had deduced early on. He was greatly helped in this task by being subcontracted prestigious commissions by the great architects then at work in the Veneto - Sansovino, Palladio, Sanmicheli - and subsequently by the influential proto, Giangiacomo de' Grigi. Moreover, Vittoria was promoted by powerful men: initially by Cardinal Madruzzo in Trent, Aretino and Loredan in Venice, by the Thiene family in Vicenza, and Benavides in Padua; and subsequently by Rangone, Daniele Barbaro, various members of the Grimani and Gritti families and Giulio Contarini.

Vittoria's meteoric rise was also guaranteed by his exceptional talents in a number of areas. Not only was he a portraitist _par excellence_, but together with Bartolomeo Ridolfi was the finest stuccoist active in the Veneto in the 1550s and 1560s, as proven by his work in the Doge's Palace, the Library and the Zane altar. His youthful ambitions and desire to emulate Ammannati and surpass his master Sansovino led him to accept - and execute with surprising bravura for one so young - various commissions for colossal sculpture for prominent edifices, such as the _Feminoni_ or the _Verona Angel_. Yet, he was also able to carve both exquisite small-scale statuettes of saints which could instill feelings of religious devotion, such as his little marble _Baptist_ or the figures for Marc'Antonio Grimani's chapel, and model seductively attenuated bronze statuettes of Classical gods of an almost erotic nature, such as his _St. Sebastian / Marsyas_. The diversity of genre, medium and size of the commissions which Vittoria undertook in the 1550s and 1560s highlights his extraordinary versatility. No doubt
Vittoria was keen to portray himself as a "homo universalis", and as his career developed he came to view himself as a Venetian Michelangelo.²

Eager for success, Vittoria absorbed the lessons of the great masters both past and present: he drew inspiration from Classical sculpture and from the work of Michelangelo, but also looked to painters such as Parmigianino, and Primaticcio at Fontainebleau for ideas, as well as his contemporaries in Venice like Veronese and Tintoretto, with whom he began to collaborate. Not content with studying the works of art in his patrons' collections, Vittoria began to form his own private collection, comprising an exceptional number of drawings, paintings and casts from famous sculptures, as well as a couple of Antique heads.

Thus, despite Vittoria's initial uncertainty about staying for any length of time in Venice, following his return there, the abundance of work soon dispelled his fears. Having signed a contract in July 1553 to rent a house in the Calle della Pietà for one year,³ by 1556 he had decided to settle permanently in Venice, for he had sold his house in Trent,⁴ and was renting two additional properties in the city, which may have been used as workshops or storage space.⁵ The need for more space indicates that work was plentiful, as does the fact that from May 1555 he hired a succession of garzoni,⁶ and his account-book attests to the number of lavoranti he employed.

One inevitable result of his increased work-load was increasing dilatoriness in completing commissions, which became more marked with time, despite his increasingly large, and efficiently run workshop. Thus, while the first Feminone took just over four months to carve, her companion took over fourteen; and while the figure of Theitis for the Contarini Monument took less than a month to carve, the pair of Slave-Telamones placed directly beneath took twenty-eight months to complete. Although commissioned to carve the three figures for the Montefeltro Altar in November 1561, and obliged to complete them by
the following September, Vittoria did not even purchase the stone from which to carve the
St. Sebastian until July 1563; while most protracted of all of Vittoria's commissions was the
figure of St. Jerome for the altar of Zane: despite being condemned by Gerolamo Zane in
1570, for lack of work on the block of marble which had been delivered nearly four years
earlier, by 1576 Vittoria had carved only half of the figure.

Despite these delays, the quality of his work ensured that Vittoria continued to receive
more commissions than he could cope with. He received patronage from both private
individuals and corporate institutions; and from the mid-1560s onwards, Vittoria cultivated
links with foreign courts through apparently carefully calculated friendships with the foreign
agents resident in Venice, such as Nicolo Stoppio and Jacopo Strada who were both in touch
with Hans Fugger, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria and the Emperor Maximilian II, and Cosimo
Bartoli, the Medicean agent. While specific patronage from Albrecht V is known, patronage
from the Medici may be inferred, for in his second will of October 1566, Vittoria bequeathed
his Self-Portrait of Parmigianino to Grand Duke Cosimo. That some Ducal favour had been
conferred on Vittoria - he surely would not have left so important a painting to him without
good reason - appears confirmed in his third will (November 1570), for the earlier bequest
is repeated with the Duke designated as "quel gran fautore di virtuosi". What the
commission or favour bestowed by the Duke on Vittoria was has not emerged, but the fact
that Vittoria should have been in contact with the Medici court reconfirms his pre-eminent
position.

Bartoli's correspondence reveals that by the mid-1560s Vittoria was part of a coterie
of the most important artists in Venice, which included Danese Cattaneo, Giuseppe Porta
(il Salviati) and Palladio. Other letters demonstrate the high regard in which Vittoria's
opinion on artistic matters was held: in a letter of 26 June 1568, Bartoli reported Vittoria's
comments about a certain glass-maker called Gianantonio Ballerino which reveal his acquaintance with Venetian artisans as well as artists - while a letter of 12 June 1569 reveals that Bartoli and Vittoria, together with Gian'Antonio Rusconi, had made a trip to a benefice outside Padua to see the work of a certain priest called Giambatista Zabacco, which had amazed and delighted all three. As the years progressed, Vittoria was to become seen as an arbiter of taste, whose opinion was sought on artistic matters of all kinds. Hence his favourable opinion in 1586 of a portrait of Bianca Cappello (Venetian wife of Francesco de' Medici) was deemed important, while he was present at the drawing up of the inventory of the Grimani Antique sculpture in the Sala delle Teste in the Doge's Palace in 1587, and the Procurators di San Marco de Supra sought his opinion on the quality of sculptures produced for the Procuratie Nuove.

Probably the clearest indication of the pre-eminent position that Vittoria enjoyed by the late 1560s is provided by the well-known report of 22 January 1569 sent from Veit von Dornberg, the Imperial agent resident in Venice, to his master Maximilian II. Dornberg had been commissioned to investigate the best architects and sculptors in Venice, who would be suitable candidates to work on the Imperial residence. In Dornberg's opinion, Vittoria was considered second only to Sansovino, but the latter was, by then, too enfeebled to sculpt, while the only other contender was said to be Danese Cattaneo, but he was dismissed as a poor third.

Moreover, just a year before, Vasari had concluded his account of Vittoria's works to date in so eulogistic a manner that one would be forgiven for thinking Vittoria a native of Florence: "since Vittoria is young and a willing worker, talented, amiable, desirous of acquiring name and fame, and, lastly, very courteous, we may believe that if he lives, we are destined to see most beautiful works come from him from day to day, worthy of his name of
Vittoria, and that, if his life endures, he is like to be a most excellent sculptor and to win the palm from all the others of that country. While Vasari was correct in his prediction of many future masterpieces from Vittoria’s hand, it is fair to conclude that by the late 1560s Vittoria had already wrested the victor’s palm from the other sculptors in Venice, and had already produced many beautiful works worthy of his own surname which means ‘Victory’.

2. Witness the form his tomb took which recalls the frontispiece to Vasari's *Life of Michelangelo*; Cat. No. 110.


4. Predelli (1908), 129, under c. 54, with the margin heading: Antiporte da Trento dil Dottor.

5. Predelli (1908), 24.

6. See Doc. No. 26; Predelli (1908), 35-36.

7. See Doc. Nos. 80 & 82; and Cat. No. 53.

8. See Doc. No. 96.


11. It is just possible that an (unpublished) pair of busts representing a Negro and a Negress (each c. 74 cm high; one initialed A. V. F.), sold in the late 1970s by the art-dealers, Rosenberg & Stiebel Inc., may have some connection with a Medici Commission, if their putative provenance is correct. Mr. Eric Stiebel most kindly informed me that, according to the previous owner, they came from the Boboli Gardens in Florence, and subsequently entered the Trivulzio collection.

12. Vittoria's friendship with Cattaneo may provide further reasons for Fugger placing the commission for his bronze pala with Vittoria, for Cattaneo was employed by Fugger in 1567 to procure antique busts for him, and in 1568 to execute the busts of twelve Roman emperors, which he ultimately received in 1571. So pleased with these was he that he ordered a second series in January 1572, but Cattaneo died three months later, and in July Fugger transferred the commission to Cattaneo's disciple, Girolamo Campagna (Lill (1908), 149 ff.; Planiscig (1933), 20).


16. See Doc. No. 188.

17. See Doc. No. 190.

18. See Doc. No. 221.

19. See Doc. No. 106.

APPENDIX I

CORPUS OF DOCUMENTS

Note for readers of the Documents

I have included an appendix of documents so as to allow the reader to check my interpretation of events in Vittoria's career against the sources. Although many of the documents reproduced here were first published by Predelli (1908), they were not always accurately transcribed and were published verbatim from Vittoria's papers, and therefore included material not strictly relevant to Vittoria's sculptural career. I have thus selected from Vittoria's papers those items pertaining to his practice as a sculptor (and architect, where they exist), and arranged them chronologically under commissions, together with related documents from other sources.

I have attempted to transcribe the documents as accurately as possible, and have only introduced extra punctuation to that provided where the meaning would otherwise be unclear. Abbreviated words have been expanded to render them more intelligible, but the (often erratic) spelling has been left unchanged. Within documents, I have copied Boucher in using the following symbols:

[ ] editorial emendations
... omissions from the text
< ... > gaps in the text

Abbreviations

ACT
ARS
ASF
ASM
ASP
ASV
ASVIC
BCT
BMC

Archivio consolare di Trento
Archivi di Stato di Firenze
Archivio di Stato di Modena
Archivio di Stato di Padova
Archivio di Stato di Venezia
Archivio di Stato di Vicenza
Biblioteca Communale di Trento
Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice
1. Vittoria’s arrival in Venice, 25 July 1543
Ricordo lo Alessandro Vittoria chome giomssj in Venetia la mia prima volta il giorno di Sa[n]to Iachomo di Lullo d[e]l 1543.


2. Payment made by Sansovino to Vittoria for cleaning the second pergolo in San Marco, 1544

(ASV, Proc. de Supra (Chiesa), Busta 77, Proc. 181, Fasc. 1, fol. 10r; Cecchetti and Ongania (1886), p. 43, no. 223).

3. Payment made by Sansovino to Vittoria for work on the Sacristy door, May 1546

(ASV, Proc. de Supra (Chiesa), Busta 77, Proc. 181, Fasc. 1, fol. 21r-v; Cecchetti and Ongania (1886), pp. 43-44, no. 224).

4. Vittoria receives payment for Four River Gods on the Marciana Library, 29 March 1550

[This entry has been crossed through with parallel diagonal lines]


The little marble Saint John the Baptist for San Geremia

5. Vittoria receives payment for statuette, 26 April 1550

[This entry has been crossed through with parallel diagonal lines]

6. Vittoria records repurchasing the statuette from the church authorities of San Geremia, 14 May 1565

S(an)to Giouanj di marmo
Ricordo io Alessandro Vittoria chome questo di sopra scritto ho sborssatto Ducati dodici ete mezzo, al capitolo de Preti dj S(an)to Hieremia dj Venetia & io sono rimasto assoluto patrone di S(an)to Giouanj di marmo ehe io auuea fatto p(er) loro, chome apare p(eri) istrumento fatto p(er) m(esser) Rocho di Benedetj notaro in Piazza dj S(an)to Marcho sotto il Palazzo Ser[eniss]imo
Val Ducati -- numerjo -- 12½ --


7. The Notary's act recording the transaction, 14 May 1565


[The words between {} have been inserted into the left margin].

(ASV, Atti Notarile, Rocco De Benedetti, Busta 432, "Protocollo con Alfabeto 1565", fol. 165r-v).

8. Letter from Teodoro Busio to Cardinal Madruzzo, proving Vittoria's presence in Trent in October 1550

... Maestro Alessandro scultor cum un altro spezapreda sono stati alla predara di marmori, perche dicono esser cosa mirabile et bona. Esso Maestro Alessandro scrivera il tutto a V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustriss]ima...

Records of the *apparati* erected in honour of the visit of Prince Philip of Spain to Trent in June 1551

9. Payments for some of the decorations, April 1551


(ACT, N. 4045, fol. 47r; Predelli (1908), pp. 14-15, n. 2).

10. Records of the festivities organised for Philip as recorded in Massarelli's diary

Die domina 7. dicti mensis Iunii [1551].

Praedium et ludis in honorem principis Philippi.

Princeps, audit missa in arce Tridentina, venit visitatum R.mum legatum apud eius domum eumque miris honoris generibus affectis, receptus ap ipso legato extra portam sui hospitii. Ubi param immoratas accessit una cum ipso legato ac card. Tridentino ad locum quendam extra civitatem ad 300 passus, qui postibus in flumine Athesis, unde ab aqua circumdata, ita ut insulam efficit, ubi praeparatum erat monstricio prandiurn in loco ex asseribus confecto, pictura, statuus auleisque ornatisimo. Ibi igitur pransi sunt princeps, legatus, Tridentinus et filius domini Sabaudiae in una eademque mensa. In loco vero paulo inferiorior eodem tempore pransi sunt nobiles omnes, tam viri quam mulieres, quam multae illuc conveniunt.

Praedium absoluto (quod et diversis excellentiissimis musicis conditum fuist) choroae tam ab ipso princeps quam nobilibus ductae fuerunt. Deinde acta sunt hastiludia, in quibus egregiae certatun est. Fingebatur ea pugna, quae a D. Ludovico Ariosto in eius poëmatibus describatur de Rodomonte rege, qui onores ante pontem quedam adventantes et certamine superabat et captivos in turrim quandam conicibat, quosque illuc pervenit fortissima illa mulier Marfisa dicta, quae regem ipsum devicit et captivos superavit; quae tamen et ipsa a Brandimarte, alia virili strenuaque muliere (cuius astae mureone quotquot tacti erant, in terram cadere cogebantur) devicta fuit. Ea omnibus magnis oblectamento ac pugnantium commendatione et laude visa fuerunt. Postea hora 21. civitatem redierunt.

Die lunae 8. Iunii [1551].

... Eadem die hora 22. princeps prefectus est ad insulam, quam in flumine Athesis posteam esse superius demonstratum est, ubi cenatus est cum card. Tridentino, princeps Sabaudiae ac rege quodam Maurorum, qui a potente tyranno Africæ Tariff dicto anno praeterito ex su regno expulsum est et ad imperatorem pro auxilio conjugi, et nunc cum ipso princepe in Hispaniam proficisciur. Absoluta cena expugnatum fuit quoddam castellum in medio fluminis ex lignis constructum, atque choroae nobilium mulierum ductae fuerunt, ac tandem hora 3. noctis civitatem redierunt.

(Massarelli-Merkle (1911), p. 235).

Matthioli's Descriptions of the two main fountains inside the Buonconsiglio Palace, Trent

11. The 'Lion Fountain'

Supera ogni vaghezza una fontana,  
Ch'un bel pezzo di marmo in vaso chiude,  
Dove di bronzo si vede Diana  
Con le sue Nimphe per bagnarsi nude
Lascia qui u Atteon la forma humana, 
E fassi vn ceruo salvatico, e rude, 
E par che quasi'l suo infortunio plori 
Essendo hor privo de i regali honori.

Sostien quest'opra vna colonna bella, 
Tutta di bronzo, d'un sotttil lavoro, 
Sopra la qual sta in piedi vna donzella, 
Che si conuerse in verdeggiante alloro: 
Pieso dallato sta, ch'abbraccia quella, 
Che perder non vorria tanto thesoro, 
Mette nel querelarsi ogni sua forza, 
Per ruocarla dall'verde scorza.

In mezo al vaso la colonna sede, 
A cui quatro gran larue il seggio fanno, 
Sopra le qual con grande arte si vede 
Quattro fanciulli star, che l'acqua danno. 
Fan del superbo vaso'l fermo piede 
Quattro Delphin, ch'auui luppati stanno 
Di bianco marmo,e tutto I bel cortile 
Orna questo bel fonte e signorile.

Di simil marmo vi son due Leoni, 
Ch'a gustar le chiar'acque stanno affronte, 
Et appoggian le griffe, e fieri vgnnoni 
All'orlo dell'ameno, e vago fonte. 
Han di scolitura tutte le ragioni, 
Tal che porgan terror col toruo fronte 
A chiunche quiui a tor dell'acqua viene, 
Tanto del viuo da lor forma tiene.

(Matthioli (1539), unpaginated).

12. The Neptune fountain in the garden
Scolpito in bianco marmo vn fonte vago 
Nel mezo del giardino in alto sorge, 
Che faria d'acqua vn copioso lago, 
Tante ne gitta in vari luoghi, e porge. 
Nel suo piu alto vna eccellente imago 
Del dio Nettuno scolpita si scorge 
Che da marine Conche in piu rampolli 
Distilla l'acque cristalline, e molli.

È leuato da terra il vaso degno 
Quanto ricerca vn commoda altezza, 
Scolpito in tondo con sotttil disegno, 
Di gran capacita, d'ampia larghezza. 
Il piè, che sotto è posto a far sostegno, 
Sopra tre magni gradi fa fermezza, 
Per cui si sale a tor delle chiare onde,
Che il marin nume nel bel vaso infonde.

Siede egli sopra vna molto eccellente
Colonna, che del vaso in alto e mira,
E nella destra ha l'acuto Tridente,
Con cui raffrena al mar l'orgoglio, e l'ira.
Quindi tante acque dal vicin torrente
Chiare conduce al suo volere, e tira,
Che quando asciuga Apollo il bel giardino,
Irigar se ne puote ogni confino.

Il vago fonte vn nobil pavimento
Di vaghe pietre in ampio cerchio serra:
Doue incassato vn numer grande è drento
Di metalliche canne ascose in terra:
Dalle qual con grande arte in vn momento,
Secondo s'apre vn istruimento, e serra,
Saltan con furia l'acque all'improvviso,
C'hanno ai piu dame gia bagnato il viso.

(Matthioli (1539), unpaginated).

13. Letter from Teodoro Busio to his sister, proving Vittoria's presence in Trent, 21 September 1551
Signora Margarita sorella honoratissima.
Perche ho inteso che quella vostra donzella si parte da voi, con questa mia vi ho voluto pregar che in cambio di quella voliate accettar una quale e sorella de Messer Alessandro scultor, gia fiola de Messer Villo sartor, quale e dambene e molto costumata et virtuosa de cose: Et detto suo fratello dovendosse partir de chi per andar a star a Venetia non vole stai chi in Trento per rispetto de tanti forestieri che sono et desidera stia fuori, cosi vi prego quanto posso voliate accetarle che certo ve ne contentarete et ve ne potrete prevaler, et farette appiacer a mi et a suo fratello quale et molto virtuoso et mio amicissimo, et a voi me racomando,
Da Trento adi 21 Settembrio 1551.
Vostro bon fratello, Theodoro Buxio Signor de Nomi.

(Oberziner (1911), pp. 65-71).

A Messer Alessandro, Scultore
Belle e saporite sono le pere mandatemi costi da Vicenza, da voi, che non siete meno cortese nei doni che valente nei marmi, né vi crediate che il gran Tiziano non abbia mangiato tanto de le mie quanto de le sue; imperò che ben si sa che quasi continuo ceniamo insieme di cuore; e laudandole il Sansovino (che ancora lui fa vita con noi due, quale avete visto più volte), gli dissi come tali frutti gentili erano de la vostra gentilezza presente, il che certo ebbe caro. Ma si dolse meco di non so che letra scrittagl (secondo che dice) molto licenziosamente da voi, soggiungendo: "Io, Aretino fratello, ve la mostrerò senza dubbio".
Invero che non l’ho veduta per anco; onde non so che dirmi, se non che mi rincresce che fra (si poteva dire) padre e figliuolo ci sia controversia e disturbo, offerendovi, quantunque si oltre è lo sdegno, di usare uno di quegli uffizii che sempre la mia natura usò per gli amici. In cotal mentre vi ringrazio de l’amorevolezza mostrata in si grato cose al mio gusto, pregandovi che, se vi può giovare la mia opra, che mi disponiate a la libera.

Di dicembre, in Venezia, 1551.


15. Letter written by Vittoria, in Vicenza, to the Duke of Ferrara, 16 April 1552

all’Ill[ustrissi]mo et Ecc[ellentissi]mo Sig[nor] il Sig[nor] Duca di Ferrara.

Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore

L’Illustrissimo Signor Conte Ludovico di Thiene, essendo io l’altro giorno costì, mostrò a Vostra Eccellenza una mia medaglia del principe di Spagna, e puoco dopo per mio maggior favore, m’appresentai a quella alla qual havendomi dimandato s’io potessi far il suo ritratto o di marmo, o di bronzo, risposi, che più tosto, ch’io havessi fornite alcune mie opere serei ad ogni suo piacere e comodo, per ciò hora che libero son, Vostra Eccellenzia liberamente mi commandi, poscia che ogni mio desiderio sia in tutto quel che so e posso servirla, alla cui buona gratia humilmente mi raccommando. Di Vicenza, alli xvi di aprile MDLII.

Di Vostra Illustrissima et Eccellentissima Signoria humilissimo servitore,

Alessandro Vittoria scultore

(ASM, Archivio Materie, Belle Arti, Scultori, Busta 17 / I; Campori (1872). There is also a manuscript copy in the BMC, MS. PD. 307c, fase. XII).

16. Letter from Feruffino to the Duke of Ferrara, 21 April 1552

... cum mie precedenti [lettere] hebbei damandare alla Eccellenza Vostra una di maestro Alessandro [Vittoria] scultore Vicentino, il qual mi disse che d’ordine di Lei haveva veduto la statua d’Hercole fatta da questa testa di pietra durissima del Sansovino, et prima ch’egli mi habbi detto il parere suo d’essa statua, mi è parso di perverir in dirli ch’ancora non sia mia professione perché non habbia cognizzione de figure ch’imperò sono già da tre in quatro mese che ritrovandomi a vederla, dissi ad esso Sansovino che le gambe et le cosce non mi pareva corrispondessino bene alla grandezza del corpo, tuttavia che per la molta opinione che havevo di lui, il qual l’haveva fatta senza vitio et ben proportionata, non mi parve di farne mentione alcuna per mie [lettere] a Vostra Eccellenza per non essere moccato da Lei. Così egli hora mi ha certificato esser pur’troppo vera la detta desproportione, et che non solo son curte, ma troppo solile et con altri vitij che sono stati represi da huomini di giudicio et molto intelligeni, onde che per rivederla meglio, hoggi insieme cum il predetto maestro Alessandro, stato da xij anni cum detto Sansovino, et insieme cum maestro Isopo Vicentino pittore et uomo di giudizio et di buon sentimento, sono andato a casa sua. Tuttavia non ci ha giovato perché esso non ha voluto lasciarsi trovare, nè li suoi han voluto trovare le chiavi del magazeno nel quale si è fatta la statua. Imperò, havendo io preso ordine cum detti suoi domestici, ho insieme cum li periti per vederla, dicendo d’haverne commissione da Vostra Eccellenza di fargliela vedere, il buon Sansovino pazzo bestiale et impraticabile, mi ha staser mandato a dire ch’egli non vuole ch’io vegga cum li detti suoi, uno de quali è stato suo famiglio et che non sa se sia vivo, et che si meraviglia di me a voler far vedere questa

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figura da uno che niente sa et che ne scriverà alla Eccellenza Vostra cun dire che vole ch'è giudizio d'essa sia fatta da uno Baccio qual'è in Fiorenza alli serviti di quel Signore et da un'altro qual se ritrova in Roma. Hora, io, Signore, per quanto il suddetto maestro Isepo mi ha detto haver inteso da virtuosi et di questo mestiere in Padova che l'hanno veduta, è imperfettissima et di maniera ch'egli, per non perdere il credito, non doveria darla fuori in conto alcuno et massime a Vostra Eccellenza, ma più presto pensare di farne un'altra cum aggiunto di persone che meglio di lui intendere le figure nude, delle quali esso è detto che non ha mai hauuto vera cognizione. Maestro Alessandro desiderava di andare cum lui per l'honeur suo et per aggiutarlo a far < . . > Tuttavia, vista la sua bestialitate, ha deliberato di farne un modello, il quale a giudicio degli < . . > de' periti sarà giudicato migliore assai di quello del Sansovino . . .

(ASM, Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci da Venezia, Busta 38; Campori (1872)).

17. Letter written by Vittoria, from the Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza, to Feruffino, 30 May 1552
Feci il modello d'un Hercule in nome dell'eccellentissimo Signor Duca di Ferrara al paragone del Sansovino, qual spinto forse più per livore, che per giudicio, mostrava biasmare le cose mie, et perché sono tenero del mio honore, in gratia richiedo che quello vogli mettere a paragone del mio alcun suo et meco sottomettersi alla sententia, et censura de bell' intelletti, over periti nell'arte, et da mo < . . > volendo, che se depositi qualche honorato prenotio, per me non resti, che se giudichi, qual di noi al altro in simil lavoro debba esser preferito che se non basta a Vostra Signoria di veder sol il modello, mi porrò al compimento del opera et verrò con quella a Venetia, in questo mezzo Vostra Signoria m'ammi et favoreggì che il son servitore, et se mi vol dar risposta dirci sue lettere al palazzo del Magnifico Conte Marcantonio di Thiene, ove al presente mi ritrovo, et a Vostra Signoria infinitamente mi racomando.
Di Vicenza alli xxx m ayo MDLII.
Di Vostra Signoria servitore, Alessandro Vittoria S.

(ASM, Archivio Materie, Belle Arti, Scultori, Busta 17/I; Campori, (1872). There is also a manuscript copy in the BMC, MS. PD. 307c, fasc. XII).

18. Letter written by Pietro Aretino to Lucietta Saraceno, November 1552
A madonna Lucietta Saracina
Per non sapere con qual sorte di gratitudine ricompensare i saluti che mi mandate per bocca del di voi Signor Gasparo, senza menda e senza inganno consorte, mi è parso di mio ufficio e di mio debito il commettere con i prieghi ad Alessandro Vittoria che, subito costi giunto in Vicenza, la idea del volto vostro rassemmi. Di mio ufficio è stato il disporre lo eccellente scultore a ritrarvi; però che i meriti dei costumi, che di laude illustri vi adornano, essortano ciascuno, che gli comprende in vertù, a onorarvi ne l'opere. Ed è suto di mio debito ancora, conciosia che il ricordarsi la gentil bontade vostra di me, che vi osservo, mi obliga a mostrarnevi in tutti i casi de le preclare occasioni obligato. Onde in fede di ciò, il giovane, che a' marmi comincia a dar lo spirito in disegno, per compiacerli nel farmi piacere tuttavia,
vuole consumare la modesta e nobile effigie vostra tra la copia di quelle cotante che di man sua in vivace rilievo si veggoni. Egli, ch’è già la stessa natura in tale arte, con la propria avidità che ha fatto Massimiano, il Principe di Piemonte e di Spagna, non che in Trento il padre, il fratello e il nipote con diversi altri cavalieri e prelati, delibera medesimamente far voi, che ne siete degno, in medaglia. Si che lo studio da lui posto in esprimere la mansuetudine, la gravità e la grazia de la Chierigata Caterina sublime, né più né meno vi apparirà ne la sembianza in dolcezza che si apparisca in quelle de le dilettate figliuole del da Thiene conte Marc’Antonio amatissimo. Insomma, quando pure si dubiti che lo allievo de Fidia Sansovino in lo stile, non imiti il suo gran precettore ne la fame, con risoluta credenza (oltre e la più me testa da lui in un tratto ritratte, e la di Maddalena Liompara notabile matrona) la maestà che glorifica l’aria e la fronte del duca ottimo d’Atri e magnanimo. Ora io la determino. La destra baciandovi con paterna carità d’amore e con servile riverenza d’affetto.
Di novembre, in Venezia, 1552
Pietro Aretino

(Aretino (1957), II, pp. 412-13).

19. Letter written by Andrea Loredan, in Venice, to Marco Mantova Benavides, 5 December 1552
Magnifico sig[nor] mio, ringrazio infinitamente la eccellenza vostra dei sapientissimi e amorevolissimi ricordi e documenti suoi, ai quali mi forzerò con ogni poter mio aderire ad eseguire la continenza delle sue lettere, da quelle non deviando come sante e piene di salute. Cercheria appresso iscusarmi, non avendo risposto alle sue ricevute da monsig[nor] Alessandro Vittoria, scultore eccellentissimo, se non fusse l’umanità sua infinita, qual so per l’acerbissima morte di mio figliuolo mi avrà avuto per iscusato. Egli mi promise di tornare; finora non l’ho veduto: venendo mi sarà gratissimo, ne mancherò del debito mio, che sono tenuto per la virtù sua. Fra questo V. S. mi tenga in grazia, come ne ha fatto sempre, e se in cosa alcuna vaglio, non dico per lei, che sarebbe troppo s’io le potessi far piacere, ma per alcun servitor suo, si degni comandarmi, che mi troverà prontissimo sempre a servirla; ed a quella con tutto il cuore me le raccomando. Di Venezia, il 5 dicembre, 1552.

(Bottari-Ticozzi (1825), VIII, Doc. CLVI, pp. 353-34).

20. Letter written by Vittoria in Vicenza to Marco Mantova, 7 January 1553.
Al Molto Magnifico mio Signore Marco Mantova.
Quella poca virtù ch’è in me, per le lodi mi dà V. S. e per i meriti suoi, vi si offerisce, come io mi vi dono in perpetuo. Vi mando due medaglie, una, che io credo, che sia la prima, che desiderate, ed un’altra per non far errore, che io le mostrai insieme con molte, che io tenea. Ho fatto le raccomandazioni sue al C. M. Antonio, che tanto ama, ed estima le divine qualità sue, quanto merita così raro Signor, come sete: ne mi scordai appresso di salutare il Signor Pietro Aretino, come m’impose, qual risaluta V. Eccellenza, ed io trattando offrendomi di nuovo le bacio la mano. Di Vicenza alli 7 gennaio
D. V. E. Servitor Alessandro Vittoria Scultore

(Temanza (1778), p. 479; Bottari-Ticozzi (1825), VIII, Doc. CLVII, p. 354 [NB dated as 2
21. Letter written by Pietro Aretino to Vittoria, January 1553

Messer Alessandro, io ebbi il cesto de le pere e non la lettra, e Tiziano (che vi tiene come ch’io per figliuolo) ricevè la lettra e non il cesto. Benché il divino uomo vi ringrazi di dono che non ha goduto punto, nel modo che vi rendo grazie io, che l’ho mangiato tutto. In quanto mo a le due medaglie, che ne lo stile vostro rappresentano l’effegie mia, insieme con la carta che in tal materia scrivetemi, mi sono sute fino a casa portate; certo che iliverso come in ciascun’altra sua manifattura mi piace, del getto non parlo, perché non troppo merita nel rilievo di laude. Bastami che nel ritornar voi qui me ne fate improntare parecchi in rame e in argento, perché da Roma e d’altrove mi si dimandano con istanza soelecita, dei che mi rallegrò più tosto per gloria di voi che di me. Imperò che quello che mi si debbe in la fama, la vecchiezza se lo ritiene appresso e lo gusta, ma ciò che convieni al vostro ingegno nel nome, la gioventù peranuo n’è scarsa e no’l sente. Si che venendo qui, qual desidero, stampar me le farete con grazia. Intanto ho avuto caro che la signora Lucietta abbia accettata per bella la pistola che le scrissi e mandai; emmi né più né meno entrato nel cuore che il ritratto, che per sodisfarmi gli avete fatto e donato, ne la di lei contentezza capisca. In conclusione, se il famoso Sansovino messer Iacopo mai l’ebbi per cristiano e per buono, l’avervi raccolto ne ia sua benevolenza il conferma. Onde hogline l’obligo, che a Dio ha egli, poi che si fatto in prosperità le mantiene.

Di gennaio, in Venezia, 1553.


22. (i) Synopsis made by Gennari of letter from Vittoria, in Venice, to Marco Mantova Benavides, 10 May 1553

Da Venezia a X. maggio 1553. Scrive [Vittoria] al Mantova d’essere in Venezia, impiegato in fare due statue grandi che vanno alla porta della libreria di piazza. E s’egli raccomanda per le cose di S. Giustina

(Biblioteca del Seminario, Padova, Ms. DCXIX, 6, fol. 36, letter no. 130: "Lettere di diversi scritti al celebre Professore di Padova Marco Mantova e copiate circa l’anno 1748 dall’Abbate Giuseppe Dr. Gennari da un codice Ms."); Temanza (1778) p. 480).

22. (ii) Direct quote from above-mentioned Letter within a note by Cicogna

In un codice cart. in fol. del sec. XVI era già presso l’ab. Canoni [?] preparando per la stampa e contenute Lettere vulgari dirette de diversi personaggi a M. Marco Mantova (a 1555 circa) c’è una lettera d’Alessandro Vittoria scultore da Venezia 10 Maggio 1553, ove dice: Credo fermarmi qui per ora, avendo tolte sopra di me due figure grandi che vanno alla porta della Libreria della Piazza; impresa non meno onorevole che utile.

The *Feminoni* at the entrance to the Marciana Library

23. Decision by the Procurators to find a sculptor to carve them, 11 August 1553

Die.xj. dcj [1553, 11 August]


(ASV, Proc. de San Marco de Supra, Reg. 128, Chiesa Actorum 1552-1559, fols. 23v-24r).

24. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants for work on the *Feminoni*, from the beginning of June 1553

† y[esu]s adi. 3. zugo 1553


† y[esu]s adi 23 zugo 1553


† y[esu]s adi p[rim]o Luio. 1553.

