LA · BASILICA · DI · VENEZIA
SAN · MARCO
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Marsilio

SAN MARCO

LA BASILICA DI VENEZIA

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a cura di
Ettore Vio

VOLUME PRIMO

Marsilio

COORDINAMENTO E RICERCA ICONOGRAFICA
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di San Marco

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ABBREVIAZIONI
AA.BB.AA. = Direzione generale antichità e belle arti
ACS = Roma, Archivio Centrale dello Stato
ASBAPV = Venezia, Archivio della Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio di Venezia e Laguna
ASBO = Bologna, Archivio di Stato
ASPSM = Venezia, Archivio storico della Procuratoria di San Marco
ASVE = Venezia, Archivio di Stato
BMCCV = Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr
BNM = Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
MPI = Ministero della pubblica istruzione
SBAAV = Archivio della Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici ed Architettonici di Venezia e Laguna

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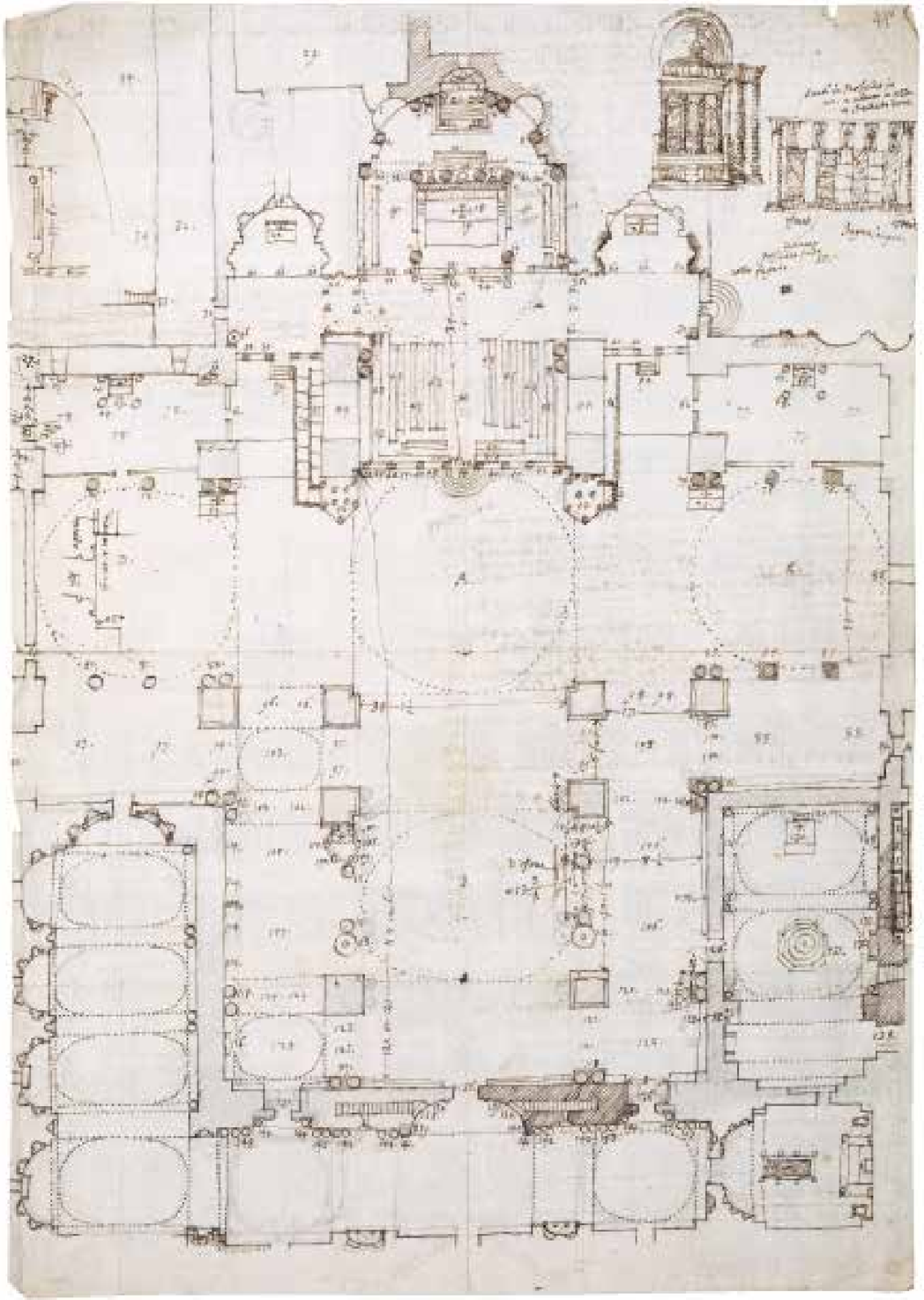


TAKING IN SAN MARCO WITH JOHN TALMAN: FROM THE GROUND UP

Andrew Hopkins

Inside the church of San Marco in Venice, the mosaics bedazzle visitors and academics so thoroughly that sometimes they forget to look at the rest of the basilica, previously the ducal chapel, where masses have been celebrated and processions performed for centuries during the life of the Serenissima Repubblica.[1] Many tourists also see it as a museum of some sort, packed full of wonderful things to look at, almost to the point of forgetting that it is a shrine to one of the most important saints, Mark the Evangelist.[2]

The English Catholic John Talman (1677–1726), who was a collector and architect as well as being the first director of the Society of Antiquaries in London, visited San Marco numerous times between 1713 and 1716 and took in the ducal chapel in an original and innovative way.[3] He also made an extraordinary number of drawings, several of which are conserved at Westminster Abbey Library.[4] The largest of these, an elaborate ground plan, indicates Talman's primary interest in the architectural plan as well as the stones and statues, columns, colored marbles and pavements in the building, which he numbered and then listed and annotated on the reverse of the same sheet (figs. 1, 9).[5] This is the earliest known extant architectural plan of San Marco and includes details such as holy water stoups, pulpits, liturgical furniture, and a record of the materials of many of the columns in the building.[6] It therefore enables its viewer to follow in Talman's footsteps and inspect the ducal chapel from the ground up, a unique examination of San Marco by an erudite visitor at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[7]

Talman draws, but does not number, the western walls of the atrium, the space that was designed to offer a moment of transition before entering the church proper.[8] It must be noted from the outset that Talman misjudged the amount of space he required for his plan on this sheet, as the top half is far more generous than the bottom half, and he has had to "squish" the vaults and domes of the northern arm of the atrium into something approximating rectangular ovals in shape, as well as "eliminate" one of the three freestanding columns on either side of the interior between the nave and the aisles, where only two are represented. The atrium spaces are unnumbered except for the individual columns, staircases, and entrances of the three portals along its eastern boundary (135–144).[9] Nor does Talman number anything in the Zen chapel at bottom right, the south-western corner, although he does indicate in plan both the altar set against the perimeter wall and the freestanding monument to Zen in the center of the chapel. In this instance, detailed drawings by Talman exist that document the plan and elevation of the Zen chapel on one sheet (fig. 2), and other details are drawn on two further sheets, which would explain the absence of numbering on the large ground plan.[10]

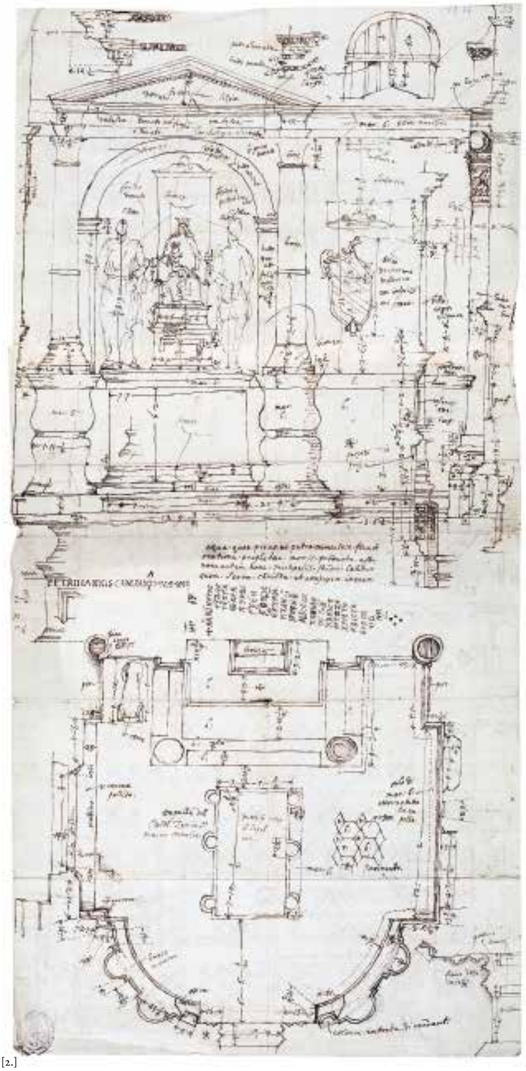
In miniature, the Zen Chapel drawing represents Talman's approach to the material architectural space of San Marco and the objects that occupy it. The measured groundplan is inscribed with the subject "capella dell Cardl. Zen in S. Marco Venezia." The tricolored pavement is drawn and marked up "n."[ero], "b."[ianco], and "r."[osso]. The measurements of Zen's tomb are given and Talman notes materials such as "tutto bronzo il Sepolcro," as is the altar set against the perimeter wall. Materials such as "rosso Verona pallido" and "colonne intorte di verdant" are noted as well as architectural elements "orlo di mar: 6: attorno tutta la capella." In the intermediate space between the plan below and the elevation above Talman transcribed Greek and Latin texts including "aqua quae prius ex petra miraculosa fluxit oration prophetae Mosis product est nunc autem haec Michaelis studio habitur quem serva Christe et conjugem irenem."[11] The elevation drawing not only indicates measurements and materials but also how, for example, the triangular pediment surmounting the altar set against the perimeter wall, as depicted top right, created an unusual profile at the base of the arched south window that illuminates the chapel. The side elevations of the chapel are also indicated in the profiles at either side of the sheet, something which must have taken Talman considerable time to draw up, given the precise measurements and detail.

