

VENETIAN ORGAN SHUTTERS IN THE RENAISSANCE

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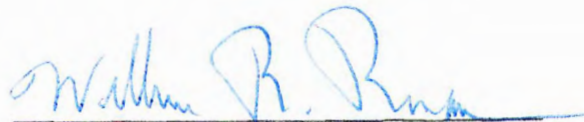
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ABSTRACT

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Organ shutters, used in large organs for acoustical and aesthetic reasons, offer a two-fold interest to the art historian: iconography and style.

Iconographically, many organ shutters in all periods displayed the Annunciation when closed. Images of the saints might be on the exterior or interior of the organ shutters; and the iconography evolved from simple devotional images of patron saints in ca. 1450, through narrative, historical images of patron saints in ca. 1520, to complicated combinations of themes from the Old and the New Testament in the entire sixteenth century.

Stylistically, organ-shutter painters tried, from the very beginning, to break down the barrier between the pictorial plane of the organ shutters and the real space of the spectator; accordingly, two kinds of perspectival devices were used: the dal-sotto-in-su was usually used for the exterior, the eye-level for the interior. Therefore, organ-shutter paintings are more than mere reflections of the contemporary artistic trends; a separate tradition evolved for organ-shutter perspectives. However, two styles -- Manerism and Classicism -- coexisted and rivalled each other, not unlike what was happening

concurrently in frescoes or in easel paintings. These two styles achieved their apogee simultaneously in organ-shutter painting between 1550 and 1570. In these years Mannerism was represented by Jacopo Tintoretto, and Classicism by Paolo Veronese.

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CHAPTER ONE

ICONOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF VENETIAN ORGAN SHUTTERS IN THE QUATTROCENTO AND CINQUECENTO

1. Organ Shutters

Almost every church in Venice had at least one organ in the Quattrocento and the Cinquecento, but most of them have perished.¹ However, some of the organ shutters that originally decorated the organ cases have survived, and they are the subject of this thesis.

Most organs were enclosed in a wooden case, often the result of the combined efforts of architects, sculptors, and painters. The organ case not only enhanced the organ's tone and ornamental beauty but also kept it in harmony with the other carved wood-work of the church.² The organ case was usually constructed either of oak, mahogany, walnut, or pine, but in one unusual instance -- in the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford -- the choir loft and organ case is made of stone.³ A good organ case should enhance the tone of the instrument by acting as a radiating surface, but a badly designed case might prevent the egress of sound.⁴ Before the middle of the Cinquecento, the Italian Renaissance organ case was "always distinguished by the squared outline furnished by the

entablature and side columns which enclose the pipes".⁵

Organ shutters are a pair of panels enriched with paintings and attached to the organ case by hinges. Organ shutters were originally made to protect the instrument from dirt when the organ was not in use, but for aesthetic reasons, organ shutters were decorated on the exterior and the interior. Accordingly, organ shutters later took on both an aesthetic function as well as the practical one they were originally assigned. Because of the prominent position the organ occupied, subjects represented on the organ shutters were originally related to the church's patron saints. However, with the passage of time, subjects multiplied. The purpose of this thesis is to study such iconographical and stylistic developments of organ shutters in the Veneto during the Renaissance.

It is possible that the practice of using decorated shutters on organs in Italy was influenced by wings of altarpieces, especially Netherlandish altars. The organ shutters of the now-demolished Santa Maria della Verigini, Venice, had painted panels surrounded by a narrow framework carved in the panels themselves, so that the panel was one piece with its frame,⁶ a standard practice in Northern fifteenth-century altarpieces. Also, the grisaille figures on the organ shutters of San Giacomo dell'Orio, Venice,⁷ reflected a tradition of grisaille figures on the wings of altarpieces started by the Master of Flemalle's Betrothal of the Virgin in the Prado, Madrid, of ca.1415-20.⁸

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Ghent Altarpiece panels showing the Annunciation on the exterior and groups of musical angels on the interior were originally intended by Hubert van Eyck to form the shutters for an organ and that they were salvaged by Jan to be fitted into the Ghent Altarpiece.⁹ Another connection between the Ghent Altarpiece and the organ shutters of Santa Maria della Vergini, Venice, is the representation of Adam and Eve.¹⁰ Iconographically, Adam and Eve, prefiguring Christ and the Virgin, were never to be seen as saintly figures, except, for "a few examples of a popular nature which were painted under the influence of the Ghent retable".¹¹ Although this evidence is not substantially sufficient, the assumption of a close kinship between organ shutters and wings of altarpiece in the early years of the Quattrocento is justifiable.