L 5 A M[aest]ro Lorenzo Vicentino intagliatore p[er] auer lauorato cinque giorni su la s[opra]s[cr]ita figura de la Porta de la librarìa

adi. 8. Luio 1553.


adi 15. luio 1553.


adi 22. luio
L 5 s.10 A M[aest]ro Lorenzo p[er] auer lauorato cinque giornate e meza in su la figura s[opra]s[crit]ta

adi 29 luio
L 5 s.0 A M[aest]ro Lorenzo p[er] auer lauorato cinque giornate in su la figura s[opra]s[crit]ta [end of p.79r]

adi. 5. agoesto L iiij.

adi 12. agoesto

adi 19. agoesto

adi 26 agoesto

adi. 2. sete[m]bre

adi 9 setembre

adi 23. setembre

adi 30. setembre

adi. 7. otobrio. Liiij

adi. 6. setembrio Liiij [1554]
L. 2 s. 16. A M[aest]ro gian da sasso p[er] auer lauorato dua giornate in su la figura seconda dela porta dela libraria de s[an]to Marcho

adi. 9. Nouembrio d[e]J Liiij

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25. **Contract to rent a house in the Calle della Pietà drawn up between Vittoria and Antonio Naviger, 26 July 1553**


26. **Vittoria hires his first garzone, Girolamo, jointly with Sansovino, 7 May 1555**

Ricordo come questo di s[opra][crit][to ho scrito ieronimo mio garzone ala iusticia uecchia, per ani cinque e comincia il giorno s[opra][crit][to e per suo salario gli daro duciati uenti. a tute sue spese - e suo fratello e stato suo piezo - D. 20 duciati, e di tutto il tempo che perdera, e questo scrito e fato con m[esser] Iacomo sansovino

27. Description of its rebuilding as contained in the will of Tommaso Rangone, 10 August 1577

... nam cum ecclesia D. Juliani ven. pro monumento meo iam diu ellegerim, et ab ill.mo senatu veneto a R.mo patriarcha ven., et capitulo ecclesiae toto, a procuratoribus ecclesiae et fabricae, mihi libere, sponte et ultra sacra, et inviolabili fideaque firrna perenniter fuerit concessa instrumento publico exhibita, et condonata, rogato per D. avidium brancum notarium venetum publicum anno nativitatis D. millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio Die mercurij vigesimo mensis septembris, et praecessa ab ill.mo venetorum senatu, parte capta in ex.mo rogatorium consilio Die 5. septembris praedicti millesimi et pro sacra, et s.ta corporis mei reliquis, publica et faciei Conscriptione elogioque sculptum marmoreo, et ego ipse a fundamentis collaboratem, et marcidam pecunij multis, auro argento aere et alij laboribusque magnis plurimoque sudore, amicorum, ac principii quorumeumque suffragijs, architectis Illustrioribus, sansovino, alexandro victoria, et reliquis gravissimis, varijs languoribus, perpetuisque vitae meae, animi, et corporis affectus perturbationibus, perpetuisque v itae eae, animi, et co rporis affectus perturbationibus aedificaverim, condiderim, et pulcherima marmorea facie, eleganti decor concinior, et ego ipsius forma difficilim e incredibileque impensa exornaverim et egregie construxerim, ideo quiesce in ea Deo altissimo salvatore beatissimo thoma, a D. Juliano optimo hospite beatissimaque sempere virgine maria Dei veri filij solius genetrice, sanctisque omnibus triumphantis, ecclesiae, ac militantis ill.mis D[omi]nis ac fratribus, idcirca corporis mei conservatores, et rerum eiusdem meaurum protectores elegi.


28. Various architectural projects by Vittoria and others, mentioned as being housed in Tommaso Rangone’s Library from his above-mentioned will of 1577


[fol. 19v]... [Catagrapha] faciei anterioris praedictae ecclesiae illustris ampliatae ab allex.o victoria sculptore architeto, et proto Ingeniosissimo, cum porticu ac facie D. Marcii platea, meoque Thome marmoreo S.ti Sepulcri simulacro ...

(ASV, Testamenti Notarile, Baldissera Fiume, Busta 421, No. 1172, fols. 7 & 19v; Weddigen (1974), pp. 63-64).
29. Contract to cast the first wax figure, prepared by Sansovino, 27 August 1554
Die dicta [27 agosto 1554] ad cancellum.
L’excellente dil’arte, et medicina dottore messer Thomasa Ravenna da una parte, et messer Giulio Alberghetto dall’altra parte, per li loro heredi et successori sonno convenuti et rimasti d’accordo nel modo infrascritto, cioè, che dovendo il prefatto excellente messer Thomaso far getar di bronzo la figura et immagine sua iuxta la forma et pronto di cerna fatto per il spettabile messer Giacomo Sansovino scultor et Architetto. Però il prefato messer Giulio promette, et si obliga a proprie spese sue, si di mettalo, come di qualunque altra cosa gettar di buon mettalo da esser approbato per il detto messer Giacomo Sansovino, detta figura qual sii netta in tutte sue parte, et non maculata ma ben gettada et nettada, Dechiarando che in caso che detta figura venise defettiva in qualche sua parte che il prefatto messer Giulio sii obligato a tutta quella spese occorrerà in far una simil forma, et figura, di cera. Rimanendoli però la cera della figura vechia per suo conto et ciò per patto expresso. Et all’incontro detto excellente messer Thomaso per pretio, et mercede tra loro cusi d’accordo per detta figura gettada promette a dar ad esso messer Giulio ducati cento diesi da lire 6 soldi 4 per ducato in questo modo cioè ducati cinquanta al tempo che lui messer Giulio vorrà gettar detta figura, et li ducati sessantatre tanti alla consignazione de detta figura gettada et nettada, qual figura lui messer Giulio promette gettarla, et dar compiuta per spatio de uno mese dappoi, consegnatetli la figura di cera senza alcuna exceptione . . .


30. Rangone assigns to Alberghetti the gesso cast taken from Sansovino’s wax model, 9 January 1555
Die dicta [9 mensis Januarii 1555] ad cancellum.
Havendo messer Giulio Albergheto quondam messer Albergheto havuto il giorno presente dell’excellente messer Thomaso da Ravenna phisico la forma di zesso della figura de cera alias consignata per esso excellente messer Thomaso ad esso messer Giulio da esser getada di metalo iuxta il loro accordo, come appar nelli atti di me nodaro sotto li 27 settembrio proxxime preterito, della qual intende valersi per il getto ha da fare de ditta figura iuxta il suo accordo prefato. De qui è che detto messer Giulio promette, et si obliga tal forma di zesso consignar illesa ad esso excellente messer Thomaso doppo gettada detta figura di bronzo in quello essere che la li è sta consignata et in caso che tal forma di zesso venisse a rompersi per diffetto di esso messer Giulio, lui messer Giulio promette di reffar ogn i danno, interesse, et spesa che lui excellente messer Thomaso potesse patire per tal causa iuxta la depositione de messer Jacomo Sansovino architetto. Ita che lui messer Giulio sotto iacia alla spesa di una forma di zesso, quale però si come dicono, non si può fare se prima non viene formata una figura di terra qual representi il vivo, et similitudine di esso messer Thomaso come representava la figura di cera li fu consegnata di sopra. Et percio lui messer Giulio si obliga real et personalmente, et qualunque suoi beni presenti et futuri, super quibus.

31. Rangone draws up a second contract with Alberghetti to cast the repaired wax figure, 8 July 1555

Die eadem [octava mensis Iulii 1555]

... Fino sotto di 27 agosto 1554, io Thomaso Philologo Ravena phisico stipulati instrumento con voi messer Giulio Alberghetto come nell'atti di messer Vettor di Maffei nodaro di Venetia appar, nel qual si leze che voi et io erimo restati d'accordo, et convenuti à gettar di bronzo la figura, et immagine mia iusta la forma, et pronto di cera fatto, ò da esser fatto per messer Giacomo Sansovino per pretio de ducati cento diese, con modi, forma, etcondictione ut in detto instrumento, al qual in tutto si habbi relatione, et maxime havendovi fino sotto di 27 settembre del soprascritto millesimo consegnato la detta figura, come era obligato ut in in instrumento, l'obligo vostro era in termine de mese uno darmi la detta figura di bronzo gettada, et nettada et perfetta al giuditio del detto Sansovino, par mò che voi messer Giulio havendo guasta la detta figura, et io fatto refar la detta figura di cera al detto Sansovino con assai più parte de mia spesa, acciò poi adimpisti l'obligo vostro iuxta detto instrumento, voi puccho vi ne curate, havendovi si pregato come fatto pregar per tanti clarissimi senatori che ben sapete chi sono oltra il non havervi mai mancato sl dell'opera mia in casi importanti come anch'io satisfattivi in tutto iusta la forma del detto instrumento, e di più darvi ducati cinquanta come nelli atti del detto nodaro appa. Hora mò per non mancare in tutto ad officio conveniente da Cristiano, et amico vostro ho preso questa deliberatione di farvi intender, et exortarvi et anchora pregarvi state contento fra termine di mese uno dal di dell'intimatione della presente far, et operar con vero effetto che habbi detta figura gettada netta perfetta, come per l'instrumento sette obligato al juditio del Sansovino altamente passato detto termine, et non havendo con vero effetto operato ut supra vi protesto de ogni spesa danno, et interesse mi potesse intervenire in far gettar detta figura ad altri netta, et perfetta al juditio del Sansovino, offerendomi pro consegntata detta figura ut supra darvi resto come nell'instrumento. Et hoc facio omni meliori modo et cetera.

Et hic est finis dictae scripturae.


32. Contract with Alberghetti is annulled, due to the founder's ill-health, 22 November 1555

Die veneris vigesimo secundo mensis Novembris 1555 in domo habitacionis infrascripti domini Juli de confinio Sancti Blasi Venetiariam

Constituit in presentia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum excellens artium et medicinae doctor Dominus Thomas Ravenna ex una, et Dominus Julius Alberghetus partibus ex altera, attenta informitate, et corporis indispositione ipsius Domini Juli non valenti ob caussam humor inadimplere contenta in concordio inter ipsas partes sequito manu mei notarii infrascripti sub die 7 Augusti 1554, sponte, et voluntarie dictum concordium cum omnibus in eo contentis cessarunt revocarunt et annullarunt. Itaque de cetero nullius roboris existat et successive idem excellens dominus Thomas confessus fuit sibi restitutam fuisse statuam ceream per se dicto domino Julio consignatam prout in dictis actis meis continetur. Et quia dicto excellenti domino Thomeae per maestrum Antonium Calderarium fideiusseorem ipsius domini Juliis consignata fuer in pignus pro restitutione ducatorum quinquaginta exbursatorum per ipsum excellentem dominum Thomam ipsi domino Julio bona infrascripta, videlicet catenella una aurea, numismata quatuor aurea, moneta quatuor aurea de ducatis quatuor ungaris proqualibet, et alia quatuor monete de ducati duobus pro qualibet ... Ideo idem excellens Dominus Thomas
ex urbanitate contentus fuit in frumentum unum proximum venturum habere, et recipere ab eodem domino Julio ducatos quinquaginta praedictos, nec non expensam carolinam elevata in officio iustitie veters contra eundem magistrum Antonium Calderarium, quo quidem mense elapso, et non satisfactis ducatis quinquaginta, et expensis praedictis, voluit prout pprotestatur pro satisfactione eorumdem eadem pignora vendi, et de eorum tractu satisfieri posse. Postremo idem Dominus Julius promisit satisfacere magistro Andreae formatori id quo eadem debetur ratione reformationis imaginis cereae refactae per ipsum magistrum Andream. Itaque imago ipsa perveniat ad manus ipsius excellens domini Thomae absque aliqua expensa, et e converso ipsa excellens Dominus Julius promisit dicto domino Julio consecerni facere, et restitui omnia ferramenta per ipsum Dominum Julium dicto magistro Andreae data pro reformatione ipsius imaginis . . .


33. Contract to cast the second wax figure, prepared by Vittoria, 2 March 1556

Die dicta [secundo m[ens]is Martij 1556] ad Cancellum


34. A Record of the Medals owned by Rangone

ICONIA seu STEMMATA a Viva Expressa Effigie cum conversis varijs Aeræ Proiecta

... Thomae philologis Ravennae physici

Magnum Alexandris sculptoris
Medium Mathei a Fide
Minus Martyri
Parvum Minor Mathei
Minimum Alexandri

Ducum seu Principum trium venetiariam Litterae
Marci Antonij Trivisano
Francisci Venerio
Laurentij Priolo

Honorij Imperatoris Aureum


The Angels for the Campanile of the Duomo at Verona

35. Payments made to Vittoria by the financiers of the project.

adj. 3. Luio 1555

*ti [ducati] 50.


adj. 28. Zenaro. 1556.

*ti [ducati] 25.


adj. 18. Aprile. 1561.


36. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants for work on the project.
adj. 28. Novembre. 1556.

adj. 6. febraro. 1557.

adj. 7. febraro. 1557.

adj. 13. febraro. 1557.

adj. 20. Marzo. 1557.

adj. 27. Marzo 1557.

adj. 3. Aprile. 1557.
L. 6. s. 0 A Girolamo s[opra]s[cri]to p[er] auer lauorato. 6. in s[opra]s[cri]ta figura

adj. 10. Aprile. 1557.

adj. 17. Aprile. 1557.
L. 5. s. 10. A Girolamo s[opra]s[cri]to p[er] auer lauorato 5½ in s[opra]s[cri]ta figura

adj. 5. lujo. 1557.
L. 1. s. 0 A Girolamo s[opra]s[cri]to p[er] auer lauorato g[ior]n 1 in s[opra]s[cri]ta figura


37. The fireplace in the home of Camillo Trevisan
adj 20 febraro. 1557.

adj. 9. Marzo. 1557.
L. 5. s. 5. A M[aestr]o francesco s[opra]s[cri]to p[er] auer lauorato tre giornate e meza in
The Tomb of Alessandro Contarini in the Santo, Padua

38. Vasari's account of the Monument

E nella chiesa del Santo in Padova fu con suo [Michele Sanmicheli] ordine fabricata una sepoltura bellissima per Messer Alessandro Contarini procuratore di San Marco e stato provveditore dell'armata viniziana; nella quale sepoltura pare che Michele volesse mostrare in che maniera si deono fare simil opere, uscendo d'un certo modo ordinario, che a suo giudizio ha più tosto dell'altare e cappella che di sepolcro. Questa dico, che è molto ricca per ornamenti e di composizione sodi e ha proprio del militare, ha per ornamento una Tetis e due prigioni di mano di Alessandro Vittoria, che sono teneute buone figure, et una testa o vero ritratto di naturale del detto signore, col petto armato, stata fatta di marmo dal Danese da Carrara. Vi sono oltre ciò altri ornamenti assai di prigioni, di trofei e di spoglie militari et altri de' quali non accade far menzione.

(Vasari (1568), VI, pp. 250-51).
39. Payments made to Vittoria by the financiers of the project

April 1556.

April 24. 1556.

June 1556.

November 1556.

August 22. 1557.

February 25. 1558.

March 21. 1558.

July 24. 1558.

September 25. 1558.

November 20. 1558.

December 22. 1558.
R[iceui to Alessandro Vitoria dal Clar[issi]mo s[ignor] Pietro Contarini p[er] resto e saldo dile dua figure tondde e li .2. schiau) Ducatj n[umer]o 40 --
Vale in tuto Ducati cento nona[n]a n[umero] 190 --


40. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants on the Contarini Tomb project

ali. 12. hotobrio 1555.

ali. 18 hotobrio 1555

ali. 27. Zugno. 1556.

ali. 3. luio. 1556.

ali. 4. Luio. 1557.

ali. 11. Luio. 1557.

ali. 17. luio 1557

ali. 24. luio 1557
L.6. s.10. A M[aest]ro Pietro Salo p[er] .5. giornate dj Baldisera

ali. 31. luio 1557

ali 31 luio 1557

ali. 7. Auosto. 1557.

ali. 9. Auosto. 1557.
L.6. s.10. A [aestr]o Pietro salo per .5. giorni di Baldisera

L.3. s.8 A M[aestr]o francesco de natal a bon[con]to d[e]la uechia

Alj .18. Auosto. 1557.

L.5. s.10. A [aestr]o Pietro da salo per .5. giornj di Baldisera

Alj .23. Auosto 1557.

Alj .28. agosto. 1557.

Alj .28. auosto. 1557.
L.5. s.17 A [aestr]o Pietro da salo per .4. giornj e mezo di Baldisera

Alj. 23 Noiembrio 1557
L.2 s 0. A [aestr]o francesco salo per auer lauorato sula fasela dilj schiauj

Alj. 22 Zenaro. 1558.

Al Primo febraro 1558.
L 1 s 0 A [aestr]o Tomaso da zara intagliatore a bo[n] conto il li schiauj li scient

Alj .5. febraro. 1558

Alj. 17. febraro. 1558.
L 1 s 0 A [aestr]o Tomaso a bo[n] co[n]to de schiauj sopra scritto

Alj. 18. Marzo 1558.
L.6 s 10 A [aestr]o Antonio de Picio per auer lauorato .5. giornj sula fama delj sopra scritto i contarin

The Models for statuettes of four Prophets and St. John the Evangelist to be cast into silver for the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista

41. The Scuola's deliberation to have these figures made, 20 June 1557
1557 Adi 20 Zugno in Banca e Zonta
Parte di Far Cinque Figure al soler novo
A tutti quanto è noto di quanta Belleza son el soler della nostra Santissima Croce et con quanta diligentia è Custodia è stato fatto far qual son Compido è fornido de ogni cosa, et son nella man del Indorador qual á suo Potere egli ua dredo et di certo sara fornido d[e]l tutto dove auendo consideratlo el Mag[nifico] Missier Zuane di Rimondi Vardian Grando della ditta Scola Insieme con li Magnifici elletti sopra tal carico de quanta Belleza son ditto soler, et auendo Insieme consideratlo, et conferitlo che bouna [sic] cosa saria à compir de fornir lopera che stesse ben è di far una Cosa che non hauesse il suo par hanno concluso di far cinque figure d'arzento cioè quattro profetti uno per cadaun canton dell ditto soler et per un altra figura de San Zuan Euanzelista Messa nel Mezo dell soler qual figura Daarzen cioe quattro profecti uno per Cadaun Canton dello ditto Soler et un altra figura de San Zuan Evangelista Messa nel Mezzo dell Solero qual figura del Arzento se fara della Commissaria de Missier Aluise di Priuli della Parte dellan danari dedicatsi per Adornamenti qual danari etiam è stato permessi dallla Commissarj della Commissaria dita.
Lendera Parte che mette el Magnifico missier Zuane di Rimondi Vardian Grando che li sia dato Libertà et autorita insieme con el suo Magnifico Auicario Magnifico Guardian da Mattin è Scriuan et insieme con li suoi Mag[nifici] Metti sopra el ditto soler che tutti insieme habbino à Terminar in far ditte cinque figure douendole far come alli sopra scritti parera per la Mazor Parte.
Della Parte -- n[umer]o 21
De no -- n[umer]o --

(ASV, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, Busta 141, Notatorio II, 1526 al 1559, fols. 434r-435v; Cérèsole (1885), XXXIX, p. 35, n. 1).

42. Payments received by Vittoria from the Scuola
alj .27. Zugno .1557.

alj .21. setembre .1557.

alj .17. hotobrio .1557.


43. The Scuola has to draw on additional funds to pay for the figures
1557 [m.v.] Adi 24 febraro in Banca e Zonta
Parte de Finir le figure d[e] Arz[en]to Con li denari della Cassa Corrente
Essendo sta preso parte dell 1552 che fosse speso D[ucati] 100 - della danari della Cassa
Corente li qualli accanzo all [us...?] del Magnifico Missier francesco Basalu Vardian Mazor per far il soler della Santissima Croce et auendo Io Zuane di Rimondi Guardian Grando insieme con li Deputadi sopra el ditto soler chel faceua Bisogno di far cinque figure d'arzento per adornam[en]to et Gloria di questa Santissima Croce.

Pero mette parte di far ditte figure d'arzento per adornamento e[t] Gloria di questa Santissima Croce dell' danari della Commissaria del quondam Missier Aluise di Priuli, et [cessi?] fu preso, et con laiuto de Dio fo datto principio et è sta fatto una de ditte figure et udendo che tal figure montaua molto piu de quello mi era stato detto da loro Mistie et non pottendo auer all presente tanti danari de ditta Commissaria che sia à suplimento per esserli sta intachatta i dicti Commissarij per sua bonta accio si faza tal bouna [sic] opera si hanno afferto scrivermi Ducati sette cento [e?] cinquanta di Pro Corenti de Monte Vechio che si aueranno à scoder D[ucati] 14 in circha per pagha non possendoli pero uenderli ne per muttar tal danaro se non à Ducatto per Ducatto come appar Parte presa sotto li 10 febraro presente e[t] pero udendo non portando all presente fauer tanti denari che si possino finir dicte figure forza ci è prouisto [ancol?] una tal e[t] si perfetta opera non uadi in Sinistro, et Massime auendo speso Molti danari si nelli Modeli come etiam à quelli che hanno Gietiato dicte figure et chi non segualissero [sic] dicte figure tal danari sariano persi Impero.

Mette per parte el Magnifico Missier Zuane di Rimondi Guardian Mazor che se all saldar della sua Cassa li auanzale qualche duccatto della Cassa corente che tal denari siano applichadi per el fenir de dicte figure che el puo de D[ucati] 750 sopra scritti che de Tempo in Tempo si scodera sono remasti in ditta Cassa corente et per fin saranno saldado tanto quanto uenira tolto de ditta Cassa Corente.

Della Parte -- -- n[umer]o 19 et fu presa
De no -- -- n[umer]o 7


44. Vittoria receives his final payment from the Scuola
al: .31. Magio .1558.


45. Again the Scuola is obliged to draw on other funds to meet the final expenditure on the figures
1558 Adi 19 Zugno In Banca e Zonta
Parte Per finir le Figure d[e] Arz[en]to con .in.o[?] della Comis[sari]a Priuli
Siando preso parte de far cinque figure d'arzento per metter sopra el soler della Santissima Croce delle qual ne sonno za fatte tre et etiam ui è da circha cinque in sie Marche d'arzento auanzade delle tre figure fatte da porter[?] metter in opera in le doi figure che mancha et perche bouna [sic] si è à finer tall Opera
Landara parte che mette el Magnifico Missier Francesco Bazalu Guardian Mazor chel sia finido et che lui possa far le due figure che manca mancha [sic] et quello che in esse si spendera sia posto à conto della Commissaria de Missier Aluise di Priuli da esser reintegratta deli danari che per Zornatta uenira cie de quella Parte che si è Dedicata per Adornamenti. Della Parte -- -- n[umer]o 16 et fu presa

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De non- -- n[umer]o 4

(ASV, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista, Busta 141, Notatorio II, 1526 al 1559, fols. 476v-77r).

46. Vittoria becomes a Padrona in the guild of Sculptors and Stonemasons, 25 July 1557
Ricordo io Alessandro Vitória chome il giorno di sa[n]to Jacomo dj luio fuj notato nella nostra schola p[er] Patrone d[e]l 1557


47. The portrait bust of Giovanni Battista Ferretti
ali .12. Novembre 1557

ali .13. Novembre 1557
L. 3 s 18 A Antonio dj m[aestr]o Picio p[er] auere lavorato tre giornate sul piedino dil retrato dil fereto ua posto in san[n]to stefano -- L. 3 s 18


The Pietà Lunette and the effigy of the deceased Doge on the Monument to Doge Francesco Venier, designed by Jacopo Sansovino

48. Payments made to Vittoria by the financiers of the project
ali .6. Novembre 1557

ali .27. Novembre. 1557

ali .23. Decembre. 1557

ali .23. Zeno. 1557. [m.v. ie 1558]
alj. 8. Marzo. 1558

alj. 28. Marzo. 1558.

alj. 13. Aprile. 1558.

alj. 15. Magio. 1558.

alj. 30. Magio. 1558.


49. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants for work on the Pieta lunette and the effigy of the deceased Doge

alj .30. hotobrio. 1557.

alj 9 Decembrio. 1557.
L. 2. s. 16 A Antonio s[opra]s[crit]to p[er] auer lavorato 2 giornate sul Dose di la dita Pieta. -- L.2 s 12

alj 22 Zenaro. 1558.


alj .26. Marzo 1558
L.6. s. 10. A M[aestr]o Antonio dj Picio p[er] .5. Giornj sula figura dil Principe [sic] morta

alj .2. Aprile 1558

alj .9. Aprile 1558
L. 6. s. 10. A Antonio di m[aestr]o Picio p[er] .5. giornate sula figura dil Princip[e] morta
The Four *Apostles* for the chapel of Blessed Giovanni Orsini in the duomo of Trogir, Croatia

50. Excerpt from the original contract of 1468, in which the appearance of the statues is set forth

... et fra le dite colone et pillastrij deno esser tabernaculi 16 de grandeza, che possa star dentro vna figura de pie zinque longa lauorada intorno via con li suo gesti et monumenti si da drieo come daunanti; e ne li dicti tabernaculi deno esser 12 figure de apostoli con quatro altre figure de grandeza zascuno de pie zinque, come appar nel desegno; et fra li dicti apostoli de esser vno casamento de pie 7 a quadro et die esser quadrado, et nel casamento vna figura de Christo de piedi 5 1/4 et con el dicto Christo doi anzoleti a luj retegnudi de piedi doi l’uno, nel qual casamento de esser doi anzoli de pie 3 l’uno, como par nel desegno ...

(Fiskovic (1940), pp. 44, 62-63).

51. Note made during Pastoral Visitation of Trogir Duomo by Bishop Didaco Manola, 31 May 1756

De anno tandem 1559 Joannes Victurius Operarius providit quattuor statuas deficientes in Capella pro L. 1252: 8, idest pro L. 313:2 pro qualibet.

(Fiskovic (1940), pp. 44, 62-63).

52. Payment made by Vittoria to a stonica for work on the *Mercury* for the finestrone of the Doge's Palace, 28 January 1559

adj. 28. Zennaro 1558 [m.v.]


53. Vittoria's acquisition of a book of drawings and a panel painting by Parmigianino, February 1559

libreto di Parmigianino
Adj., 12. febraro 1558, [m.v.]
Ricordo io Alessandro Vitoria Scultore chome questo dj s[opra]s[crit]o o comp[er]ato da

Val Scudj n[umero] -- 10 --


The Stucco Decorations for the Scala d'Oro of the Doge's Palace

54. Decision taken in favour of the upper flight of Scala d'Oro being straight

1554. Die 21 Octobris in Collegio cum interventu Provisorium super fabricis Palatij. Essendo difficultà se la Scala dil Palazo qual ha da risponder al piano della Sala di questo Collegio deve esser fatta dretta o pur tagliata in doi rami l'anderà il bossolo Prima che la sia fatta dritta, il Secondo che la sia fatta torta in doi rami, il Verde De non, et rosso Non sincere

Primo ... 15 Secondo ... 5 De Non ... 1 Non sincere ... 2

(ASV, Notatorio del Collegio 1553-1555, Giugno, fol. 103v; Lorenzi (1868), p. 286, Doc. 612).

55. Subsequent decision that the upper flight should have two branches

1554 [m.v.] Die XXII Januarij. In Collegio presentibus Provisorialibus super fabricis Palatij. Prima. Che la Scala nova sia fatta in un ramo nel loco ove è principiata, con levar il muro qual divide la sala ch'è avanti l'anticamera del Collegio et farlo apresso la Scala nova nella qual sala sia addattato il soffit ch'è nella sala dil Conseio di X con quella gionta che sarà bisogno, fancendo la Cancellaria et loco per li rasonati in essa Sala chiamata dil Conseio di X secondo l'aricordo di Maistro Piero Picolo.

De parte ... 5 De non ... 20 Non sincere ... 0

Seconda. Che la Scala nova sia fatta secondo l'aricordo del Palladio, si che la venga a risponder alla porta che sarà all'incontro della porta della Sala d'oro

De non ... 17 Non sincere ... 0

Terza. Che la detta Scala sia fatta in doi rami dicie l'ultimo sbocchi nel mezzo della Sala con far una terza porta secondo l'aricordo dil Sansovino e di Maistro Michiel.

De parte ... 15 De non ... 10 Non sincere ... 0 Presa

Quarta. Che la sopra detta Scala sia levata di ove è principiata et fatta vicina al muro che divide la Scala sihè la sbocchi alla porta nova di marmoro ch'è all'incontro della porta di questo Collegio secondo l'ultimo aricordo del Rusconi e la gionta di Maistro Pietro Picciolo.

De parte ... 4 De non ... 21 Non sincere ... 0

Quinta. Che cerca i far della sopradetta Scala si stia sul preso, con alciar doi piedi l'anticancellaria.

De parte ... 3 De non ... 22 Non sincere ... 0
Vuole, che essendo il Serenissimo Principe con tutto il Collegio l'anno 1554 à 22 gennaaro andato a veder occultatamente il luogo della detta Scala, et dopo molte disputationi, et considerationi fatte sopra lì ricordi opinioni de molti prothi et periti, stato deliberato di far la predetta Scala di pietra nel muodo et forma ch'ella si trouvera al presente in doi rami come più comoda et sicura delle altre, si come è stato dechiarito a questo Consiglio, che però la si debba continuare et finire quanto più presto che si possa nel muodo cominciato et deliberato.
De parte .. 38 1557 Prima Aprilis lecta Excellentissimo Collegio.
Ser Franciscus Superantius
Ser Hieronimo Zane Sapientes Consilij
Ser Sebastiano Veniero
Ser M. Antonius de Mullæ Eques
Ser Antonius Erizo Sapientes Terrae Firmæ
Ser Benedictus Pisauro
Ser Dominicus Bollani Eques

Essendo la presente materia di sorte che volendo sopra essa con fondamento far deliberation alcuna saria necessario ritrovarsì sopra il luoco per poter considerar et veder particolarmente il tutto, però acciochè quello che si ha a far sia fatto con ogni matura consideratione vuoleno che sieno eletti per questo Consiglio XV Nobili del Corpo di esso, eccettuato quelli del Collegio nostro, li quali rednuti sopra il loco insieme con li Proveditori sopra le fabbriche del Palazzo, et vedute le deposition delli proti sopra ciò tolte, et uditi quelli che a loro parerà de udir, debbano per la maggior parte de' loro rednuti almeno de' loro 18 al numero de 15, deliberar quello che li parerà più a proposito, et quanto che sar3 preso sia cos1 fermo et valido come se fatto fusse per questo Consiglio. Il che sia poi esseguito immediatamente per li predetti proveditori sopra le fabbriche del Palazzo.
De parte ... 98

MDLVII. Die tertio Aprilis.
Ser Lunardo Gradenigo
Ser Bernardo Venier Proveditori sopra le fabbriche del Palazzo
Sono sta fatte per il Collegio nostro varie et diverse deliberationi circa il far della Scala che vien nella Sala del predetto Collegio per il che par che da ciò sia posta dilazione in finirla, et essendo necessario deliberar quello che circa essa Scala si debba dopo così longo tempo far acciochè juxta la deliberation di questo Consiglio si possi darli il debito fin da ogni uno desiderato, perchè stando in questo modo, oltra le altre incommoditì che vi sono, vi è anco la dignità della Signoria nostra per il concorso delli personaggi che ogni giorno capitano in questa città pero:
L'anderà parte, che per autorità di questo Consiglio la Scala predetta che vienella Sala del Collegiosia finita juxta l'aricordo de Maistro Piero Picolo proto, si come dalla letura della sua depositione hora letta questo Consiglio ha inteso, la qual scala sia serata tra doi muri con el suo voltodi sopra levando il muro che divide hora la Sala che è innanti l'anticamera di
Collegio: Et accioch'è il capo di essa Scala possi aver la conveniente et debita altezza, sia remossa la cancellaria dal loco dove la si trova al presente, et redotta nella Sala del Consiglio di X, il soffitò della qual Sala essendo di sorte che senza difficoltà et con poca spesa si po portar da loco a loco, sia posto et adatato in la predetta Sala, che è innanzi il Collegio con quella gionta che sarà bisogno; la qual operation oltra che sarà di quella honorificentia, che cadauno può benissimo considerar, sarà anco di menor spesa di quello che si farà facendola in due rami per li doi soffitadi che saranno necessarj di far et il portal tra le doi porte di marmoro et altre spese etc.

De parte ... 24 De non ... 0 Non sincere ... 6

(ASV, Senato Terra, Reg. 41, 1557-1558, fol. 13; Lorenzi (1868), pp. 297-98, Doc. 638).

57. MDLVII. Die XXVII Aprilis
Ser Aloysius Contareno
Ser Ludovicus Gradonico  Provisores super fabricis Palatij
Ser Bernardus Venerio
Furono eletti li giorni passati 15 Nobili del Corpo di questo Consiglio per dar expeditione al far della Scala che ascende al Collegio, li quali insieme con li tre Proveditori sopra le fabbriche del Palazzo, redotti almeno di loro 18 al numero di 15, possino deliberar quello che li parerà più a proposito per compimento della predetta Scala; Et perché non si può redur il numero de 15 per esser ser Vettor Grimani Procurator rimasto Savio del Consiglio, ser Antonio Capello Procurator amalato et ser Matthio Dandolo Cavalier in Padova per purgarsi, come per sue lettere si è inteso: è necessario elegger uno in luogo de ser Vettor Grimani Procurator accio si possi dar quella expeditione che da tutti è desiderata al far della Scala predetta con aggiunger altri cinque nobelì de rispetto, in caso che non si potessero redur per malattie o altri impedimenti che suol accader, pero:
L'anderà parte che siano eletti sie Nobeli in quel modo che sono stati eletti li altri XV uno deli quali sie, cioè quello che haverna più ballotte, debba intrar in luogo del predetto ser Vettor Grimani Procurator eletto Savio del Consiglio et altri cinque siano de rispetto, li quali al supplimento de quelli che mancassero per indispositione o altro impedimento, debbino per sorte esser cavati et in loco loro intrar, accio si possi metter quel fine che da ognuno è desiderato.

De parte ... 173 De non ... 5 Non sincere ... 2
1557. 27 Aprilis lecta Illustrissimo Domino et Excellentissimo Sapientibus utriusque manus.

(ASV, Senato Terra, Reg. 41, 1557-1558, fol. 16; Lorenzi (1868), p. 299, Doc. 640).

Che de i ducati cento al mese deputati ala fabrica del Palazzo siano dati a i Proveditori nostri al Sal ducati settecento per pagar quelli che sono creditori per conto della detta fabrica, et finir quelli lavori che nel detto Palazzo sono principiati. ------ Item sia commesso al depositario dell’Officio predetto del Sal che debba dar al cassier della cassa picciola sua collega ducati cento per racconciar il coperto del Scrutino del Maggior Consiglio come nella scrittura del proto del ditto Officio (A) hora letta si contien.

De parte ... 28 De non ... 0 Non sincere ... 0

(ASV, Comuni Consiglio de’ Dieci, Reg. 25, 1561-1562, fol. 56v).
Illustrissimi Signori Capi de lo Excelentissimo Consegio de X.

Per la parte presa nell’Excelentissimo Consegio de X sotto di 16 octubrio fu da cargo ali Clarississimi Signori Provvedadori de l’officio del Sal che debia far dar fine all’arte del palazzo, Però sue Signorie Clarissime ordinò a mi Piero di gueberni suo protetto chedovesse darli in nota, tutti li lavori che al presente si fa et quelli che siano da far in ditto palazzo. Io li dete in nota il tutto particolarmente, che a finir ditti lavori principiati andarà di spesa a satisfar la maistranza Ducati (1315) et de più sono polize fate de chrediti et sotoscrirte de man deli Clarississimi Provvedadori pasti a suma de ducati (183) de la quale non si pol pagar perche fin ora e sta tolto da la cassa pagamento per tutto il mese de decembro prossimo che venne volendo satisfar quelli che anno le polize fate et parte de quelli che lavora masime ali banchi de la Sala dell’Excelentissimo Pregai, et finir da dorar e depeneril sofita pizolo sul patto de la shala nuova et finir li intagi del sofita dela Sala Anticolegio che mancha poco, per poter stratrar e tirar via quelle armadure che par si brutte, però le di bisogno che Vostre Excelentissime Signorie fazi pasar una parte nel Excelentissimo Consegio de X de ducati 700 per il manco per satisfar quelli che dieno aver, et finir quelli lavori che sono principiati, et poi con li ducati 100 che si a al mese si potrà finir il resto a pocho per giornata.