Talman indicates, for example, the height of the arched window to the south, and even remarks on the presence of "4 vetri tondi largo," suggesting he spent a significant amount of time on a ladder observing things from close up. With respect to the altar canopy, he notes that "l'architrave e dorata" and the columns are of "bronzo," that the figures of "S. Pietro" and "S. Johan: batt.a" flanking the raised throne of the seated Virgin and Child are set against a "fondo dorato," even specifiying that this "fondo è pietra dorata." The figure of Saint Peter is given as being 6 feet 8 and ¾ inches tall—altogether Talman presents an astonishing amount of detailed information in this drawing.

Returning to the large ground plan (fig. 1), in the atrium, on the lower part of the sheet, Talman has noted and numbered the three main entrances into the church (135–137). The central entrance (136) is set above steps made of red marble from Verona and, as he notes, it is the "principal entrance with brass doores inlaid with figures of silver, in arches. [flat inlaid with foldage of silver." To the right (135) the entrance has "brass doores divided into pannels with saints of silver in arches," just as to the left (137) are to be found another pair of "brass doores divided in pannels wherin sort of crosses ill formd." This critical distinction between the artistic quality of the different door decorations is emblematic of Talman's highly observant, spatial and visual approach to the building. The three entrances are preceded

preceding pages
1. Talman drawing CN.4.II.49v; copyright Westminster Abbey

2. Talman CN.4.II.33r; copyright Westminster Abbey



[2.]

and flanked by a number of majestic, monolithic columns that were brought here from Constantinople in 1204 (141–144) and each different material is identified, including (141) "long & slender pillars of plain alabaster with bases of verdantico, on each couple stands an angel of marble"; (142) "white alabaster"; (143) "pillars of bianco nero 18 inches diameter"; (144) "alabaster pillars with bases of verdantico." Talman also notes the presence of some inlaid marble panels, (139) "large pannels of red castracan"; (140) a "panel of Stagno Sangue," as well as (138) "the stairs leading up to the gallerys over the pillars (111, 72, 75, 80, 85)."[12]

Inside the main body of the church, immediately beyond the two large square pillars, are holy water stoups (112–113) set before the first of three freestanding marble columns (111) separating the nave and aisles of San Marco. These basins sit on high plinths.[13] The bowl of the stoup to the south made of a dark red porphyry "porfido rosso antico" is Roman, and could be two thousand years old.[14] It holds the Holy Water that is blessed once a year at Easter. The first thing that the faithful entering the church do is dip their fingers into this basin and then make the sign of the cross, as John Talman undoubtedly did.[15] When it still had a lovely marble base with putti and dolphins, Talman's colleague Johann Gaap drew it in a splendid watercolor—the base was later removed to the Treasury and replaced with a nondescript plinth.[16]

Talman also visited the Baptistery, where initiation into the faith through ritual immersion took place. He numbered various elements in this long, comparatively low space, vaulted with two domes, that was originally part of the entrance atrium discussed above. It previously opened onto the piazza in front of the Ducal Palace until doge Andrea Dandolo transformed it into the Baptistery in the mid-fourteenth century.[17]

On Talman's list on the reverse of the sheet only two items in the Baptistery are annotated, (129) "St. Marks chair of marble a very old form. (for which here is no relick," and (130) "The mensa of the altar is one great piece of red granite, heron sat."[18] A separate ground plan was drawn up by Talman which gives precise indications of the pavement design, including the striking central hexagon pattern around the font.[19] The spectacular baptismal font is numbered (131) but not described, as a separate drawing was made.[20] It was executed in 1545 by Tiziano Minio and Desiderio da Firenze, under the direction of Jacopo Sansovino, when the brecciato marble bowl that sits on a hexagonal base was covered by the bronze lid, which has eight compartments with images of the four Evangelists and scenes from the life of the Baptist, while the bronze figure of Saint John the Baptist of 1565, by Francesco Segala, stands aloft.[21]

Within the main body of the building there are many miraculous images, including one on the corner pillar sheathed with colored marble located just before one moves into the right-hand transept (104). Here there is a relief sculpture of Mary and the Christ child (87), known as the *Madonna del Bacio* because its surface has been worn down by the kisses of the faithful. Talman indicated just briefly (101) "alab" referring to the nearby columns of Troadense marble set against the external corner of the Baptistery.[22]

Talman visited the Treasury (89)—one of the highlights then as now—noting the "door of the treasury over which saints in mosaick on gold; 3 lamps before them" (fig. 7). Indeed, the door is surmounted by a superb pointed arch with wavy sides decorated with detailed carving of animals inside a grape-vine, framing a mosaic with two angels. The entrance to the Treasury (90) and some contents (91, 134) are numbered but not explained because Talman prepared several separate drawings of this space, both in plan and elevation, as well as its contents.[23] The Treasury was indeed one of Talman's main interests given his faith, because for him it contained some of the rarest surviving liturgical vessels used in the Mass, and some of the most venerated relics in the Western world.[24] For this reason one of Talman's drawings contains a list in Italian of the objects in the Treasury that he wanted permission to draw, to be presented to the authorities, "Lista di Cose rare nel Tesoro, le quali Si Supplica grazie di poter fare. 1. Li achi gioiati. 2. Trichenia. 3. Turibolo. 4. Calice. 5. Mitria. 6. Pace. 7. Stocco. 8. Beretta. 9. Rosa d'oro. 10. Libro. 11. Croce gioiata. 12. Vaso con rilievi."[25] This itinerary followed surprisingly closely a contemporary manuscript which set out the rules and regulations for showing the Treasury of San Marco to foreign visitors, "Regola e modo di far vedere il Tesoro di San Marco a' Forastieri."[26]

Looking right, or south, from the center of the church, as John Talman undoubtedly did, the overwhelming impression in this part of the Ducal chapel, that gets direct sunlight for much of the day, is of light pouring through the enormous Gothic rose window with its wheel of small columns and interlacing arches. Underneath this is the important and strategic door (86) that the doge and members of his court used to enter the church in procession directly from the Ducal Palace.[27] Anyone who witnessed ducal processions knew that entry here was one of the most important moments to observe, because afterwards, having ascended into the presbytery, the Doge and Signoria were essentially invisible to the faithful in the nave.

Talman drew up a ground plan of the chapel of San Leonardo (66), whose life is represented in the mosaic scenes above, and which contains a relic known as the True Cross—that on which Christ was cruxified—that was brought here and put in a reliquary holder.[28] The pillar to the left, known as St. Mark's pillar, was the location whence St. Mark miraculously revealed himself to the crowd on June 25, 1094, the year in which the church was reconsecrated following its rebuilding.[29] Apart from the altar, Talman here noted (67) "4 pillars of porfiry with cinctures of brass on the 3rd of the height, over is pediment".[30]

The altar (70) dedicated to San Giacomo, or James the Less, commissioned by doge Cristoforo Moro in the 1460s, boldly projects from the stout double columns (74) set against the massive pillar here. It is one of a pair of works—together with the altar of San Paolo (69) in the north arm—that reveals the presence of a mixture of Christian imagery with ancient themes and styles associated with the classical, pagan past, thus bringing together the sacred and the profane.[31] As Talman noted (69) "two small altars with palliots of marble wrought with foldage & figures."