2. Quattrocento

When we follow, in chronological order, the subjects depicted on organ shutters, we get a clear idea of the general trends of iconographical development. During the early years, around 1450, organ shutters represented only the patron saint(s) of a particular church; for example, the earliest known Venetian organ shutters, executed by Giovanni d'Almagna and his brother-in-law Antonio Vivarini da Murano for San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, in 1445, pictured St. George and St. Stephen, patron saints of this church.¹²

Though we have no exact date for the organ shutters for San Michele in Padua, painted by Lazzaro Bastiani, this artist is known to have moved to Venice from Padua some time after Mantegna retired to Mantua in 1460.¹³ Hence, he most likely executed the organ shutters for San Michele before the 1460s. Only one panel, representing on one side the Archangel Gabriel and the Archangel Michael on the other, still exists, and, judging from later extant shutters, they must have made up the left shutter. The Michael panel represents the archangel trampling Lucifer under his feet, and bears a forged inscription: "Jacobus de Neritus discipulus Gentili de Fabriano".¹⁴ The Gabriel is half of the first Annunciation on organ shutters we have come across in this study; the Angel Annunciate and the Virgin Annunciate either on the exterior or the interior of shutters would become the most popular subject on organ shutters from this time on.

Following this tradition of representing the Annunciation are the organ shutters of Sant'Elena in Isola, Venice, painted by a certain "Zoan di Spagna" between 1494 and 1499, picturing the Annunciation on the exterior, St. Helen and St. Benedict on the interior.¹⁵ No further information can be found about this "Zoan di Spagna". However, Pompeo Molmenti and Gustav Ludwig mentioned that an Annunciation from Sant'Elena in Isola was in the store-room of the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice, and that it is by Lazzaro Bastiani.¹⁶ Therefore, this "Zoan di Spagna" is probably identical with Lazzaro Bastiani.

It was not until ca. 1464, when the new organ of the right choir of San Marco, Venice, was built by Bernardo d'Alemagna,¹⁷ that the earliest extant complete organ shutters were executed; Gentile Bellini depicted St. Mark (Fig. 1) and St. Theodore (Fig. 2) on the exterior and the Pentitence of St. Jerome (Fig. 3) and St. Francis Receiving Stigmata (Fig. 4) on the interior.¹⁸ They are not only the earliest complete Venetian organ shutters in existence, but are also considered the artist's earliest extant work.¹⁹ So far as we know, Gentile Bellini's first public commission was to paint these large organ shutters for the new organs of the Basilica of San Marco.²⁰ Subjects of these shutters followed the trend of representing patron saints. St. Theodore was the Patron of Venice until St. Mark became her tutelary saint in the ninth century, whereas St. Jerome, whose legend originated in Venice, was especially favored there at this period.²¹

Still in the tradition of representing patron saints is a pair of organ shutters, also attributed to Gentile Bellini, but formerly attributed to Vittore Carpaccio, that represents St. Jerome (Fig. 5) and St. John the Baptist (Fig. 6). They are on the exterior of the organ shutters made for the Duomo at Traù in about 1470.²² We have no information on the subjects of the other side.

M. Boschini in Ritratto di Venezia mentioned the organ shutters of San Moisè, which he said were done in the manner of

Alvise Vivari.²³ On the exterior of the shutters are St. George (?) and St. Moses,²⁴ while on the interior side of the pair is the Annunciation -- the Angel Annunciate and the Virgin Annunciate.²⁵ As the peak period of Alvise's activity is between 1476 and 1480,²⁶ it is justifiable to put these shutters within this period. This is the first complete pair of shutters showing the Annunciation that we come across. From this time on, the convention of picturing saints was combined with the practice of representing the Annunciation, a tradition that would last throughout the period discussed in this thesis.