(ASV, Filza 83, Parti Comuni Consiglio de’ Dieci, 1561 da Novembre a Febbraro; Lorenzi (1868), pp. 308-09, Doc. 660).

59. Vasari’s comments on the Scala d’Oro, 1568

(i) . . . In tanto essendo stata col disegno di Iacopo Sansovino condotta nel palazzo di San Marco (come a suo luogo si dirà) di muraglia la scala che va dal terzo piano in su et atta con vari partimenti di stucchi da Alessandro scultore e creato del Sansovino, dipinse Battista per tutto grotteschine minute et in certi vani maggiori buon numero di figure a fresco, che assai sono state lodate da gli artefici; e dopo fece il palco del ricetto di detta scala. Non molto dipoi, quando furono dati, come s’è detto di sopra, a fare tre quadri per uno ai migliori e più reputati pittori di Veneza per la libreria di San Marco, con patto che chi meglio si portasse a giudizio di que’ magnifici senatori, guadagnasse, oltre al premio ordinario, una collana d’oro; Battista fece in detto luogo tre storie con due filosofi fra le finestre, e si portò benissimo; ancor che non guadagnasse il premio dell’onore, come dicemmo di sopra. Dopo le quali opere essendole allogato dal patriarca Grimani una capella in San Francesco dalla Vigna, che è la prima a man manca entrando in chiesa, Battista vi mise mano, e cominciò a fare per tutta la volta ricchissimi partimenti di stucchi e di storie in figure a fresco, lavorandovi con diligenza incredibile. Ma, o fusse la trascuraggine sua o l’avere lavorato alcune cose a fresco per le ville d’alcuni gentiluomini, e forse sopra mura freschissime, come intesi, prima che avesse la detta capella finita si morì; ed ella, rimasta imperfetta, fu poi finita da Federigo Zucchero da Sant’Angelo in Vado . . . Hanno dato nome e credito grandissimo a Battista, il quale morì l’anno 1561, molti suoi disegni stampati.

(Life of Battista Franco, VI, pp. 585-86)

(ii) […] Non molto dopo, per ordine de’ procuratori, mise mano alla bellissima e ricchissima fabbrica della libreria rincontro al palazzo pubblico […] e tutto senza risparmio nessuno di spesa: perciocchè è piena di pavimenti ricchissimi, di stucchi, di storie per le sale de quel luogo, e scale pubbliche adornate di varie pitture come s’è ragionato nella Vita di Battista Franco.

(Life of Sansovino, VII, p. 502)
(iii) ... e della medesima materia [stucco] fece, come già s'è detto, tutti gli ornamenti che sono nelle volte delle scale nuove del palazzo di San Marco, con vari partimenti di stucchi, dove Batista Franco dipinse poi ne' vani dove sono le storie, le figure e le grottesche che vi sono. Parimente fece Alessandro quelle delle scale della libreria di San Marco, tutte opere di gran fattura [...] (section about Vittoria within Life of Jacopo Sansovino, VII, p. 519)

60. Francesco Sansovino's comments on the Scala d'Oro, 1581

(i) [...] Quindi vicino ò mezzo del corridore del Palazzo Ducale fabbricato di nuovo dal Doge Donato come si vede per le sue insigne, è la ricchissima scala che conduce alle stanze del Principe dalla sinistra, & dalla destra per vn'altro ramo alla Cancellaria, & al Collegio, la quale fu lavorata di Piture, da Battista Franco, & di stucchi da Alessandro Vittoria, sotto i Principi Prioli.

(Delle Fabbriche Pubbliche, Libro VIII, p. 321)

(ii) ... Se finirono etiandio le fabbriche di Palazzo, con le scale regie ornate d'oro, di piture, & di stucchi. Et non molto dopo, il Principe venne a morte ...

(Delle Vite de Principi, Libro XIII, Lorenzo de Prioli Doge LXXXI, anno 1556, p. 605).

The Stucco Decorations on the vaults of the staircase of the Marciana Library

61. The contract for the stucco decorations, 29 February 1560

1560, adi 29. di Febraro [m.v.]

Io Iac[om]o Sansouino afermo quanta e sopra scritto
Io Alessandro sc otp[r]a[ct]o a fermo qua[n]to di sopra e scritto
Io Zuanne de Lezze [R... p[rocuration] or afermo ut sup[r]a

(ASV, Proc. de San Marco de Supra (Chiesa), Busta 68, Proc. 151, Fasc. 2, fol. 23).


L. 3. s.4. A Giulio di m[aestr]o Leone p[er] .4. giorn -- sul primo volto ile scale dila Procuratia

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adj. 23. Decembrio 1559
L.4.s.0. A Giulio s[opra]s[crit]o p[er] auer lauorato giorni. 5. -- sul volto dile scale dila libraria

adj. 30 Decembrio. 1559.

adj. 5 Gennaio. 1559. [m.v.]

adj. 13 Gennaio. 1559. [m.v.]

adj. 20 Gennaio. 1559. [m.v.]

adj. 27 Gennaio. 1559. [m.v.]

adj. 3 Febbraio. 1559. [m.v.]

adj. 10 Febbraio. 1559. [m.v.]

adj. 17 Febbraio. 1559. [m.v.]

adj. 9. Marzo 1560.

adj 16 Marzo 1560
L. 6 s 0 A Giulio s[opra]s[crit]o p[er] auer lauorato giorni -- 6 -- nel uolto dile scale dila libraria

adj 23 Marzo 1560
L. 5 s 10 A Giulio s[opra]s[crit]o p[er] auer lauorato giorni -- 5½ -- nel uolto dile scale dila libraria
adj 30 Marzo 1560
L 5 s 0 A Giulio s[opra]s[crit]to p[er] auer lauorato giornj -- 5 -- nel uolto ile scale dila libraria

adj 6 Aprile 1560
L 6 s 0 A Giulio s[opra]s[crit]to p[er] auer lauorato giornj -- 6 -- nel uolto ile scale dila libraria

adj. 13. Aprile 1556

(L.4. s.0 ---- adj 20 aprile --- giornj -- 4 ---)

adj. 27. Aprile 1556


adj. 4. Magio. 1560.

adj. 11. Magio. 1560.

adj. 18. Magio 1560

adj. 25. Magio 1560

adj. 2. Zugno. 1560.

adj. 9. Zugno. 1560.

adj. 16. Zugno. 1560.
adj. 22. Zugo 1560

adj. 28. Zugo 1560


63. The head carved in the key-stone over the entrance of Palazzo Usper on the Grand Canal
diebo auer da m[esser] zua[n] jacomo proto
Adj 21 Marzo 1560
diebo dare al m[esser] zua[n] jacomo saldj
Adj. 9. Aprile 1560
[Both of these entries have been crossed through by Vittoria].


The Portrait-bust of Marcantonio Grimani and statuettes of St. Mark and St. Anthony Abbot for his funerary chapel in San Sebastiano

64. The granting of the right to construct and decorate the Funerary Chapel, 30 January 1545
1544 [m.v.] die penultimo Iannuarii.
In Christi Nomine Amen. Anno Nativitatis ejusdem 1544. Indictione 2. die uero Mercurii 30.,
et penultimo Mensis Iannuarii . . .
. . . Che li supradetti Reuerendi Frati consenta, e liberamente sieda, e danno il loco di la Capella za desegnata per far sii in ditta Chiesia, che è quella dalla banda della Sachrestia con il suo Pilastro, che za al presente è fatto con il suo muro uerso l’Archa da Cha Donado, la qual Capella el sopraditto missier Marc’Antonio Grimani la possi far far tanto larga, quanto sono quelle due una per banda dall’Altar grando de ditta Chiesia, zoe de pie otto, e mezzo, e de altezza etiam sia fatta simile a quelle, zoe di pie quindese, et de longhezza, talche se habbi loco de far la sepoltura dinanti l’Altar dentro li scalini in terra, zoe che la sia tutta
intrando nel Muro quarti tre, et uno Scalino de fuorauia de bassamento sia de pie otto. Item, ch’el non se possi far inanti ditta Capella in ditta Gesia Sepoltura de alguno, che non sij distante dall’ultimo Scalini in terra per larghezza almeno de pie cinque, et de longhezza tanto quanto comprenderà li due Pilastrì, che sustenterà il volto de ditta Capella, azzo se habbi cognoscer el ditto spatio esser similmente de rason del ditto missier Marc’Antonio Grimani, nel qual volendo far lui, ouer li soi Posteri in alcun tempo un’ Arca el la possi far che uadi però egual al pavimento.

Item il Muro di fuora uia di ditta Capella tacada al Pilastrò, et al Muro della Sacristia, et il Pilastrò hora principiando da alto sotto la Cornise, ouer Architrauo fino in terra se intendi esser di ragion di ditta Capella, e similmente libera del sopraditto missier Marco Antonio Grimani, sìché volendo el ditto, o Successori suoi metter, o far metter sue Arme, Epitafio, o altra figura el le possi far sopra, e appresso ditto Muro se possi far, ne accostar Arca di niuno, ne Arme, ne Epitafi, ne Figura, ne altro, che non siano almeno distante dal canto de ditto Muro almeno per uno piede di distanza dalla sopraditta altezza ut supra dichiarita fino in terra; La qual sopraditta Capella el sopraditto missier Marc’Antonio, che la uol far fare, et finir a sua spesa con suo Volto, Pilastrò, Altar, Scalini, et sua Arca, et tutte quelle cose li parerà bisogno a ditta Capella, ed altri luoghi sopra concessi per li sopraditti Reverendi Padri. La qual Capella cum tutti li sopraditti loci, et libertà concessa per li sopraditti Reverendi Padri abbi a restar liberi, et di ragion in perpetuo de sopraditto missier Marco Antonio Grimani, et li soi Eredi, o chi da lui auera causa. Item oltre la spesa, che farà el ditto missier Marco Antonio Grimani in far far, e finir ditta Capella, uol dar alli sopraditti Reverendi Fratì Duc[ati] 100. di contadi a L: 6: 4: per Ducato per adotar ditta Capella, li quali Duc[ati] 100. se abbinò a metter per loro Frati in tanto fondo cauto, et sufficiente, o uramente se si paresse a ditti Frati per più beneficio del Conuento metter, e spender ditti Duc[ati] 100. nella Fabrica della sopraditta Chiesa, el possi far con deliberazion però del suo Capitolo, et è conuero li sopraditti Frati per riconizion di tali buone opere, insieme ut supra con el suo Capitolo si obliga sì loro presenti, come tutti quelli Frati, che prò tempore succederanno in tal Monasterio della Chiesa di San Sebastian da Venezia, che ogni giorno in perpetuo sarà celebrato in la ditta Capella da Chà Grimani una Messa al ditto suo Altar a Laude del nostro Signor Iddio, et della Sua Santa Madre, et per l’Anima de sopraditto missier Marc’Antonio Grimani, et massimamente della quondam Mad[onna] Giulia Tron fu sua cara Consorte, ... et di questo se ne debbi far nota appresso ditti Frati sopra i suoi Libri, et della sua Sacristia, et doue sogliono far memoria di simil cosa ditti Frati, et appresso siano ogni anno obbligati ditti Frari farli il suo Anniversario in particolari in perpetuo; da quel tempo parerà al ditto missier Marc’Antonio si in uita, come per il suo Testamento, et essi promettono attender, et obseruar, et far obseruar alli Successori loro in perpetuo tutte le sopradite cosa, modis, et conditionibus ut supra in onore delle loro coscienze, et sub Timore Dei Omnipotentis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, che ditta Mansionaria auera a restar, et sarà officiata in perpetuo nella ditta Capella da Chà Grimani intendendose, che mai in alcun tempo ne per loro Frati, et suoi Successori, ne per altri qual esser si uoglia ditta Capella, e luochi così concessi possino esser assegnavi, uenduti, o per qualunque modo alienati, et concessi ad altri, mò debbà restar perpetualmente de rason, et disposizion di ditto missier Marc’ Antonio per suoi posteri, et Eredi con tutte Arme, Epitafi, o Figura, che ui fosse in detta rason, ne altri possino esser sepolti in ditta Arca, salvo li soi sicome ordinerà el ditto missier Marc’Antonio sub paena, et onore conscientiae ...

65. Document proving that by August 1544 the fabric of the Chapel had been completed
1544 - 5 Agosto
Francesco fatto far nella Giesia di S[an] Sebastian di Ven[etia] la Sua Capella adornata con
tante belle piere marmoree, porfidi, e serpentini, con altre cose rare si dentro, come di fuora,
doue sono le sue due Arche, che sono qui, ha speso molti denari, et auendo ultimam[ente]
uduto, che li R[everendi] P[adri] del Monast[er]io de ditta Giesia hanno fatto due Capelle
trogate alla sopraditta, et ha[n]no messo de sop[r]a el Volto Architraui e Cornese et certe
Zelosie de piera uius, et altri ornamenti et ancora che esso Claris[simo] Mis[sier] Marc’Ant[onio]
on non sia obligato far’altra fabbrica ne sop[r]a el volto ne in’altro loco de ditta
Capella, ne manco spesa alcuna in altro loco, come si puol ueder per lor instrumento de
Concession de tal Capella ouero loco de Capella rogato per Mis[sier] Bonifacio Solian
desiderio de ditti R[everendi] P[adri] li quali li ha[n]no fatto richieder, che anche Sua
Magnificentia uolesse per tal’ adornamento de ditta Giesia far questa elemosina, et pagarle
tanta spesa, quanta loro Padri ha[n]no ditto esser andata, come appar per un conto presentado
Torlioni da Verona Praoncial de ditti Reu[erendi] Padri, cioè lir cento et dodese, soldi tre
de piccoli impero el Magnifico Mis[sier] Ottauian Grimani Fiol et per nome del ditto
et attualm[ente] esborso e numero al ditto Reu[erende] Padre Praoncial presente, et che
riceue per nome del ditto Monast[er]io et Conuento de ditti L. 112:3 de piccoli in tanta moneda
delle quali esso Reu[erende] Praoncial Mis[sier] Ottauian per nome et de ordene del ditto suo
Magnifico Padre fa un don a dito Monast[er]io et Conuento le ditte L. 112:3 de piccoli in tanta moneda
delle quali esso Reu[erende] Praoncial Mis[sier] Ottauian per nome et de ordene del ditto suo
Magnifico Padre ha molto ringraziato Sua Magnificentia, super quibus praemissis ego Notarius
infrascriptus rogatus fui a suprascriptis partibus ut sup[ra] a nominibus publicum conficere
Instrumentum . . .

(ASV, San Sebastiano, Busta 6, Proc. 71: “Capella et Mansionaria quotidiana et Aniversario
del quonda[m] Marc’Ant[onio] Grimani, fol. 7r-v).

66. The Will of Marcantonio Grimani of 21 September 1558, written before the carving
of either statuelet had been started
... volgo il ditto mio corpo sia Messo et posto in una Casa fata de bon et forte lares et
che Abbj ad esser durabile quale sia ben fichatta et impegolatta quale mio corpo ossi ben in
Casado sia poj Messo et sepulto Nela mia Arca posta nela chiesia de s[an] sebastian da
ueneti[la] quale e dentro de la mia Capella Doue il sacerdote Digando La Messa tieni li piedj
sopra il Couverchio Doue uj, e, uno tondo de porfidi uj sopra Et Adornato di belle piere fine
qual Abbj astar dentro la sop[r]adita sepultura piuj slargato se possi de sotto lo Altar Ma
quello messo et tirado piuj uerso i scalini che Asende Al ditto et questo p[er] la reuereutia se
die Auer qua[n]do il sacerdote celebra la sua santa messa come porta il douer Non obstante
la licentia Concesamj dal R[everendissimo] legato residente Alhora d[om]unsignori dala
casa Cor[ente] Apar Et p[er]o sepulto il sop[r]aditto mio Corpo ut supra non[n] uoria uj fuse
sepulto altri corpj inditta Archa p[er]o causa del sopraditto Rispetto Excepto p[er]o se Otauian
mio fio Dizio no[n] Ause qualche sua intention non la impedisio . . .
... La qual mia sop[r]a nominada Capella in s[an] sebastian lo intitulata de M[esser] Iesu
christo passo fabbricata da dalj fondamentj fino sop[r]ad alto et similemente li salizadj et

Et otria dj questo nel ritorno de la mia podesta da padoa lj sop[r]a dittj frattj me richesmo Con grande Loro instanti a lj douse souenir in farlj la fabricha etiam dj sop[ra] la mia Capella doue andaua corn ise et belle zeolosie che dano la luse al corador tutj lauorj de piera uia Ij l risposj che seben no[n] Era obligato che molto uolentiera e no[n] de parte ma del tuto Come io lo fezi dellj mie denarrj et donatollj ancho certe mie propieta Doue Anno Acomodaton Capela Item ordeno et ulogio che dentro la ditta mia Capella sopra una bela et conveniente piera marmoree biancha El mio Epitafio sia fatto con poche parolle et suc inta mente Narando del tuto la uerita Adorning quello onestamente secondo il bisogno Et p[er]che io ho fatto far ultima mente dentro dita mia Capella duj nhghj belij et ornattj doue ulogio uj uadij dentro due belle et conveniente figure la prima sij de [ant]o Marco Alla banda destra el altra de [ant]o Ant[oni]o Ala banda sinistra le qual tengino la faza uoltata uerso il sacerdote che celebrera la santa Messa p[er]j ordeno Expresamente che se al tempo dela mia morte no[n] fuseno sta fate adornade dite figure subito et in mediate debino eserllj met sin siche le siano finite a di Zio ordeno et obligo le mie intrade quando p[er] Altrj se usaseno neglighientia che no[n] Credol che lj frattj Abino tal Cargo ...

La qual mia sop[r]adita Capella con tutj lj sopra sc[r]iptj formintj che da essa depende con le sue figure pieter Marmoree de ogni qualita et sorta si quelle sono Al p[resen]te come quelle fuseno sta fate ne la uita mia ouer p[er] lj mej desendenti de qual sorte eser sj ulogia con le no[st]re Arche et uid adornamentj et Altre sue rason qual eser sj ulogia Abinno et debino star inperpetuo ne Maj p[er] qual Causa eser sj ulogia Alchuna delle sop[r]a et ante dite Cosse p[er] minima che la sia se possi p[er] Alchun modo qual eser sj ulogia uender ne Alienar ne ponto muerlle del Iocho suo Ma quelle Abino astar doue le sono ...

(ASV, Testamenti Notaril, Cesare Ziliol, Busta 1260, No. 759, fols. 1r-2r. The original is in the ASV, Testamenti Notaril, Cesare Ziliol, Busta 1264, Fasc. I, fols. 18-61r).

67. The first codicil (written over a period of five years from 10 October 1559 to 7 March 1564, and given to the notary on 24 March 1564).
[i] First passage written at an undeterminable time in 1561 - p.2v

... lassj ut supra tutj siano et stiano In mano dellj sop[ra]dittj frattj ouer Conuento Continuamente ben governatj et Custodij p[er] el sop[ra] dito efeto cercha la Cons[er]juacion dela antedita mia Capella la qual ulogio sia in sua proteccion et governo et Mantenimento Con tute sue et mie figure indita poste Con tutj lj soij belij et rarj adornamentj stando et restando

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quella a laude del s[ign]or Idio prima et a memoria Mia in Eternum ben Custodita et cons[er]rata da ditj padrj fratj de quel locho et sucesoj soj siche no[n]j debino Manchar Continuamente Aquanto farj dye tempo bisogno come ulgjio sperar . . .

[ii] Second passage written in either 1562 or 1563 - p.6r


(ASV, Testamenti Notarile, Cesare Ziliol, Busta 1260, No. 759, fols. 2v & 6r. The original is in the ASV, Testamenti Notarile, Cesare Ziliol, Busta 1264, Fasc. I, fols. 44r & 50r).

68. Document proving that the statuettes and bust had been installed by December 1564

1564 27 Xbris [December]


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lo altar in mezzo. Item di una altra statua pur marmorea di summa perfetione e bellezza che
representa la uera e uia effigie del detto clar[issi]mo M[issier] Marco antonio appoggiata al
muro verso il S[an] Marco i un Nicchio di Pietra da rouigno con uno epitaphio apreso pur
in pieta da rouigno adornato tutto con alcuni filetti d’oro, et il tutto lavorato di marmoro di
man de M[issier] alexandro Uittoria scultor eccelente: et cose tutte molto belle et rare . . .
et le quale altre cose antedite ascendono di spesa come dissero esse parte alla su[m]ma di più
del 700 ducati d’oro, quali tutti ha speso el ditto clar[issi]mo M[issier] marco antonio di borsa
propria per li ditti effetti: apresso li ditti R[eueren]di Padri congregati capitolarmene nel
luogo: et come di sopra desiderosi, sicome porta il douer che el detto clar[issi]mo M[issier]
Marcantonio consegui sia in tutto e per tutto il fine della sua bona intentione prometendo per
se, et per nome del Monastero loro, et di tutti li successori loro, si obligano etiam cum
juramento tocando con le mani le levitture di douer hauer, et di procurar, che sempre di
tempo, in tempo, si abbia buona, et diligentia cura et custodia: et che siano ben gouernate ben
tratte, et custodite tutte queste predette cose secondo la uolontà di esso clar[issi]mo M[issier]
Marcoantonio ad’ornamento perpetuo et a uso dalla sua Capella Promettendo li detti Padri per
si, et per nome di tutto il monastero di non douer mai alienar in modo alcuno ne directe ual
indirecte la ditta Capella nell’ornamenti, nelle altre cose predette . . .

There then follows a long and severe list of measures to be taken against those who
contravene the above agreement to preserve the Grimani Chapel in its entirety]

. . . ego Notarius infrascritus rogatus fui publicum conficere in strumentum vulgaris, sermon
et supra. Actum Venetij supra scripta Ut supra praesentibus di Paulo Caliari Ueronese pictore
qu[ondam] n: gabrielis . . .

(ASV, San Sebastiano, Busta 6, Proc. 71: "Capella et Mansionaria quotidiana et Aniversario

69. The second codicil of 2 February 1566

. . . Et p[er] che nella mia Capella che mj trouo nella chiesia de S[an] sebastian Cognoso Auer
speso de molti denarj p[er] non Auer mancato dj adornarla con sj belle et precioso piere et
figure de beletissimjlo marmororo che ognuno ne A che dir et io lo molto a Core p[er]lo per
uno mio Codizillo che quj soto notero fazo lj mei Signor procu[ra]t[or]ji de ultra Comesarij
Lasando A quellj la Cura et governo de dito mio Altar e Capella Come quj sotto Driedo
questo mio Codicillo particular el tuto Apar et sera notado Doue uolgio che seben io dicho
de che de questa mia Capella li sopraditj mie procuratorj de ultra solamente Abino la Cura et
gouvero Come sj leze notnon poco che lj mei heriedj et Comesarij restino de p[er]lo dj
solicit la Execution de le dite mie ordinacion anzi pregarij et Exsortarlij in ogni tempo anzi
inperpetuo non sj manchi speso dj reuelderla et farla riueder . . .

. . . Item uolgio che p[er] lj mei heriedj et succesorj se debj Auer qualche Consideration de
quali dj uacatij uinitj cine qualj Debano star nele mano sue p[er] deposito a dittj frati et sia
ad instancia p[er] la mia Capella p[er] qualche bisogno de la Cons[er]uatio[n] soa che a
qualche tempo bisognase si che a dittj frati a questo siano obligatj dj mantenirla et sempre
seguarla et guarantirla Cons[er]uando tal mei denarj Continuamente siche in ogni caso siano
pronj et obligadj dj A questo in[per]lpetuo Et se piuj suma de denarj p[er] la longeza de
tempo bisognase a tal Cons[er]uacion spej che fuseno lj sop[ra]dittj duc[at]ij uinitj cine in
tal Caso uolgio che tute le intrade de la mia fachulta sia obligade Con quella parsimonia che
porta la necessita e questo uolgio inperpetuo sia ut sup[ra] Conservata . . .

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Codicillo in materia delia mia Capella de san Sebastian Come qui sotto A par Diretto
Alli Cl[arissij]m mei proc[urato]ri de ultra et sucesorj soi inperpetuo
Et perché sempre da poi fabbricata la mia Capella in [san] sebastian ho fatto grandissimo
Desiderio che la sia Conservata et Custodita insieme con tuttij suoi adornamentj per
fattij in essa de ognij sorte et massime le figure dj [san] M[a]rcio et [san]to ant[oni]o insieme
con la mia staoa posta nel Muro dj essa mia Capella tute de beletissimo marmoro et per larte
de la scultura Cose ueramente rarissime et de molto precio per[er]o per[er] tal causa accio in ognij
tempo avenir et ognij occorentia non Mancasseno persona che Auesseno tal custodia et fuseno
soliciet et Diligentij in far che li Re[veren]dj padrij de [san] sebastian ossseruino quanto si sono
obligati in materia dj essa Capella tuti soi ornamentj De ognij sorte per li instrumentj nominatij
et scritj nel mio testamento et questo Cargo et officij per esso mio testamento lo cometeua
allij mej fratellij De la scola de San[a] Maria de la Misericordia Alla qual Lassaua a questo
effetto uno legato dj maridare donzelle come in esse mie ordination si leze et essendo Da ppoi
tal ordacion per gratia et bonta del [sign]or Iddio stato za elleeto nel grado et Dignita de
procurator de san Marco et uedendo che nella Mij procuratia De ultra li sono Molti legatij Con
obligi de Custodir et governar Diuierse sorte et lochj come si uede me, e, parso Cosa
Conueniente Cometer et ricomandar la Custodia et governo De Ditte figure Marmorj Capella
et ognij altra sorte de soi ornamentj qual si uoglia Da quelij Dependentij il Cargo de far
essequir et ossuerar Allij R[even]dij padrij de [san] sebastian li loro obliglj soprj li presentj
instrumentj notadj Allij Mei Cl[arissij]m Collega, [sign]or proc[urato]ri de ultra li qualij ho
fato registrare et posti inprecolatij nel santuario et sono notadj in uno libreto in Carta bona
Con larma mia sopra la Coperta Con Certe letiere apresso Accio si possino in ogni tempo et
Continuamente bisognando quelij sempre adoperar Massime quando dittij fratij non
ossjerunno quanto hano hano proporj et etiam obligati per sopradj instrumentj loro fatij Con
il suo Capitolo in sieme con me posendolj tuor le pene a dittij fratij toccimis quociet et priualj
simelmente de ogni lasso e beneficio che in ognij tempo li hauese fato si Come fioseno nella
persona mia propria pregando poi efficacemente li sopradj mei [sign]or procuratorj de ultra
a uoler tuor la Cura et protezione Dj essa mia Capella qual ho Molto a Core insieme Con le
figure et Massime la statua del mio Retrato preuedeno et etiam prouendo che sia
ossjeruato li ob[li]gihi che hanno quelij fraij Con Me . . . a laude del [sign]or n[ost]ro
M[esser] lesu christo la figura del qual noj lassi tante [...] che la se possi Carolar p[er]
esser molto diuota p[er]o uolgio se fazi ognij proussion che si possij con il Conselgio [sic] De
perij et a questo pratici in caso p[er]o che nel tempo dela uita mia non lo hauese fato che
a tal figura selj troua rimedio in fare che la sia perpetua nel suo eser che quando noj j
trouase dj ccio Rimedio uolgio piu presto sene fazi una dj marmorj bello et Diuota che star
senza et la spesa andera quanta si uolgia uadj a Conto de mej heriedj et questo lo ordeno
expresa mente obligando dj ccio tutj li meu bennj presentj et futurj inperpetuo la qual Capella
stia sempre in ordine e non uadi parte dj essa alcuna et ornamentj Con altre Cose dependente
da quella p[er]o suo in sinistro anzi quando occoresse qualche Accidente che dio non lo
Uolgia [per]i il quale le figure sopraditte et statua potesseno patir, o, dano, o, per Destruccion,
o, p[er] Ruina del Monasterio, o, p[er] qualche altro caso qual esser sj uolgia Dicho et ordino
che ditte me figure massime la Mia statua Marmorea intal Caso siano tutte leuate de doue
le sono et posti nella mia procuratia et de Ultra in parte honorata dj essa et Custodite con
diligentia et tuto aspese de la mia Comes[sari]a et de me heriedj inperpetuo si Come porta
il douer et ricercà la sua beleza accio habino loco oue sj possino p[er]petuar Et in questo
Caso uolgio che essi Cl[arissij]m mie Collega procuratorj che Lasso mie Comesarj de le mie
sopra ditte uolonta possino propria uolonta et hautorita leuar ditte figure et statua per far
70. The first Will drawn up by Vittoria, 21 August 1560

In nomine dei eterni amen: anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu christi millesimo quingentesimo sexag(esimo) mensis augusti Die uig(esimo) primo, Indic(tione) tertia: R[iou]aliti:


Item dechiro, et voglio che la soprascritta mia sepoltura poss!quir_co~si a_me, como alla mia cons[or]te, cosi lei contentando: Ins.do[?] dal nod[ar]o dell1 loci p1atos1, ho risposo che siano di s pensadi ducati die pere! la mi hered~ nelli lo ci p[er] Ii ~iato~i d(e~lla te~~•


(ASV, Testamenti Notarile Paolo Lioncino, Busta 605, No. 24; partly transcribed by Gerola (1925), pp. 341-42).

71. Vittoria’s acquisition of Parmigianino’s Self-portrait in a Mirror, January 1561
Ritratto Parmigia[n]o
Adj. 14. zenaro 1560 [m.v.]


72. The fireplace in the house of Giovanni Francesco Priuli
alj .24. febraro 1561.
L 6 s. 16. A marcantonio [sic] Paladio A bo[n]to di la cima di stuco dil M[agnifi]co giouan francesco Priulj Val -- L. 6 s 16

alj .7. Marzo 1561
L 6 s 16 A marcantonio s[opra]s[crit]to p[er] saldo di gorni .12. sula dita napa ual L. 6 s. 16

adj .16. Marzo 1561


73. Abortive attempt by Rangone to gain permission to have a statue of himself erected on the façade of the Scuola Grande di San Marco, October 1562
25 octobre 1562
Lander party che metto jo tomasso Ravena D. & K[avalier] guardian grando dela prefatta schola che mi sia conseso poter metter una mia in magine hover statttua figura in piera dal vivo in piedi di piera hover di bronzo amio ben e plazetto fatta amie spexe e con li proprj mij danaj sotto il capo del lion in un nichio nela fazada dela nostra preditta schola dj S. Marcho forj sul campo dj san Zuane polo abia a sttar p[er]petuamente con questa Inscripzione
THOMAS PHILOLOGUS RAVENAS PHYSICUS EQUES G MAG AÑO MDLXII.

La qual statuua et inscrizione con l'armi mie de ogni cantto de figura, zio una per banda non si possino per modo alchuno ni per via alchuna jon eterno livar via de quel luogo ma stagino perpetuamente aperpetutto exemplo deli benefattorj dela predetta schola. altji conttj fazendo in parte alchuna la predetta schola nostra debia debia tutto quijollo li prometj nel prexente instrumento et li doi scholarj predettj et li predetti duchattj duxento parte del mio redito fattj debitaze a la predetta schola et debia perdere tutto questo benefizjio li lasse al prexente hoftett et nel mio testamento tutto quello alij fuse hordinattj a honor et gloria dela majestà divina et exaltacion et ornamento dj questo inlustrismo dominio et dj questa inclitta citta venerate et riferenzia del gloriosissimo messer san marcho benefizio et comodo e solo dela fradela come dele donzele dela predetta schola dj san marco.
de si n[umer]o 31
de no n[umero] 24
et fu prexa la sopradetta parttj.
in margin is inserted: NULADA


74. Document recording membership into the Scuola Grande di San Marco, January 1563.
Schola dj Sanjto Marcho
Adj. 24. zenaro. 1562. [m.v.]
Val Scudj -- n[umer]o -- 3 --


75. Vittoria purchases Michelangelo's model for the left foot of Day, April 1563
Piede dj man dj Michela[n]gelo Bon.
Adj .20. Aprile. 1563.
Val Scudj -- n[umer]o -- 3 --

The Montefeltro Altar dedicated to St. Anthony Abbot, San Francesco della Vigna

76. Part of the Will of Nicolo da Montefeltro of 23 May 1397 relating to his request for an altar to St. Anthony to be built.


Item uluit, et contentus fuit, quod post eius mortem dica sua omnia impresa in perpetuum stent apud Camera praedictam co[m]munis Venetiarum, et inde non possint estrahi, uendi, uel alienari aliquo modo per aliquem uel aliquos eius Haeredes, uel aliium personam singularum co[m]munem, uel uniuersitatem. Item contentus fuit, et uluit, quod post eius mortem filius, uel filij masculi tantum, et descendentes ex eis per linea mim masculinam tantum non possint habere, uendere, seu alienare, nec extrahere de dicta Camera dicta impresa, seu aliqua[m] partem ipsorum, (sed tantum habebant, et habere debeant usufructum ipsorum)

Videlicet duas partes de tribus partibus praedictis dicitur imprestorum suorum. Et reliquam tertiam partem ipsorum imprestitorum uluit, et mandavit expendi post eius mortem incontinenti quam cibus fieri poterit circa constructum, et fabricam unius capella construenda per dominos procuratores sancti Marci citatiis, et co[m]munis Venetiarum in ecclesia sancti Marci uel sancti Francisci de Venetiis, sub uocabulo sancti Antonii, quae annuatim recipiatur ex dictis imprestitis. Circa quam uluit expendi tertiam partem prodis, quod tunc temporis excucietur de dictam Camera imprestorum, qua capella perfecta uluit ibidem deputata unum sacerdotem, et celebrabatur in dictis tempus diei in detta Camera dicta imprestiis. Circa quam uluit expendi tertiam partem prodis, et constitutatur dicto sacerdoto salarium concedes per dictos procuratores de dicta tercia parte prodis...