Talman also drew in plan the San Giacomo altar set against the St. Mark pillar, which covers part of the tessellated pavement that he recorded in this sheet depicting the pavements in the two bays of the southern transept (fig. 4).[32] This detailed drawing deploys letters and marks to indicate the different stones employed here, as well as documenting the presence of furniture such as a confessional at lower right and two wooden pews, "ingenochiator," that sit on and partially obscure the pavement below them, as does the presence of the polygonal marble structure, usually called the "bigonzo," drawn in the upper left of the pavement plan.[33]

This structure set against the southwestern pillar of the crossing, one of four colossal marble-sheathed pillars that sustain the principal dome, was described by Talman (53) as being supported by "10 like pillars of various coloured marbles under the music loft". Talman also identifies the method of access to the bigonzo for singers and musicians, (56) "Steps leading to the Musick gallery on less solemn festivals." He distinguishes this from the other space accessed directly at the beginning of the same passageway (54–55), "2 arches wherin are gallerys for musicians on Xmas Eve & day." Such informed observation indicates that Talman probably enjoyed the company of an expert guide, as he was able to distinguish between music being performed regularly in the bigonzo and only occasionally on the most important feast days such as Christmas in the music galleries created in the 1530s by Sansovino.[34]

The bigonzo was also where other, ancient rituals were performed.[35] It was from here that the miraculous blood, normally held safely in the perfume burner in the Treasury, was displayed on certain feast days when this most Holy relic of St. Mark's miraculously liquefied. Even more symbolically resonant for the Republic, it was from here

3. Talman drawing CN.4 II.22; copyright Westminster Abbey

following pages
4. Talman CN.4.II.33 verso; copyright Westminster Abbey

that the doge was presented to the people after his election, which explains its composition of slabs of porphyry, a rare hard stone used by the Roman Emperors, who stood on roundels of porphyry inserted into pavements to distinguish their place, thus forever associating this purple stone with the color of royalty.[36] Indeed, porphyry is the Greek word for purple and this stone was not only used for Imperial Roman and Byzantine monuments, but also taken up by the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade.[37] The bigonzo is supported on columns of Cipollino marino, Pomarolo, Sciro, and Proconnesion.[38]

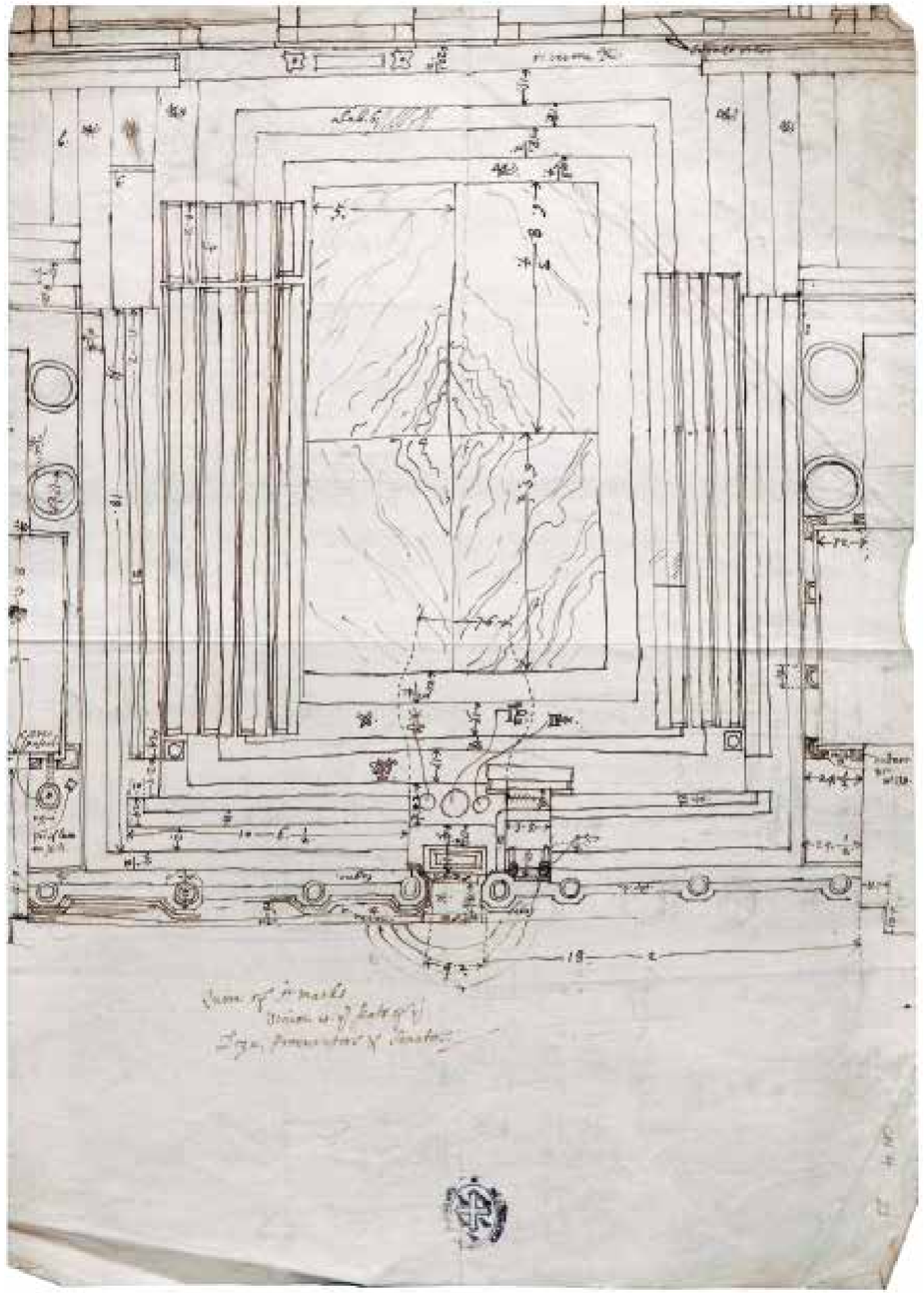
Passing beside the marble panels and columns (40–41) that form a lateral part of the iconostasis, Talman in his plan, in the corner of the right hand chapel area dedicated to San Clemente (37), recorded a Holy water stoup that is no longer present but that would have been used by the Doge and Signoria when they entered the chapel directly from the courtyard of the Ducal Palace.[39] Here is the second ceremonial door on this side of the building (31), which was used by the Doge to enter his chapel (35) without going through the Arco Foscari.[40] Talman was notably sensitive to architectural and sculptural elements because they are used in San Marco to demarcate different spaces, not only stairs (59) and columns (40–41) to separate the raised area of the sanctuary and adjacent chapels, but also the beams supporting lamps (60) that visually delimit access into the apsidal space of the San Clemente chapel (28) and the further passage into the area of the High Altar (18–19). As Talman observes (60), there is "a traverse beam from which hang 4 lamps, each having 5 lights."[41]

Within the western half of the sanctuary, from the sixteenth century onwards the Doge and Signoria sat here during the Mass. Hence the numerous benches (43) that Talman records, as well as the Sansovino tarsie which he does not as they would have hardly appeared in plan.[42] These were placed directly against the inside of the lower level of the iconostasis, which physically as well as visually separates this area from the crossing.[43] Only the upper rear part of the ducal throne was thus visible from the crossing and nave through the iconostasis.[44] Talman notes the materials used in it, "these are rare marbles (45) is africano, these have an entablature over them, in the freese an inscription intimating that this was made in 1400, on the cornice are 14 marble figures of apostles and the crucifix." With his specific interests and talent for close observation, Talman also notes that in the lower level of the iconostasis there (49) "are square & large pannels of porta Santa," (50) "pannels of verdantico," and (51) "porta Santa, these are in the parapet of the screen." Talman is attentive to the pavements, noting the semicircle of amber colored oriental alabaster (44). The steps are "edged with brass," as well as the columns flanking the entrance here, (48) "very short pillars of bianco nero." All this richly colored marble decoration was enhanced even further on special occasions, such as for a Quarantore in 1613 when the entrance to the sanctuary was framed like a theater.[45]

Such was the importance of the sanctuary for Talman that he drew up another two ground plans of this area, the first one focusing on the presbytery, which Talman calls the "Quire" (fig. 3).[46] For the plan of the ducal seating area, Talman deployed a different system of labeling from his large plan, one that used marks rather than numbering, numbers being restricted to the indication of measurements. The marks, on the other hand, are sometimes used to identify the different materials of the paving of this zone.[47] Talman notes at the top "r: Verona" for red Verona marble, which is given its specific mark, which is repeated numerous times on this plan and thus serves as an abbreviation. "Bronzo" is written to the right and "alab. b:" slightly lower to the left, which indicates white Proconnesian marble, but neither of these materials have an associated mark. The four large "mirror" cut panels of Proconnesian marble are here documented in their original state before the later insertion of other stones that have ruined the visual effect of a "sea," equal to that which still exists under the crossing.[48] Three further marks are given by Talman for the three tessellated roundels adjacent to the ducal throne, while immediately inside the entrance are slabs of verde antico, white marble and porphyry. The ducal throne and the tarsie are indicated with the word "legno," while the Easter candle has the writing "cereo pascal." Talman also draws in plan top center-left one of the two balustrades (22–24) that Sansovino installed with his sculptures, which separate off the zone of the High altar, part of his revision of this area.[49]

The other ground plan Talman drew up is of the high altar area.[50] He noted "The high altar" (18) including (19) "The Palliot of brass adorned with 30 niches & figures in rilievo."[51] The Ciborium (12), with its "4 marble pillars all wrought from top to bottom with statues in niches which bear up 4 arches," was the subject of a separate drawing by Talman.[52] He noted (13) "A marble pillar which bears up the rich altar piece number 17" and (16) "A long thin octagonal pillar for the use as number 13," referring not only to the Pala d'Oro, described as "A very rich altar piece set with jewels & figures enamelled on brass gilt," but also to the related "wincess" (winch) (14) used to draw up the cover or upper part of the said altar piece."[53]