Following the practice of combining the Annunciation with saints is a single organ shutter,²⁷ which is mentioned in a discription of the now-demolished church of San Basilio, Venice.²⁸ The Archangel Gabriel is represented on the outside, while an Evangelist is on the inside. It is attributed to the so-called Pseudo-Boccaccino,²⁹ but Zanetti recorded it as by Alvise Vivarini.³⁰ There is no further information on these shutters, hence, the authorship cannot be determined by the author of this thesis.

Although the theme of the Annunciation had appeared, representation of patron saints alone was still welcomed. At the church of San Bernardino, Verona, organ shutters, dated 1481, represent two angels sitting on the simulated pediment and playing musical instruments above St. Bernardino (Fig.7) and St. Francis Receiving Stigmata (Fig.8) on the outside; on the

inside were St. Louis and St. Bonaventura,³¹ all Franciscan saints.³² These organ shutters have been attributed variously to Giolfino, Liberale, or Domenico Morone, but recent investigation attributes the authorship to Domenico Morone.³³

During the 1480s, subjects other than the Annunciation and saints make their appearance. A right organ shutter from Santa Maria della Scala, Verona, pictures the Adoration of the Magi (Fig.9) on the exterior and St. Peter on the interior.³⁴ Although the left shutter is lost, the subject of the inside was almost certainly a saint, but the subject of the exterior is unknown to us.²⁶ Nevertheless, judging from later conventional practice, it might have been the Nativity. Painted by Liberale da Verona between 1480 and 87,³⁵ this is the first Adoration of the Magi we know of, but, along with the Annunciation and saints, the theme became popular from that time on.

The proliferation of themes accelerated at the close of the 1480s. When the Cremonese Francesco Tacconi arrived in Venice in 1489, he received the commission to paint the organ shutters for the right organ at San Marco, which was built by Urbano da Venezia, a native of Vienna. Tacconi pictured the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi on the exterior, while the Resurrection and the Ascension are on the interior.³⁶ Of these subjects the Nativity, the Resurrection, and the Ascension made their first appearance on the organ shutter, and, with them, the life of Christ began to be represented on the organ shutters -- though not very often.

Approximately twenty years after its first appearance at San Moisè and San Basilio, the Annunciation made its appearance again, in 1492, in Cima da Conegliano's organ shutters for San Francisco, Conegliano. These shutters belonged to the tradition of combining the Annunciation with patron saints, representing St. John the Baptist (Fig. 10) and St. Thaddeus (Fig. 11) on the inside, and the Annunciation (Figs. 12, 13) on the outside, the first example of the Annunciation combined with one of the Evangelists.³⁷ A record mentioned that "Giovan Battista da Conegliano" executed a set of organ shutters for the now-demolished San Giovanni Battista on the Giudecca in Venice, picturing the Annunciation on the inside, St. John the Baptist and St. Matthew on the outside.³⁸

While the custom of picturing the Annunciation and patron saints was still in vogue, two unusual subjects appeared on the organ shutters of the now-demolished Santa Maria della Vergini, Venice, done by Lazzaro Bastiani's bottega, probably around the end of this century. They picture Adam and Eve Beside the Tree of Paradise (Fig. 14) on the interior and King David and the Shulamite Beside the Tree of the Church (Fig. 15) on the exterior;³⁹ these two extraordinary subjects had never been seen before and Adam and Eve recurred only at the end of the Cinquecento on the organ shutters of San Maria dei Serivi.