77. Agreement between the Procuratori de Citra and the monks of San Francesco della Vigna to build an Altar to St. Anthony to fulfil the wishes of Nicolo da Montefeltro, 28 February 1552


78. A list of the individual parts of the Altar and their relative costs, (to estimate the total cost to be specified on the contract with the stonemason Francesco to be drawn up shortly afterwards), calculated in August 1556

1556 adi < . . . > auosto

P[er] lj Scalinj da basso lauordi con il suo baston et el so gretto, et il pian battudì da ben, questi sono primi in opera doi man, primo et secondo andara in tutte le due man, e sotto lj pilastrellj pie n[umer]o 54 a s[old]i 20 el pe, mo[n]tara duc[ati] 8 L[ire] 4 s[old]i 8

P[er] el patto da basso onde zappa el fratte andara longo pie n[umer]o 7, largo p[i]e 2½ in circa, con uno requadrame[n]to de pie re fine ouer stuchi negri -- duc 25 L.-------


P[er] dui bande andara in le teste del parapetto, et le altre dui andara daua[n]ti che lj giera
insieme in la lesena del pezo andara soazate con le sue cornise battute da menudo andara alte p[ile] 3, larghe p[ile] 2½ -- duc 10 L.-------
P[er] li quaresellj che tegnira le Collonne da basso, sotto basa, friso, cornine, et lintaio su li quareselli ben cornisadi in lesenadi secondo il desegno fatto, battuti da menudo con le lesene delle allette -- duc 25 L.-------
P[er] le base {d[e] marmoro} delle Collonne et delli nichj n[umer]o 3, in lesenadi secondo el desegno, fatte con sie man de soaze, siano ben battute da menudo, ua longhe quanto e lo altar -- duc 20 L.-------
P[er] Collonne n[umer]o 4 de malmaro machiade lauorade, fusade, et lustrade, sono longhe p[ile] 5½, grosse g 8 -- duc 45 L.-------
P[er] li capitelli {d[e] marmoro} n[umer]o 4 intreghi, et 8 mezi li quali ua sora le coltome tonde, li altri mezi ua sora le allette li quali andara intaiade a foie de Oliuo, et con altri intagi dentro, con altre rose, che li siano ben fatti -- duc 35 L.-------
P[er] doi nichj de piera rossa, uno a banda destra, laltro a banda zanca lj qualj andara alti p[ile] 6, larghi p[ile] 1½ con le sue cappe, et le sue allette, e li soi pie lustradi de piera machiada ben lauoradi -- duc 20 L.-------
P[er] el nichio grando de mezo sara largo p[ile] 2½ alto p[ile] 6, con il suo uolto, et la sua Cartella, con la sua foia, et li soi ruosoni sotto el uolto, et sia soazado da menudo, et la sua cappa dentro con due uittorie, requadrado el nichio, et el uolto con lintaio, andara secondo el desegno -- duc 40 L.-------
P[er] dui allette de fora uia o requadratte ouer negre -- duc 4 L.-------
P[er] el Cornison grando che ua sora le Collonne, zoe sora lj capitellj el qual ua in lesena, preicipia architrauo, friso e Cornise battudo da menudo, et intagio uognol, et fusarolij, tutto quello si pol andar sego[n]do il disegno -- duc 25 L.-------
P[er] dui Cartelle che finisse de sora con dui serpe de intaiado lauorade -- duc 16 L.-------

(words between {} - inserted (probably at a later date since the ink is of a lighter tone)).


79. The Contract for the construction of the actual Altar drawn up between the Procuratori de Citra and Francesco Tagliapietra on 27 July 1557


M.D.LVII Adi XXVI lugio


Io prjamo da Lezze pr[ocuratori]or affermo q[uan]to e sop[r]a scritto.
Io franc[esc]o da san franc[esc]o prometto ett mi e gonttentto de quantto e sopra scritto

[The words between {} have been inserted in the left-hand margin].

(ASV, Proc. di San Marco Mysti, Busta 12, "Procuratori di San Marco de Citra Commissaria
testamento, etc., fol. 12).

80. Agreement drawn up between the Procuratori de Citra and Alessandro Vittoria for
the three Statues for the Altar of St. Anthony Abbot, 12 November 1561.

De Comiss[ari]a m[esser] nic[ol]o da monte feltre
Arcesso fatto con s[ignor] alessandro vittorio p[er] tre figure d[e] marmoro In g[iesi]a d[e]
s[an] franc[esc]o
Il 1561 adj 12/ nouembri]o In V[e]netia
P[er] tenor dila pres[entj]e el si deciara qualmente lj clar[ijsi]mj p[rocuratori]ri de citra sono
Convenuti alinfras[critto] secondo accordo con m[esser] aliandro vittoria scultor qual p[ro]mete fari
figure tre de relevo di tutto tondo p[er] meter nelj nichi dilartar dj la capela a san franc[esc]o
dala Vigna nota dj ragion dila p[rocuro]taja data qual figure hano adeser Nel nichio dj mezo
uno san]tto Antonjo et nelj altrj duj uno san Rocho et uno san Sebastjan qual figure far
promete con ogni sua industria et diligentia convenientj a un, par suo et dj bela pietra neta
quanto piu li dara il possibile acio lopera sij reusibile si per honor suo quanto p[er] satisfar a
sue clar[ijsime] sig[no]re et queste far promete a spexe sue di pietra et manifatura per pretio
de scudj cento et cinqanta toute tre da esserj dat per giornata secondo opererra et promete
darle finite dil tuto che stjan bene per tutto Il mexe dj sett[embrj]o prosimo /1562 et cosi
sotoscivera esser contento dj quanto nela p[resen]ttj si chomtiene
Et Io Zuanic[om]o de uielmo protho ho fato la p[resen]ntte de ordine dj sue clar[ijsime]
sig[nore] et de consenso del sopras[critto] m[esser] aliandro. --
Io Alessandro Vittoria Afermo a quanto dj sopra è Scritto

Io Alessan [sic]

(ASV, Proc. di San Marco Mysti, Busta 12, "Procuratori di San Marco de Citra Commissaria
testamento, etc., fol. 13).

81. Vittoria records buying the block of Rovigno stone from which he will sculpt the St.
Sebastian, July 1563

Pietra dila Salo
Adj. 24. liuo. 1563.

Ricordo io Alessando Vittoria come questo di s[opra]s[critto comp]erai un pezo di pietra da
el figliolh ch[e] fu di m[esser] Pietro da Salo scultore, e' m[aest]ro Saluatore tagliapietra fece
il mercato e fu presente a la sborssatione de sei ducati p[er] resto e saldo
Val Ducatj -- n[umerj]o -- 6 --

131).
82. Vittoria records settling up with the proto Giangiaco de' Grigi for the stone from which he had carved the St. Anthony Abbot and St. Roch, December 1563
Saldo di Messer Zuana Mo/li ducati 25 a conto di loro
Adj 3. Decembris. 1563.
Ricordo io Alessandro Vitoria chome questo di sopra scritto mi saldi con Messer Zuan Iacomo di Vielmo di due pezzi di pietra ch'io ebi da lui per far il san Antone & il san Rocho la uigna e' fu saldata ne con di le due Vitorie ch'io feci per lui ala porta del Signor Hieronimo Clarissimo Griman j sopra chanal gra[n]do, come apar nel mio libretto dal alfabeto neti riceuej, presente maestro Hieronimo Chiozoto taiapiera.


83. Various payments made to Vittoria for work on the Statues from February 1562 onwards
[1561 m.v.] 7 febraro dadi a Signor Alessandro Vitoria scultor d'ucati 25 a conto di figure il fa y l'altar a San Francesco dalla Vigna Iusto il suo marchado y poliza de signor Zuana Iacobone di Vielmo di 13 luio pasato ---- L. 2. 10. -.

[1562 m.v.] 3 fevrier dadi a Signor Alessandro Vitoria scultor d'ucati 50 a bon conto delle 3 figure il fa y meter sopra l'altar di questa Commissaria a San francisco y poliza de signor Zuan Iacomo di Vielmo di questo di ---- L. 5. -.

[1563] 12 agosto y dadi a Signor Alessandro Vitoria scultor d'ucati 40 a bon conto di figure il fa al altar di San francisco y poliza di Maestro Zuan Iacomo di Vielmo di 13 luio pasato ---- L. 4. -.

Commissaria m'esser Nicolo da monte feltro dado Adj 10 zener y dado a m'esser Alessandro Vitoria scultor d'ucati 25 a bon Conto de le figure el fa a San Francesco y poliza di Maestro Zuan Iacomo di Vielmo di 13 luio pasato ---- L. 2. 10. -.

1564 y 4 mazo y dadi a Signor Alessandro dito a bon Conto ---- L. 2. -.

[1564] 10 otubrj y dati a Signor Alessandro Vitoria scultor d'ucati 9 soldi 8 denarii 18 y saldo delle 3 figure fate nella capella a San Francesco y poliza de signor Zuana Iacomo di Vielmo di 18 Settembri ---- L. 18. 8. 18.

[end of p.24r].


84. Further Payments made to Vittoria
[1561] 7. februarj dadi a Signor Alessandro Vitoria d'ucati 25 ad bonis osputis figurare ponondar supra altar In capalla pre. com' mintentis In ecclesiae sanci franceschi a vinea p[er] policiam 21 ... per anti ---- L. 2 s.10


1563 adj 8 Zenaro [m.v.]

Zu[nja][com]o d[e] gugelmo protho


85. Payments made to other sculptors and stonemasons for their part in the work of the Montefeltro Altar

II. 1564 adj 7 luio

Zuangiac[om]o d[e] giuvelmo protho


295
[1564] y 12 dito y dati a m[aestr]o Franc[esc]o Intagiador d[ucati] 5 [...]
de dele cartelet et gioiioleta ha fatto y le figure Item y piu spese a diversi y meter sop[r]a laltar le dite figure d[ucati] 3 s[oldi] 8
In tuto Come In zornal ---- L.---- 16. 8. -.

date y haver meso suso le figure sop[r]a laltar a s[an] franc[esc]o y questa comiss[ari]a y

la spese y lui fate In acomodar l’altar y principiar a dir mesa ---- -L. 7. 1. 6.

(ASV, Proc. di San Marco Misti, Busta 12A, Fasc. 1, "Procuratori di S. Marco de Citra,
Commissaria Montefeltro (da) Nicolò qd. Federico civis Venetiarum", inside a white account-
book entitled on the back-cover: "N.o 24 - Com. M. nic.o da monte feltro", and in pencil
"1423-1590", fols. 24r & 25r).

86. Vittoria is present at the publishing of the will of Andrea Schiavone, 1 December
1563

... Jo Andrea pittor fiol d[e]ll Conda[m] m[esser] Simon Meldola Considerando la fragil
Vita nostra ... Jo lao e raoc[m]ando l’anima mia al eterno idio et al Saluator
misericordiad[e]la anema mia.
Laso Uniuersal mia erede et resideraria d[e]l tuttj ij mej benj mobelj, Come Stabelj p[re]sentj
e futurj marina d[e] riccj mia Consorte e lej sola laso Comesaria.
[Written on 22 May 1563]
[on verso]:
Die m[er]curij p[rim]o m[ens]is Decembris 1563. Ist.[..?] Publicatu[m] fuit. viso p.us
cadaure, p[rese]nti ... et D[omin]o Alex[and]ro victorio sculptoris ...

(ASV, Testamenti Notarile Gerolamo Parto, Busta 783, No. 1187).

87. The "Termini" for the palace of Andrea Gritti

adj. 8. Decembris .1565.
L. 8 s. 0 A M[aestr]o Antonio da s[an]to Vitale taiapiera p[er] aue laurato il suo laurante
sei giornate di quadro sulj terminj d[el] M[agnifi]co Andrea gritj ala pieta -- L. 8 s. 0
adj. 13. luio .1566.
L. 6 s. 0 A M[aestr]o francesco alieuo d[e]l lioncin taiapiera p[er] aue finite le uolute d[e]l

(ASV, San Zaccaria, Busta 18, Vol. I, "Commissaria Vittoria", fol. 88r; Predelli (1908),
p. 188).
89. The first bronze-cast of the *St. Sebastian* statuette

Santo Sebastiano, bro[n]zo


Ricordo io Alessandro Vitoria chome questo di s[opra] s[cripto] sborssaj a' M. Andrea che zeta di bronzo, e' mio Char[i]mo Compare, scudi sete da L. 7 luno p[er] resto e' saldo di auermi zetato il s[an]to Sebastiano di bronzo col suo metalo, & io gli detj la cera rineta ta bene

Val Scudj -- n[umer]o -- 7 --


Vittoria is commissioned by Jacopo Strada on behalf of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria to restore an Antique statue of an unspecified female (*Venus?*) and to carve a *Cupid*

90. Letter from Stoppio to Hans Jacob Fugger ("Hofkammerpräsident" to Albrecht V) of 3 August 1567

... Circa il suo Cupido, quando che sarà finito, sapero bene il tutto, et ne darò aviso a Vostra Signoria ...


91. Letter from Stoppio to Fugger of 10 August 1567

... mi maraviglio molto che non le habbia inviati inanti, ma penso che vorà aspettare il Cupido che si fa ...


92. Letter from Stoppio to Fugger of 24 August 1567

... Il Cupido sarà finito fra 15 di, et sarà conza la donna, alla quale ha fatto mettere una testa et un brazzo ... Io volevo che quella matina fusse venuto meco a desinare il Strada, ma mi disse hier sera suo figliuolo ... che 'l va a desinare con Alessandro Vittorio scultore che fa I queste sue cose ...


93. Letter from Stoppio to Fugger of 9 September 1567

[talking of a Paros marble *Paris* that he wanted to acquire on Duke Albrecht’s behalf]: ... un amico che ha veduto il Cupido del Strada che li costa scudi 75, dice che questo Paris vale per il dopio, si comme è anche più grande di un bon palma che non è quel suo Cupido ...

[NB the Paris was also described as "un putto de 7 o 8 anni"]

94. Document proving Vittoria's presence at one of the sessions called to draw up the inventory of the collection of Gabriel Vendramin, September 1567

Die 2 Septembris 1567.

... Nel qual sopradetto inventario li fu presente il magnifico sier Zuane et Ferigo Vendramin per li nomi loro et per li nomi intravengono fradelli ser Alessandro Vitoria scultor et Zuanpiero barbier commandador et Andrea servitor del magnifico mesier Lucha Vendramin ...  

(Rava (1920), pp. 163-68).

The Zane Altar, in the Frari

95. Letter from Cosimo Bartoli in Venice to Giorgio Vasari in Florence, 23 August 1566.

... Alessandro fcultore, quale ho uisto stamani, uisi raccomanda, che ha uoluto, uadia infino a casa tua a ueder certi modelletj che egli ha fattj per fare il San Girolamo di marmo grande, che ua ne Frarj in quella tua cappella che uedestj, che ha haunto un bel marmo; et ne è molto allegro ...  

(ARS, cod. XLV, Nr. 25; Frey (1982), II, letter DXLV, p. 274).

96. The Will of Girolamo Zane of 10 February 1569 (m.v. ie 1570), proving Vittoria's lack of progress on the central marble statue of St. Jerome

... Volgio [sic] esser sepulto alj fratj menorj In giesia ne larrca Ho fatto far al altar nostro, senza molta pompa ...  


(ASV, Testamenti Notarile, Cesare Zilio, Busta 1259, No. 521, and a copy, ASV, Testamenti Notarile, Cesare Zilio, Busta 1263, IIII, fols. 86v-88r; Leithe-Jasper (1963), pp. 130, 160, n. 74).

97. The nobleman Girolamo Ascanio Giustinian is petitioned by the Franciscan fathers for permission to remove Vittoria's Stucco Pala of the Assumption and to replace it with a painting by Giuseppe da Copertino, 20 September 1753

In Dei a[f]er[ni nomine amen

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Jesu Christi millesimo septingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, Indictione secunda, die uerO uigesima Septembris. 

Mia cara signorina,

Non so se ho fatto piu' o meno la cosa giusta, ma la mia intenzione non è mai stata di offendervi. Sono stato piuttosto shockato dalla vostra presenza in questa situazione, e non ho voluto interrompervi in quanto era un discorso molto personale.

Desideravo farvi sapere che...


E perche le due Statue laterali alla Figura sudetta di S[an] Girolamo restino in essere, leuate che siano dal sito ove si attrouano per auer modo di poner la Palla sudetta, posta che sia questa s'obliga Sua Eccellenza di farle accomodare leuate, che siano; e detto Padre Francesco in virtù della sudetta Parte s'obliga, che dalli R[everen]di Padri, e successori saranno sempre mantenute, collocandole di nuovo lateralmente all'Altare sudetto . . .


98. Letter from Cosimo Bartoli in Venice to Giorgio Vasari in Florence (which reveals the existence of a small wax Horse made by Vittoria for Vasari), 3 December 1567.


(ARS, cod. XLV. Nr. 28; Frey (1982), II, letter DCXV, pp. 360-61).
99. Three fireplaces for Pietro Pala
adj. 11. Marzo 1568.


100. Vittoria is present at another session to inventory of the collection of Gabriel Vendramin, June 1568
Die 16 Junii 1568
Sequitur inventarium rerum antiquarum quondam viri nobilis domini Gabrieliis Vendramino...
... Nel qual sopradetto inventario li fu presente il magnifico sier Zuanne e Ferigo Vendramin fratelli et Jacomo Sansovin e sier Alessandro Scultor, Hieronimo de Guaschi comandador et il magnifico sier Luca Vendramin et Philippine Vendramin.

(Rava (1920), pp. 172-75).

101. Letter from Cosimo Bartoli in Venice to Giorgio Vasari in Florence, 26 June 1568.
... Quanto a vetri da mosaico bisognava, che mene hauessi scritto prima, perche uccellato da chi uoj hauui di costa dato qui la comessione et stimolato dalle uostre lettere, che io uel... mandassi, ero ito piu di et di sono a trouar’ il Ballerino uetraro, quello stessio a chi lhuomo del Danese ne hauua data la commessione; et ueduto, che non hauua hauuto tanto credito, che li facessi far’, pregai detto Ballerino, che di gratia mi facessi scrui’r’, et ui hebbi a tornar’ ben tre volte: Finalmente li hebbi Lunedi passato con molti preghi; et perche il vetraro, che li fa, non ne uoleua far si poca quantita, adducendo, che non li metteua conto, fui forzato a pregarlo, che mene facessi una cotta di uarie sorte et il manco che poteua. Fecene finalmente libbre 151 alla minuta, et meli bisogno pagar tutti et pigliarli, talche non posso stornar a dietro. Pero li mando con questo procaccio, che sara Cechino, sino a Bologna, donde uerrano adiritti a uoi dalle rede di Piero Tassi, a quali satisfarete del porto di essi: che delle spese occorse di qua et per essi et per altro ne scrivio io al Illuistrissimo Signor Principe et li trago al depositario... In ogni modo il Signor Principe douerra uole introdurre cotesta arte in cotesta citta. Et pur hierj messer Alessandro Vittore mi disse, che cotesto maestro Gianantonio e valentissimo in cotesto esercitio, et che, se egli sta in ceruello quanto alle cose da braui, uoi uedrete opere eccellentj di luj; ma che suol hauer un poco il ceruello alto et bizarro...

(ARS, cod. XLV. No. 30; Frey (1982), II, letter DCXXIV, pp. 382-83).

... Hollo pregato che faccia scusa per V[ostra] S[ignoria] col Saluuiati et con ii Vittore, che li uede piu spesso di me.
... Io hebbi il cauallo del Fiamingo [Giambologna] et poi un altro minore et li fo gittar di bronzo per mio humore; et anco faro far qualchealtra cosa da galante hominj...

(ARS, cod. XLV. No. 32; Frey (1982), II, letter DCXXVII, pp. 385-86).
103. Letter from Cosimo Bartoli in Venice to Giorgio Vasari in Florence, 7 August 1568.

... Pur hierj trouai il Danese e 'l Saluiatj insieme, et disperse il Viitore, da quali ui si rende subitamente adoppiate raccomandationi... ...

(ARS, cod. XLV. No. 33; Frey (1982), II, letter DCXXXIII, pp. 393-94).

104. Letter from Cosimo Bartoli in Venice to Giorgio Vasari in Florence, 14 August 1568.

... Il Saluiato, il Palladio, il Victore et il Danese ui si raccomandano; et io, poi che son priuo della conversaizion uostra, tal volta mi godo delle loro, ma pochissime volte per i negozij che hanno loro et io ancora...

(ARS, cod. XLV. No. 34; Frey (1982), II, letter DCXXXV, pp. 396-97).

105. Critical opinion of Vittoria as expressed by Vasari in the 1568 edition of his "Le Vite..."

... Fu parimente discepolo di Iacopo [Sansovino], Alessandro Vittoria da Trento, scultore molto eccellente e amicissimo degli studii; il quale con bellissima maniera ha mostrato in molte cose che ha fatto, così di stucco come di marmo, vivezza d'ingegno e bella maniera, e che le sue opere sono da essere tenute in pregio. Et di mano di costui sono in Venezia alla porta principale della libreria di S[an] Marco due femmine di pietra alte palmi dieci l'una, che son molto belle, graziose e da esser molto lodate. Ha fatto nel Santo di Padova alla sepoltura Contarina quattro figure: due schiavi o vero prigioni con una Fama et una Tetis tutte di pietra; et uno angioletto piedi dieci alto, il quale è stato posto sopra il campanile del duomo di Verona, che è molto bella statua; et in Dalmazia mandò pure di pietra quattro Apostoli nel duomo di Trei, alti cinque piedi l'uno. Fece ancora alcune figure d'argento per la scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista di Venezia, molto graziose, le quali erano tutte di tondo rilievo, et un San Teodorico d'argento di piedi due, tutto tondo; lavorò di marmo nella cappella Grimana a San Sebastiano due figure, alte tre piedi l'una, et appresso fece una Pietà con due figure di pietra tenute buone, che sono a San Salvador in Venezia. Fece un Mercurio al pergamo di palazzo di San Marco, che risponde sopra la piazza, tenuto buona figura. Et a San Francesco della Vigna fece tre figure grandi quanto il naturale, tutte di pietra, molto belle, graziose e ben condotte, Santo Antonio, San Sebastiano e Santo Rocco, e nella chiesa de' Crocicihieri fece di stucco due figure alte sei piedi l'una, poste all'altare maggiore, molto belle, e della medesima materia fece, come gia s'è detto, tutti gli ornamenti che sono nelle volte delle scale nuove del palazzo di San Marco, con vari partimenti di stucchi, dove Batista Franco dipinse poi ne' vani dove sono le storie, le figure e le grottesche che vi sono. Parimente fece Alessandro quelle delle scale della libreria di San Marco, tutte opere di gran fattura, e ne' frati minori una cappella, e nella tavola di marmo, che è bellissima e grandissima, l'assunzione della Nostra Donna di mezzo rilievo con cinque figurone a basso, che hanno del grande e son fatte con bella maniera, grave e bello andare di panni e condotte con diligenza. Le quali figure di marmo sono San Jeronimo, San Giovanbatista, San Pietro, Santo Andrea e San Lionardo, alte sei piedi l'una, e le migliori di quante opere ha fatto infin ora. Nel finimento di questa cappella sul frontespizio sono due figure pure di marmo, molto graziose et alte otto piedi l'una. Il medesimo Vittoria ha fatto molti ritratti di marmo e bellissime teste e somigliano, cioè quella del signor Giovanbatista Feredo, posta nella chiesa...

(Vasari (1568), VII, pp. 382-84).

106. Letter from Veit von Dornberg, Imperial Resident in Venice, to Maximilian II concerning sculptors and architects, on 22 January 1569
In executionem commissuum Caesareae Maiestatis Vestrae alias per me acceptarum pro habeda fructum, seminum, hortorum et ornamentorum hortensium nec non architectorum et sculptorum excellentium infinitum nunc humiliter habeo Caesareae Maiestati Vestrae significandum, quod imprimit nullum procepto in illis omnibus investigandis studium et opera omnis, deinde quod iam forma et hortorum omnium effigies, qui praecae teris Venetiis celebrea sunt, una cum grottis, fontibus et ornamentis qui subsequantur in illis existentibus ad vivum depicta eminenter et rilevate conficitur, quae omnia, cum primum erunt absoluta, statim ad caesaream maiestatem perferrere curabo . . .
Quod vero ad Alexandrum Victorium, sculptorem, spectat, cognovi tam ex mulorum relatione quam ex figuris per eum eleganter factis et in foro Divi Marci existentibus, ipsum caeteris sculptoribus Sansovino tamen excepto merito praeferrrei. Est et alius sculptor cognominatus Danese, qui, licet, ut audio, aliquid operis probati confecerit, longe tamen Alexandro praedicto minime comparandus . . .


. . . Messer Giorgio, io ho uisto a di passati quel che io non credeua, che ci fusi chi lo sapessi ne potessi fare: Fuor di Padoua ad un certo suo beneficio sta un messer Giambatista Zabacco, prete, di mia eta; qual dice esser stato in Roma scolar' di Michelagnolo. Il quale ha fatto uno giudizio a modo di Michelagnolo, ma diversissimo da quello con figure di un palmo uero un sommesso, tanto bello, con tanti belli ignudi, con tante belle attitudini, con tanti belli scorci, con tanti uarj gruppi di maschi, di femine, di metti, di giouani, di uechi, di angeli, di diauoli, di santi di ogni sorte, che io per uno ne son rimasto tanto et si fattamente marauigliato, che non uelo saprei dire. Ha fatto ancora un Fetonte rounante et una altra cartone et uno altro cartone di un braccio, nel quale ha finto il principio del mondo, quando li angeli reprob furon cacciati di cielo, tanto bello, tanto uario, con tanto disegnio, che io ardisco dir' non hauer uisto mai la piu bella cosa. Ha animo difarli intaglir in rame. Non so quel che si fara ne so, se V. S. sene ha cognizione. Basta, che lo uedemmo insieme, messer Alessandro Victore, il Ruscone et io, et restammo tanto marauigliati, che fu cosa grande . . .

(ARS, cod. XLV. Nr.40, fol. 69/74; Frey (1982), II, letter DCLXVIII, pp. 433-34).
108. Work in the Ca' Foscari
adi 16. Luito 1569
Contai a Batista sopra scrìto per auaer lavorato giorni. 6. a cha foschari lire noue presente. 
pre Agustino goreto e tiberio dil fornaro mio garzon Val.-- L. 9. s. 0.


109. Tommaso Rangone is granted permission to erect a new portal for the convent of San Sepolcro and to crown it with a statue of St. Thomas, 20 April 1570
... chiesa delle Monache del Santissimo Sepolcro del Corpo di nostro Signore.
Concedevano facoltà di poter fabbricar la porta maestra sopra il fondamento de Canal Grande 
che risponde con il suo sottoportico alla porta della capella del S[an]tio Sepolcro, che è in 
detta loro chiesa et ciò di pietre vive con sue colonna et ornamenti nel modo, forma et 
secondo il modelo del predetto Ecc[ellen]Je Giacomo Sansovino, et nella parte di sopra di essa 
porta nel quadro possi far poner la inscrizione in lettere antique intagliate in pietra, sopra il 
frontispizio di essa ponervi la immagine, overo statua di pietra di s. Thomaso.

(ASV, Atti Notarile, Vettor Maffei, Protoc. 8164, fol. 668f, under 20 April 1570)

110. The Third Will of Vittoria drawn up on 7 November 1570
Anno ab incarnatione d[omini] n[ostr]i Jesu Christi 1570 Indiczione XIII die vero martis VII 
mensis novembris. R[ivoal]ii.
... Commissario veramente et solo escuito di questo mio testamento [inspiringgo?] et ordino 
messer Piero palao quale p[re]go... gli eseguire quanto p[er] questo mio testamento ordino 
Voglio che la mia sepoltura sii fabbricata nel pavimento d[e] lintrada d[e]lla porta maestra nova 
fata fabbricar novamente pel [magnificent]o cavalier et fisico m[ess]er Thomaso ravena al santo 
sepolcro monasterio di monache in contrada dj san Zuane in bragora. et voglio ch[e] in questa 
mia sepoltura sii riposti gli ossi de paula fu mia prima consorte quali sono sepolti in san 
Zuane in bragora. et cio in eseguizione di quanto lei p[er] suo testamento havieto ordnato. Item 
lasso alla mia dileta consorte veronica tutta la sua dote [ ... e] sopra tucti li mei beni dal 
stabile in fuori... . Item sopra la casa dove habitano li heredi di m[esser] Domenego 
Lazarino dove sta la madre dedita mia co[n]sorce p[er] altri Ducati 100... . Item lasso la mia 
casa da stato dove al presente habito in contrada di san Zuane in bragora a Vigilio et Augustino 
mei nepoti fioli di margarita mia sorella. et d[e] m[esser] Lorenzo rubini scultore. la quale 
casa sii governata p[er] loro suoj padre et madre in gl miglior modo piu vale p[er] detti 
figlioli sino serano p[er]venuti alla eta leguitima. Item a Doralice et sua sorella minore mie 
neze figiole deli p[er]fati? margarita et Lorenzo p[er] el suo maritare lasso ducati cento 
p[er] cadauna et li signo dati al tempo d[e]l contrato d[e]l loro matrimonio... . 
Item lasso alli fioli di ana mia sorella ducati dusemo in tucta da esser divisi egualmente fra 
di loro. Tucti li mei disegni et modelli et cose p[er]tine[n]te alla Scoltura lasso a mio 
cuginado lorenzo, et doppo la morte sua devenghino in deti Vigilio et augustino suoi figlioli 
mei nepoti. Tutt li retrati di paula mia prima co[n]sorte voglio che signo di veronica mia 
secondo co[n]sorte. Et d[e]lili altri retrati picoli come et el suo uno d[e]lli mei dui et di sue 
sorelle la ne pigili quella parte che a lei parera. et cio in segno d'amorevolezza et laltro mio
retrato resti a mia sorella margarita et doppo lei a mei nepoti suoi figlioli. Item a dicta
veronica lasso in segno damor il diamante piu picolo et rubino. suo compagno co[n] lagadure
chiere. et la turchesia co[n] ligadura smaltada. L’altro rubin co[n] la ligadura smaltada lasso
ad anastasia sua sorella. Il restante dell’ anelli risservando il diama[n]te mazor voglio si
d’elle dette mie neze da Vicenza. et il diamante mazor co[n] ligadura smaltada de conto co[n]
i botoni grossi doro. et la corona doro co[n] botoni lavorati alla perusina di mediore forma
insieme co[n] li monili doro un fil di perle grosse. et un piu picolo. un cadena doro in massa
di otto fili con suo pendente d’oro due cadenine d’un fil solo doro. Il tucto insieme co[n] tuct
et cadauni mei beni mobili di qualun[que] sorte voglio si venduto pel mio comissario. et
il tratto investito a benefittio d[el]l mei heredi infrascritti. El Residue veramente de tucti et
cadauni mei beni se mobili come stabili p[re]sentent futuri . . . lasso allo p[re]fati vigilio et
augustin mei nipote. ne voglio possino venire al benefittio di questo mio residuo se no[n]
doppo la morte di margarita loro madre quale instituisco herede usufrutuarja dj esso mio
residuo sino lei ujuer. doppo veramente la sua morte sendo [er]venuti alla eta legittima
voglio habbino il benefittio di esso mio residuo. Item ordinno che il retrato de francesco
parmesanin dipinto da lui medesimo in un spechio tondo come scrive m[esser] Zorzas
vasario nella vita de pittori che e apresso di me si co[n]signato ad uno agenti d[el]l ser[enissimo]
la duca di firenze p[er) essere consignato a sua altezza p[er) essere quel gran fautore di virtuosi.
Iem lazzo il san Zuanino di marno alla chiesa dj san Zuan in bragora p[er) essere consignato a sua altezza p[er) essere quel gran fautore di virtuosi.
Item lazzo ii quadro d[el]la circoncisione di Christo. Item il quadro d[el]la pieta sostenuta da
un angelo lazzo alle monache di sepolcro. et sii messo in loco alto dove habbi luce et buona
vista. Il quadro d[el]la madonna co[n] il puto in bracio et san Zuan fanciulo acanto co[n]
lornoamento simile alli due quadri sopradecti, lasso a mad[onn]a Isabeta mia madonna in segno
damure . . .

(ASV, Testamenti Notarile Vettor Maffei, Busta 657, in a folder marked with a black number
8. On the back of the will is written the number 652).

111. Postscript to letter from Cosimo Bartoli in Venice to Giorgio Vasari in Rome, 21
April 1571.
. . . Il Danese, il Victorj [sic] et li altri amici ui si raccomandano.

(ARS, cod. XLV. No. 54; Frey (1982), II, letter DCCXC, pp. 581-82).

112. Letter from Cosimo Bartoli in Venice to Giorgio Vasari in Florence, 14 June 1572.
. . . Alli amici uoostri si son fatte le raccomandationj et particularmente al Verdezzoti et a
messer Alessandro Vittore, le quali ui si rendono duplicate . . .

(ARS, cod. XLV. Nr. 74; Frey (1982), II, letter DCCCXCVI, pp. 684-85).
113. Francesco Sansovino includes Vittoria's name among the sculptors who had helped his father on the Giganti, in a report of September 1572

3 Sept[embris] 1572.


Domenico dito il Magnifico, Taiapiera
Domenico da Salò Scultore
Battista di Bernardino Scultore
Poletto Intaiador da Piera
Alessandro Vittoria Scultore.

[NB There follow the reports of the above mentioned sculptors, except that of Poletto and Vittoria]

(ASV, Senato Terra, Filza 86, 1582 da Novembre sino tutto Febraro; Lorenzi (1868), p. 482).

114. Vittoria is paid for the portrait bust of Girolamo Grimani by his son Marino, 6 August 1573

Adi 6 ago sto 1573.
Ricevi io Alessandro Vitoria dal clarissimo signor Marin Grimani ducati sesanta per resto e saldo dil ritrato di marno dil clarissimo signor suo padre val ducati 60


115. Stucco fireplace for Leonardo Pesaro's palace

adj. 13. Marzo 1574.

adj. 20. Marzo 1574.
L. 9. a m[aestr]o Batista s[opra]s[crit]o p[er] auer lavorato giornj sei di stucco a cha pesero - L 9 s --

adj 27. Marzo 1574.
adj P[rim]o Aprile .1574.

(ASV, San Zaccaria, Busta 18, Vol. I, "Commissaria Vittoria", fol. 88r-v; Predelli (1908), pp. 188-89.)

116. Stucco fireplace for Lorenzo Soranzo’s palace at San Polo
adj .15. Magio .1574.

adj .22. Magio 1574
L. 9 A M[aest]ro Batista zancho p[er] auer lauorato a' k. soranzo giornj cinque sula napa d[e] stuco -- L. 9 --

adj .29. Magio .1574.


117. The Stucco Evangelists for San Giorgio Maggiore, October 1574
adj .2. ottobre 1574

adj .9. ottobre 1574

adj 16 ottobre 1574

adj 24. ottobre 1574.

adj 30. ottobre 1574.