In addition to recording the geometrical design of the paving, Talman carefully noted the two balustrades that stood before the High altar until they were removed, while the plan and elevation of the altar clearly depicts the two columns at the back of the ciborium (15), the "2 pillars of verdantico equal in diameter to 12, therein 2 angels marble." These were subsequently removed and placed in the Treasury,



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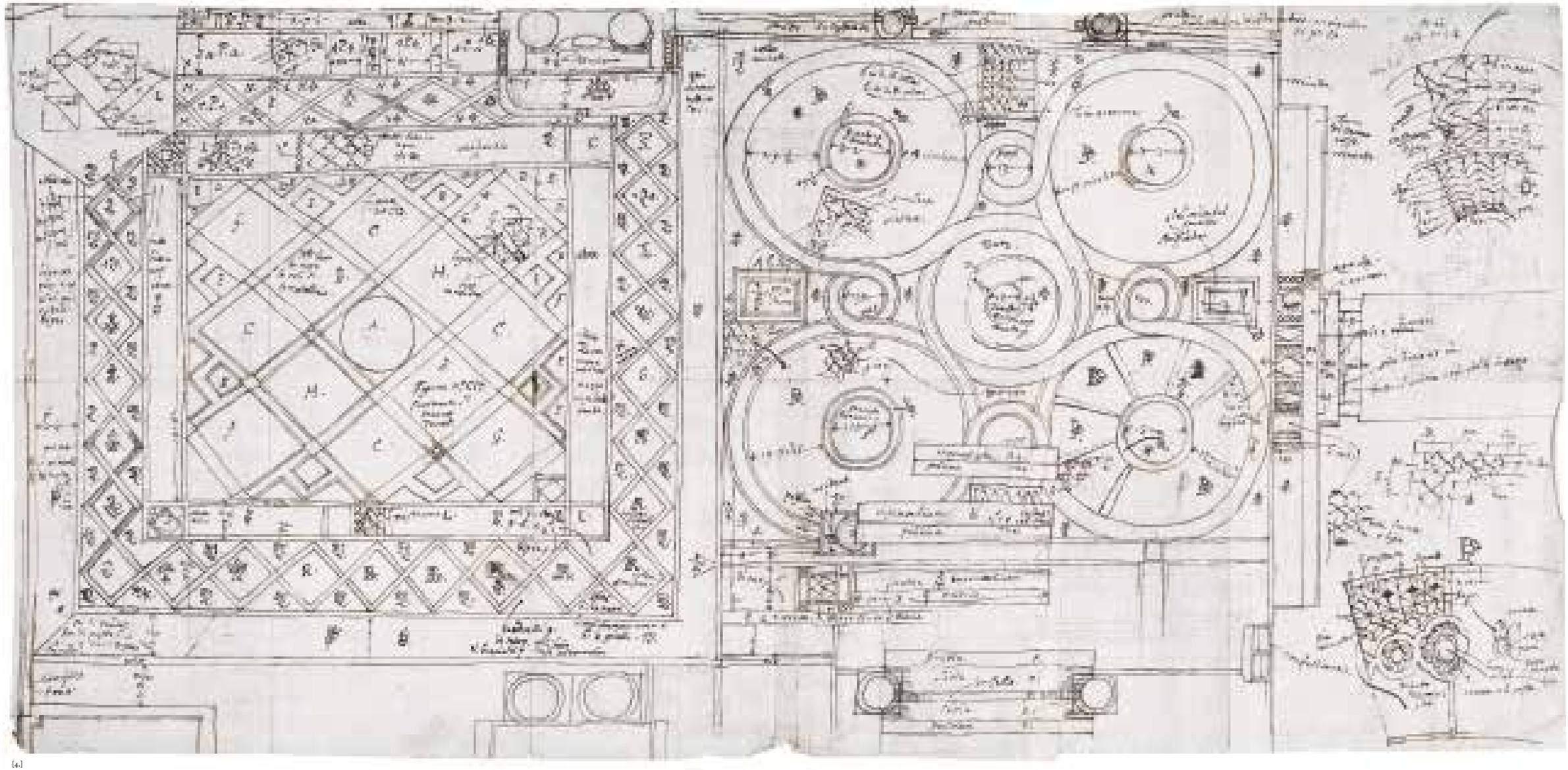


[4.]

where they are today, topped by statues of the *Annunciate angel* and *Virgin Mary* as they were in the "scene" originally presented above the Pala d'Oro as part of its renewal under doge Dandolo. Talman did not record this in his ciborium elevation, but Antonio Visentini did a decade or so later in his splendid and detailed elevation of this area.[54] One of the most elaborate and spectacular drawings made by Talman is an elevation of the sanctuary beyond the high altar and pala d'Oro, that is to say, the southernmost apsidal area that included the altar of the Sacrament set under its bronze canopy and the cycles of mosaics on the walls above.[55] Talman began his numbering scheme here and recorded a great deal both in plan and elevation. It is the only known elevation sheet that he drew up in full for any section of the ducal chapel and again demonstrates his attention to spatial demarcation. Immediately behind the High altar are (8) "Pillars of plain alabaster. [forming a tabernacle or canopy over the high altar. Adorned with mosaic" and (9) "[ditto]". This area is succeeded by the tabernacle of the Sacrament (fig. 6) of which Talman observes that there is (10) "A kneeling desk before the Sacrament and (11) "A bench to sit on" as well as (1) "small pillars of red jaspar 6 inches diameter Stagna sangue on each side the tabernacle of the Sacrament," and also (2) "The altar with a frontlet divided into several compartments of Stagna Sangue."[56] He identifies the (6) "pillars of a large size of verdantico" that flank the Sacrament tabernacle as well as both the style and material of the (4) "Pillars with wreaded flutings of oriental alabaster. The two middle white and transparent" that are set within, but he is not quite sure about the (3) "pillars of verdant: I think. The banisters of the rails of bianconero." In addition there are (5) "brass pyramid candlesticks above 5 feet high full of figures & ornaments. [in rilievo, all of brass."[57] Both are now found in the Mascoli chapel. No examination of this area would be complete without Talman commenting on (7) "The door of the sagristia formed in a segment of a circle most rarely adorned with figures," by Jacopo Sansovino, that leads to the sacristy of San Marco.[58]

On his large plan Talman drew the two passageways that lead to the sacristy (26, 29), but he must also have been able to visit and inspect its contents properly because he recorded items that were stored there on several separate sheets.[59] A long passageway leads there from the chapel dedicated to San Pietro (fig. 5) where there are hanging lamps (60) demarcating the apsidal part of the chapel (60) from the space preceding it, in the corner of which is a small holy water stoup (36) that Talman drew in one of his sheets. On the same sheet Talman also draws the principal stoup (113) near the northwest corner.[60]

Talman makes careful note of the complexity of the architectural–liturgical furnishings, including the passageways and staircases leading to the double pulpits set against the northeastern pillar of the crossing which were used for reading the Gospel and the Lesson. He noted both (57) the "steps" to the pulpit of the Gospel and (58) the "steps to the pulpit of the Epistle."[61] The parapet of the stairs leading to the double pulpit is made up of many different pieces of older stone slabs and precious marbles that have been assembled here on top of two levels of small arcades. This medieval bricolage perfectly symbolizes just how the sacred spaces of San Marco were created by fitting together various slabs and sheets of carved stone that mainly came from earlier churches. All together this conjures up the sense of great antiquity in San Marco through the layering and overlaying of ancient materials.[62] The bottom level of arcades indicates the original height of the crypt that is located below the sanctuary.[63]

The elegant lower lectern for the reading of the Lesson has a sculpted open book set atop the head of a refined and elongated Gothic-style angel with tall wings and flowing robes who holds in his right hand the thurible, a metal censer suspended from chains that contains the burning charcoal onto which incense is sprinkled to burn and produce a special perfume during specific moments of the Mass.[64] In his left hand the angel holds a container of incense that symbolizes the Holy Spirit. The upper lectern for the reading of the Gospel has two halves of a sculpted book supported on the wings of an eagle whose head is set oddly between them. The eagle's feet rest on two ducks. Underneath the octagonal lower pulpit, with its parapets of precious verde antico, Talman notes that there "are 9 small pillars of rarely spotted marbles bearing the pulpits of the Gospel &c." The upper pulpit, resting on seven columns, has five beautiful petal-shaped semicircular parapets. The bronze dome crowning the whole is supported on six colonnettes of red marble.

Compared to such astounding structures, Talman passes in silence over much of the northern side of the ducal chapel, including the chapel of San Giovanni with its precious icon of the Nikopeia (fig. 8.)[65] He had numbered the altar and spaces surrounding it on his large plan, but made no comment, perhaps because it was only constructed in 1617 and Talman principally had eyes for things much earlier than this. There may be other reasons why Talman comments less about this area, drawing up a schematic part ground plan of the Chapel of Sant'Isidoro and its altar, but passing over in silence the Cappella Mascoli.[66] This side of the ducal chapel is much less well-lit and both the Isidoro and Mascoli chapels are as a result mostly quite dark, so observation of their contents would not have been particularly easy and measured drawings of the architecture quite difficult to make.