Also belonging to the end of this century are the organ shutters painted by Niccolò Rondinelli for San Dominico,

Ravenna, picturing the Annunciation on the exterior, Dominic and Peter Martyr on the interior.⁴⁰ In his late years, Rondinelli painted another pair of organ shutters, also picturing the Annunciation.⁴¹

It is known that Cristoforo Caselli da Parma (called Temperello) painted the organ shutters for Santa Maria del Carmelo, Venice, also picturing the Annunciation on the exterior, and St. Elijah and St. Albert on the interior.⁴²

When the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Venice, was completed in 1489 by Pietro Lombardo,⁴³ its organ shutters were painted by Giovanni Bellini, however the authorship has been disputed.⁴⁴ Following the current trend, the outsides of the shutters represent the Annunciation (Figs.16,17), while the insides represent St. Peter (Fig.18) and St. Mark, of which the St. Mark is lost.

Also belonging to the end of this century are the organ shutters of San Luca, Venice, painted by Vincenzo Catena, representing the Annunciation on the inner panel, St. Mark and Andrew on the outer.⁴⁵

We have attested that the predominant subjects within the last decades of the Quattrocento was the joint representations of the Annunciation and patron saints, while other subjects were adapted occasionally.

3. The first half of the Cinquecento

Although the trend of combining the Annunciation and patron saints became a vogue at the end of the fifteenth century, during the first twenty years of the sixteenth century traditional representation of patron saints as devotional effigies dominated organ shutter iconography. Between 1507 and 1509 Sebastiano del Piombo executed the organ shutters for San Bartolomeo a Rialto, Venice, picturing on the exterior St. Bartolomew (Fig.19) to the left and St. Sebastian (Fig.20) to the right,⁴⁶ on the interior St. Louis of Toulouse (Fig.21) to the left and St. Sinibald (Fig.22) to the right.

After the church of San Giovanni Crisostomo was destroyed in 1475, it was reconstructed by Mauro Codussi between 1497 and 1504.⁴⁷ Therefore, we can date its organ after 1504, and put it around 1510, judging from other works at this church.⁴⁸ On the outside of the organ shutters are St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome, while St. Agatha and St. Andrew are on the inside.⁴⁹ The authorship of these shutters was once attributed to Alvise Vivarini,⁵⁰ or Santa Croce.⁵¹ But they are now generally agreed to be by Giovanni Mansueti.⁵²

It is recorded that Gieronimo de Priuli painted the inner side of the organ shutters for San Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice.⁵³ But there is no record of what the subjects were, nor do we know whether Gieronimo de Priuli also painted the exterior or what the exterior subjects were. However, we

have the record that this church was burned down in 1513.⁵⁴ Accordingly, these organ shutters must have been painted before 1513. The new organ shutters of this church, painted by Francesco Vecellio, will be discussed later on.

Commissioned by Pope Julius II and completed during the pontificate of Leo X, 1513-4, Antonio da Faenza (called Domenichi) executed his best known work, the organ shutters for the Basilica della Sanata Casa at Loreto, depicting the Annunciation with Isaiah and Luke (Fig.23) on the exterior,⁵⁵ but the subjects of the interior are unknown to us.

In 1515 Francesco Morone and Girolamo dai Libri signed a contract, with which they agreed to paint the organ shutters for the monastery of Santa Maria in Organo, Verona. Following the contemporary trend, the exterior of the organ shutters pictured St. Benedict and St. John the Baptist (Fig.24), by Francesco Morone, as well as St. Catherine and St. Dorothy (Fig.25) by Girolamo dai Libri; however, the inside of the shutters pictured the Adoration (Fig.27), by Girolamo dai Libri, and Daniel and Isaiah (Fig.26), by Morone.⁵⁶

In 1516 Floriano Ferramola contracted to paint the organ shutters for the Chiesa dei Santi Faustino e Giovita of the old Duomo of Brescia. Moretto assisted him in 1518 in the execution of the inside of these shutters. They pictured the Annunciation on the outside and St. Faustinus (Fig.29a) and

St. Giovita (Fig.29b) on the inside⁵⁷ -- a continuation of the fifteenth-century tradition to combine the Annunciation with patron saints(See also Fig.28).