118. The second bronze-cast of the St. Sebastian statuette
Sancho Sebastiano secondo bronzo

Adj. 16. Maggio. 1575.
Ricordo io Alessandro Vitoria chome questo dj s(opra)s(critt)lo contai al supplemento di sete ducatj da L. 6 e' s. 4, p(er) Ducato a' m[esser] Horatio che fu zenero de m[esser] Andrea dai bro[n]zi p(er) resto e saldo dil Sancho Sebastiano ch[e] glia zetato di bro[n]zo

Val -- Duc[ati] -- 7 --


The Plaque Commemorating the visit of Henry III of France to Venice

119. The decision taken by the Senate to erect the Commemorative Plaque on 12 March 1575

Sia impresso nel muro di corrido della Corte del palazzo l'inscrizione fatta intorno la venuta del Re di Francia et Pollonia

M.D.LXXXV. Di xii Marzo

Hauendo il Magnifico Ambassador del Re Christianissimo di Franza, et di Pollonia ressidente presso di noi piu volte fatto ufficio con la S[ignoria] N[osstra] in nome del suo Re, che fusse contenta far porre in alcun luogo publico una inscrizione, dataci da sua s[ignoria], intorno alla venuta di sua Maestà in questa nostra Città, et douendosi, per maggior espression della molta stima, et osseruanza nostra verso di lei, dare questa satisfazione à sua Maestà Christianissima. L'anderà parte, che à spese della S[ignoria] N[osstra] sia impresso nel muro del corrido della Corte del Palazzo nostro appresso la bolla di rimpeto immediate la scalla de i Ziganti uno quadro di Marmo dorato colla iscrizione dataci dal detto Magnifico Ambassador scolpita in lettere nere, per la commemoratione sudetta; La qual inscrizione è quella, che segue.


(ASV, Senato Terra, Reg. 50, March 1574 - August 1575, fol. 125v; Lorenzi (1868), 395, Doc. 808).

120. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants

adj 2. Luiio 1575

L 7 s 10 A M[esser] Marcantonio Paladio p(er) auer lavorato giorni cinque sulle figure di ornamento[n]lo di fra[n]za -- L 7 s 10
adi 9. luio 1575
s[opra]s[crit]t'a -- L 7 s 10

adi 16. luio 1575
L 9 s -- A M[esser] marcantonio Paladio p[er] auer lauorato giorni sei sulopera
s[opra]s[crit]t'a -- L 9 s 0

adi 23. luio 1575.
L 7 s 10 A m[esser] marca[n]tonio Paladio p[er] auer lauorato g iorni cinq[ue] sulop[er]a --
L 7 s 10

adi 30 luio 1575
L 7 s 10 A m[esser] marcantonio Paladio p[er] auer lauorato giorni cinque sulop[er]a --
L 7 s 10

adi 6. Agosto 1575
s[opra]s[crit]t'a -- L. 9 s --

adi 11. agosto 1575
--


The saga of Vittoria’s project for the Priuli Tombs in San Salvatore, Venice

121. The agreement to use one of Vittoria’s designs, 14 September 1575

MDLXXV. Die dicto (XIIII septembris)
Dovendosi per la forma del testamento del q[uondam] CI[arissi]mo m[esser] Lodovico di
Priuli procurator fabricar nella Chiesia di S[an] Salvador de Venetia nel loco à ciò deputato
li depositi e sepolture deli q[uondam] ser[emissi]ni D[omino] Lorenzo et D[omino]
Hier[on]imo di Priuli et tra molti disegni e modelli dati per diversi maestri di scultura et
architettura essendo parso alli CI[arissi]ni S[ignori] Procuratori de ultra Commissarij del detto
q[uondam] CI[arissi]mo Lodovico, che tra li doi disegni dati per D[omino] Alessandro
Vittoria scultor, uno di quelli sia molto honorado et al proposito, per far sopra di esso tal
fabrica. Però hano terminato che quel disegno di detto Vittoria, hozi sottoscritto dal
per fabricar sopra quelli detti depositi con pie re da Rovigno fregade; riservandosi soe
S[ignorJle CI[arissi]me de deliberar poi circa la qualità delle colonne, si come gli parerà
convenirsì, posando il CI[arissi]mo Cassier far li marcdì e far lavorar, come farà bisogno.

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122. Arrangements for four marble columns to be used on the tombs to be imported by a Gasparo de Matthio de Casdore, and which are to be inspected by Vittoria, 26 September 1575

1575 adj 26 settembre

Marked by Maestro Gasparo de Matthio de Cadore, who is to be inspected by Vittoria, September 26, 1575.


Lo franc[es]o intalgiator [quondam] bernardin habita in contra de S[an] bernabao sotto scrivo per nome del sopra ditto M[esser] gasparo il qual e contento et si obliga a quanto disopra, il qual presente dice non saper scrivere.

Lo Juan antonio [quondam] bortolamio bozeto murer fui presente a quanto e sopra scrito. Io la como palma pitor fui presente quanto sopra.

(ASV, Proc. de San Marco de Ultra, Busta 174, No.6; Ludwig (1911), p. 29).

123. The Contract for the Priuli Tombs in San Salvatore signed by Maestro Bortolo Calziner T.aiapietera, on 28 September 1575

1575, adì 28 settembre in Venezia.

Si dichiara per la presente scrittura come maestro Bortholo calziner taipiere da S[an] Zorzi s'obbliga a far le sepolture e depositi dell i Serenissimi Principi Prioli alla giesca de S[an] Salvador di Venetia secondo il disegno de misser Alessandro Vittoria scultor sottoscritto dal Clarissimo misser Battista Morosini, Procurator Cassier della Procuratia de Ultra, con le infrascritte condition, che detto lavor sia fatto e compido secondo detto disegno, segome, e misure che dal detto messer Alessandro sarano date, obbligandosi detto maestro a lavorare tutte e cadauna sorte di piere, che hanno d'andar in essi depositi con quelle maggior diligentia che sia possibile di quadro e d'intaglio, le pire battude de ben e da me crudo fregade e lustrade quelle che farà bisogno a uso da bon maistro et messe in opera, e ben commesse le dette, talche il lavor pare tutto d'un pezzo e senza niuna sorte di stuci sopra le pere, per quanto apartiene all'arte de taipiera, talche si possa metter in opera senza altra spesa de taipiera, dechiarando che tutte quelle pere, le qual saranno lavorate e finite per metter in opera, quelle debbono prima esser viste per il sopradetto misser Alessandro, et quelle che non fossero ben lavorate, come di sopra è scritto, possi esso mistro Alessandro refudarle et ditto mistro habbi perso la sua faldura, et condannato nel costo delle pere. Il qual lavorò detto mistro sia
obliquo darlo compito, di quanto è il suo obbligo, sicome si contien nelle presente scritture, in termine d'anno uno e mezzo principiando dal giorno presente. Per pretio così tra loro d'accordo de ducati mille e cento da L. 6 si 4 per ducato, intendentosi che li pagamenti se li haverano a far, sian falsi di tempo in tempo, siccome importerà il lavor fatto; et non dando le opere al suo tempo debito, possino detti Signori Procuratori farlo far ad altri ad ogni suo danno, spese et interessi senza alcuna contraddizione, et sia eseguita la presente scrittura in ogni soa parte in caso de contrafaldion senza strepito d'alcun atto giudicario, et come sententi tolta volontariamente. Il qual miro Bortolo per suoi pezi e principali obbligati con lui in solidum, mistro Antonio Paldaro da Marcho muraro da Ca Zorzi, e mistro Zuan Antonio fu Bortolo di Marchesi detto Bozetto muraro, quali si sottoscrivervano di soa mano, così compir et osservar, quanto si contien nella presente scrittura, della qual ne saranno doi simili.

Io Bortolo sopradito prometo e mi obbligo a quanto in questa scrittura si contien.

Io Antonio Paliari so pare prometo son pezzo me obbligo in solido come e di sopra.

Io Zuan Antonio Boseto murer sopradito chomo piezo in solidum prometo e mi obbligo come sopra.

Io Battista Moresini Procurator e Cassier affermo et prometo quanto sopra.

(ASV, Proc. de San Marco de Ultra, Busta 174, fol. 6; Ludwig (1911), pp. 25-26).

124. The Contract for securing the stone for the Tombs, again to be inspected and approved by Vittoria, 28 September 1575

1575 a di 28 sett[embris]


Io Bortolo sopradicto prometo e mi obbligo utt supra.

Io Zuan Antonio bolzeto sono piezo et mi obbligo ut sopra.

125. Giovanni Francesco Priuli requests that another design be used for the Tombs
Die 16 April 1576.

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(ASV, Proc. de San Marco Ultra, Notatorio di Terminationi ABC, 1569-1581, fol. 15v; Ludwig (1911), p. 27).

126. Further discussions about the change of design
MDLXXVII. Die XXIII februarij [m.v.]

(ASV, Proc. de San Marco de Ultra, Notatorio de Terminationi ABC, 1569-1581, fol. 21v; Ludwig (1911), p. 28).

127. Finally the change of design is approved by the Procuratori
MDLXXVIII. A di 6 Decembr[is]


128. The Fourth Will is drawn up by Vittoria, July 1576
Volendo Io Alessandro Vittoria hora che p[er] gratia de Dio mi trouo sano della Mente, senso e[t] intelletto, et corpo far il mio Testamento acio che da poi di me si ueda qual sia stata la mia uolonta, pero fazo, et scriuio il mio Testamento di mia propria mano, nel qual Raccomando prima La nimia a Dio, Padre, Figliolo, et Spirito Santo, pregando sempre la Vergine Maria et tutta la corte del Cielo ad Intercieder [pe]r mi appresso sua Maesta, da poi lasso, reuoco, et anullo ogni altro mio Testamento & ordinazione che io hauasse fatto fin’hora, si di mia mano come di qualunque nodaro, si ch[e] resti de niun ualor, o momento chome se maj no[n] Io hauesse fatto:---
Lasso miei chomissarij. il mio Char[issi]mo S[ign]or Cesare Giliolo Mag[nifi]co & amoreuolissimo --
elemosinario da quella banda uersso la sagrestia, mi seria charo p[er] ornarla, e[t] una lasta intera p[er] sepoltura, le figure sia messe tanto large luna da laltra, ch[e] sia la metà di la sua altez[a], el campo sia una tauola de lettere poche chesse, chome piacera al mi sir
tu, e[rna] una lasta intera p[er] sepoltura, le figure si me~se tanto large luna da laltra, ch[e] sia la me~ta di la sua alteza, el campo sia una tauola de lettere poche chesse, chome piacera al mi sir

tu, e[rna] una lasta intera p[er] sepoltura, le figure si me~se tanto large luna da laltra, ch[e] sia la me~ta di la sua alteza, el campo sia una tauola de lettere poche chesse, chome piacera al mi sir

tu, e[rna] una lasta intera p[er] sepoltura, le figure si me~se tanto large luna da laltra, ch[e] sia la me~ta di la sua alteza, el campo sia una tauola de lettere poche chesse, chome piacera al mi sir

tu, e[rna] una lasta intera p[er] sepoltura, le figure si me~se tanto large luna da laltra, ch[e] sia la me~ta di la sua alteza, el campo sia una tauola de lettere poche chesse, chome piacera al mi sir

lo Alessandro Vittoria srisse [sic] dj man proprj, il mio assoluto uolere

N.B. The words between {} have been cancelled out.

(ASV, Testamenti Notarile Vettor Maffei, Busta 657, in a folder marked with a black number 8).

129. Document written by Scamozzi organising Vittoria's removal to Vicenza in 1576 to escape the plague in Venice

Adi 27 settembre 1576. In Vicenza.

Si decciarra per il presente scritto Come p[er] Via d'accordo e conuenzione ser piero tira occhi naugante e' barcarolo Vicentino habita al porto di santa Caterina si ha obligato egli in persona con un compagno andare con la sua barca in Venetia per leuare di Casa propria in detta Città l'Eccelente M[esser] Alessandro Vittoria scultore, però con questo la don[n]a et suoi di Casa, et conduirli sul Vicentino uero al porto di Vicenza secondo le terminationi degli Mag[nifi]ci Rettori et Sig[nori] alla santita et che egli si obliga tenire detta sua barca et huomini sino alla liberatione di esso M[esser] Alessandro et suoi. decicharando etandio che il sudetto barcarolo e compagno non deba ne possa piegliare alcuno in detta barca, ne all'andare ne meno nel tornare et se contrafara a quanto è detto egli sia pergiudicato il prezzo d'accordo. il quale siano contenuuti di dare scudi Venticinque d'oro, vz [videlicet] 25, et troni uno per ogni giorno che egli servira [above here the line is added: E le spese d'egli e compagno] sino alla liberatione de esso m. Alessandro è suoi et in fede de cuo -- Io Vicenzo scamozzi ho fatto la presende prometendo Insieme con m[esser] Hieronimo fornir et M[esser] ottaviano Redolfi quali si sotto scriuerano.

Et io hier'onimo di forni fui presente quanto di sopra si contiene
Et io Ottaviano Redolfi fui presente quanto di sopra si contiene et mio obligo a quanto si contiene di sopra andando li barcaroli in danno et pagarlo.

Item il S[ignor] Jer[oni] mo fornir a datto al sopra ditto tira occhi troni n[umer]o desdotto e marcheti dose, val t.ni n.o 18.12

130. The Council of Ten offer a reward on 22 April 1577 to find the men who had attempted to kill Vittoria

[MDLXXVII] Die xxij Aprilis In Additio ne

De parte --- 26
De non ---- 0
Non sine --- 0

(ASV, Consiglio de' Dieci, Comune, Registro 33 (1577-1578), fols. 16v-17r; Molmenti (1905-08), Vol. ??, p. 118).

131. The Monument to Bishop Domenico Bollani of Brescia

adj Prim[o] Febroao 1577 [presumably m.v.]
L 12 s -- A m[esser] Marcantonjo Paladio pl[er] aver lavorato sulla Fede del Vescouo di Bressa che ua posta ala sua sepoltura -- L 12 --


adj 20 Febroao 1577

adj dito Febroao 1577.
L 24, s 16 contaj a m[asser]o Batista za[n]cho pl[er] resto e saldo dil auer polito la figura dila charita, compagna di la fede del Vescouo di Bressa tute dua ual L 24 s 16

adj, 27, setemb[re] 1578.
L 12, contaj a m. Antonio Gazjno scultore pl[er] aver lavorato giorn 5. sul crist di R[euerendissimo] Vescouo di Bressa ual-- L. 12

L 24 s 16 a m[asser]o Zuane Vicentino pl[er] auer raspato la figura di Cristo del R[euerendissimo] vescouo di Bressa. pl[er] resto e saldo -- L 24 s 16


The figures of Venice and Justice to go on surmount the Doge's Palace

132. Decision to restore the Doge's Palace after the December 1577 fire, 21 February 1578

Sia ristaurato il Palazzo abrusciato
Di Detto [MDLXXVII. Di XXI Febraro [m. v.]]
Douendosi con ogni prestezza, et sicurità possibile restaurar il Palazzo.

(ASV, Senato Terra, Reg. 50: September 1577 - February 1579 [m.v.], fol. 45r).

133. Vittoria pays Antonio Gazino for help carving the heads of the two figures

134. The results of the competition for the new High Altar for the Santo, Padua, in which Vittoria competed against Francesco Segalla, Girolamo Campagna and Cesare Franco.
24 luglio. [1579]
Comparare scultores infrascripti, cum eorum scripturis et designis pro faciendo palla et tabernaculo et visit eorum partitus et diligenter consideratis eorum designis nunc et per antes, et primo domini, Alessandri Victorii cum precio ducatorum 3300, domini Francisci Segalla cum precio ducatorum 4600, domini Hieronymi Campagna cum precio ducatorum 4800, domini Francisci Franco cum precio ducatorum 4600, posita fuit pars tenoris infrascripti. Vada parte che si fatta la palla et tabernacuolo dell’altare grande della chiesa del glorioso sant’Antonio, et che siino abbollatati tutti li partiti de ciascuno dell’quattro soprascritti, et chi haverà più balle proprie rimanghi eletto, con questo però che si fitto instrumento con la presentia del r[everend]o guardiano et magnifico cassiero con le clausole che a loro pareranno, con seguita idonea che piaccia a detti r. guardiano et magn. cassiero et all’ec[ellentissi]mo sindico. La qual parte abbollatata rimase presa de tutti li voti, et chiamati in congregazione essi 4 scultori, interrogati se intendono diminuir il prezzo del qual sopra Vittorio et Segalla non volesero diminuirla in alcuna parte. Il Campagna veramente si contentò ch’el prezzo s’intendesse solamente de ducati 4700 et il Franco si contentò de ducati 4400.
Et abbollatata messer Alessandro Vittoria forno pro 3 contro 4, messer Francesco Segalla forno pro 5 contro 2, messer Girolamo Campagna pro 5 contro 2, messer Cesare [sic] Franco pro 1 contro 6.
Et perché forno eguali li nomi del Segalla et Campagna, però si rebollatò l’uno et l’altro, et al nome del Segalla forno pro 3 contro 4 et al nome del Campagna pro 5 contro 2.
Et così rimase eletto messer Girolamo Campagna.
La qual abbollation espedita, a ciascun dell’alti altri, cioè Vittoria, Segalla et Franco fu restituita la sua scrittura et disegno.
Et chiamato in congregazione messer Girolamo Campagna, fu ritenuta la sua scrittura da esser registrata nell’instrumento che si celebrerà, et il disegno.

(ASP, Notarile, t. 2501, fol. 475; Sartori (1976), pp. 40-41).
135. The fireplace for the Casa Morosini

The decoration of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento, San Giuliano

136. The Decision of the governing body of the Scuola to have the Altar of the Sacrament constructed by Gianantonio Rusconi and Cesare tagliapietra is accepted by the Capitolo General, 11 June 1578

137. The contract for the Altar drawn up by Rusconi, and agreed upon by Cesare di Franco, 1 July 1578
Signori Zudezzi, Chon dii Aggionti, che debba aier cura di far fabricar il sop[r]a detto Altar, et tutto sta in arbitrio di sue Signorie come qui sotto scriti: [The names of Gastaldo, Vicario, Zudezzi and Aggioni follow].

Inf Maria al pr[im]o giorno di luglio 1578.


Io Zuanne di rosi aulicario affermo ut supra.

138. adj. 13 febbraio 1580, inuenettia
jo Cezaro tagia piera o fatto Ilprezentte reCeuer de mia mano prop[r]ia --

139. Details of the Contract signed by Francesco and Bortolo Tagliapietra to embellish the fabric of the chapel itself: 15 October 1582

Al Nome della Santissima Trinita, 1582 adi 15 Ott[obre] In Venetia
Scrittura fatta con maestro Francesco et maestro Bortolo tagliapietra stano a s(an) uio del hauer concluso marchado per ridur in miglior forma la capela del s[antissimo]o sagramento, come alin[co]ro


La faciata della capella del s[antissimo]o sagramento, cioè dai pilastri d’un pezzo intieri, di longhezza di piedi diece, grossi in luse oncie disisette, et in maesta oncie quattordes, riquadrati in luse con intaolato, et in maesta batutti da bene: con le sue sotto basse, et cimase, et il uollo sopra in soazato, et sotto il sofitto de ditto uollo soazato con intaolato in compartimenti come nel disegno, con sette teste de cherubini, et sei rose sculpite de mezo rilueuo con la sua cartella nel mezo con un calice sculpito de dui terzi de reliefo: sopra il qual uollo una cornise architruada, della medesima opera, ch’è l’imposta del uollo della capela grande, lavorata de in taglio ista il disegno disfacendo il pilastri, et uollo di pietra cotta. -----

Ittem dentro la capela, stropar demuro li due balconi, che al presente, se ritruoua: dechiariando che le feriade, et finestre di uetto restino à benefittio della scuola: il resto poi dela materia resti à benefittio de detti mastr del esser messa in opera in ditta capela, et de pui fare il uollo di pietre cotta in crozera, disfacendo quello, che al presente, è in opera, et in le sue cornise de l’una parte, et l’altra della capella, et siano dela medesima fattura che sarano le cimase deli pilastri. sopra poi la cornise verso il campo un balcone à mezo, ochio in tre fori le piete delegale stano in luse pieue uno et in maesta oncie sei tutte in soazate. per cadaun angolo della capella due membreti, largi oncie sei, et fuor del muro oncia una et meza tutti riquadrati, sopra li quali li suoi uolto morti insoaizati. et oltra di questo le sue cornisette da sostener le spaliere da l’una parte, et l’altra della capella: dechiariando che ciascuduna cornise, et membretto sia che due pezzi et non piu. Le qual sopradette opere siano fatte secondo le sagome, et disegno datto, con la maggior diligentia che sia possibile, di pietra uiua da rouigno,

Item nel sopradetto giorno li sopradetti mag[nif]ici Guardian et suoi colleghi desiderosi di finire perfetamente la sopra detta capela, à laude, et gloria della diuina maesta sono da nuovo conuenuti con li sopradetti mastri, che debino fare il paimiento dela sopra detta capella, à pinze blanche, negre et beretine, come nel desegno: con li frisi rossi: Item la bradela del altar dela medesima opera che sara il paimiento della sopra detta capella con il scalino de pietra mandolata intorno la detta bradela, et sotto li candelleri del’ altar dechiarando ch’il scalino dela parte dinanzi della bradela sia de un pezzo solo, et oltra di questo sei cartelle de pietra mandolata in canelate, et fregate, et ciu per pretio de ducati nonanta et dadi fine per tutto febraro prosimo uenturo; il che non atendendo li suddeti mastri si obligano perder del suo marchato ducati uinti cinque; contentandosi li suddetti mag[nif]ici Guardian et suoi colleghi [p.38] Porgerli danari secondo opererano, et il restante in mediate finita l’opera; Et lo pre gasparo almerino pregato da ambe due le parti, ho fatto la presente, li quali per conservare quanto in questo si contiene si sotto scriuereano depropria mano.

lo franc[es]co sopradito affermo ut supra -

io bordelo sop[r]adito a fermo quanto vt sup[r]a -

lo Zan[maria] rota gaspadal affermo a qual[n]o e sop[r]a scrito -


lo Sebast[iana] Rubi affermo quanto e disopra s[cri]to

(BMC, Mariegola del SS. Sacramento a S. Zulian, Manuscript IV, 164, fols. 37-38).

140. Document proving that the altar was probably finished by October 1582

Hauendo vedutto, all’i giorni pasatti lo Zamaria Rota, marzer al’ inseguila della cariega et al p[rese]nte guardian della scuola del s[antissimo] sagramento in San Zulian ch’era molto necessario edificare et radur in miglior forma la capella del Santissimo sagramento conueniente al’altar gia fatto, et non potendosi cio fare per essere la schuola esausita de danari per le spese gia fatte, si nel altare, come in altre cose necessarie dela schuola, me imaginau trouar modo ad adempiro questo mio desiderio, et così andai per contrada doue tra la n[ost]ra blanca, et altre persone mi fu promesso per far questa opera, bona suma de danari, et anchor, che questi non siano beni dela schuola n[ost]ra, ma delle borse de particulari acio che, io facesse far la suddeta opera, con tutto questo desiderio che da questo honorando capillolo, al p[rese]nte, reduuto me siano dotti dei fratelli appresso de me insieme con il mio auichiaro, et scruan per coauditori, acio che con quella, maggior diligentia che sia possibile si possa, effetuar questa santa, et religiosa opera, a laude, et gloria de sua diuina maiesa, operando pero sempre secondo il giudizio de periti . . . [The names of those present follow, and a certain Messer Piero dal Cuor and Messer Sebastian Rubi were "Eletti per coauditore alla sop[r]a scritta opera"].

NB Tha date has been cut off from the top of this document, but it immediately precedes a document of October 1582.

(BMC, Mariegola del SS. Sacramento a S. Zulian, Manuscript IV, 164, fol. 36)
141. Payments made by Vittoria to Ridolfi for two stucco putti for the Altar of the Sacrament, San Giuliano
adj 5. April 1583.
L 31 contai a messenger ottuajano Redolfi p[er] auer lavorato giorni cinque a laltaro di s[antiss]imo sacramento nella chiesia di s[an]tio giuliano in dua putti di stucco ual L 31


142. Payments made to Bartolomeo and Francesco de Bernardini tagliapietre

Lo franc[esco] sopra ditto afterno quanto ut supra

(BMC, Mariogela del SS. Sacramento a S. Zulian, Manuscript IV, 164, fol. 38; Mason Rinaldi, 1976, pp. 450-56).

143. Payments made to Ottaviano Ridolfi for his stucco-work
Ali 28 Giugno 1583 riceui o Ottuajano Rodolfi Scultor Verone se dal sopradito Messenger zamaria Ducati ottanta quatro quali mi li conto in piu uolte et sono per resto et saldo de lopera de stucco fatta sotto il uolto del Santissimo Sacramento in San Zulian -- Val Ducati 84/-

(BMC, Mariogela del SS. Sacramento a S. Zulian, Manuscript IV, 164, fol. 38; Mason Rinaldi, 1976, pp. 450-56).

144. Payments made to Vittoria for stucco figures

(BMC, Mariogela del SS. Sacramento a S. Zulian, Manuscript IV, 164, fol. 38; Mason Rinaldi (1976), pp. 450-56).

145. Record of expenses incurred in the reconstruction of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento, as recorded in the Scuola's account-book (selection of most relevant costs)


[fol. 133r] [1578] primo luglio p[er] co[n]tadi ad[m]aesterlo cesare tagia piera ducatj cento Coro[n]ti - - dj 100 L. s -


[foll. 1579] 9 Zenaro p[er] contadi ad[m]aestarlo Cesare tagia piera ducatj quaran[t]a -- dj 40 L. s-

[foll. 1579] 20 febrero p[er] contadi ad[m]aestarlo Cesare tagia piera ducatj quaran[t]a -- dj 40 L. s-

[foll. 1579] 14 d[etto] [March] p[er] co[n]tadi ad[m]aestarlo Cesare tagia piera ducatj uinquij -- dj 20 L. s-

[foll. 1579] 17 d[etto] [March] p[er] pie re 600 p[er] far il salizad o d[e]lla Cappela -- dj 1 L 4 s 12

322
[1580] 9 7bo [September] p[er] co[n]tadi à m[aestro]o Cesare tagia piera duca[tj i] 30 -- dj 30. - - -
[1580] 10 ottobre p[er] Co[n]tadi à m[aestro]o Cesare tagia piera duca[tj i] 30 -- dj 30. - - -
[1580] 5 Xbo [December] p[er] Co[n]tadi à m[aestro]o Cesare tagia piera duca[tj i] 15 -- dj 15. - - -
[1580] 19 d[etto] [December] p[er] Co[n]tadi à m[aestro]o Cesare tagia piera duca[tj i] 22 -- dj 22. - - -

[1580] 2 genaro p[er] Co[n]tadi à m[aestro]o Cesare tagia piera duca[tj i] 8 -- dj 8. - - -
[1580] 13 febraro p[er] Co[n]tadi à m[aestro]o Cesare tagia piera duca[tj i] 30 -- dj 30. - - -
[134v] [1580, February 1] [ - . . ] danari scosi dalli Co[n]pagno p[er] Elemosina et da altri p[er] la fab[ri]ca di[e] alt[ar] [ - - - - - - - - - [The total is 84 ducati, 4 lire and 12 soldi]
[1580] 13 luglio. p[er] Co[n]tadi à uno Calderer p[er] la forma di[e]l portela di[r]a [ - - - - - - -]
[1581] 13 luglio. p[er] Co[n]tadi à uno Calderer p[er] la forma di[e]l portela di[r]a [ - - - - - - -]
[1581] 17 luglio. p[er] Co[n]tadi à uno Calderer p[er] la forma di[e]l portela di[r]a [ - - - - - - -]
[1582] 13 luglio. p[er] Co[n]tadi à uno Calderer p[er] la forma di[e]l portela di[r]a [ - - - - - - -]
[1582] 17 luglio. p[er] Co[n]tadi à uno Calderer p[er] la forma di[e]l portela di[r]a [ - - - - - - -]
[1582] 17 luglio. p[er] Co[n]tadi à uno Calderer p[er] la forma di[e]l portela di[r]a [ - - - - - - -]

The "Pala Fugger": Relief of the Annunciation for the Chapel of Hans Fugger's Castle at Kircheim-on-the-Teck, Bavaria
Third letter from Fugger to Ott, in Venice, 25 June 1583

Wann dann der quadro von metall gar fertig, so werden ir mir dieselben mit gelegenheit zugeordnet wissen. Doch der maister nit eilen, damit ir in nit unlustig machen.

The Risen Christ for the Frari portal and the St. James for the Scuola della Misericordia

Pietre chi[e] o’ lassiate in salvo[1]
con questi sassi io feci il Cristo chi[e] e sopra la porta mazor d[e] frati minorj & il S[an]to Iacomo nella scola di la misericordia[2]
scadj numero[0] - 46 --

[1] This first title has been crossed out.
[2] This second title was added at a later date.
[3] Here was written "Clar. S. S. Luchia", which was then changed, and "Elena" inserted above the cancelled "Luchia".
[4] The words between { } have been crossed out.


Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants for work on the Risen Christ
adj 6. Marzo 1581
L. 4 contai adi dito a’ m[aestro] Andrea dalaguida d[e] trento p[er] auer lavorato giorni dua sulla figura
dita di Cristo ual L -- 4


151. Critical Opinion of Vittoria as expressed by Palladio in 1581

... Messer Alessandro Vittoria, e Messer Bartolomeo Ridolfi ... Messer Anselmo Canera e Messer Bernardino India Veronesi, non secondi ad alcuno de' nostri tempi.

(Palladio (1581), libro II, p. 12).

152. Vittoria purchases further drawings by Parmigianino and others, September 1581


Adj. 10. Settembrio 1581
p[resente], m[esser] Jacomo Palma
ual d[ucato] -- n[umeri]o -- 30 --


The relief carving and the statues on the façade of the Scuola di San Fantin

153. Document recording the purchase of a property from Andrea Malipiero on 11 January 1580, in order to build the new Scuola on its site, with certain conditions


(ASV, Scuola di santa Maria della Consolazione e di san Girolamo deputata alla Giustizia, Mariegola 1562-1756, Reg. 2 "Catastico", fols. 1r-2r).
154. Documents proving that the houses purchased in January 1580 were immediately razed in order to start the rebuilding of the Scuola di San Fantin on that site

(i) Capitolo intendendo di provare i° Antonio Simon Guardian Grande della Scuola di Madonna santa Maria e san Girolamo deputata alla giustizia che havendo l’anno 1579 adi 11 zener per istumento nell’atti de sier Zambatisca Benzon nodaro di Venetia comprato una casa a s. Fantin arente alla nostra scola dal Nobil Homo sier Andrea Malipiero quondam sier Sebastiano, qual fu traslata a conto di essa Scola per ducati vinti d’intrada, et sotto li 13 zener 1579 per istumento nell’atti de detto Benzon comprato dalla Nobil Donna Paula Donado quondam sier Marc’Antonio et relita del clarissimo quondam Vicenzo Balbi comprato medesimamente una casa a s. Fantin arente la nostra scola qual fu medesimamente traslata a conto di essa scola per duc. 40 d’intrada che in tutto son ducati 60, et perche per parte di essa nostra scola fu gettato a terra esse case, et fatto scola et albergo di esse per onorovezza di questa R.ca come per parte presa in banca et zonta di essa nostra scola sotto 20 Marzo 1580 intendemo provar ut infra.

Che dal sudetto anno 1580 fu principato a gittar giù esse case, et getate che fu in terra è state fabricate et fatto scola et albergo di essa, nè dal sudetto anno 1580 in poi essa scola mai ha trato utile nè beneficiuto alcuno prout per testes

Adi 7 aprile 1600

Mette parte il Clarissimo s. Beneto Sanudo ebdomado che detto Capitolo sia adcesso

Della parte n[umero]o 7 Presa

De no n[umero]o 0


(ii) 1600, 14 aprile


De si n[umero]o 8 Presa

De no n[umero]o 0

(ASV, Magistrato X Savi, Reg. 784, fol. 108v).

(iii) 17 dita [1600, aprile]

155. Document proving that the reconstruction of the Scuola was underway by June 1580


Che per essa schola si debbi buttar zoso il muro uccchio, qual minaccia ruina della casa del detto R[everen]ndo Piouano[no] et in loco di esso muro essa schola a proprietà sue spese debbi far fare un muro de una piera e mezza granda con sua fondamenta noua ben fondata nel loco doue al presente è il muro uccchio si che da detto muro uero la schola possino essi mag[nifi]co Guardian, et fratelli fabricar come li parerà etiam con quelli sporti necessarij per ornamento della fabbrica, et tal muro co[n] fondamenta fatto . . . et sempre esser s’intendi, et remaner debbi co[m]mune all’una, et l’altra parte no[n] solamente per quanto hora si estende la fabbrica uccchia della Pioue, ma anche da li in suso, quando che il R[everen]do Piouano uolessi fabbricare senza che lui, è altri suoi successori sijno obligati ríffar essa schola de spesa alcuna che prete[n]d esse essa schola per detto muro . . .

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria della Consolazione e di San Girolamo deputata alla Giustizia, Mariaeola 1562-1756, Reg. 2 "Catastico", fol. 20v).