Instead, Talman seems to have concentrated on well-lit and visible things in the nave such as (107) the altar with its pointed cupola and

5. The San Pietro Chapel

6. The altar of Sant'Antonio

observes "the palliot is Stagno Sangue" where he supplies a remarkably personal annotation about a (108) "pillar of granite like my two & of the same size." The altar (109) "bianco nero, these bear up a pointed cupoletta" and the supports are, as Talman recognizes, (110) "fine spotted marble."

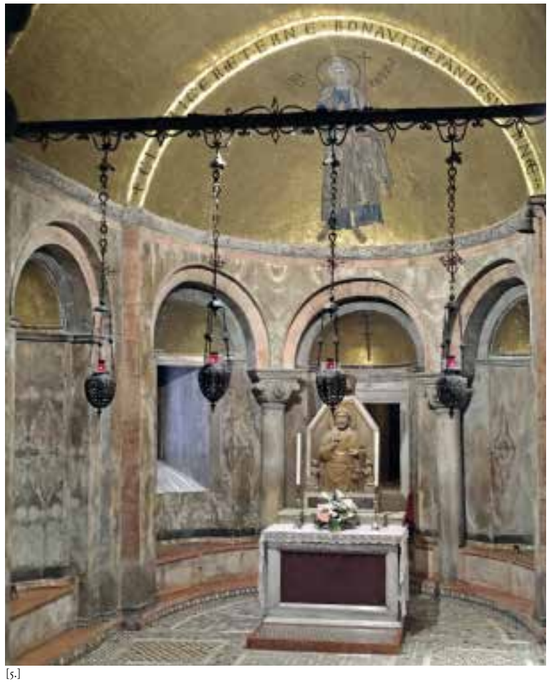
Finally, near the most northwesterly corner of the church, near the door of Saint Peter, Talman remarks on just one of several of the Virgin Orante (116) bas-relief sculptures that adorn the church interior, in this case in the northwest corner, about which he notes "Miraculous Image against the wall, before it burns a lamp." This is the Madonna delle Grazie with the pierced hands, a bas-relief datable to the tenth century that was made in Constantinople and brought from there to Venice sometime between 1204 and 1261.[67]

CONCLUSION

How was the ducal chapel seen, observed, and considered by the people who found themselves within it over the centuries? Truly observant eyewitness accounts are few and far between, but astute acounts include those of Martino da Canal in the fourteenth century and Marin Sanudo il Giovane before and after 1500, when he commented on what he witnessed in the ducal chapel over an extended period of time. Giovanni Stringa, primicerio of San Marco, was naturally an authoritative voice on the subject around 1600. Just over a century later John Talman's drawings, made during his visits to the ducal chapel, stand out because of their originality and because they are the earliest detailed visual records of the interior that are currently known. Was this the basis of a projected publishing venture that was never realized? Did he inspire Antonio Visentini to draw up his plan, and did he do this alongside Talman, whom he may have guided through the ducal chapel? Perhaps Consul Smith put them together? What can be garnered about how Talman saw the building from the annotations on the reverse of his plan, both those he wrote and those he didn't?

The most striking thing is that there is an evident bias towards the right-hand or southern side of the ducal chapel, which evokes the chapel's origins as part and parcel of the ducal palace. Hard as it is today to conceive of this magnificent building as just one part of a palace complex, the origins of the chapel were precisely that and this foundational moment seems to be forever impregnated in the spatial arrangements that Talman recorded in his plan.

The Zen chapel, which truly does bask in the sun most of the day, could never have been situated where it was had the Baptistery not occupied the southern atrium beforehand. The decision to locate the



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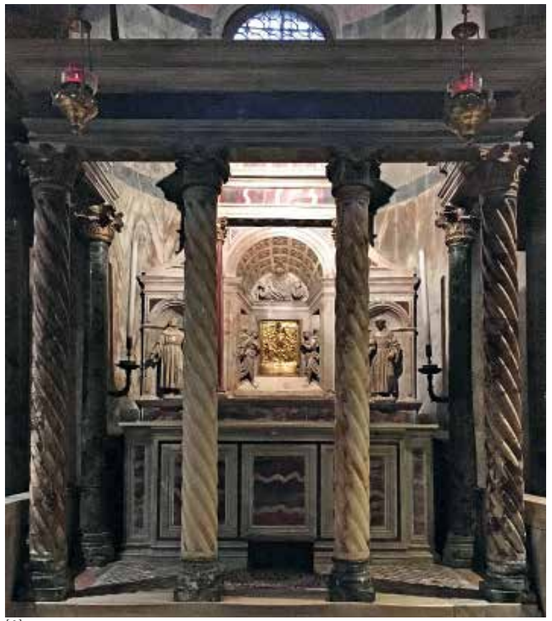

[6.]

[7.]

[8.]

7. Entrance to the Tesoro

8. Altar of the Madonna Nikopeia

Baptistery on the south side results in it being a noticeably lighter and warmer space than those on the north side. Given that water is the most significant symbol involved in baptism, locating the Baptistery on the side of the chapel closest to water, the Bacino di San Marco, also seems telling. On the southern side in fact there is a succession of prestigious spaces: apart from the Baptistery, there is the Tesoro, the ducal entry from the Porta della Carta, the ducal bigonzo, the chapel of San Clemente (Clement as the direct successor to Peter), the door directly giving onto the ducal palace courtyard, and the window above for the doge to assist from the palace without entering the ducal chapel, as well as the ducal throne set in the sanctuary from the sixteenth century onwards, together with the throne of the Primicerio. Indeed, before the construction of Sansovino's twin facing pergolas, the *coro maggiore* only had one, which is still present today, and this is also on the right. Laura Moretti has recently argued convincingly that at the outset Sansovino's project envisaged also only one pergole to be set over the earlier one on the right, something that would have reinforced the power of the ducal side of the chapel.[68] Not surprisingly, if one looks for a via del porfido in the chapel, the material representation of Venice's Byzantine Imperial heritage, this is also found on the southern side, from the porphyry holy water stoup to the bigonzo to the four monolithic columns of porphyry in the San Leonardo chapel.

By comparison, although the left half of the nave also has important liturgical furnishings such as the double pulpits and the magnificent paneled staircases leading to them, most of the other spaces of interest are quite late, including the Isidor and Mascoli chapels in the fifteenth century and the Nikopeia altar in 1617.

This left–right division has been commented on by Thomas Dale, who suggests that in the 1260s when the mosaics that represent the Doge together with the recently constructed bigonzo and double pulpit were executed there existed the belief that Saint Clement was Saint Peter's direct successor. In the context of the ducal chapel this could be interpreted both as Venice as Rome's successor and the symbolic link between Saint Clement and the doge.[69] This binary opposition is also suggested by the ducal bigonzo to the south, with regular Roman religion as represented by the Gospel and the Lesson being read from the double pulpits to the north. North is also where the San Pietro chapel is located, opposite and away from ducal power, which is represented by an axis leading from the bigonzo to the Ducal Palace. Just as the Ducal Palace basks in the sun most of the day, so too was perception of the interior of the ducal chapel significantly biased towards the southern half, which received more light and has the most prestigious spaces, and is clearly and directly linked with the Ducal Palace, affirming through magnificent materials the importance and significance of the doge as representative of the Serenissima Repubblica. Although John Talman never specifically articulated his perception of such, what he chose to draw and describe in his numerous depictions of the interior of San Marco confirms that as he moved through San Marco, and took it in from the ground up, the inexorable and inevitable memory of the ducal chapels' origins continued to be experienced, even in an unconscious way by visitors such as Talman in the early eighteenth century as much as visitors today.[70]

‹ABSTRACT› Il cattolico inglese John Talman (1677–1726), collezionista e architetto, primo direttore della Società degli Antiquari di Londra, ha visitato numerose volte San Marco tra il 1713 e il 1716. Egli ha intrapreso la conoscenza della cappella ducale in un modo originale e innovativo, dai pavimenti in su. Ha inoltre fatto un numero straordinario di disegni, alcuni dei quali sono conservati presso la Westminster Abbey Library. Il più grande di questi, un elaborato definito «planimetria», indica l'interesse primario di Talman per l'architettura, le pietre e le statue, le colonne, i marmi colorati e i pavimenti dell'edificio, che egli numerò e che poi elencò e annotò sul retro dello stesso foglio. Questo è il più noto disegno architettonico esistente di San Marco e comprende dettagli come le acquasantiere, i pulpiti, i mobili liturgici e la registrazione dei materiali di molte delle colonne dell'edificio. Il grande disegno permette quindi a chi guarda di seguire le orme di Talman e di ispezionare dall'interno e dai dettagli la cappella ducale, un esame innovativo e originale di San Marco fatto da un visitatore erudito all'inizio del XVIII secolo.

My thanks to Ettore Vio and Mario Piana, past and present protos of San Marco and to Anna Somers Cocks and Umberto Allemandi. In this chapter, unless otherwise noted, all drawings referred to are by John Talman and conserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, shelfmark 92.D 60a.