Between 1519 and 1521 Pellegrino da San Daniele (otherwise known as Martino Udine) painted the organ shutters for the Duomo of Udine, picturing Hermagoras Being Consecrated as Bishop by St. Peter (Fig.30) on the exterior, and on the inside he depicted St. Augustine and St. Ambrose (Fig.32) to the right, St. Jerome and St. Gregory (Fig.31) to the left.⁵⁸

Such a combination of the Annunciation and saints can also be seen in the organ shutters of San Bartolomeo, Vicenza, executed by Bartolomeo Montagna in collaboration with Giovanni Speranza, picturing St. Augustine to the right and St. Bartholomew to the left, while Speranza was responsible for the outside, representing the Annunciation (Fig.33a,b)⁵⁹. The date of execution was probably between 1510 and 1523.⁶⁰

From the end of the second decade of the sixteenth century, themes for organ shutters multiplied. Montagna was also known to paint another pair of organ shutters, commissioned by the Chiericati family, for the chapter house of San Giacomo, Vicenza, picturing The Blessed Albertus Magnus with the Virgin Speaking to Him and St. Thomas Aquinas Kneeling in Adoration of the Crucified Savior⁶¹ -- the first instances from the lives of saints, though we only learn by titles.

Although only one of Vittore Carpaccio's organ shutters for the Duomo of Capo d'Istria of 1523 -- his last dated work -- still survives, its subjects are quite extraordinary -- the Presentation in the Temple (Fig.34) on the exterior and the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig.35) on the interior.⁶² The former theme was repeated later only for the organ of San Sebastiano by Veronese nearly half a century later, while the latter theme is the only instance within the scope of this thesis -- a very incongruous theme for a musical instrument.⁶³

In the spring of 1524 Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone took up his abode near the castle of Spilimberg and painted the organ shutters for the Duomo of Spilimbergo, Udine, picturing the Assumption of the Virgin (Fig.36) on the outside, the Conversion of St. Paul (Fig.38) and the Fall of Simon Magus (Fig.37) on the inside.⁶⁴ This Assumption is the first instance in which the Virgin Mary was depicted on an organ shutter other than in the Annunciation. As to the subjects of the inner panels, though saints have been recognized as the favored subjects from the very beginning of this thesis, they were represented mainly as devotional figures, images with attributes but telling no story -- with the exceptions of Gentile Bellini's and Domenico Morone's St. Francis Receiving Stigmata and Gentile Bellini's St. Jerome in Penitence--; it was only in the last organ shutters by Montagna that we meet historical scenes -- scenes representing action from the lives of the saints, and scenes of this sort became popular in the following

years.⁶⁵ The Conversion and the Fall are the earliest examples of such themes.

During the transitional period from representing saints as devotional figures to historical ones, the organ shutters of the Duomo of Asola comprise these trends simultaneously. Executed between 1524 and 1526 by Romanino, the outside pictured St. Andrew (Fig. 39) and St. Erasmus (Fig. 40), while the inside The Virgin appears to Augustine (Fig. 42a) as well as the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 42b). The former ones, following the old tradition, picture the saints as devotional figures, whereas the latter ones picture scenes from the saints' legends.⁶⁶ (See also Fig. 41)

Although the authorship has been doubted,⁶⁷ traditionally yet erroneously, Sebastiano del Piombo is said to have painted the organ shutters for the church at Cavazzano in 1525, when he was on his way to Rome; he pictured on the exterior the Visitation with Joseph and Zacharias, and on the interior St. Paul and St. Peter.⁶⁸ Following a particular practice of sixteenth-century Venetian painting,⁶⁹ the visit of the Virgin Mary to her cousin Elizabeth, which took place after the Annunciation, was accompanied by Zacharias and Joseph -- the third event from Mary's life to be presented on organ shutters.

Probably belonging to Francesco Morone's last decade, about 1520, are the organ shutters painted for Santa Chiara at Verona, picturing St. Sebastian, St. Paul, St. Anthony the

Abbot and St. Roch on the outside, St. Bernardino of Siena and a Praying Figure and St. Clare and Two Praying Figures inside.⁷⁰ These are the first examples of saints accompanied by patrons.