156. Payments made by Vittoria to assistants for help on the carvings

Contadi Adj 21 Maggio 1583
L 13 s 15. a’ m[aestro] Iacomo da bassano [p]er auer lavorato giornij cinque sule figure dii frot[nespicio dila Scola di s’an[tu] Fantino cioe una M[adonna con] [dua Angeli Val -- L 13 s 5

adj ditto
L 12 s 10 a’ m[aestro] Piero da s[an]ta Lucia [p]er auer lavorato gliorki cinque sule figure s[opra]s[crit]te Val -- L 12 s 10

28 Maggio 1583
L 8. s 5 a’ m[aestro] Iacomo p[er] auer lavorato giorni tre sulede [sic] figure s[opra]s[crit]te Val -- L 8 s 5

Adj 17. Marzo 1584
L 9. contai a Andrea dalaquila de trento [p]er auer lavorato giorni sei su langelo seco[n]do che ua sopra la scola dj s[an]to fantino -- L 9 --

adj 30 Marzo 1584.
adj. 7. Aprile 1584
L 6 contai a Andrea ut supra p[er] auer lauoratto giornj quatro sulanzolo s[opral][critto ual -- L 6
-
adj. 14. Aprile 1584
L 7 s 10 a' Andrea s[opral][critto p[er] auer lauato [sic] giorni cinque sula figura s[opral][critt]a ual -- L 7 s 10
adj. 21 Aprile 1584
L 9. a' Andrea s[opral][critto p[er] auer lauorato giornj sei sula figura s[opral][critt]a dil Angolo ual -- L 9 s --
adj. 28 Aprile 1584
L 7 s 10 a' Andrea s[opral][critto p[er] auer lauorato gio[r]ni cinque sula figura s[opral][critt]a dil[n]gelo ual -- L 7 s 10
adj. 9. Maggio 1584
L 18 contai a' Agostino Rubino p[er] auer lauorato sopra li piedj dilangelino dj s[an]to fantino s[opral][critt]o giorni 4½ ual -- L 18 --
adj. 12 Maggio 1584
L 7 s 10 a' Andrea s[opral][critto p[er] auer lauorato giornj cinque sula figura s[opral][critt]a dil Angelo ual -- L 7 s 10
adj. dito 6 maggio
L 3 a' Andrea p[er] auer lauorato giornj dua sula figura s[opral][critt]a ual -- L 3 --


157. Nicoletto Balbi agrees to two doors being placed at either end of his courtyard to allow access from the canal to the Scuola for the priest to say Friday Mass, 23 February 1586

(ASV, Scuola di santa Maria della Consolazione e di san Girolamo deputata alla Giustizia, Mariegola 1562-1756, Reg. 2 "Catastico", fol. 22v).
Serenissimo Principe. Illustriissimi et Ecc[entissimi] Signori

Noi Gastaldo, et compagni della Scuola di madonna santa Maria, et S[an] Hieronimo deputata alla giustizia, per nome di quella, riueramente ricorsi à piedi suoi gli esponemo quello, che hora cerca tentar il R[everend]do Piouano di S[an] Fantin, parendone cosa di qualche importancia, et degna di granissimo giudicio suo. Sapere dunque la sublimita nostra, che per gli Ecc[entissimi] Signori capi dell'Ecc[entissimi]mo Consiglio di X del MDXlij fu terminato, che nella Scuola predetta non si doesse dir salvo che una messa fra tempo di meza terza fin a terza; la qual finita si doesse poi serrar detta Scuola et con altre, dichiarazioni, come in quella si contiene fatta a favor dil R[everend]do allora Piouano di S[an] Fantino et dil R[everend]do Piouano de S[an] Angelo sotto la parrochia del quale essa Scola è posta; la quale è anco eseguita in quel modo che il tempo ha permesso, ne per li R[everend]di sudetti Piouani è stato reclamato, sè ben il piu delle volte detta messa è stata detta piu tardo et detta Scola è stata aperta qualche hora dì giorno cosi nel tempo che si fanno ballottazioni di dongelle come per causa di persone deuite. Et di piu il giorno di Venere si hanno detto piu messe ad instania de diuerse persone per diuotion sua. Hora umeramente Principe Ser[enissimo]mo par che gi quatro mesi in circa tal deuotione sia talmente accresciuta, che auanti l' imagine di quel Christo benedetto di essa Scola ui è un concoro grandissimo di nobile cittadine, et pouere persone di questa Città quale uengono per far le sue deuotioni. E perche si uede esser talmente augmentata et ogni giorno andarsi ad augmentando; de qui è che il R[everend]do Piouano di S[an] Fantino predetto si ha imaginato sotto pretesto di uoler la esecuzione della sudetta terminazione, tirar nella chiesa sua tal diuotione, se non almeno far che quella non habbia piu a continuare, con non poca mormoration, et scandolo de molti. Et perciò ha fatto commetter à noi Gastaldo, et compagni predetti, che al botto di terza debbiamo far serrare la Scola nostra predetta; et che al sonar de meza terza si habbi à dir la messa predetta; et di piu che no possiamo ad altra hora quella tenir aperta, et massime il Venere, con tutto che habbiamo da notar dongelle, che si maritano per noi fratelli di essa Scuola, et da far altre cose per quella necessarie. E poi sua [fol. 25v] Reverentia all'incontro con sue cassette messe nella chiesa sua, et con altre cose, che per modestia uolemo tacere, cerca di tirar tal deuotione in quella. Et fino si ha imaginato, che mentre il Capellano nostro dice la messa in detta scuola nostra alla'tare; lui Piouano fa sonar le campane doppiamente che nulla de quello che esso nostro Capellano dice si sente. Et se molti uengono in tal giorno di Venere doppo terza per far tal loro deuotione: conuengono partirsì trovando la porta serrata; et quelli che si ritrouano in Scuola alla deuotione conuengono andarsene uia, con non poca mormoratione, et discontento di ognuno. E perche la Sublimita nostra prudentissima con il mezo dell'Ecc[entissimi]mo Consèglio, hà secondo gli accidenti, et qualita de tempi governato le cose di questa Città, et sempre ha favorito le opere buone, et christianze; et procurato poco tosto che si augmentano, che altramente; la supplichiamo perciò con ogni deuota rituerentia che la si degni far tal prouisione qual ricerca la importanza di tal deuotione, qual possiamo dir esser uniuersale; la qual, piu tosto, che risecarla con tanta mormoratione quando con altri non si possa rimediari, Noi fratelli predetti saremo astretti leuar essa nostra Scuola, ouero la deuotion de quel luoco et ponerlo in qualche altro, oue non sia in tanta seruitì, in qual[n]ta hora si attroua, mediante la ingiusta violontà del sudetto R[everend]do Piouano; et affiné etiam che tal diuotione non sia interrotta, anci favorita, et aiutata, et leuata ogni occasion di mormoratione et scandalì come ad ogni christiana, et religiosa persona sì conuiene. Et alla buona gràtia sua humilitmente se raccomandiamo.

ad essa Scola per duotione, che hanno ad un altare di quella, et prohibendo loro il R[everen]do Piofan di [San] Fantino così il celebrar delle messe che molti fanno dire ad esso altare, come il tenir aperta essa Scola, et questo in uerù de mandati fatti per questo tribunal di sue Sig[nor]erie Eccelentissime, fu essero però elle contente ad honor del Signor Iddio, et per conservar questa duotione nelle persone, che in tal giorno concorrono ad essa Scola, che li detti Guardiano, et compagni di quella possino il giorno di Venere far celebrar le messe, che occorreranno, et tenir aperta detta Scola, affime che le persone possino tenire in quella, et satisfar alla loro duotione. Et ... possino, per duotione [fol. 26r] di quelli, che ad essa concorrono, tenir aperta la Scola, et far celebrar piu messe ...  

(ASV, Scuola di santa Maria della Consolazione e di san Girolamo deputata alla Giustizia, Mariegola 1562-1756, Reg. 2 "Catasto", fols. 25r-26r).

159. Description of the altar as given in an inventory of 1696 (?)  

... [numero] 13 In Chiesa  
Il Santissimo Crocifisso leuatile p[er] le fontione Publiche sta sopra un Altar Negro  
Detto Altar con quatro Colone d' Pietra Nera d' Paragon Con Due [sic] quatro figure Sup[ra] il Capitello eti Due Figure d'Bronzo Vna Madona d’ s[an] Zua[nn]e dalle parte dell'Altar tutte fatte d'Allesandro victoria Scultor con lui pedestalle d' Pietra Nera con Recinto de Collone pur d’ pietra nera d’ paragon[n]  

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria della Consolazione e di San Gerolamo deputato alla Giustizia, Busta 25, about two-thirds of the way through, unpaginated).

160. Description of the altar as given in an inventory of 1786  
Laus Deo, et Mariae Adi 12 Marzo 1786.  
[fol. 3] In Chiesa.  
Il Santissimo Crocifisso leuatile per le Fonzioni Pubbliche sta sopra l'Altar Grande Nero. N. 1.  
[fol. 4] Detto Altar Formato con quattro Colone di Pietra Nera di Paragon sopra il Capitello, e due Figure di Bronzo, Vna Madonna, e l'altra di San Zuanne alle parti dell'Altar, tutte fatte da Alessandro Vittoria Scultor, con suoi Pedestalli di Pietra Nera di Paragon, con un Recinto di Colone pur di Pietra Nera.  


161. Account-book of expenses incurred in the constructions of the Scuola's altars is included in an inventory of 21 September 1591, which therefore acts as a terminus ante quem for this altar  

[Inventory] dei Libri di Scola  
... quatro. liberi In carton In fogio de spece de fabricha. doj et vno de promese de diversi et vno de speche delli altari tenutij p[er] m[esser] borttolamij pegolotto  

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria della Consolazione e di San Gerolamo deputata alla Giustizia, Busta 34, Fasc. 34 "INUENTARJ", fol. 3r).
The Altar dedicated jointly to St. Jerome and the Assunta, San Fantin

162. Description of the altar as given in an inventory of 1696 (?)

... [numero] 14 un Altar Di Pietra Con quattro Collone assimigliate al fornimiorto d' Pietra d' detta Chiesa, nella pala del detto Altare ne sono scolpita la Assunta d' ella Beata Vergine et una figura intiera d'Marno [sic] sia d' s[an] Gierolemo Nostro protetore fatta d' Alles[sandro]o Uittoria e[t] due Angeli d' stuocho Sopra li Capitelli

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria della Consolazione e di San Gerolamo deputato alla Giustizia, Busta 25, about two-thirds of the way through, unpaginated).

163. Description of the altar as given in an inventory of 1786

Laud Deo, et Mariae Adi 12 Marzo 1786.

Inventario de' Stabili, Pitture, Argenti, Arredi Sacri, et altri Effetti di ragione della Veneranda Scola di Santa Maria, S[an]n Fantino Deputata alla Giustizia in S[an] Fantino... fol. 3 In Chiesa.


164. Account-book of expenses incurred in the constructions of the Scuola's altars is included in an inventory of 21 September 1591, which therefore acts as a terminus ante quern for this altar

[Inventory] dei Libri di Scola

... quatro. liberi In carton In fogio de spexe de fabrica. doj et vno de promese de diuersi et vno de spexe dell'altari tenutij [er] m[esser] bort[olami]o pegolotto

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria della Consolazione e di San Gerolamo deputato alla Giustizia, Busta 34, Fasc. 34 "INUENTARJ", fol. 3r).

165. Document proving the extent of Marcantonio Barbaro's participation in the stuccowork of the Villa Barbaro in Maser

Lodovico Romone

... l'Illustriss[imo] Procurator Barbaro, il qual Signore per il genio, ch'è propria di quella Illustre Casa, intorno queste belle professioni, & per studio particolare; senza dubbio a tempi nostri è intendantissimo del bel modo di edificare, & il che fanno le belle, & accommodate fabbriche fatte vivendo la felice memoria del Reverendiss[imo] Monsignore Daniele suo fratello, à bel fonte, di Macera Villa sul Trevisano. Et hora il bel tempio rotondo, con la loggia dinanzi, il qual'edificio, in questo genere si può paragonare, e per l'inventione, & per li tanti, gratiosi, & vari ornamenti (fatti quasi da così illustre mano, con fortissimi, & belli scuoi) à qualsivoglia opera antica, haverrebbe approntato maggior utile, & commesso à gli studiosi d'architettura. ...

Di Vicenza il xv. d'Aprile, 1584

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The Altar of the Scuola dei Marzeri, San Giuliano

166. On receipt of a donation of 30 Ducats towards the rebuilding of San Giuliano, the Piovan grants the Scuola the right to relocate their altar to its present position.

Terminatone che siano dati ducati 30 alla Chiesa di San Giuliano con alcuni obblighi. 1574 Adi xi S[ept]emb[re]


L’Anderà parte che mette m[esser] Agustin Cigrini Gastaldo che per questa volta tanto sia dato per la fabbrica della Chiesa duca[ti] 30 con patto che R[eeu]ndo Piovan è Capitolo di San Zulian diano all’arte nostra di Marzeri el luoco di far el nostro altar doue era per il passato l’altar sopradetto de m[esser] San Nicolo, et la Croce della scuola della Passion che hora è stata trasportata alli frari li qual dinari si debbano trazer della cassa di Galeoti, et non essendo passata la detta parte, è diverse altre parte messe dalli Zudesi, et non fù presa nissuna. Però.

L’Anderà parte che mette m[esser] Donà dal Papagà sinico della prefata scola che si debba rebalotar quella de duca[ti] 30

Fù ballottata, et hebbe de si balle n[ume]ro 16, et de non 2.

Adì 14 detto.


(BMC, Mariegola dei Marzeri, Manoscritto IV, No. 102, fol. 32r. There is a copy of this in ASV, Arte dei Marzeri, Busta 314, Capitoli e Parti "1564-1591", fol. 83v-84r).

167. The decision to remake the altar of the Marzeri

Deliberation presa di refar l’altar della Scola sotto la cura del Gastaldo, Zudesi, et dui altri aggiunti:- 1577 Adì 15 Novembre


Fù ballottata tr à banca, et Zonta de si n[ume]ro 18 et de non -- et fù presa.

Et in Capitolo General de si 66, et de non n[ume]ro 3 fò presa.

(BMC, Mariegola dei Marzeri, Manoscritto IV, No. 102, fol. 35r-v. There is a copy of this in ASV, Arte dei Marzeri, Busta 314, Capitoli e Parti "1564-1591", fol. 98v; Mason Rinaldi, 203, n. 5).
168. Two "Aggionti" are elected to help with the organising of the building of the new altar
adj 27 nbre [novembre] 1577
(The list of the possible candidates, and the votes each gained follows. The elected pair were):
M[esser] Ispo negroni de si n[umer]o 12 d[e] no n[umer]o 4
(ASV, Arte dei Marzeri, Busta 314, Capitoli e Parti "1564-1591", fol. 100v).

169. The decision to spend 50 ducats to start the building work on the altar
[1578, adj 5 novembrio2]
Landera parte ch[e] mete m[esser] sebasta[n] Rubi gastaldo dj Refer laltar et le doj fenestre de ve[tt]e
In Capitolo general n[umer]o 50: de si n[umer]o 49 de no n[umer]o 1
[There then follows the list of all of those present in the Capitolo Generale]
(ASV, Arte dei Marzeri, Busta 314, Capitoli e Parti "1564-1591", fol. 104r).

170. Further elections are held and another 50 ducats is made available for the construction of
the altar
Eletione di dui Aggiinti al Gastaldo Zudesi dela Scola quali possano spender duc[atl] 50 in circa in
far fabricar l’altare in S. Zuliana.
Adi 17 Novembre 1578.
Ridotti nell’Albergo nostro di M[adonna] S[an]ta Maria di Marzeri per metter la sottoscritta parte.
Però,
L’Andera parte che mette m[esser] Sebastian Rubis, et suoi Zudei che siano eletti dui Agiointi al
Gastaldo, et giudici della scola nostra che tutti insieme, ò per la maggior parte habbino autorità di
far uno ò più disegni, et spender così il duc[ati] 50 come altra quantità de danari per far l’altar nostro
deetti agiointi con il Gastaldo che saranno de tempo in tempo, et Zudei faccino fabricar, et finir
il detto altar nella Giesia de San Zuliano intieram[n]ente spendendo quel più, et meno che per sua
conscienza parerà che se ricerca alla nostra scola spendendo tutto quello che fa bisogno per fabricar
detto altar.
Fu messa la parte tra banca, et Zonta de si n[umer]o 14, et de non, 2, et fu presa.
[NB A certain Bernardo dal Moro with 15 votes for, and none against was elected along with
Geralamo perzato, who on a second vote gained 13 votes for, and 2 against]
Adi 4 Agosto
Fu messa in Capitolo General sotto m[esser] Viuian di Panizi Gastaldo et erano persone n[umer]o 82
et della parte de si [de far far laltare furo de si] n[umer]o 78, et de non 4.
(BMC, Mariegola dei Marzeri, Manoscritto IV, No. 102, fol. 36r-v. There is a similar copy of this
171. **Decision about the money for the altar**

adj 5 feuer 1578 [m.v., 1579] In ulenenti

(ASV, Arte dei Marzeri, Busta 314, Capitoli e Parti "1564-1591", fol. 107v).

172. **The presentation of two models for the Altar and the decision taken by the judges**

Presentazione di due modelli da far l’altar nuovo della Scuola di merzeri in San Zuliano posti ad arbitrio della balottazione recusata dal Galuzzi 1579 Ad lib. 17 November

Fu ballotato il disegno di [mastro] Cesaro qual hebbe de si numer[o] 0 de non 5 et quello de [messer] Francesco de si numer[o] 5 de non 0. [There follow the signatures of those present].


173. **Permission to sell the old Altarpiece**

Licentia data alli doi aggionti col Gastaldo Zadesi / et Scrivan possiano uender la pala dell / altar uscchio et altre pie:- 1580 Adi 21 Ottobre.
Ritrouandosi la pala del nostro altar uccchio con molte pie che erano di detto altar delle quali non si fà cosa alcuna Però.
Della parte n.r 17. de non .
23 detto In Capitolo General de si 57 de non i. et fu presa.

(BMC, Mariegola dei Marzeri, Manoscritto IV, No. 102, fol. 42v. There is a copy of this in ASV, Arte dei Marzeri, Busta 314, Capitoli e Parti "1564-1591", fol. 119r).
174. More funds needed to pay for construction of altar
Che sia venduto per mano del Gastaldo solo, et suoi Sindici, et Giudici del Capital de monte uccio
per poter spender nella fabrica del nuovo altare.

1582 Adi 27 Marzo.

Poiché si uede a questi tempi non esser capital in pegior consideratione che il Capital del monte uccio che dalli nostri antecessori fu comprato à duecati e tenuto in bonissima entrata hora è ridotto a tale che per ogni duecati 100 non si troua duecati 20 in 24, e haundola scola nostra bisogno di denari per finar da pagar il nostro altare che fu principiato nella Chiesa di San Zuliano, però, stia immaginato il Sig[nor] Bartolamio dal Calese, et suoi Compagni Zudesi di metter parte non tanto di scuder li pro scorsi, quanto di vender, et poter vender li altri pro che li restò alla scola nostra fin dell'anno 1520, et uadi la parte di uender detto Capital e non pro predetto per mano solo del detto Sig[nor] Gastaldo e suoi Sinici e Zudesi per quel miglior preito, et avanzato che a loro parerà per beneficio della scola nostra per finar da pagar.
Della parte n[um]ero 15 De non n[um]ero 3. et fu presa.
Adi 28 detto.
In Cap[itolo]lo General al n[um]ero di 82 della parte n[um]ero 65 e de non n[um]ero 17. et fu presa

135. Document proving that the Altar itself was constructed by May 1583
Parte presa di far arche dauianti l'altare nuovo Con pauimento banche et altri ornamenti condecenti.
1583. Adi 12 Mayo
Essendo redutti nell'albergo de Mad[onna] S[an]ta Maria de Marzeri scola nostra el M[agni]co Sig[nor]e Vivian de Panizzi al presente Gastaldo, vedendo esser ridotto à bon termine l'altare nostro in Giesia è douendose finir è adornar de banche, è pauimento e anche secondo el parer delle Mag[nifi]ce Vlostrei douendose far le sopradette cose e necessario a spender Però
L'Andrà parte che mette el Gastaldo sopradett[e]lo de poder far fare una ouero più arche dauianti al nostro altar come meglio parerà al nostro Gastaldo et Banca è parim[e]nte banche, delli dinari della Scola nostra.
De si n[um]ero 17 de non - et fu presa trà banca à Zonta.

176. Document showing Vittoria's presence at the choosing of the artist to paint the Altarpiece of the Marzeri
Elettione et ballottazione di m[esser] Iacomo Palma qual hebbe carico di far la Pala.
1583. Adi 6. Novembre
177. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants for help carving the statues of St. Catherine and the Prophet Daniel

a 26 maggio [1584]

a' 2 Aprile 1584
L 7 s 10 Andrea s[opra]s[critto] p[er] auer lavorato .5. giorni su le figure di s[an]t[o] Giuliano -- L 7 s. 10


178. New elections for the Gastaldo and Banca of the Scuola

Luis d[el]o 1584 ad[i] p[rimo] Zugno
(Punizzi is therefore voted in unanimously for another year's office)

(ASV, Arte dei Marzeri, Busta 314, Capitoli e Parti "1564-1591", fol. 151r)

179. The Fifth Will of Vittoria drawn up on 6 May 1584

vedendo... Item doppo la morte dj essa veronica overo maritandossi lasso al mio molto mag[nifi]co signor Cesare Ziliol mio commissario [ducati] mile in segno di benevolenza... Item lasso al co[n]orte mario bevilacqua gentiluomo di verona il mio marzia di bronzo che ha il mio nome intaglia

et in la altra statua simile di bronzo quale e senza litere lasso a [m[esser] francesco tedaldo mio amico benevolio. Il retrato dj [el]larmaseno et il san Zuano piccolo detto marmo voglio che restino in casa cono che Veronica vive et in caso che venisse partito di venderli honoratamente lasso questo cargo in parte dj[el]li sudetti mei commissarii, Lasso tutti li mei dessegne et modelli cosi di cera come di terra pertinente al arte ad agostino di rubini mio nipote e tutti li relievi et cavi di zesso... ordino ch[el]l'agostino mio nipote far dj[el]li dissegne et zessi ch[el] li lasso tre parte due dj[el]le quale restino a lui e la traltra parte sia di andrea dalaqua suo cugino quale hora si atrova in casa mia acio habbi causa di faticarsi et farsi virtuo. Et altro non voglio ordinare.

ASV, Testamenti Notarile, Vettor Maffei, Busta 657, in a folder marked with a black number 8. On the front of the will is written "N.13", and on the back "1060" in a darker brown ink).

Documents referring to Vittoria's financial position (probably c. 1584)


[NB Not autograph. On verso is written "Receuere delarmelino" in Vittoria's own hand, and in another "Carte Lazzarini, Consorte de Alessandro Vittoria"].

Eccellentissimo Signor Zuvattista Peranda e tutta la mia con[m]trada, e quella che speraua che fusse il mio gouerno sta pegio di me, onde son fatto quasi inabile a potermi piu esercitar nella mia professione dila scoltura p[er] esser faticosa e difficilissima e posso dir con[n] urita di no[n] mi poter piu guidagnar le misere spese, ma andar consumando quel pocho che mi ritrouero in medicine e seruitu oltra ce mie sopragionto una pouera mia sorella p[er] esser rimasta uedoua com[n] tre putte grande e dua putti pioci bol[n]ta et istincia sua essere liberato di ogni grauezza alla cui buona gratia riuerementi mi racc[omandio].

[Written in Vittoria’s own hand; On verso is written "schizzo di la tanssa"]


182. Vittoria appears as a witness against a certain Lucia Schiavona accused of practising witchcraft, 2 October 1554. 

... il processo formato Contrà luce schiauuna habbita in Challe della pegolla Don[n]a de Malissim[a] et persisma sitta senza estimor de ddio ... è striga, et homicidiale che hamanda piu è più in mallora come per il process suidera quello che ha fatto: ... il tutto uederà la iniquitta, et maliccia, et strigaria, et catiua uitta c[he] mai si confessa ne se comunega ... e salscitta che costei usa contra le personne et de scaciatta da tutte le contrade ... et quando di questo le S[ignori Vostri] li[estrissimi] volle informazioni faccia simari tuta là calle della pietta, et particularemente m[esser] allestandro Vittorio scultor c[he] stà allà pienta ...

... Die martis 2 mensilis octobris 1584 assistente Clarissimo D[omi]no la c[omun]o D[ominus] al[p[N]d Andrea Vittorio ... 

R[ispondi?] io conosco questa luce che habita in calle de la pienta...

(The Marble statues of St. Helen and St. Francis for the altar of Francesco Bernardo in the Frari)

183. The Will of Francesco Bernardo, 30 December 1580


Essendo lo francesco B[ernardo] fo del Clarissimo m[esser] Marc' antonio suo d[ella] mente et Intelletto, benche alquanto resentito del Corpo, et volendo far el mio testamento ho fatto chiamar et venir In Casa mia a fittu a S[anta] Maria formosa Marc' antonio de Cavanis [...?] nod[aro] di ven[etia] [There then follows a list of all of his "Commissarii"] ...

... El mio Corpo sia posto In una Cassa de larese Impogolata et stara In Deposito nella nostra [end of p.1r] Cappella à I frari finche sera trauato locho de far un altar Intitulato el glorioso s[an] francesco et s[anta] ella nella chiesia de frari, et siano fatti I do santi sopradetti da Marmoro finissimo da M[esser] Alessandro vitorio, nella qual opera sia speso quello che andara p[er]che sia honorata et christiania Et la seppultura sia fata sotto I gradi dell'Altar sopranominato. Nella qual siano seppelti li corpi della mia Car[issima] Consorte et mio et no[n] alti...

(The Will of Francesco Bernardo, 30 December 1580


Essendo lo francesco Bernardo fo del Clarissimo m\esser\ Marc\' antonio suo della mente et Intelletto, benche alquanto resentito del Corpo, et volendo far el mio testamento ho fatto chiamar \et\ venir In Casa mia a fittu a S\[anta] Maria formosa Marc\' antonio de Cavanis [...] nod[aro] di ven[etia] [There then follows a list of all of his "Commissarii"] ...

... El mio Corpo sia posto In una Cassa de larese Impogolata et stara In Deposito nella nostra [end of p.1r] Cappella à I frari finche sera trauato lo\cho\ de far un altar Intitulato el glorioso s[an] francesco et s[anta] ella nella chiesia de frari, et siano fati I do santi sopradetti da Marmoro finissimo da M\[esser\] Alessandro vitorio, nella qual opera sia speso qu\ello\ che andara p[er]che sia honorata et christiania Et la seppultura sia fata sotto I gradi dell\'Altar\ sopranominato. Nella qual siano seppelti li corpi della mia Car[issima] Consorte et mio et no[n] alti...

(The Marble statues of St. Helen and St. Francis for the altar of Francesco Bernardo in the Frari)

(The Will of Francesco Bernardo, 30 December 1580


Essendo lo francesco Bernardo fo del Clarissimo m\esser\ Marc\' antonio suo della mente et Intelletto, benche alquanto resentito del Corpo, et volendo far el mio testamento ho fatto chiamar \et\ venir In Casa mia a fittu a S\[anta] Maria formosa Marc\' antonio de Cavanis [...] nod[aro] di ven[etia] [There then follows a list of all of his "Commissarii"] ...

... El mio Corpo sia posto In una Cassa de larese Impogolata et stara In Deposito nella nostra [end of p.1r] Cappella à I frari finche sera trauato lo\cho\ de far un altar Intitulato el glorioso s[an] francesco et s[anta] ella nella chiesia de frari, et siano fati I do santi sopradetti da Marmoro finissimo da M\[esser\] Alessandro vitorio, nella qual opera sia speso qu\ello\ che andara p[er]che sia honorata et christiania Et la seppultura sia fata sotto I gradi dell\'Altar\ sopranominato. Nella qual siano seppelti li corpi della mia Car[issima] Consorte et mio et no[n] alti...

(The Marble statues of St. Helen and St. Francis for the altar of Francesco Bernardo in the Frari)
184. Request by Elena Giustiniani-Bernardo for the right to use the Chapel of "La Madonna del Neve" as a burial chapel for her husband (pre 20 June 1584 when the Franciscan Fathers granted this request).


185. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants for work on the statues (October 1584 - October 1585)

adj 20. ottobrio 1584

a' 27 ottobrio 1584

a. 10 novembre 1584

Adj 17 Novembrio 1584
L 12 Contai a' [maestro] Cesare milanese p[er] avere lauorato giorni sei sale due figure da cha Bernardo ditte -- L 12

Adj 24 Novembrion 1584.

Adj 29. Novembrion 1584
L 10 Contai a [maestro] Cesare milanese p[er] avere lauorato giorni cinque sale dite figure [d[a] cha Bernardo ual -- L 10
Adj 8. Decembrio 1584

Adj 15. Decembrio 1584
L 10 Contai a m[aestr]o Cesare milanese p[er] auer lavorato giorni cinque sulle due figure s[opra]s[crit]to ual -- L 10

Adj 22 Decembrio 1584

Adj 5. Decembrio 1584
L 10 Contai a m[aestr]o Matio milanese p[er] auer lavorato giorni cinque sopra le due figure da cha Bernardo s[opra]s[crit]to ual -- L 10

Adj 8. Zugno 1585

adj 15. dito 1585

adj 22. dito 1585
L 10 Contai a m[esser]o Marca[n]oni dito p[er] auer lavorato giorni cinque sulle figure s[opra]s[crit]te ual -- L 10 --

adj 26 Agosto 1585
L 10 Contai a m[esser]o Marca[n]oni dito p[er] auer lavorato giorni cinque sulle figure s[opra]s[crit]te ual -- L 10 --

adj 7 settembri 1585

adj 14 dito 1585

adj dito contai
L 12 a m[aestr]o Matio milanese p[er] auer lavorato giorni sei sulle figure s[opra]s[crit]te ual -- L 12

adj 20 dito

adj 29. dito
186. A further request made by Elena Giustinian-Bernardo for the right to erect the family coat-of-arms above the Chapel, 23 August 1586

Supplicia della Nobil Magnifica Madonnania Elena Giustiniana presentata sotto di 23 Augusto 1586 Desiderando lo Elena Giustiniana R[el]ta del Clarissimo Messer Francesco Bernardo poner un’Arma sopra l’Altare, che Vostre Paternità Reveren[de] mi hanno concesso, doue a piedi di esso altare hò fatta far la Sepoltura della buona memoria del Clarissimo Messer Francesco Bernardo mio Marito, et son per far poner le doi statue fra pochi giorni. Hò voluto con questa mia Scrittura a pregarli non hauer malasatisfazione, et à non mi negar questa gratia, tanto più che non intendo mai sij pregiudicato in conto alcuno al Monasterio nell’leuar quelle Armi della Religione, ne’ memoria de Padri come dissi nella mia altra Scrittura, mà conservarle, et abbilirle come hò fatto per il passato, che sara per fine di questa mia raccomandation[je] alle sue Orationi. et alla gratia.

Copia tratta dal Libro Catastico esistente nel Convento de Frari à c[r]te 62. [Written in another hand].


187. A Record of the Inscriptions carved underneath the statues of St. Francis and St. Helen, which proves their date of erection in the Chapel as being in August 1586


Copie tratte da marmi esistenti nella Chiesa de i Frari dalle parti dell’Altare della Madonna della Neue.


188. Vittoria’s favourable opinion on a portrait of Bianca Cappello is reported back, among others, to the sitter by Francesco Bembo in a letter of 20 April 1586

Serenissima Signora et Regina mia Colendissima,

... E primo dirò che il ritratto di Vostra Altezza è stato veduto queste feste e il di de’ Santi Apostoli da più di trecento, tra pittori, scultori, miniatori e simil altri virtuosi e persone di conto e gentiluomini insieme. Eso è lodato da tutti generalmente e particolarmente; lodato per tutti duoi capi, cioè che la pittura sia bellissima e bellissima la figura ritratta e li più intendenti hanno stupito della diligenza.
189. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants for work on the Monument to Giovanni Battista Peranda

adj 15 Settembrio 1586
L 9 com[ntai a m[aestr]o Batista trentino p[er] auer laurato giorni sei in lornamento dil Peranda ual - L 9 --

22 dito
L 12 com[ntai a michiele di chiona intagliatore p[er] auer laurato giorni 6. ual L 12

adj 11 ottobris 1586
L 9 Contai a m[aestr]o Anzolo di guelmo squadratore p[er] auer laurato giorni sei su lornamento[n]to di Signor Giovanni batista Peranda ual L 9 --

a 18 dito
L 7½ Contai al ditto p[er] auer laurato giorni cinque sul ornamento[n]to ditto ual L 7½ --

a. 25. dito

a. 31. dito
L 6 Contai a Anzolo dito p[er] auer laurato giorni quatro sul dito ornamento L 6 --

adj 8 novemubri
L 9. Contai a Anzolo dito p[er] auer laurato giorni sei su lornamento ditto ual lire noue -- L 9 --

alj 15 dito
L 9 Contai a Anzolo dito p[er] auer laurato giorni sei sul dito ornamento ual lire noue -- L. 9 --

alj 22 novemubri
L 12 Contai a m[aestr]o Hodorico todesco p[er] auer laurato giorni sei sulornamento s[opra]s[crit]to ual -- L 12 --

adi ditto nou[embr]io
L 12 Contai a m[aestr]o Bortolamio Giabina bresa[n]o p[er] auer laurato giorni sei sul dito or[namen]to -- L 12 --

adi nou[embr]io
L 12 Contai a m[aestr]o Hodorico todesco p[er] auer lauro[ra]to giorni sei sulornamento s[opra]s[crit]to lire dodese ual -- L 12 --

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190. Document proving Vittoria’s presence at the drawing up of the Inventory of the Grimani collection of Antique Sculptures from the Sala delle Teste, February 1587

1586. 20. Febbraio. [m.v.]

Nella Chiesiola uccchia in Palazzo. 
Essendosi redotti li Clarissimi Signori Provveditori della fabbrica del Palazzo per far l’inventario delle teste antiche, et in armi, che erano nella Sala delle Teste per eseguir la deliberazione dell’Eccellentissimo Senato di dette teste antiche, et hauendo condotti seco i Periti, Alessandro Vittorio Scultore, et messer Dominegolo dalle due Regine, come periti, et intelligenti di simil materia, fu fatto alla preesente detta Sala conforme l’inventario delle teste antiche, che sono in tutto al numero di .16. cioè... [There then follows the full inventory].


The Cappella del Rosario, SS. Giovanni and Paolo

191. Request presented by the recently formed Scuola del Santissimo Rosario to the Procurators de Supra for permission to occupy the Chapel of San Domenico, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and to enlarge and decorate it at the Scuola’s own expense, 13 July 1578

1578. 13. Luglio
Supplica presentata dalla Scuola del Santissimo Rosario all’Illustriiss[imi] & Eccellentiss[imi] Sign[ori]
Procuratori de Supra della Chiesia di S[an] Marco per poter abelire, & aggrandire la Capella del Rosario.