[1] O. DEMUS, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington, DC 1960). I. FAVARETTO ET AL., eds., *Marmi della basilica di San Marco: capitelli, plutei, rivestimenti, arredi* (Milan 2000). L. LAZZARINI, "I marmi e le pietre del pavimento marciano," in *Il manto di pietra della basilica di San Marco a Venezia* (Quaderni speciali della Procuratoria), edited by E. VIO (Venice 2012), 51–107. Given the plethora of publications on San Marco, where possible bibliographical references in this chapter are to the *Quaderni della Procuratoria: Arte, Storia, Restauri della Basilica di San Marco a Venezia* issued between 2006 and 2015, which contain the latest up-to-date information.

[2] E. VIO, "Turismo e sacralità odierno pellegrinare," in *San Marco tra liturgia e turismo*, *Quaderni della Procuratoria* (2001), 38–51.

[3] For John Talman see C. SICCA, ed., *John Talman: An Early-eighteenth-century Connoisseur* (New Haven and London 2008).

[4] My thanks to Christine Reynolds, Assistant Keeper of the Muniments, The Library, Westminster Abbey, for her kind assistance and helpful information regarding the Talman drawings, and to Sabine Eiche who catalogued the drawings. This sheet, like many others, has not been published previously in print. The majority of Talman's drawings (though the plan at Westminster is an exception) have been catalogued online by the John Talman project at the University of Pisa directed by Cinzia Sicca: http://talman.filosofia.sns.it. All references are to this catalogue except where otherwise noted.

[5] Westminster Abbey Library, CN.4.II.49v-r. The sort of systematic approach by Talman is characteristic of the seventeenth century, exemplified by his Italian contemporary Bernardino Amico, *Trattato delle piante et imagini dei sacri edificii di Terra Santa disegnate in Gierusalemme secondo le regole della prospettiva, & vera misura della lor grandezza* (Rome 1609; 2nd ed. Florence 1620). Serlio had also adopted a similar approach in his *Terzo Libro* (Venice 1540), for which see Sebastiano Serlio, "East of Italy," in M. DALY DAVIS, ed., *Fontes* 57 (2011). I hope to write an article in the future entitled "John Talman's *modus operandi*: numbers, marks and initials."

[6] The plan by Antonio Visentini is a decade or so later and is inserted into the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana exemplar of Antonio Zatta, *L'Augusta Ducale Basilica* (Venice 1761) (shelfmark 2C 14). It was first mentioned by B. BOUCHER, "Jacopo Sansovino and the Choir of St. Mark's: the Evangelists, the Sacristy Door and the Altar of the Sacrament," *The Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979): 155–168, here fig. 26. See also B. BOUCHER, "Jacopo Sansovino and the Choir of St. Mark's," *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976): 552–566. A. HOPKINS, "Architecture and Infirmitas: Doge Andrea Gritti and the Chancel of San Marco, Venice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57 (1998): 182–197, especially 184. It is possible that it was Visentini who guided Talman through San Marco, for which see below.

[7] Talman's numbering system begins with the high altar zone and moves west, but I have chosen to follow the order in which visitors today view the church. Talman's approach reflects the "religious" point of view, looking out from the high altar towards the faithful that the then Primicerio of San Marco had used in his work, Giovanni Stringa, *La Chiesa di S. Marco, cappella del Serenissimo Principe di Venezia* (Venice 1610).

[8] For the atrium see B. BRENK, "Zur Funktion des Atriums von San Marco in Venedig," in M. BÜCHSEL, H. KESSLER, R. MÜLLER, eds., *The Atrium of San Marco in Venice: The Genesis and Medieval Reality of the Genesis Mosaics* (Berlin 2014), 49–72.

[9] All numbers in brackets in this chapter refer to Talman's numbers on the recto and verso of the sheet discussed.

[10] Westminster Abbey Library, Talman CN.4.II.33 recto. Published by C. SICCA, "Viaggio nel rito: la costruzione di musei sacri cartacei da John Covel a John Talman," in M. MIGLIORINI, ed., *Souvenir d'Italie: il viaggio in Italia nelle memorie scritte e figurative tra il XVI secolo e l'età contemporanea* (Genoa 2008), 348 and 360, fig. 9. Three further detailed drawings are *Candeliere* and *Fiasco*, E.203-1940 (Talman catalogue, s.v. Andrea Del Grosso, Donata Devoti); a detail of a column, and a detail of a column and capital, E.180-1940 recto and verso (Talman catalogue, s.v. Sara Damiani, Marco Collareta). See also *Da cappella della Madonna a cappella Zen*, *Quaderni della Procuratoria* (2012).

[11] SICCA, "Viaggio nel rito," 348. For the pavements as seas in San Marco see F. BARRY, "Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *The Art Bulletin*, 89/4 (2007): 627–656.

[12] As Lorenzo Lazzarini kindly informs me, "Il marmo stanga sangue è il marmor carium, detto anche marmor iassense dei latini, poi denominato africanone e cipollino rosso dai marmorari romani. Venne cavato (poco e usato solo localmente) in età ellenistica presso l'antica Iasos di Caria (ora Kiykislacik in provincia di Milas, Turchia), di più a partire dai severi, e molto in età protobizantina." See L. LAZZARINI, "Le pietre e i marmi colorati della basilica di San Marco a Venezia," in *Storia dell'arte marciana*, I, *L'architettura*, proceedings of the international conference (Venice, October, 11-14, 1994), edited by R. Polacco, Venice 1997, 309–326, here 316, n. 13. See also L. LAZZARINI, "Rosso Antico and Other Red Marbles Used in Antiquity: a Characterization Study," in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture* (Malibu 1990), 237–252.

[13] For the stoup in the north-west corner see fig. 22, below.

[14] LAZZARINI, "Le pietre," 321. A. NIERO, "La chiesa e gli arredi liturgici," in I. FAVARETTO, ed., *Il Museo di San Marco* (Venice 2003), 87–95, with a photo from ca. 1880 on page 90.

[15] For Talman's faith and religious interests see, M. COLLARETA, "John Talman and the arts of the Italian Middle Ages," in SICCA, *Talman*, 211–223. A. CAPITANIO, "John Talman and the liturgy of the Catholic Church," in SICCA, *Talman*, 225–246. C. BORGIOLI, "A History of Church Vestments and Textiles through John Talman's Drawings," in SICCA, *Talman*, 247–266. A. CAPITANIO AND C. SICCA, *John Talman e la costruzione di un Museo Sacro Cartaceo* (Florence 2008). For comparative drawings of other religious buildings see C. SICCA, "L'arredo liturgico del presbiterio prima dell'incendio del 1749: i disegni di John Talman (1677–1726)," *Il Santo* 50/2–3 (2010): 517–532; C. SICCA, "'Insignia auguralia, sacralia, et sacerdotalia': John Talman and English Catholic Antiquarianism," in *Sacred Possessions*, ed. by G. FEIGENBAUM AND S. EBERT-SCHIFFERER (Los Angeles 2011), 140–157;

R. MILAZZI, "Alcune riflessioni intorno al rilievo del coro della basilica del Santo in due disegni di John Talman (1677–1726)," *Il Santo* 55/1–2 (2015): 335–339; P. VENTURELLI, "John Talman e il Duomo di Milano," *Nuovi annali* 2 (2010): 293–298.

[16] J. A. GAAP, *Acquasantiera*, British Museum London, 197* D.3, 1928-3-10-91-3 (Talman catalogue, s.v.v. Alberto Salvadori, Antonella Capitanio). I. FAVARETTO, "La base con putti e delfini del Museo di San Marco," in C. MALTEZOU ET AL., eds., *Philanagnōstēs* (Venice 2008), 139–146. The inscription reads "A Holy-Water basin on the right hand as you enter the nave of the Ducal-Church of St. Mark at Venice, the basin is of Porphyry, the foot of white marble, designed by Sansovino."

[17] G. HORN, *Das Baptisterium der Markuskirche in Venedig: Baugeschichte und Ausstattung* (Frankfurt 1991). T. VERDON, "Il battistero: arte e teologia," in *La Basilica di San Marco. Arte e simbologia*, edited by B. BERTOLI (Venice 1993), 73–88. D. PINCUS, "Venice and Its Doge in the Grand Design: Andrea Dandolo and the Fourteenth-Century Mosaics of the Baptistery," in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, ed. by H. MAGUIRE AND R. S. NELSON (Washington, DC 2010), 245–271, here 248 for the tomb of Doge Giovanni Soranzo in the baptistery and the addition of the Sant'Isidoro chapel.

[18] Talman made two drawings of the chair, E.195-1940 verso and E.196-1940 recto. See also A. GRABAR, "La 'sedia di San Marco' à Venise," *Cahiers archéologiques* 7/4 (1954): 19–34.

[19] E.206-1940 verso (Talman catalogue, s.v. Andrea Del Grosso, Donata Devoti).

[20] E.167-1940 verso (Talman catalogue, s.v. Andrea del Grosso, Donata Devoti).