Scenes from the lives of the saints appeared once again in Moretto's organ shutters for San Pietro in Oliveto, Brescia, representing Sts. Peter and Paul Kneeling and Supporting the Temple (Fig.43) on the outside, the Flight of Simon Magus (Fig. 44) and the Fall of Simon Magus (Fig.45) on the inside, datable between 1525 and 1530.⁷¹ We have seen the themes of the Flight and Fall in the organ shutters of the Duomo of Spilimbergo by Pordenone.

Belonging to this tradition of representing saints combined with other themes were the organ shutters of San Michele in Isola, Murano, painted by Giovanni da Asola (Brescia) in 1526. On the exterior Benedict Enthroned with Two Monks (Fig.46) is to the left and Doge Pietro Orseolo Before St. Romualdus (Fig.47) to the right, while on the inside are the Assumption (Fig.49) and Michael Hurling Satan Down to the Hell (Fig.48); the latter shutter was done in cooperation with Bernardino, son of Giovanni da Asola.⁷²

Probably in the 1520s and 1530s Paolo Zoppo, the miniature painter, painted the organ shutters for SS. Nazaro e Celso of Brescia, picturing the Annunciation and the Martyrdoms of SS. Nazaro and Celso,⁷³ the first instance we have depicting

the martyrdoms of saints, though scenes from the lives of saints had been depicted. The Annunciation pair graces the outside.

Though various new themes appeared, the traditional combination of the Annunciation with devotional patron saints was not totally discarded. Calisto da Lodi (called Calisto Piazza), active in Brescia between 1524 and 1529, was known to have executed a set of organ shutters for San Clemente, Brescia, of which only the outside panels are extant, picturing the Annunciation (Figs.50, 51).⁷⁴ Also in this period, approximately about 1527, Calisto Piazza painted the organ shutters for the Parish church of Esine (Val Camonica), picturing the Annunciation (Figs.52, 53) on the outside, St. Peter (Fig.55) and St. Paul (Fig.54) inside.⁷⁵

Records show that Giovanni Martino, in 1531, painted two organ shutters for S. Vito of Inchiaraio. Unfortunately, the subjects are unknown to us.⁷⁶

It is known that Francesco Pagani da Milano painted the organ shutters for the Duomo di Serravalle of Vittorio Veneto between 1528 and 1532, picturing the Annunciation on the inside, St. Agatha, St. Andrew, St. Peter, and St. Catherine (Fig.56) on the outside,⁷⁷ which still followed the old tradition of combining the Annunciation with devotional saints.

Forty years after the first appearance of the Resurrec-

tion on the organ shutters of San Marco, Francesco Vecellio, between 1530 and 1535, painted the organ shutters for San Salvatore, Venice, picturing the Transfiguration (Fig.57) and the Resurrection (Fig.58) on the exterior, and St. Theodore (Fig.60) and St. Augustine Giving Holy Communion (Fig.59) on the interior.⁷⁸ Of these, the Transfiguration is the first instance of this theme.

After San Giovanni Elemosinario was rebuilt, its new organ shutters were painted, probably in the 1520s and 1530s, by Francesco Vecellio (replacing the first ones painted by Gieronimo da Priuli), picturing A Priest with Doge Crimani on the outside, St. Giovanni Elemosinario on the inside.⁷⁹ Though we have no information on the subjects of the old shutters, it is highly possible that the subjects of these shutters echoed those of the old organ shutters, since they followed the old tradition of representing saints as devotional figures.

In 1526 Pordenone painted organ shutters for the parish church of Venzona, this labor lasted into 1527. The subjects are novel ones, picturing the Marriage of the Virgin (Fig.61) the Adoration of the Magi, and the Circumcision (Fig.62). These shutters are lost, but fortunately, we still have the engravings after the originals.⁸⁰ Also in 1526 Pordenone was recorded to have painted the organ shutters for San Pietro Martire of Udine, but the subjects are unknown to us.⁸¹

In 1535 Pordenone was commissioned to paint organ

shutters for the church of Santo Corpo di Cristo, San Martino di Valvasone, picturing the Gathering of Manna (Fig.63) on the outside, the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig.64) to the left and the Offering of Melchisedek (Fig.65) to the right on the inside. He worked on them in July of 1536, but they were finished by Pomponio Amalteo in 1549.⁸² Until this time no scene from the Old Testament had been represented on organ shutters, but from this time on scenes from the Old Testament began to be depicted.