Precessori di Vostre Sig[norie] Illustriissime fin’l Anno 1397. di 7. Febraro con dieci mila Ducati, si come attesta un antichissimo Marmo intagliato, esistente in essa Capella, nella quale douendosi celebrare li Diiuni Offiti con sei Messe al giorno, si attroua in stato, che non è a proposito più oltre a dichiarare. E piaciuto all’Onnipotente Iddio, & alla Beata Madre Vergine Maria, che fosse in ricompenso dei tempi passati si sia destata una Deuozione grandissima in questo Cappella, oue attrouandosi un Altare dell’Antissima Madre di Nostro Signore, pur a Sua Gloria si e fatta la Scala di Deuozione del Santissimo Rosario con Decreto dell’Eccelso Conseglìo di X. [Dieci] ma è incaminata così notabil Deuozione a laude di Nostro Signore, e della Beata Sua Madre, come si possa desiderare. Non taceremo questo particolare, che oltre le frequentissime Communioni, che ogni giorno, & ogni Festa si fanno, & ogni prima Domenica del Mese, il numero di quelli, li quali si communicano eccede 600. & 800. & più del giorno della Sola[cent]à della Beata Vergine. Et perche Illustriiss[imi] Sig[nori] il Loco per l’antichità in molte parti è guasto, e deturpato, & molti della Scopa nostra del Santissimo Rosario di propria borsa desiderano innouar le cose al tempo corrose, & deuastate, come è il colmo, e riformar l’Altar principale nell’istesso loco, con ornamenti moderni in qualche parte condecenti alla molta riuerenza, & venerazione, che sono debitori al Signore, & alla Santissima Sua Madre, & a S[an] Domenico, !’Imagine del quale si attroua in essa Capella, riducendo doue ora è tramezzata all’integrità sua, tutto a Gloria del Signor Dio, con quella commodità maggiore, che sarà di soddisfazione di Vostre Sig[norie] Illustriissime essendo elle patrone, & non volendo noi in tempo alcuno auer da far altro, che la semplice spesa: Supplichiamo V[ostrel Sigjnorie] Illustriissime che si degnino farne grazia, che con il mezzo de suoi Ministri sia fatto quanto di sopra abbiamo supplticato, e con ogni riuerenza a Laude del Signor Iddio, ricercamo, offrendosi noi di far tutta la spesa, che bisognera senza mai poter, nè quanto alla Capella pretender mai dominio, nè alcuna, nè quanto ai danari, che si spendessero nelle soprascritte opere, esborsandoli noi come facciamo a Laude del Signor Dio, e della Gloriosa Vergine, & alla grazia di Vostre Signorle Illustriissime riuerentemente si racomandiamo.


192. The Procurators de San Marco de Supra allow the Scuola the right to do up the chapel within certain limits, although the ownership of the Chapel itself is to remain firmly in the hands of the Procuratia de Supra, 13 July 1578


193. 1582, June 18
The Church Fathers grant the Scuola the right to decorate the Chapel as they wish so long as certain conditions are observed

Convenzione. 1582. 18. Giugno.


Et primum Reu[erendo] Pater Magister Angelus Andronici Prior, Magister Benedictus de Vitino Regens, Magister Bonifatius de Venetiis, &c.


Primo. Quod Murus diuidens Chorum ipsius Capelae a corpore eius, & est in medium Capellae eleuetur, & eleuenti debeat, ita vt Capella restet cum vno solo corpore ampio absque aliquo
Impedimento.
Secondo. Quod in Altari Maiori Capella in Palla, sed Quadro ipsius Altaris per ipsam Confraternitatem sit posita in loco eminenti, illam emagno Sacratissimae Virginis Marie nostre Advocae, ex parte dextera [Sancti] Dominici, & sinistra Sanctæ Iustine Virginis, & Martharis Imagines, stantes in piedibus ibidem apponi debeant.
Tertio. Quod costrui teneatur duo Altaria, alterius a dextris, & alterum a sinistris lateribus ipsius Capelle, in quorum altero suorum Beate Virginis Marie, a sinistra parte apponatur Arma Saratona, ex cuius Familia Monasterium hujusmodi beneficatum exitit, & quae ipsum Altare doant.
Quarto. Quod Confraternitas suprascripta posit, & valeat proprijs impensis dictam Capellam [Sancti] Dominici adornari facere omnibus suis in partibus eis melioribus, & pulcroribus adormenti, quae Confraternitatis ipsi melius visa fuerint, & fieri facere possint quosuis Balchiones, siue Fenestras prout ei videbitur, & hoc de praesenti, & quam primum.
Quinto. Quod per ornamenta et supra conficienda in Capella suprascripta Denominatio: & Titulus Beati Dominici quou omodo non eleuetur, minuique eleuari possint Epiphania, & Insignia, quondam Clarissimæ D. Nicolai Leonii Benefactoris Monasterii, & ad cujus Instantiam antiquitus Capella hujusmodi constructa fuit, & Instrumentum Compositionis dicte Capelle reperitur, ut furtur, apud Clarissimæ[Sanctæ] Procuratiam de Supra, & eundem Monasterium, ut affirmauerint dicti Reuelendi Pateres, sed Capella hujusmodi modo quo supra restet, & permaneat sub nomine, & invocatione Sancti Dominici, in qua est fundata devotione Sanctissimi Rosarii vult permissum est.
Sexto. Quod ne aliquo tempore aliquod jurgium, aut controversia oris possit inter Monasterium & Confraternitatem declaratur, quod præsens licentia, & facultas ut supra concessa est gratis, & ex praegregatis causis, quæ perpetuo perdurare debit, neque aliqualiter per Monasterium reuocari possint, quando plene, & iniouabiliter obsuerunt quæ supra descripta sunt per eandem Confraternitatem, cum pacto, quod propertea non intelligatur factum aliquod praedium Juribus prædicii Monasterii, siclicet quod per licentiam ut supra concessam, & ornamenta ut supra consicienda in antedicta Capella, & patronia, & jux possessorium non auferatur, nec auferri debit, aut possit jam dicto Monasterio, sed jura hujusmodi semper firma remanent; Quæ omnia, & singula suprascripta in presenti Publico Instru[mento] contenta singula singulis congrue referendo praefacti Reuelendi Prior, & Fratres, ac Guardianus, & Socius promiserunt, ut omnia tempore habere firma, rata, & grata, attendere, & iniouabiliter observare, & in aliquo non contrauenire, dicere, vel opponere per se, vel alio, modo aliquo, ratione, vel causa, juræ, vel de facto sub obligatione omnium bonorum dicti Monasterii, & Confraternitatis mobilium, & immobilem presentium, & futurorum, &c.


194. List of payments made to workers involved in the construction of the Chapel, 1585-89
Spesi Per La Fabrica dell'ella Capella principali 1584 fin 1589

... [19 May 1585] a Zan ant[njio quondam] Ber[nardino Protto dell'ella Fabrica D. 100.-
... [8 October 1586] a Ottavian Redolfi Ueronese Contoli dal ser Zanandrea [a guardiano] in più Uolte complessi D[u]cati 16 audi [al] guardiani de betteni a conto d[ell']i stucco che ua facendo nella Capella D. 107
1586 8 Xbre [December] a Ottavian Redolfi Scultor a conto de Stucchi che Ua facendo D. 31-

347
D. 150

... 1589 17 [alzo à Ugilii di Rubini Scultor P[er] resto, e saldo d[ella cornise Grande, e
dell'obligo Che aueua, [in...?]]...?] tutta l'Opera d[ella Scultura D. 11.-

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria del Rosario, Busta 330, Fasc. 1: "Raccolta di Spese di Fabbriche della
Capella, Altare, Coperti et Altre tanto neecess[arie], quanto decorose fatte dalla V[eneriand]a Scola
eca", first item).

195. Payments made by Vittoria to Vigilio Rubini and Andrea dell'Aquila for work on the Stucco
Figures of Prophets and Sybils
adj. 5, settembrio 1587.
Contai a Vigilio in piu ulteriori ducati uintiottio p[er] auermi aiutato a laurar sue figure di stuc al
rosario ual d[ucati] 28

adi dito 1587.
Contai a andre da laquila da tre[n]to ducati disdoto in piu ulteriori p[er] auer aiutato a laurar in dita


196. Further list of payments made by the Scuola to the workers involved in the construction of
the Chapel, from April 1588 to August 1594
Estratto dal L[ibr]o Intitolato di Fabbrica d[ella] Casta d[el] Santisssimo Ros[aro]:

... a Clart[al] 2.1591 24 Xbre [December]
dom[m]enico D. 200 L. 1240.-
- a Clart[al] 2 1590 -
D[ucati] 80 L. 496.
- a Clart[al] 2 1594 15 agoesto
- a Cesaro di Franco Prott d[el Mag]istrato d[el] Proprio P[er] il Paoimento d[ella] Cappella d[el]
Santissimo Ros[aro] a D[ucati] 25 il P.so quadro misurato in Opera D[ucati] 978.3... L.

... a Clart[al] 11 1593 22 apr[e]lle
- a Clart[al] 11 1593 12 apr[e]lle
Cappella nostra come appa P[er] Scrittura sotto il di d[ett]o D. 146

... a Clart[al] 11 12 apr[e]lle 1593
nella Scritt[ur]a del di d[ett]o D. 146 -
- a Clart[al] 12 1593 pr[imo] Mazo
doi aministrate in detto [D.?] 146 come P[er] Scrittura d'accordo L. 805.-
- a Clart[al] 12 1593 21 apr[ile]
P[er] Scritt[ur]a d'accordo D[ucati] 150.-

a Clart[al] 13.1593 ult[imo] agoesto
a Cart[e] 13.1593 20 Zug[no]
a Carte 13 datto
a Cartal 13.1593 15 agosto
a M[aestr]o Batt[ist]a Intaiador dà marmi P[er] Intaglio di 4 Spiritelli à D[ucati] 3 L'[un]o L. - 74.8

(ASV, Scuola di santa Maria del Rosario, Busta 330, Fase. l: "Raccolta di Spese di Fabbriche della Capella, Altare, Coperti et Altre tanto neccess[arie], quanto decorose fatte dalla V[eneren]da Scola etc.", Second item, fols. 2r-3r).

197. From circa 1589 until 1595
Summary of expenses incurred by the Scuola on the construction of the Chapel to date
Spese fatte dalli s[ignori della Confrat[era siti della Veneranda scola del s[antissimo Rosario
In fabbrica della Capella
P[er] le quatro statuecio s[an] Dom[enico]
S[anta] Giustina de Aless[andro] Vittoria
San tomaso daquino e s[anta] Catarina da Siena,
del Campagna
li malmari p[er] dette fegure D. 200
otto anzoliti del Campana
quattro Capitelli di piera Viva
Contadi a Gasparo Riosa, e[tt] simon ortolan taglia
piera p[er] fatura de doi facade del altar D. 22
a detti p[er] fatura del Roceho
Contadi a Antonio bonamigo, et zan andrea Merlo
p[er] le altre doi facade dell'altare D. 146
Contadi a Girolamo Campagna p[er] otto uitorie di
meza scultura e un dio padre D. 12
p[er] quatro spiritelli p[er] intaglio D. 50
p[er] fatura de 4 Pilastri D. 158
p[er] fatura de Intagnar marmi
fatura de fregar pire
Serrar pire
fatura d'Intagnar la Cubba de Rame sopra l'altar D. 150
p[er] Rame p[er] detta Cuba D. 150
p[er] il pavimento di tutta la Capela D. 1250
p[er] scultor p[er] le sibile D. 496
p[er] far la porta Grandia di Capela sotto lorologlio D. 610
p[er] fatura de marangon e Intaglio del Suffitto D. 650
p[er] dorar Il Suffitto della Capella --
p[er] oro, e fatura p[er] dorar la Capela D. 569
p[er] far li banchi e figure di nogera attorno la Capela D. 390
à far le doi Arche in Capela D. 75
à farli scalini di piera p[er] laitare D. 84
Al fenestret p[er] diuerse fature D. 56
Al fauero p[er] feriade D. 95
p[er] 4 Colone tolte dal Mozenigo D. 120
1595 --

D. 8074
198. 1593, April 12 and 14

Contract with the Tagliapietra to make the façades of the Altar

Hieus Maria 1593 Adi xij April


[The names of those present follow: 7 in total]

De quali tutti Redutti li soprascritti nella Sagrestia nostra comparse M[issier] franc[esco] Prottò sudetto con una scrittura d’accordo con li sudetti Maestri dell’obligo che haueranno, cioè de fazzade di detto Altar, con li patti et modi, et condition, come in essa scrittura si contiene, Annullando però la Parte presa sotto l’anno 1588, 22 Genaro, come se fatta non fusse, nella qual tratta di dar detti lauori a Zornada, mà per molti disordini, che all’hora succedevano fu messa Parte In questo giorno suddetto, se si doueua dar alli sudetti Maestri le suddette fazzade, con li sudetti Patti, et condition, come nella suddetta scrittura presentata dal sudetto Prottò si contiene, la qual sarà affermata per mano dellli sudetti Maestri di esser così contenti, e similmente sottoscrivuta dalll magnifici s[ignori] sopra essa fabrica -

Per la Parte - De si N[umer]o 5. - De no N[umer]o - 1 -

Et fu presa, pero il magnifico Vicario non uenne à hora della balotation

Adi 14 Detto [April 1593]

Et similmente sotto di detto per non far redur li sudetti s[ignori] sopra essa fabrica, comparse da lauianti al magnifico Guardian dui altri Maestri, cioè M[ae]tro zanandrea Merlo, et M[ae]tro Ant[oni]o Bonamigo ambedue Tiaipiere, a offerirsi à lauorar di quadro, le altre dui fazzade, con li patti, modi, e conditione, come si contiene nella suddetta scrittura d’accordo con il sudetto m[issier] Gasparo et m[ae]tro Simon Compagni con la confirmation dellli detti Maestri, et magnifici s[ignori] sopra la fabrica di esser così contenti di quanto si contiene nella presente scrittura, la qual sarà affermata dalll’una et l’altra parte --

199. 1593, May 24

Contract made with Gerolamo Campagna to make 8 mezzo-rilievo Victories and a God the Father to embellish the Altar

Jesus Maria 1593 Adi 24 Maggio -
lo Bernardo Pilotto Guardian grando affermo ut suprâ --
lo ler[olam]o Campagna affermo ut suprâ --
lo Pieran[oni] di Bettini deputado sopra la fabrica affermo à quanto ut suprâ --
lo ler[olam]o de Zuane affermo a quanto ut suprâ come sopra la fabrica.


200. From 1595 until 1615

Summary of expenses incurred by the Scuola in the construction of the Chapel from 1595 until 1615

Spese fatte dalli s[ignori] della Confrat[nita] della Veneranda scola del sa[nissi]mo Rosario
In fabrica della Capella
[Second Column]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P[er] la suma</td>
<td>D. 8074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Campagna p[er] 4 anzoli</td>
<td>D. 200*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>una porta di lares e fera[men]ta</td>
<td>D. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colo[ne] doi p[er] la porta Granda</td>
<td>D. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p[er] indorar la porta Granda del Rosa[rí]o</td>
<td>D. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p[er] fatura e roba p[er] li fianchi della porta Granda</td>
<td>D. 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p[er] far dorar il quadro del s[opra] sala</td>
<td>D. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p[er] le Colone 8 dell'altare</td>
<td>D. 250</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>D. 8730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P[er] fatura e Robba p[er] lochio della Capela feriada e Veri</td>
<td>D. 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il quadro della lega del tentoreto</td>
<td>D. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il quadro della risurecion del palma</td>
<td>D. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il quadro dell'oracion al orto del Fran[cesco] Basan</td>
<td>D. 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p[er] tella e doradura di detti</td>
<td>D. 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p[er] le Grotesche a Tercolito zancarlo</td>
<td>D. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p[er] Soaze a detti quadri</td>
<td>D. 60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

351
p[er] dorar detti quadri D. 58
p[er] dorar il quadro al'occhio D. 10
p[er] piegare Calca na, e[t] opperari di Murer D. 555
il quadro sotto lorologio del marini D. 10
p[er] la porta Grandi di legno e fale[t]ra D. 15
1608
p[er] far le Gorn e atorno il Colmo della Capela fatura e Robbe, e fale[t]ra maranong et fa luminali D. 155
p[er] marmi da Carara Compi dal Clar[issimo S]ignor Vertor grimanii
seni p[er] lattar D. 295
p[er] marmi Com[pi] dal detto [e]ssetr D. 118
A Vergiio Rubini scultor p[er] far il pedestal p[er] poner la madona D. 350
rineder il suftto della Capela D. 25
p[er] far portar le statue e poner su lattare del S[antissimo] Rosario D. 7
p[er] far poner le doi altre fegure D. 6
p[er] il zio di [s]an dom[enic]o e Corona de [s]anta Catarina di Siena D. 3
p[er] le porte in Capela del Beato Giac[om]o Salamon feriade e murer D. 63

Sin anno 1615 Spesi nella Capela in fabrica D. 10777

* This should actually be D. 100 to make the sums add up correctly.

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria del Rosario, Busta 251, Scuola, Cassella I, Mazzo I, "Instituzione di Scuola Nostra [etc.]", in Part A, n. o 9, fol. 15r-v. For other less accurate copies see: ASV, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Busta R.XXVI, Proc. 1, Fasc. R. XXVI. n.o 147, fol. 74r-v; and ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria del Rosario, Busta 330, Atti Risguardanti Fabbriche, Fasciculo I, loose folio after tied in ones).

201, 1614, July 6
Decision to find suitable workmen to construct the throne of the Virgin, and thus to bring the decoration of the Chapel pretty much to completion
Lans Dee. 1614. Adi .6. Luglio
Et essendo proposta, et letta, detta parte nel presente Capitolo generale, ridotto al n[ume]ro de .37.
Fu ballottata
et fu p[er] la parte n[ume]ro 33. et fu presa
et di no
n[ume]ro 4.
p[er] Spezi in Segad[u]ra piedi 42 a L[ire] 3 il pe ual -- L 126 s  -
p[er] piera greza mandolata p[er] far il regolon di esso piedestal et sono m[i]a[r]a[n] 2 a L[ire] 18 il m[i]a[n]o p[er] -- L 36 s -
p[er] sotto bassa di marmo p[ied]e 14 o[nie?] 8 a s[oldi] 50 il pe -- L 36 s 18
p[er] 4 peci de Inuestizon doune sono li festoni requadrati a L[ire] 24 luno -- L 96 s -
p[er] la Cimaza sopra pie 14 a s[oldi] 56 il pe -- L 39 s 4
Nel Hordine di sopra p[er] 4 peci n[umer]o 4 de ouadj Con suoi requadri et la bassa tacada, a L[ire] 18 luno -- L 72 s -
p[er] quatro pilastrelli suli Cantonj serue p[er] .3. facade a L[ire] 18 luno ual -- L 72 s -
p[er] la Cornise a modioni Intutto Importa lire Cento e Venti ual -- L 120 s -
p[er] le testine quatro ual -- L 24 s -
p[er] 4 Riso nellj pilastrelli lire otto -- L 8 s  -
p[er] Intalgiar li cuoli nellj ouadi et ancho doue son posto le Sibille ual -- L 56 s -
p[er] Intalgiar la Cornise Cioe le folgie et le roze -- L 89 s 12
p[er] le machie nellj pilastrelli peci n[umer]o 8 -- L 32 s -
p[er] 16 angioletti de bianco et negro oriental -- L 16 s -
p[er] spezi nel far lustrar tutta la soprad[ett]a op[er]a son peci n[umer]o 38 importa -- L 317 s -
p[er] spezi inpiata et fachini porto li lauorj di botega in Capella lire dodese -- L 12 s -
Suma L 1511 s 10
P[er] tanti Spezi In piata et fachini porto peci di malmoro n[umer]o 8 dal Campagna p[er] fa i putini ual -- L 9 s -
Spezi in barcha porto li putini fatti tolte dal sud[ett]o -- L 2 s -
p[er] spezi nel murer ch[e] ponette il regolon mal[n]dolado inopera lire sei ual -- L 6 s -
p[er] spezi nel talgiap[iet]ra aponer Il piedestal inop[er]a Cioe Cauar arpesi et pironi et talgiar doue fui bisognu et talgiar ancho i putini -- L 42 s -
p[er] pionbo lire dodese -- L 3 s 12
p[er] spezi in .8. chiodi de mezope -- L s 12
p[er] una Carta de chiodi da Canal -- L s 18
p[er] 2 morali de larase -- L 3 s 10
p[er] dati a m[esser] Toppo Marangon p[er] fa[t][ur]a de far due Casoni de larese poste nel d[ett]o --
L 2 s -
pleri Contadi al sig[nor]r Izebo Marchabrunj pitor fece le sibille lire diese -- L 10 s -
pleri speza In far Il modello de legno Nel intagliador dal legname, et far le figurine et depenzerlo lire treenta ual -- L 30 s -

L 133 s 12

Suma In tuttono L 1645 s 2.

Lau s Deo adi 2 Aprille 1617 In Ven[etia]
Per Contadi dal m[agnifi]co s[ignoro]r Bernardin Agazi a bon Conto del pedesle p[er] la B[esta] V[ergine] del s[antissimo] Rosario -- D 150 g -
resto e saldo della Contra scritta poleza -- D 76 g 3

[Summa] D 262 g 1

(ASV, Atti Miscellanea, Busta 133, double-paged folio towards top of busta).

203. 1614, July 6
Decision to gild the Altar area

Lau s Deo Maria adi 6 luglio 1614 In Uen[etia]
Mang[nifi]ci signori et fra[telli] in xpo Cristo Car[issimi]
per capo a guerro e[t] Custodia di questo Benedetto loco della
si presentara di far qualche cosa a gloria et honorare della Beatt[issima] Vergine et, di questa honorat[issima] Compagnia di Rosario, non habbino da mancarci con loro uirtu et agiuto e[t] fauore Per tanto gli faccio al presente sapere che se ben le sue
parte di detta capella e[t] non finita si a questa seruita et facendo in essa Capella le mie orationi ho
conosciuto mancarli la più nobil parte, il che non attribuisco al mio poco judicio, ma si bene a diuina
inspiratione che mi illuminio scoprendomi quello che in tanti anni che ridotta nel stato che la si uede,
con la frequentia da me fatta in essa, mai scopersi. Dico adunque a V[ostre] S[ignor]ie che la parte
che é mancanti di detta capella e[t] non finita si è la più nobile et il capo di essa qual cinge et fa
corona all’altare della gloriosissima Vergine, con la più ordine et maestria de stuchi, et figure di
delice, et con li quadri di pittura nobillisimi, quali per cio non hanno qual Compimento che se gli
due, ma sono opere nude: siche quella parte non rende quelli prospetto che doveria hauendo bisogno
d’esser adornata et uestita, essendo muda, rispettieue al corpo di detta capella onde parendomi
comuniente da fare la debita prouigione, et dare la compita maesta alla Regina del Cielo, con far
dorar tutte quelle Parte che uanno tocata doro, cioèe tutti li colmi della pedeste delle colonne et delle
istesse colonne et capielli, frisi, festoni, nichii, et[t] corinison grande di sopra, che sustenta quel gran
quadro di pittura fatto p[er] cieco di essa capella, la qual essendo cossi adornata et uestita apareva esser
non de stuchi lavorata, ma di una pietra composta, per cio fare adunque, Io Andrea ossioni sudetto
fare l’opera [sic] dechiarata e[t] di poter spender di quel denaro che si atrova, et che giornalmente
Capitari nella Scula nostra, obligandomi di far fare et di finire tal opera quanto prima, et uadardi che
spesa esser si uoglia et ancho di pagare tutte quelle donzelle che ueniranno sotto il mio regimen a
pigliar l’elemosine tocatali p[er] grazia, et supplire, a tutte le spese ordinarie e[t] strasordinarie, ossi

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204. 1614, September 14
Document proving that the gilding had been completed by September 1614
Lauro Deo Maria adi 14 sett(embr)io 1614 In Ven[et]ia
... Hauendo Io And[rea oc]ioni guardian grande sotto li 6 luio peroximo passato fatto redur Capitolo
Capella di Santissimo Rosario ... essendosi preso che facia far lo'opera la quale e de gia fatta et
molti piu di quello che gli promissi ...

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria del Rosario, Busta 303, Atti Diversi 1404-1760: in booklet marked "Z.
Armer Scola, Colzo VII, N.o 6", fol. 24r).

205. The two large Bronze Candleabras
[A] 1631, September 7: Decision to make 2 bronze candlebras
[i] Summary of the decision as reported in Busta 266
1631. 7bre [Sept] Parte presa in Cap[itolo General] / a C[arte] 141
Di fare due Candelieri di Bronzo simili a quelli de' Padi di S. Giorgio Maggiore da ponersi alli
scalini del [ost]ro Altar

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria del Rosario, Busta 303, Atti Diversi 1404-1760: "Z. Armer Scola,
Colzo VII, N.o 6", fol. 24v).

[B] 1633 onwards: Receipts of payments for the casting of the pair of bronze candlebras by
Andrea Balbi and Sebastiano Nicolini
[on recto]: 1633. 34 / Costo delle due doppieri di Bronzo
[on verso]: Zornal
1634 4 Xbre [dicembre] P[er] li doppieri di Bronzo
[rocci] -
1634 15 apr[ile]
alli suddetti ... D[ucati] - 50,-
1634 30 detto
pedestal; e piede menegio; modelli fatte et d[etto] D[ucati] 179 L[ire] 4:12

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detto in suma di d[ucati] 37:-6
d[ucati] 544 L[ire] 4:13

1638 27 Zugno

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria del Rosario, Busta 303, Atti Diversi 1404-1760: single unbound folio
placed roughly under 1633).

The statues of Vigilance, Eloquence and the Facility of Audience over the door of the Sala
of the Antipregadi which leads into the Sala of the Anticollegio, in the Doge's Palace

206. The programme for the sculptures over the doors of the Sala of the Antipregadi included in
that for the decoration of the Doge's Palace following the fire of 20 December 1577

Parieti del scrutinio Illustrissimi et Ecc[ellerissimi] Nar[si]ni
Per sviarle alle V[ostre] S[ignorie] Illustrissimi Noi Giacomo Marcello, et Giacomo Contarini
habiamo usata quella maggior diligentia che habbiamo saputo con l'intervento, et consiglio del
Reverendo Padre Don Geronimo Bardi Monaco Camandolese, et historico celebratis[sim] per trouar
le più segnalat[iissimo] Uittorie di questa Ser[enissima] Rep[ubblica]ca per farle poi dipinger nelle sale

[fol. 38r] Porte dell' Antipregadi
Nella sala, ch'è auanti il pregadi et il collegio ui uanno quatro porte una entra in detta sala di
Pregadi, l'altra nel collegio, la terza ua a capi di X, et la quarta un In cancellaria sopra le quali
doveranno andar tre figure p[er] una li quali habbiamo significato conveniente aquel che si tratta nelle
luoghi che p[er] essi si entra
Al collegio la uigilanza, l' eloquentia, la facilita dell'audienza
Al Pregadi la pace. Pallade all'una dell'arti la guerra
Al consiglio di x la suprema [fol. 38v] autorita, la religione, et la giustizia
Ala Cancellaria la secrezione, la diligentia et la fidelta.
le sopradite figure si possono rappresentar con li simboli Inf rascritti
l'eloquentia deue esser posta alla parte destra della porta, fu dalli antiqui finta vestita di cangianti
colori, come quella che nella fac[n]idia ua narrando et ua contando li uarii opinioni et l'auoirr
decide et parla di ogni colore nel modo, che si convertono le cause per la velocità dell'Intelletto
[fol. 39r] che muove da cuore et dall'aminio [sic] nella lingua prestamente con prontezza gli fecero
gli'ali in testa su la sum[m]itü del fronte, le uesti abondanti di falde e piegature cioè la toga è la tunica
ouero sotto. Nella mano destra tiene una lina con un serpe Involut[0]p[er] la prudencia et per la
limatura dell'concetti, et nella mano sinistra ha un surto di Mercurio compostò di due serpi o dragoni
Incima con due ali il qual e figura del trattato della oratione ch'è mandato astrarre di pace, di
Concordia [fol. 39v] di amio mostra, che per l'eloquentia si pacisicano li doi eserciti nella guerra
con esso setto Mercurio et Mercurial Oratori trapassano nel cielo, et sopra delle stelle p[er] l'aria
p[er] tutta la terra et nell'abissio, Onde l'Ambassadori sono detti caducatori portando seco li setto
della scientia che uiene Introdotto Insino negli giochi nell Juditi et nelle nozze come un modo
herculiano dedicato ad hercule che con l'eloquentia tiro a se alcuni Populi.
[fol. 40r] la facilita dell'Audience ui alla parte sinistra della porta si descriuera una donna bella, ben
complessa et di bella presenza con il simbolo sul setto dell'augello chiamato Hierarze et il Grifalco,
che per esser facile ad alzarsi da terra In cielo et dal cielo Calar giu senza flesso di ale et p[er] esser
tanto facile al combattere, et alla facondita fu dall’egitij uenerato p[er] venere et p[er] marte et per la prestezza come si troua nell’Hiergorifiche lettere, la qual Idea dum[nue] consiuei che mostri di mol[n]are p[er] [fol. 40v] gradi In[n]umerabili et da una mano ha una ruota di Carro ha l’ale nelli talari nei piedi et nella testa et su gli huomeri come a quella che facilmente muove nelli suoi affetti l’amo nel corpo et l’Intelletto et agilmente muove ogni peso et ogni graue affetto p[er] la piegabile faculta ch’è penetriabile In ogni attioni et facile ragione

l’Uigilanza la qual ua In mezo fra la eloquenza et facilita dell’audienza, sarra una donna che hauerla Il gallo cantante alto In mano [fol. 41r] doi occhi volatili con doi ali, con la faccia voltata all’apparer della aurora del sole, come ha la uigilat[n]ia la notte, et il giorno, et resta da mortali, o nelle opere, o nella guardia d’Inogni altra facolta, d’In ogni pretesto delle cosi vniuersali che si trattano, si arguiscono et che si gouernano p[er] piu sicure et piu utile ui è negli effetti delle operationi In quanto all’equità che attuti gioua et particolarmente si appartiene alli Rettori officiali et ministri oltre che serve ancora nel uiuer et reger l’amo buono et il corpo, et l’intelletto et p[er]cio [fol. 41v] la uigilantia era stimata come il splendore del sole da socratici et a lei p[er] questo fu applicato il socratico Gallo che soleua esser sacrificato nell’Aurora alla nuova luce, et possicia si dauna alle operationi della uigilantia diuena che sono li operationi di tutte le arti et scientie, et la onde alcuni gli fecero gl’occhi sul setto con due ale come prestantissima ascoltatrice, et soprema auisatrice perspicatrice, et contraria al so[n]no et amica della securezza.


(BMC, Cicogna N. 105 [old numbering N. 585], unpaginated; transcribed with corrections by Wolters (1965-66), 303-18).

207. Payments made by Vittoria to assistants for the "Figures" in the Doge's Palace and the portrait of the Procurator Vincenzo Morosini, February 1588

adj 26 febraro 1587. [m.v.]
Contai a Vigilio ducati uintido e’ mezo in piu uolte arason de mezo ducato al giorno. p[er] aeur lavorato sule figure di palazo, e sul ritrato di S. Vice[n]zo Morosini procurator ual - d[ucati] 22½


208. Document proving that the sculptures were finished, if not yet installed, by 20 April 1589

Adi 20 April. In Pregadi. l Consiglieri.
Restando ancora imperfette di Pittura et altro le Salle del Palazzo nostro, et a metter in opera le figure di marmo sopra le quattro porte nella Sala dell’Antipregadi et le quattro Porte di Noghera et altro principiate, et le Banche et Pozzi in essa Sala . . . che sono ridotte quasi a perfettione, per aver fornito il loro carico li Proveditori già eletti; Et perché si possa dar fine alle opere suddette, per le quali già sono stati esborsati molti denari . . . L’andra parte, che per Scrutinii di questo Consiglio sia fatta eletzione di tre honorevoli Nobili nostri in Proveditori sopra la fabrica del Palazzo per anno uno prossimo . . . Habbiano carico li detti Proveditori di far ridur a fine tutte le opere sopradette, et che sono principiate per il compito ad ornamento di esso Palazzo nostro.

De parte . . . 153 De non . . . 5 Non sincere . . . 6

(ASV, Senato Terra 1589, Reg. 59, fol. 37v; Lorenzi (1868), 512, Doc. 995)
The Tiepolo family chapel dedicated to San Saba in Sant’Antonin, Venice

210. The Reconstruction of the Altar and the Sarcophagus of San Saba
The Contract drawn up between Francesco Tiepolo and Angelo "tagliafiera" on San Marcuola
for the work, and the advance payment of 100 ducats, 8 August 1591


Item far tutte le taulolette, et frisi bianchi, et rossi che andarano p[er] far il pavimento di essa Capella, quali siano fregadi, et pomegadi, ch[e] stiano bene.

Item far l’altar, cioè far doi man de scalini nella maesta dauanti con li dadi dalle bande d’essi scalini quali togliono suso l’adornamento dell’i Candeliere di esso altar, et far la pradella Incassada de pietre rosse, bianch[e], et di paragon, quale siano fragade, pomegade, et lustrade, douendo far li scalini, et pradella tutto d’un pezzo, et far il parapetto requadrato con sottobassa, et linea sopra souazada, et far dalle bande di esso parapetto li Candeliere con le Cartelle sotto basa, cimazz, et Colonelle, et far sotto alli pilastri, che sono dalle bande delle fenestre, li quareselli requadrad con la sotto basa dadi et[ti] cimazz souazza, et tra li ditti quareselli et[ti] Candeliere si da una parte come dall’altra far doi figurerne di mezo relievo con li requadri attorno attorno [sic]. - -

et trapanadi, et ben finiti su li fondi con una testa de cherubin di sopra.


[Undersigned by the notary Victor de Mapheis]
211. The two epitaphs
The contract between Tiepolo and Angelo for the epitaphs. Angelo is paid 25 ducats as a down-payment, 29 December 1592

Add. 29. xmbrio [dicembre] 1592 - in uinetia -


jo luca marzopini sopra ditto schiessi p[er] sotto scressi p[e]r]che ditto mis[t]ro anzollo disse non saper scierier et fui presente a quanto di sopra
jo filipo pase fui presente quanto di sopra li [er]emo fuj p[resente a qua[n]t[to] ut sup[ra].

(ASV, Archivio Tiepolo, Consegna II, Busta 133, No. 262, Fasc. entitled: "Spese fatte per la Fabrica della Cappella di S. Sabbia nella Chiesa di S. Antonin", fol. 33r-v).

212. Payments made by Vittoria to his assistants for work on the two putti
Adj. 11 zenaro 1591 [m.v.]

Adj. 18. zenaro 1591 [m.v.]
As it is, the common idea of

Franklin was to use the lightning as a force of nature, not as a mere passive observer. He realized that by using the lightning as a tool, he could harness its power and use it to benefit mankind.

His idea was to construct a device that could capture the lightning and direct it towards a specific target. He believed that this could be used to generate electricity and power various machines.

Franklin's invention was the lightning rod, which he patented in 1752. The lightning rod consists of a metal rod that is attached to a building or other structure. When lightning strikes the rod, it is directed down the rod and safely ground through a copper wire connected to the earth.

Franklin's invention was a significant breakthrough in lightning protection. Before his invention, many buildings and structures were destroyed by lightning strikes, causing loss of life and property damage.

However, Franklin's invention was not without its critics. Some people believed that lightning was a divine punishment and that interfering with it was a form of sacrilege. Others believed that Franklin was playing God by attempting to control a force that was beyond human comprehension.