[21] B. BOUCHER, *The Sculpture of Jacopo Sansovino*, 2 vols. (New Haven and London 1991), vol. I, 152; vol. II, figs. 422–423. Sansovino's own remains were moved here in 1929 and deposited in front of the altar. In the Baptistery, the entrance (126) and various niches (127–128) as well as altars (132–133) are numbered but not described. For Segala see A. BACCHI, "Francesco Segala," in *"La bellissima maniera": Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, edited by A. BACCHI ET AL. (Trento 1999), 387–391; L. SIRACUSANO, "Per Francesco Segala 'padovano scultore et architettore,'" in *Arte Veneta* 72 (2015): 77–105.

[22] LAZZARINI, "Le pietre," 321.

[23] E.194-1940 verso. Published by A. CAPITANIO, "Grand Tour in sacrestia," 285–303, here 301, fig. 4. Many sketches and accurate drawings of the Treasury of San Marco were made by Talman and they are listed here: 1) E.194-1940 verso, Scansia, veduta frontale di una parete e piante del Tesoro di San Marco (Talman catalogue, s.v.v. Andrea del Grosso and Donata Devoti); 2) E.194-1940 recto, Armadi del Tesoro; 3) E.194-1940 recto, Armadi; 4) E.341-1940 verso, Armadi; 5) E.190-1940 recto, Pace d'oro di Giovanni Grimani; 6) E.217-1940, Custodia di San Marco (forma di campanile); 7) E.100-1940 verso, Custodia, schizzo della base di una custodia in argento dorato ottagonale; 8) E.190-1940 verso, Gemme incise; 9) E.198-1940 recto, particolari decorativi della corona; 10) British Museum, 197* C 2, 1893-4-11-10-15, Giuseppe Grisoni, Corno ducale; 11) British Museum, 197* C 2, 1893-4-11-10-12, Corno ducale; 12) British Museum, 197* C 2, 1893-4-11-10-13, Giuseppe Grisoni Corno dogale; 13) Westminster Abbey Library, Randall Davies Collection, CN.4.II.6, Corno ducale; 14) Wormsley, Bucks., Wormsley Library, "Pontificalia Insignia Auguralia Sacralia et Sacerdotalia," vol. II, n. 164, George Vertue (1684–1756), Corno dogale; 15) E.199-1940 recto, Pace; 16) E.190-1940 recto, Pace d'oro; 17) E.198-1940 recto, Corona; 18) Chicago, The Art Institute, The Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection, 1993.248.634, Giuseppe Grisoni (1692–1769), Ciotola; 19) Chicago, The Art Institute, The Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection, 1993.248.633, Giuseppe Grisoni, Ciotola; 20) Chicago, The Art Institute, The Leonora Hall Gurley Memorial Collection, 1993.248.632, Giuseppe Grisoni, Ciotola; 21) Westminster Abbey Library, Randall Davies Collection, CN.4.II.5., Pettorale; 22) Westminster Abbey Library, Randall Davies Collection, CN.4.II.53 verso, Piviale; 23) Westminster Abbey Library, Randall Davies Collection, CN.4.II.53 recto, Piviale, detail; 24) Wormsley, Bucks., Wormsley Library, "Pontificalia Insignia Auguralia Sacralia et Sacerdotalia," vol. II, n. 84°, Piviale; 25) British Museum, 197* D.3, 1928-3-10-91-36, Giuseppe Grisoni, Anello, Tesoro; 26) E.167-1940 recto, Croce processionale; 27) E.199-1940 recto, Pace.

[24] SICCA, "Viaggio nel rito," 337–360. F. FREDDOLINI, "Tracce del sacro e sacralità del potere: reliquie, paramenti e corone nei disegni di John Talman," in MIGLIORINI, *Souvenire*, 305–319.

[25] E.341-1940 verso. CAPITANIO, "Grand Tour," 190 and 297, n. 28. Talman must have been more or less bilingual by this time. His request documents him drawing on the spot whereas some drawings, such as the transept pavement sheet, might have been executed subsequently, perhaps making use of more detailed drawings executed in situ.

[26] Ms Gradenigo, Museo Correr, published in R. GALLO, *Il Tesoro di San Marco e la sua storia* (Venice–Rome 1967), 66–67.

[27] A. HOPKINS, "Spazi sacri a San Marco, Venezia: architettura, arredo, cerimonia e apparati effimeri," *Italian history & culture* 13 (2008): 83–89, here 84–85.

[28] E.214-1940 (Talman catalogue, s.v. Andrea Del Grosso, Donata Devoti). For the wider Venetian context see K. PETKOV, *The Anxieties of a Citizen Class: The Miracles of the True Cross of San Giovanni Evangelista, Venice 1370–1480* (Leiden 2014). For the general context see B. BAERT, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden 2004).

[29] O. DEMUS, "Bemerkungen zu M. Muraro's 'Pilastro del Miracolo,'" in D. ROSAND, ed., *Interpretazioni veneziane. Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro* (Venice 1984), 23–28. See also B. ROSADA, "Traslatio Sancti Marci," in *Humanistica Marciana. Saggi offerti a Marino Zorzi*, ed. by S. PELUSI AND A. SCARSELLA, (Milan 2008), 17–26.

[30] It is extraordinary that such sumptuous objects as the monolithic porphyry columns with bronze banding, which garnered response from Talman, are hardly ever noted or discussed.

[31] C. KRYZA-GERSCH, "Due altari seicenteschi a San Marco: Nicolò Roccatagliata e Sebastiano Nicolini, e la produzione di ornamenti in bronzo per le chiese veneziane," in *L'industria artistica del bronzo del Rinascimento a Venezia e nell'Italia settentrionale*, ed. by M. CERIANA AND V. AVERY, (Verona 2008), 253–272. I. FAVARETTO, "Presenze e rimembranze di arte classica nell'area della basilica marciana," in *Storia dell'arte marciana: sculture, tesoro, arazzi*, ed. by R. POLACCO (Venice 1997), 74–88.

[32] Westminster Abbey Library, CN.4 II.33 verso. Published by SICCA, "Viaggio nel rito," 347 and 360, fig. 8.

[33] For the bigonzo and the double pulpit opposite, which were erected between 1204 and 1250, see S. MINGUZZI, "Elementi di scultura tardoantica a Venezia: gli amboni di San Marco," *Felix Ravenna* 141/144 (1991–1992): 7–93. Did Talman perhaps ascend the bigonzo to make a preliminary plan of the southern transept pavements?

[34] Because of the extensive writing on this issue I cite here only the recent essay by L. MORETTI, "Gritti, Sansovino e Willaert: il nuovo volto del palcoscenico marciano," in *Le architetture di Orfeo: musica e architettura tra Cinquecento e Settecento*, edited by F. AMENDOLAGINE ET AL. (Lugano 2011), 21–62, with extensive previous bibliography, together with D. HOWARD AND L. MORETTI, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven and London 2009), 17–42.

[35] S. SINDING-LARSEN, *Christ in the Council Hall. Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic* (Rome 1974), 183–184. Talman drew various examples of the doge's clothing such as the corno, the beretta, and a cuffia. E.211-1940 recto, Pianeta, cuffia e corno, berretta piatta del Doge, candeliere, pietra sacrata. British Museum, London, 197* C 2, 1893-4-11-10-14, Cuffia del Doge.

[36] HOPKINS, "Gritti," 183–185.

[37] LAZZARINI, "Le pietre," 323, notes here porfido rosso antico together with Iassense marble which is often used as a substitute. See also T. DALE, "Reading the Stones of Venice: Material and Functions of the San Marco Pulpits," in *Archeologia Abrahamica Studies in Archaeology and Artistic Traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, edited by L. BELYAEV (Moscow 2009), 115–134, with previous bibliography, 128–130. Dale notes that the bigonzo and double pulpits were represented in the *Apparitio* and *Preghiera* mosaics in San Marco dating to the 1260s, indicating their significance and importance within the ritual and liturgical action of the ducal chapel.

[38] LAZZARINI, "Le pietre," 323.

[39] For the significance of the Clement dedication here see, L. JESSOP, "Art and the Gregorian Reform: Saints Peter and Clement in the Church of San Marco at Venice," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne* 32/1–2 (2007): 24–34.

[40] D. PINCUS, *The Arco Foscari, the Building of a Triumphal Gateway in Fifteenth Century Venice* (New York 1976).

[41] Talman draws several of these. E.210-1940 verso, E.195-1940 recto, E.204-1940 (Talman catalogue, s.v. Andrea Del Grosso, Donata Devoti).

[42] "Le Tarsie del Presbiterio," *Quaderni della Procuratoria* (2014).

[43] P. MODESTI, "Recinzioni con colonne nelle chiese veneziane: tradizioni, revival, sopravvivenze," in *Lo spazio e il culto. Relazioni tra edificio ecclesiale e uso liturgico dal XV al XVI secolo*, edited by J. STABENOW (Venice 2006), 181–208.

[44] E.208-1940 recto, Iconostasi e tronetto dogale (Talman catalogue, s.v. Andrea Del Grosso, Donata Devoti), which documents the limited visibility of the throne from the crossing. HOPKINS, "Gritti," 190–191.