Despite these criticisms, Franklin's invention was widely adopted and became a standard feature in buildings and structures across the world. It remains one of the most important inventions in the history of electricity.

In conclusion, Benjamin Franklin's invention of the lightning rod was a significant breakthrough in lightning protection. His idea of using lightning as a tool to benefit mankind was ahead of its time and has had a lasting impact on the history of science and technology.
Contaj a Andrea da Iaquila lire quindesep[er] auer lauoro giorni cinque suli putinj -- L 15


213. Payment made by the Tiepolo family to Vittoria for the putti


214. Payment made by Vittoria to an assistant for work on the portrait of Alvise Tiepolo
Adi 27 Zugno 1594
Contai a M[aster]o Andrea squadratore p[er] auer lauor sul ritrat o dil Clar[i]s[m]o Tiep olo -- L'[ire] 6


215. Payments received by Vittoria from the Tiepolo family for both the terracotta and the marble portrait-bust
(i) 14 June 1594


(ii) Another record of payment, 16 December 1594
1594. 16 xembre [dicembre] /43
Paga[m]ento ad' Alessandro Vittoria Sculto[r] d'[uccati] 50 - à conto del Ritrat o di Marmo e di Terra dell'Ill[ustrissi]mo Alu[is]e Procurator[e]e Tiep olo


(iii) 14 June, 16 December 1594 and 28 January 1595

(ASV, Archivio Tiepolo, Consegna II, Busta 133, No. 262, Fasc. entitled: "Spese fatte per la Fabrica della Cappella di S. Sabba nella Chiesa di S. Antonm", fol. 43r-v).
216. The pair of reclining Angels for the Altar of Santa Lucia in the homonymous church

Adj dito [11 January] 1591 [m.v.]
Contai A m[aestr]o Antonio taciapiera p[er] aue r la uorato suli angeli di s[an]ta Lucia g iornj .5. L 12

Adj dito [11 January] 1591 [m.v. ie actually 1592]
Contai a m[aestr]o Barnardol taciapiera lire d iese p[er] aue r la uorato [sic] giorni cinque L 10

Adj dito [ie 18 January 1592]
Contai m[aestr]o Bernardino lire di se p[er] aue r la uorat o giorni cinque suli due Angi ole L 10

Adj 25 dito
Contai Andrea da laquila lire disd otto p[er] aue r la uorato giorni sei suli Angeli s[opras][crit]ti ual L 18

Adj dito
Contai a m[aestr]o Bernardino da sanja tta Gnese p[er] aue r la uorato giorni sei -- L 12

Adj v[l]timlo zenaro 1591 [m.v. ie actually 1592]
Contai a Andrea da laquila lire disd otto p[er] aue r la uorato g iornj sei suli Angeli s[opras][crit]ti L 18

Adj dito
Contai A m[aestr]o Bernardino da sanja tta Gnese lire 12 p[er] aue r la uorato g iornj sie val -- L 12

Adj 7 dito
Contaj a m[aestr]o Bern adino s[opras][crit]to lire dodese p[er] aue r la uorato g iornj sie -- L 12.

Adj 14, dito
Contai a m[aestr]o Bernardino s[opras][crit]to lire di se p[er] aue r la uorato g iornj cinque suli Angeli
ul -- L 10.

Adj 22 febraro
Contai a m[aestr]o Bernardino s[opras][crit]to lire dodici p[er] aue r la uorato g iornj sei suli Angeli
ul -- L 12

Adj 28 febraro
Contai a m[aestr]o Bernardino s[opras][crit]to lire dieci p[er] aue r la uorato g iornj cinque suli Angeli
s[opras][crit]ti ual -- L 10

Adj 7 Marzo 1592,
Contai a m[aestr]o Bernardino s[opras][crit]to lire dodici p[er] aue r la uorato g iornj sei suli Angeli
s[opras][crit]ti ual -- L -- 12 --

Adj 14, Marzo 1592
Contai a m[aestr]o Bernardino s[opras][crit]to lire dodici p[er] aue r la uorato g iornj sei suli Angeli
s[opras][crit]ti ual -- L 12

(A SV, San Zaccaria, Busta 18, Vol. I, "Commissaria Vittoria, fol. 91r; Predelli (1908), pp. 197-98.)
217. Vittoria receives various payments from Marino Grimani for a terracotta and marble portrait-bust, from December 1592 until April 1593

1592, Adi ii. ditto. [11 December]

1593, adi ditto [6 March]
per far indorar il mio retratto de terra fatto da m[esser] Alessandro Vittoria, indorato da m[ae]str[o] Ludovico indorador a S[an]ta Marina, lire 26
adi ditto [29 March]
contadi al ditto [Zuane taiapiera] per far indorar il mio retratto de terra mi fece m[esser] Alessandro Vittoria lire 26 e per metterlo in opera nella casa a S[an] Luca in camera granda verso Rialto lire 8 soldi 5
adi 28 ditto [April 1593]
Contadi a m[esser] Alessandro Vittoria scultor per resto del mio retratto in marmoro compreso anco il marmoro, et il retratto in creda che mi fece ducati quaranta che li portò m[aestr]o Zuane taiapiera. Nota che ho dato nel credito a m[esser] Alessandro sopradetto de ducati sessanta et bisogna aconciar de ducati settanta.


218. The Sixth Will is drawn up by Vittoria, 25 February 1595
Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Iesu christi. 1594. Indicione VII Die uero sabbati 25. m[ens]is Februarij Riuolato

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219. The portrait of Domenico Duodo

Ad 10 Marzo 1596

Contai a maestro Piero furlan quadratore per aver lavorato giorni due sul ritratto del Procuratore Duodo S[ignor] Dominico ual L. 6 —


220. The Seventh Will is drawn up by Vittoria, 22 October 1597


Vittoria's expert opinion is sought on the various models presented for the building of new houses around the Oratorio of the Scuola di San Fantin.

222. Decision to rebuild ruinous houses on a model made by an expert and approved by the Scuola, 18 April 1599


(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria della Consolazione e di San Girolamo deputata alla Giustizia, Capitolare 1599-1620, Reg. 3, Section "Parte", fol. 1r).

223. Document proving that Vittoria's advice was sought by the team of 4 "eletti sopra la fabbrica", 29 August 1599
In Christi no[n]ne amen 1599, ad 29. agosto.
the names of the confratelli follow
p[rimo] il modo d[e] m[esser] franc[esco] fracadato de si n[umer]o 12 de no 33 ----
terzo modo d[e] m[esser] bortolo da [an] rocho de si n[umer]o 3 de no 42 ----
- lo triuulto Pastorinj scriuan.

(ASV, Scuola di Santa Maria della Consolazione e di San Girolamo deputata alla Giustizia, Capitolare 1599-1620, Reg. 3, Section "Capitolii", fol. 4r; Pavanello (1914), p. 45, n. 1).

224. Payment made by Vittoria to an assistant for help on the portrait of the Ferrarese nobleman Montecatini
Adj 23 Ottobrio 1599.
Contai a[m]s[tro] Batista bressan squadrator p[er] auer lavorato giorni tre sul ritratto d[il]l[Ill][ust]re Monte Catino ferrarese -- L. 7 ½

225. The contract for the Altar in the Church of San Domenico
Lus Divo 1600, in Venetia adj <...>
Essendo conuenuti da una parte il Mag[nifi]co Guardian, et compagni della scuola di San[issi]mo Rossario, et dal’altra Mistro Melchisidec taisapiera, nella contrada di S. Giouan in bragola, di edificare uno altarre nella Chiesa di S. Dominoic all’incontro di laltaro di S. Giacinto esso mistro Melchisidec si obliga di far uno altarre in tutto et per tutto subendo el disegno presentato per Alessandro Vittoria, a tutte sue spese, cossi di piesterie, come di marmi, et pieterie macchie et, con quatro columna de frial della macchia bianca e negra bellissima, con tutte quelle circostanze che representa el disegno, et pianta, secondo che ordinera Alessandro Vittoria, al quale così una parte come l’altra ge da hauitoria de poter leuar ui ta tutte quelle cose che non serai di sua satisfaczione e farle rifar a suo danno et interesse, il qual altarre Melchisidec si obliga farlo a tutte sue spese, così de roba come de qual si uoglia finitura, obbligandosi esso di far che el tutto sia fatto per manio di operari sufficie[n]li et di pieterie ellette senza stuchi, o’ tassel, ne rotture de qual si uoglia sorte, et che el tutto sia di satisfaczione di Alessandro Vittoria, et di piu si obliga el ditto Mastro Melchisidec dar compito el ditto altarre, et posto in opere per tutto el mese de Setembr prossimo ch[e] uiene et non[...] dandolo finito, et posto in opere al ditto tempo si contenta perder di sudetto mercato ducatiuenticinque, et possi loro faro finir a chi li piacera a sue spese, et interesse di detto Mastro Melchisidec, alincontro el Mag[nifi]co Guardian si obliga sborsar li dinarii ch[e] si comuniera de tempo in tempo sicondo che lopera anderà inanci, dila qual opera siamo daucoro in Ducati siecento da L. 6 s. 4 luno per ducato.
[On the verso of the sheet is written: Scritto di laltaro di Santissimo Rosario.]


226. The Eighth Will is drawn up by Vittoria, December 1601
Voglio che la mia sepolitura sij fatta fare nella chiesa delle [R]everende Madri de Sant’Zaccaria nel loco dedicatomi per esse [R]everende Madri in quel modo che sia el disegno ch’io lasso nelle cassette grandi del mio scrittorio dove entresano le due figure, che sono dentro della porta dell’entrata di questa mia casa col mio retratto di marmo di sopra nel mezo, et altre circostanze secondo el mio disegno predetto con la sua arca in terra per mettervi il mio corpo, corrispondente al resto, le detti detti loco dedicatomi, et voglio, et espressamente ordino, che nuno dell’mei heredi possi haver, ne consequir el beneficio dell’heredita mia, ne parte d’essa se prima non sara finita, et perfezionata della sola[detta] opera del mio diposito, et sepolitura, quanto poi al mio funerale voglio che sij in questo modo; sjino tolti per accompagnare il mio Corpo il capitolo [intrezzi?] con mansionarii della chiesa di Santan’unname bragola mia Contra, e li capellani, et mansionarii della chiesa de SantAnzaccaria et quella quantita de Torzi, ch[e] parera al [R]everendo [m]esser P[ote] Giacomo Confessor delle [R]everende Madri de SantAnzaccaria ma che per sij cosa honestissima, et sij anche accompagnato dalla scuola del sanctissimo sacramento della Contra, et dali putti della Pietà et non con altra pompa] et contrafacendo mei Commissari a questa mia volontà, ch’ho ordinato che sij del mio testament. Lasso che questa funerale caschino da ogni beneficio ch[e] gli lasso per questo mio testamento. Lasso che questa mia casa dove lo habito de mia propria ragione sia affittata a person dalla quali si possa senza alcuna contradicazione, ne rispetto conseguir a [...] debiti l’affitto. Lasso ch[e] tutto il mobile mio di

(ASV, Testamenti Notarile Fabrizio Beazzani, Busta 56, No. 23).

227. The ratification of the contract for work to be carried out by Palma il Giovane and Aliense for the Duomo of Salò, which takes place in Vittoria's house, (8 February 1603)
In Christi nomine, amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem millesimo secentesimo secundo, indictione XV.ma, die vero Veneris, octava mensis februarii.
The funerary monument of Alessandro Vittoria in San Zaccaria

228. The granting of Burial Rights in San Zaccaria by the authorities of the Church to Vittoria

IN CHRISTI NOMINE AMEN


ACTVM VENETIIS. In Parlatorio Monestarij Monialice S[anc]ti Zachariae ante fenestram ferreum.
Documents of payments made to assistants on his funerary monument

Adj. 9. Settembrio. 1602.
Contai ala Pista e fachinj che le porto sulopera -- L 17 ½

Adj. 14. setemb[ri]o ditto
Contai a m[aes]tro Piero furlan p[er] aue laborato in ditta mia opera á Santo Zacharia giorni qutto [sic] -- L 12

Adj. 20 ditto
Contai a m[aes]tro Piero furlan p[er] aue laborato giorni .5. -- L 15

Adj. 28 ditto
Contai á Andrea e Vigilio a bo[n] conto dila cartela -- L 30

Adj. 28 ditto
Contai á Vigilio e Andrea p[er] resto e saldo dila cartela cioe la cartela da basso con larma e cherubinj -- L 32

Adj. 5 ottob[ri]o
Contai a m[aes]tro Piero p[er] aue laborato sole due cartele sotto le figure, e' sula cartela sotto il ritratto -- L 36

Adj. 19 ottob[ri]o
Contai a m[aes]tro Piero ditto p[er] aue laboratto sole cimase dj sotto -- L 34 ½

Adj. 9. Novemb[ri]o
Contai a m[aes]tro Piero p[er] aue laboratto sole cimase dj sopra -- L 27

Adj. 9. ditto,
Contai Andrea scudi tre doro à conto dele dua putinj -- L 24

Adj. 16 ditto
Contai á Andrea p[er] resto e saldo de li dua putinj -- L 50. s. 8

Adj. 23 ditto
Contai a m[aes]tro zaneto intaiador p[er] aue fatto lintaio -- L 20

Adj. 29 ditto
Contai a maestro Zuane Grapia, per aver fatto la cima di sopra et altro, 16 Novembre 1602

Adj. 8. Zanaro 1602. [m.v.]

Contai a maestro Gregorio muraro di S'anflo Zacharia, per aver messo in opera questa mia fatura soprascritta [sic] 9. L. 56 --

Contai a messer Simon Raguso per aver dipinto attorno -- 8 --

Suma intutto fin à questo di Frimf Febraro -- d'ucatij 82 --

Adì 19 febraro contai a Vigilio per saldo dîla figura di sopra, fatta la architettura -- L. 33½ --

Adj. 15 Maggio 1603 contai a messer zanantonio da salo per un quadreto di pietra di paragon per

Adj. 15. Luiuo 1605.

Contai a maestro Gregorio muraro a S'anflo Zacharia, lire quaralni; tassette e soldi diese per resto e saldo de aver fatto la mia sepoltura in tiera, nela giesia di S'anflo Zacharia. Val -- L. 47 s 10

Per baueragi a suo figliolo in diuersse olote -- L. 8 --

Adj. 4 Agosto 1605.

Contai a maestro Melchissedeck taipiera per una lastolina, e per aver taia li quadri che comette intorno la mia sepolturina de paragon in giesia di S'anflo Zacharia -- L. 10

Adj. 5. Agosto 1605.

Contai a Messor Zuane Grapia, per aver intaita le littere su li ditto paragon de la mia sepoltura lire 6. Val L -- 6 --


230. Record of expenses incurred by Maestro Gregorio Muraro for work on Vittoria's Tomb, 16 November 1602

Adì 16 noven[ri]o 1602

Spese fatti in giesia de S'anflo Zacharia [sic] de ordine del signor allisandro Vittoria per far il suo deposito e prima ---

per chalcina negra mastelle 4 a s. 18 il mastello [inop?] --- L.3 s. 12

per chalcina biancha mastelle númer[ro] 3 a s. 30 il mastello -- [inop?] L. 4 s. 10

per il suo sabion --- L. ? s. 16

per la porttura --- L. 2 s. --

per teraco [?] mezo star --- L. -- s. 15

per arpe númer[ro] 4 da metter in del ditto diposito peso L.16 --- L.6 s. 8

per pionbo lire tre a s. 4½ la lira --- L. -- s. 14

L.18 s. 15

[on verso of folio it says]:

policia del signor allisandro Vittoria [? in Maestro Gregorio's hand]

Adj. 8. Genaro saldai a maestro Gregorio muraro à S'anflo Zacharia questo coln[to d'ucatij 9 -- Con la sua fatura [in Vittoria's own hand]

(ASV, San Zaccaria, Busta 19, "Riceuute di Alessandro Vittoria, Lettere di Cambio e Libro d'affitti di Casa pagati", fol. 20r-v).
231. Further expenses incurred on the Tomb, 1605
Spese [er] il signor allisandro Uittoria [er] far: una sepoltura in gesia de s[an] zaharia e prima pie
er[u] l 500 --- L. 13 s. --
[er] chalcina mastell[i] [u]mer[l]o 6 chon il suo sabion --- L. 6 s. 6
[er] la porttura de la ditta roba --- L. 3 s. --
[er] tuolle da metter sotto il fondi de larese L. 6 s. --
[er] la porttura --- L. -- s. 12
[er] fattura de murer chon far menar via il rovin L. 18 s. 12
L. 47 s. 10

[in Vittoria's own hand]: Adj 15. Luio 1605, Contai a M[aest]ro Gregorio mararo a S[an]to Zacharia
L. 47 s. 10 - [er] resto e saldo di questo conto, chome apare nel mio libretto da le spese ouer
pagame[n]tj
A suo figiolo contai per beueragio lirere quaetr Val --- L. 4 --

[on the verso is written: del signor allisandro Uittoria [in Gregorio’s hand], and Conte de m[aest]ro
Gregorio a S[an]to Zacaria [in Vittoria’s own hand]].

(ASV, San Zaccaria, Busta 19, “Ricenute di Alessandro Vittoria, Lettere di Cambio e Libro d’affitti
di Casa pagati”, fol. 21r-v).

232. Letter written from Paolo Gualdo in Padua to an unknown recipient, Pentecost 1603
... si potrebbe fare che messer Ditiano [Aspetti], or messer Alessandro Vittoria facessero una testa di
marmo...

(Gualdo (1972), pp. XL-XLI, n. 131).

Vittoria and his role in the saga of the statue made by Campagna of Francesco Maria I

233. Vittoria is considered too old for the commission, which is given to Campagna
L'Abate Giulio Brunetti a Giulio Giordani.
1603. 26. VII. Venezia.
Ho veduto, quanto V[ostra] S[ignoria] mi comanda intorno alla statua del Duca Federigo, che S[ua]
Al[ezza] uocf far fare, et hauendone io trattato con persone praticissime, mi alen detto, che S[ua]
Al[ezza] ha pensato bene de iaulersi di Titiano [Aspetti], poiché egli è il miglior, che sia a Venezia,
anzi solo atto a simil cosa, stando che il Vittoria, il qual soleua lavorar bene anch’esso, è tanto
uccchio, che non attende più niente.
... Il Vittoria mi dice, che appresso a poco quest’opera potrà costare intorno ad uocento scudi di
manifattura, et cento il marmo, perché quà li uendono in certo modo a peso d’oro, et forse metterà
conto farlo uenir da Carrara, doue andò il sodetto Titiano per quei di San Rocco, che se bene il
uiaggio è tanto lungo et di tanto giro per mare, nondimeno se ui sarà niente di tempo, non
mancheranno buone occasioni.

(Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana 405, fol. 157; Gronau (1936), Doc. CCCLXX, p. 241).
234. Campagna defends his skill in a letter of 19 June 1604 to the Duke, boasting, among other things, of how he beat Vittoria for the commission of the High Altar in the Santo, Padua


(Florence, Filza 219, fol. 590; Gronau (1936), Doc. CCCLXXXV, pp. 244-45).

235. Vittoria, accompanied by Palma il Giovane, the Patriarch and the "ministro ducale", visits the studio of Campagna to inspect the second model he had made for the statue, on 27 November 1604

. . . detti valent’huomini auertito di alcuni particolari nel modello non conforme in tutto al disegno et mostrato al Campagna come devano andare . . .

(Campori (1866), p. 79).

236. The Ninth and last Will of Vittoria drawn up on 4 May 1608

IN DEI AETERNI NO[M][I][NIE AMEN


de [an] Zaccaria con la licentia, et autorità concessami dal R[ueuen]do Capitolo d'esso Monasterio, et suoi Procuratori, come si uede per Instrumenti publici, in tal caso, il che però non credo, che possi succedere, ma succedendo in qual si uoglia modo, uoglio, che le R[ueuen]de Madri, et suo Procurator lassati per mei Commissarij non habbino piú tal carico, ma tutta l'innrada, che lasciava, che da loro fosse dispensata sia, et uadi all'Hospital della Pietà, con obligo di far pregar Dio per l'anima mia. Et quanto alli luochi piú della Città raccordatimi da Voi Nodaro secondo l'obligo uostro, hò detto, non uoler altro ordinare, cassando, et annullando ogni altro Testamento, et Codicillo per me sin'ora fatti in qual si uoglia modo, cosíche restino di nian valor, usolando, che questa sia l'ultima mia volonťa . . .

[Notary's seal] Ego Fabritius Beacianus Venetiarum notarius rogatus a testatore scripti et ob illius mortem publicai, compleui, et roborai.

Fuerunt testes:
Die Martis 27 m[ensis] Maij 1608
Publicatum viso caduauere.


237. Codicil to the Last Will drawn up on 18 May 1608
IN DEI AETERNI NOMINE AMEN

[Notary's seal -- Underwritings by the notary and the witnesses, and a note of the publication as above in the Last Will of Vittoria].


238. Notifications of the death of Vittoria, 27 May 1608
(i) adi 27 det [1608, Maggio]
Il Mag[inn]co m[esser] Alless[andro Vittoria scultor d'anni 83, da ve [chieza et debolezza di stomaco]
g[ior]ni 20. s[an] [Z]uane [S. Giovanni] b[ragora].

(ASV, Provveditori alla Sanità, Necrologio, Busta 837, 1608-9; Predelli (1908), p. 22).

(ii) Adi 27 ditto [Mazo 1608] Il Mag[inn]co m[esser] Allessandro uitoria scultor d'anni 83 amalato
da ve [chieza et debolezza di stomaco gia giorni 20

(Venice, Archivio presso San Giovanni in Bragora, "Libro dei Morti 1503", under date).

239. Inventory of the goods of Vittoria, compiled after his death, 27 May 1608
IN CHRISTI NOMINE AMEN.
Anno Natuitalis Eiusdem Millesimo sexcentesimo octauo, Indictione sexta, Die uero louis uigesima
nona Mensis Mai.

masara di esso q[uondam] S[igno]r Ales[sandro, conforme alla sua ordinatione Testamentaria, della]
 quale ne fu pregato lo Nodaro infrascritto sotto di .4. lnstante.--
Et primo Un schirggnetto di nogara ritrouato in una Cassa nel suo Studio, nel quale ui era:
Una Cadennella d'oro à un fillo, con un paro de manini d'oro uuodici in una scatola.
Un fillo di perle in una scatola de n[umber]o cinquanta, con un bollettino dice pesa carati cento
quindese fa grani noue l'una netti da boli.
Item in detta scatola una perletta piccola.
Salire d'argento n[umber]o cinque, doi ouate compagne, doi altre antiche, et una piccola in una scatola
de cuore.
Pironi d'argento n[umber]o dadesse.
Cucchiari d'argento n[umber]o dadesse.
Fattura de dimari ritrouati in detto schirgnetto:
In un sachetto, oselle d'argento n[umber]o sedese, et un mocenigo.
In un'altro sachetto: Una moneta d'oro della Vittoria Navale, tre oselle d'argento, et una moneda de
passion d'argento, un caualletto d'argento, et soldini uechci trentadoi.
In un'altro sachetto cechini d'oro n[umber]o cento tre.
Nel detto sachetto un altro sachetto con cechini n[umber]o cento uintisei.
Un sachetto de bezzi con un bollettino, che dice lire trenta una.
Un'altrachhetto con lire quattro de bezzi.
Un sachetto con 36 da L. 4, fanno cento quaranta quattro.
Un sachetto con 13 da L. 4, fanno lire cinqantadoi.
Un sachetto de da uinti noui, in tutto n[umber]o nonanta sei.
Un sacchetto da X. sono lire quaranta -- Val L. 40.
Un sacchetto con lire dodese da cinque -- Val L. 12.
Un sacchetto con quattro ducatoni Venetiani.
Un sacchetto di cassette dall’acqua, con un boletino, che dice lire trentauna, et lire sei.
Sachetti tre da diete ducati l’uno de moneda da lazo.
Sette sachetti de grossetti da ducati diexe l’uno.
Et primo in un sacchetto ducatoni d’argento n[umero] trenta.
In un’altro sacchetto da L. 8 n[umero] uinti.
In un’altra L. 8 n[umero] uintiuna.
In un’altro sacchetto con ducatoni n[umero] sessanta d’argento, et Un’altro sacchetto con scudi n[umero] quarantatre d’argento.

Argenti, et altro ritrouati in una cassa, et posti alla presentia di me Nod[ar] Jo et Testimonij infr[ascritti nel det]to Schrignetto:
Una Copa d’argento alta.
Tre Tazzoni d’argento co’l piede.
Una Tazzetta d’argento.

Un’altra Tazzetta d’argento dorata, lavorata.
Un’anello d’oro con pietra bianca, dissero esser un diamante.


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Die Veneris trigesima Mensis Maij supralit de Loco antedicto.
Fj fu continuato il detto Inuentario con la presentia deli sopranominati, et dell’infrascritti Testimonij, et fu ritroatto quanto segue:

Nel studietto: Un quadro della presentation al Tempio soazado de mano de Andrea Schianon. Un quadro d’un Christo morto soazado de mano dell’istesso. Un quadro fiamengo grande soazado con pittura d’un Torniamento, et paese. Dri paesi compagni sopra le porte del detto studietto, et unul piccolo sopra il tauolino. Un fornimento de panni uerdi per il detto studietto. Una Statua, d’uro figura de S(an) Sebastiano de Bronzo di mano del d(etto) quondam Si[gn]or Alessandro Vittoria d’altezza d’un brasso in circa.


Nella Camera appresso il studietto guarda sopra la Calle:


In un’altra dele predette casse:
Nell'altra Cassa:

Tre Capelli de feltre usadi.
Una beretta de uelludo rizzo uccchia.
Un ferarulolo de panno unetiano usato.
Un ferarulolo de saia nouo.
Un ferarulolo de grogran de signoria usato.
Un'altro ferarulolo de saia usato.
Una ueste lunga de carisca mischia uccchia.
Una uestina curta da saia noua.
Un saglio de saia usado.

Nella Camera appresso il studietto verso l'horto:
Un quadro grande de paesi de mano de M[esser] Paulo Fiamengo.
Dui quadri de paesi senza soaze per metter sopra le porte de mano del sopradetto Bassano.

Un quadro senza soaze, che un sopra la napa de mano del d[et]to M[esser] Paulo Fiamengo.
Un altro quadro de Paese mezano con soaze negre de mano del d[et]to.
Quattro altri quadri de paesi, cioe dois sopra le porte della detta camera, et dois attaccati alle soaze di buona mano.

Un quadro soazzato con una Madonna de mano del q[uedam] Sig[no]s Alessandro Vittoria.
Un'altro quadro di Madonna non molto grande attaccato alle soaze di buona mano.
Un quadretto con l'effigie d'una Santa attaccato alla soaza.
Un quadro con Christo, Ecce homo, di mano del d[et]to S[igno]r Alessandro.
Un quadro d'una Madonna grande soazzato di mano di Andrea Schiaon.

Il retratto piccolo di un Pittor Bressano di sua propria mano.
Il retratto de M[esser] Paolo Caliari Veronese di mano di suo figliolo.
Il retratto del S[igno]r Giacomo Palma di sua propria mano piccolo.
Un retratto piccolo de M[esser] Alessandro Maganza Pittor Vicentino di sua mano.
Un retratto del Tentoretto piccolo in età giovanile.
Un telfaro da quadro di nogara sopra la napa.
Dal para de cauedoni de loton con suoi fornimenti.
Una lettiera de ferro dorada con tre taule, pagiarizzo, letizzello uccchio di piuma, stramazzo, doi lenzuoli, uno de lin, l'altro de stoppa, et una felzada rossa uccchia.
Tre casse d'albe depente.
Un'orologio d'osso da sabbion.
Una petteriera dorada uccchia.

In una delle dette casse:

Secchi de rame n[umer]o sei.
Lenzuoli sporch dai più sorte usadi n[umer]o nuove.
Camise usade da homo de lin n[umer]o uniuuna sporch.
Fazzuoli da man sporchi usadi n[umer]o sette.
Mantili parte ad opera, et parte schieti usadi n[umer]o cinqu[e].
Touaglioli di tella schieti uccchi n[umer]o quindese.
Fazzoletti da naso uccchi sporchi n[umer]o diese.
Fillo de fin lire n[umer]o sette.

In un’altra delle dette casse:

Una pelizza uccchia d’agnelli couerta de dimito.
Panni uerci uccchi per fornir il portego.
Doi tapedi da cassa uccchi.
Una coltra bianca imbutida a opera.
Un fornimento de coltrine da letto de rassa rouana con sua cuba, et sguazzaron.
Coltrine da fenerstra de rassa uccchia n[umer]o doi.
Un bacin, et un ramin de maiolica figuradi belli.
Una tazza de maiolica messa à oro.

In Portego:

Una tauola grande sopra il tellaro d’albeo finta di nogara.
Una banca d’albeo dietro la detta tauola.
Una credenza de nogara.
Sei scagni di nogara compagni.
Altri quattro scagni de fagaro compagni.
Un huomo de legno.
Quattro carieghie da donna.
Doi carieghie da pozo de nogara.

Nell’altra Camera uerso la Calle:

Un fornimento de spalliere à brocca in più pezzi uccchie.
Cinque retratti di donne in quadretti sozzi sopra le soaze.
Doi retratti di donne grandi attaccati alle soaze.
Un fornimento da specchio di legno dorato.
Un quadretto di una figura di donna nuda, et
Un retratto piccolo da huomo sopra la soaza.
Quattro casse d’albeo uccchie.
Doi para de caualletti con le sue tauole.
Doi stramazzi, un letto, et un piumin da coprire.
Un pagliarizzo, et doi coltre strazzade.

In una delle dette casse:

Doi para de calce de panno nero intiere, con suoi zipponi attaccati.
Doi tapedi da cassa de meza uita.
Un tapedo grande per la tauola di portego nuovo.
Una uesina longa de fusetto rouan uccchia.
Una uestina curta con pelle negre strazzada.
Una uesine de dimito fodrata de ulpe uccchia.
Doi Cussini de cuoro.
Un fornimento della prima camera di cuori d’oro buoni.
Una coltra de tella bianca imbotida.
In un'altra cassa:

Quattro sachi.
Quattro Lenuoli usadi.
Un paro d'entimelle lavoro de meza uita.
Doe lenzuli uccie.
Una felzada rossa uccchie.
Un collador da listia uccchie.
Quattro pezzi de spaliere uccchie a brocca.

In un'altra cassa:

Un fornimento da littiera a cuba de mezo raso cremenin, con la sua couerta dell'istesso.
Sete tappidi da cassa tutti buoni.
Tre pezzi de spaliere à brocca buone, che fanno per il fornimento della prima camera alte X quarte.
Un fazzoolo da ueste strazzado.

In un'altra cassa:

Una ueste alla romana de zambellotto con marizo fodrata con bassette negre.
Una ueste simile de Zambellotto senza marizo fodrata de gambetti.
Un'altra simile fodrata de uolpe.
Un'altra simile fodrata de foihe, con doi pezzi da reuoltarle.
Un Christo d'aurio con la croce d'ebano.
Un'Agnes Dei col fornimento de seda, et oro.
Un campanello de bronzo.

I [sic] Cusina.

Peltre n[u]merl[o] cento sessanta uno tra grandi, e piccoli.
Secchi de piu sorte n[u]merl[o] dodese.
Un secchiello de Lotton, et un piccolo d'acqua santa.
Conche de rame n[u]merl[o] tre, et una piria de rame.
Doe antiani di rame.
Scalda uumante de lotton n[u]merl[o] tre.
Sel fondelli da inghister de lotton.
Doe copparihi da lauezo, de rame.
Un tre piedi de laton per metterui il secchiello.
Doe caesse de rame, et une de lotton.
Candellieri de lotton n[u]merl[o] cinque.
Lauezi n[u]merl[o] quattro.
Calderette de rame n[u]merl[o] quattro.
Doe gradelle de ferro.
Doe scaldaletti.
Un spedo de ferro da rosto.
Causlondi de ferro n[u]merl[o] doi con suo fornimento da cusina.
Maioliche de piu sorte e pezzi n[u]merl[o] nonanta.
Doe armeri uccchi.
Un tauliin d'albeo.
Una cassa uccchie.
Un bronzin de peltre.
Doe cadenne da fuogo.
A basso nelle Lissiera.

Una buratadora da ruoda.
Una caldiera nel fornello, et
Un'altra grande fuori del fornello.
Una banca da predica uccchia.
Doi cualetti da lettera con sue tavoie.
Un mastello piccolo.

Nella Caneua:

Dise barille tra grande, e piccole uoode.
Doi carratelli pieni di uino de doi bigonci de uino in circa l'uno.
Et un'altro carratello simile con un poco di uino.
Una caldiera mezzana.
Cinque pitteri da oglio, in uno de quali ui è un poco d'oglio.
Mastelli da lissia n[umer]o cinque.
Forcade da drappi n[umer]o dodese.

Nella Intrada:

Doi spedi inhasstati.
Doi carieghi di nogara da pozo uccchie.

Nel Magazeno:

Legne per la terza parte di esso magazeno.
Una scalletta, et una ciuiera.
Præsentibus ad prædica D. Bonfadino de Bonfadinis supradicto, et D. Francisco quondam D.
Hieronymi designatore in Confinio S[an]ti Antonini Testibus uocatis, et rogatis.

Die Veneris sexta Mensis Junij 1608. In Domo suprascripta.
Essendosi finito d'inventariare li dinari, oro, argenti, et altri mobili ritrouati nella sopradetta casa, come di sopra è dechiarato, si è continuato poi a far Inventario dell'iubri, et scritture ritrouate nella medesima casa, et sono le infrascritte:
[There then follows a list of various account-books, receipts, and legal documents pertaining to the acquisition of the house in the Calle della Pietà etc.]


240. Stucco portraits of Cardinal Bembo and the Vicentine portraitist Girolamo Forni, mentioned in Forni’s will of 10 January 1610

... Ordine e prego li miei Commissari che faccino acomodar nel mio loco e casa di Monteche Precauzion sopra li camini delle due camere con maniera bella et honorata et che stia bene la mia testa e ritratto di stucco nella camera sopra l'orto et quello dell'Illustissimo sig[no]r Cardinal Bembo nella camera dove dormo quale tutte due sono nel mio studio et le quale come fattura del già sig[no]r Alessandro Vittoria mio cordialissimo amico meritano esser conservate et le meti in opera il figliolo del M[esser] Francesco scultore sta in Pademuro che so lo farà volentieri per amor mio essendo però sodisfatto della mercede sua... .

(ASVIC, Notarile Francesco Cerato, 1610, January 10; Zorzi (1965-II), Doc. 5, p. 174).
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