[45] On June 3, 1613, during a Quarant'ore exposition of the Holy Sacrament, "Essendosi ornato la chiesa dalli scalini del choro fino alla Porta grande a modo d' theatro con panni di seta, et tapezzarie molto vaghe, et belle [. . .] L'altare era appogiato alla porta del Choro [. . .] et faceva prospetiva sin alli pilastroni', ASVE, Collegio Ceremoniale 3, f. 39v, cited in A. HOPKINS, "Ceremony, Singing and Seating in San Giorgio Maggiore," in *Architettura e musica nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, edited by D. HOWARD AND L. MORETTI (Milan 2006), 147–159.

[46] Westminster Abbey Library, CN.4 II.22. Plan of the choir. Published by SICCA, "Viaggio nel rito," 347 and 360, fig. 7.

[47] From top to bottom one can read: 1) "bronzo orlo"; 2) "rosso Verona" with a mark; 3) "alab, b:"; 4) "cereo pascal"; 5) and the final inscription in English is: "Quire of St Mark's Venice with the feats of your Doge, Procurators & Senators."

[48] BARRY, "Walking on Water," 627–656. E. VIO, "Il pavimento della basilica di San Marco: indagini e restauri," in *Pavimenti lapidei del Rinascimento a Venezia*, edited by L. LAZZARINI AND W. WOLTERS (Verona 2010), 89–110. SICCA, "Viaggio nel rito," 348 and 356, notes 53–55. Talman made a considerable number of detailed drawings of the pavements in San Marco: E.97-1940 verso; E.157-1940 recto; E.191-1940 recto; E.192–1940 verso; E.206-1940 recto and verso; E.207-1940 recto and verso; E.212-1940 recto; E.214-1940, recto; E.213-1940; E.215-1940; E.143-1940 recto and verso.

[49] BOUCHER, "The Evangelists." BOUCHER, *The Sculpture*, vol. II, 333–334, for the four bronze sculptures which were moved in 1834–1835 during the rebuilding of the altar. E.84-1940 recto (Talman catalogue, s.v. Sara Damiani, Marco Collareta) does not depict these balustrades.

[50] E.97-1940 recto, Pianta della zona presbiterale della Basilica (Talman catalogue, s.v. Sara Damiani, Marco Collareta), which depicts the balustrades as shown in the Quire plan, for which see E. CATRA, "L'altare maggiore della basilica di San Marco a Venezia e la fortuna della scultura del Quattrocento veneziano negli anni di Bartolomeo Ferrari," *Ateneo Veneto* 200 (2013): 459–468.

[51] Other drawings related to the ciborium and high altar area include Westminster Abbey Library, Randall Davies Collection, CN.4.II.9, Leone ceroforo; Wormsley, Bucks., Wormsley Library, "Pontificalia Insignia Auguralia Sacralia et Sacerdotalia," vol. I, n. 43, Pietra consacrata, altare maggiore; Palmyra, New York, private collection, Candeliere; E.208-1940 recto, Iconostasi e tronetto dogale; E.218-1940 recto, Iconostasi e Pala d'oro; E.205-1940 verso Particolari decorativi della Pala d'oro; E.183-1940 recto, Particolare dell'Etimasia della Pala d'oro (Talman catalogue, various entries).

[52] E.210-1940 recto and E.209-1940 recto with details (Talman catalogue, s.v. Andrea Del Grosso, Donata Devoti). See also "Le colonne del Ciborio," *Quaderni della Procuratoria* (2015). For the Pala d'Oro see J. GARDNER, "From gold altar to gold altarpiece: the 'Pala d'Oro' and Paolo Veneziano," in *Encountering the Renaissance*, edited by M. BOURNE AND V. COONIN (New Jersey 2016), 259–278; H.R. HAHNLOSER AND R. POLACCO, ed., *La Pala d'Oro* (Venice 1994).

[53] This mechanism is illustrated in F. FORLATI, *La basilica di San Marco attraverso i suoi restauri* (Trieste 1975), 88–89, figs. 15–17. It remained in place until sometime after 1835.

[54] The balustrades can be seen in the Visentini drawings reproduced as engravings in Zatta, *Augusta*, 22, Tav. IX between pages 20 and 21 with "BB" indicating "Li balaustri ossia ringhiera," Tav. XI, between pages 42 and 43, together with the Annunciation statues, and behind them the bronze canopy over the apse altar which was later removed, for which see HAHNLOSER, *Pala d'Oro*, 82. D. PINCUS, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (New York and Cambridge, England 2000), 132. M. DA VILLA URBANI, "*L'Annunciazione* dietro il ciborio e la *Madonna di Marzo*," *Quaderni della Procuratoria* (2015): 32–38, reproducing on page 36 the drawing by Antonio Pellanda of the movement mechanism.

[55] E.84-1940 recto (Talman catalogue, s.v. Andrea Del Grosso, Donata Devoti). E.209-1940 verso, Altare del Sacramento, lampada, confessionale.

[56] LAZZARINI, "Le pietre," 316, n. 13.

[57] For the two 1527 candelabri by Maffeo Olivieri, now in the Mascoli chapel, see D. CATTOI, "Maffeo Olivieri," in *Rinascimento e passione per l'Antico: Andrea Riccio e il suo tempo*, edited by A. BACCHI AND L. GIACOMELLI (Trento 2008), cat. 82, 410–415. Drawing by Johann Adolph Gaap (1667–1724), attribuited, May 1715, Wormsley, Bucks., Wormsley Library, "Pontificalia Insignia Auguralia Sacralia et Sacerdotalia," vol. II, n. 126, Candelabro.

[58] BOUCHER, *The Sculpture*, vol. II, 331–332. L. HAMLETT, "The Sacristy of San Marco, Venice: Form and Function Illuminated," *Art History* 32/3 (2009): 458–484, 653–654. M. BERGAMO, "San Teodoro o della cupola perduta. Il progetto di Giorgio Spavento per la cappella della sagrestia di San Marco in Venezia," *Annali di architettura* 25 (2013): 29–46.

[59] E.200-1940 recto, Cappa del piviale di Persia. Wormsley, Bucks., Wormsley Library, "Pontificalia Insignia Auguralia Sacralia et Sacerdotalia," vol. I, n. 29, Asterisco; Coperta d'evangeliario, vol. I, n. 36; vol. I, n. 28, Pastorale (by Giuseppe Grisoni), San Pietro in trono investe San Marco inginocchiato.

[60] E.210-1940 verso, Acquasantiera, capitello, lampada, particolare di pastorale.

[61] E.208-1940 verso, Ambone, doppio pulpiti. G. LORENZONI, "Le vie del porfido a Venezia: gli amboni di San Marco," in *Le vie del Medioevo*, edited by A.C. QUINTAVALLE (Milan 2000), 125–130. The most useful information on the function of the double pulpit is given by STRINGA, *La Chiesa*, fols. 24r-v, regarding the "due Pulpiti, uno della destra, e l'altro dalla sinistra. Quello dalla destra è fatto in due suoli, & è sostenuto in aria da certe colonne, che vi son poste sotto. Nel primo suolo vi si canta nelle feste solenni l'Epistola alla Messa maggiore, & vi si predica da' più famosi Predicatori della Città, solamente cinque fiate all'anno alla presenza del Doge, & della Signoria: cioè ne i giorni di Natale, dell'Annonciatione della Madonna, della Domenica delle Palme, del Venerdì Santo, e della Pasqua di Resurrettione [. . .] Nel secondo suolo, ch'è coperto di bronzo in forma piramidale, & finisce in cuba, vi si canta il Vangelo."

[62] P. FORTINI BROWN, *Venice & Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven and London 1997), 2–9.

[63] S. MARCON, "La sottoconfessione di San Marco nel Settecento. I disegni della basilica di Antonio Visentini e una pianta di Giovanni Filipinni," in PELUSI AND SCARSELLA, *Humanistica Marciana*, 175–183. E. VIO, "La tomba e l'altare di San Marco. Le colonne in cripta a sostegno di quelle istoriare del ciborio," *Quaderni della Procuratoria* (2015): 39–47.

[64] A precious thurible was one of the objects Talman drew in the Treasury, for which see above.

[65] S. SAMERSKI, *La Nikopeia: immagine di culto, Palladio, mito veneziano* (Rome 2012). D. WALBERG, "The cult of the Nicopeia in seventeenth-century Venice," in B. DE MARIA AND MARY FRANK, eds., *Reflections on Renaissance Venice: A Celebration of Patricia Fortini Brown* (Milan 2012), 200–207.

[66] E.100-1940 recto (Talman catalogue, scheda Sara Damiani, Marco Collareta). See also "La Cappella di Sant'Isidoro," *Quaderni della Procuratoria* (2008).

[67] "La Madonna dalle mani forate fontana di vita," *Quaderni della Procuratoria* (2007).

[68] MORETTI, "Willaert," 40–42.

[69] B. MARX, "Venezia: altera Roma? ipotesi sull'umanesimo veneziano," *Quaderni* 10 (1974).

[70] VIO, "Turismo," 48.

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