Following the old tradition of combining the Annunciation with patron saints, Andrea Schiavone painted the organ shutters for San Pietro of Belluno, picturing the Annunciation (Figs.66, 67) on the exterior, St. Peter (Fig.68) and St. Paul (Fig.69) on the interior.⁸³ He is also known to have painted two monochrome effigies for the organ shutters of San Giacomo dell'Orto, Venice. Following his earlier practice of depicting scenes from the Old Testament, he pictured David and Samson,⁸⁴ probably in the decade of the 1540s.⁸⁵

Following the conventional practice of representing scenes from the lives of the saints, Gerolamo Romanino, in 1540, painted the St. George cycle for the organ shutters of San Giorgio Maggiore in Braida, Verona, which comprised the Torture of St. George on the Wheel (Fig.71) and the Torture of St. George in Boiling Oil (Fig.72) on the inside, St. George before the King (Fig.70) on the outside.⁸⁶ It seems that

martyrdoms of saints gradually came into vogue at this time.⁸⁷ Also, this is the first instance of organ shutters that represents only a patron saint.

Between 1539 and 1541 Romanino painted organ shutters for the new Duomo at Brescia, picturing the Birth of the Virgin (Fig.75) and the Visitation (Fig.74) on the inside, the Marriage of the Virgin (Fig.73) outside,⁸⁸ which replaced the old organ shutters by Ferramola and Moretto. The Birth of the Virgin is a new theme from the life of the Virgin Mary.

Probably also in about 1540, Romanino painted a set of organ shutters for Santi Nazaro e Celso, Brescia, of which only the outside, the Adoration of the Magi (Figs.76, 77), are extant. We have no knowledge of the subjects of the inside of the shutters.⁸⁹ However, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, two saints then displayed in this very church had been parts of the organ shutters by Moretto,⁹⁰ but their identifications are not given.

Probably also belong to this period are the organ shutters of San Giovanni Evangelista, by Moretto, picturing on the outside St. John the Evangelist (Fig.78) and St. John the Baptist (Fig.79); on the inside, the Parting of St. John the Baptist from Zachariah (Fig.80) to the right and St. John Preaching in the Desert (Fig.81) to the left.⁹¹

Bonifazio Veronese is known to have painted, before

1547, the organ shutters for Sant'Alvise, Venice, picturing St. Luigi and St. Augustine on the outside, the Annunciation on the inside,⁹² a continuation of the old tradition of combining the Annunciation and devotional patron saints.

Also in this tradition are the organ shutters of Santa Maria del Rosario, erroneously attributed to Titian, picturing the Annunciation on the inside, the Presentation of Habit and Pope Urbano V on the outside. The date of execution was sometime before 1547.⁹³

Following the old tradition of combining the Annunciation with patron saints, Jacopo Tintoretto painted organ shutters for the now-demolished Santa Maria dei Serviti, Venice, representing St. Augustine and St. Paul on the outside, the Annunciation on the inside.⁹⁴ But we have no information about the date of its execution except that Ridolfi mentioned that these organ shutters had been painted before 1546.⁹⁵ Tintoretto was also known to paint organ shutters for Isola Santa Maria della Grazia, Venice,⁹⁶ but the date and subjects are unknown to us. Tintoretto is also known to have painted organ shutters for San Benedetto, Venice, representing the Annunciation (Figs. 82, 83) and Christ and the Woman of Samaritan.⁹⁷

4. The second half of the Cinquecento

The tendency to multiply the themes represented on

organ shutters in the first half of the sixteenth century did not slow down in the second half of the century. However, the traditional combination of the Annunciation with patron saints persisted.

Between 1552 and 1556 Jacopo Tintoretto painted organ shutters for Madonna dell'Orto, Venice, picturing the Presentation in the Temple (Fig.84) on the exterior, thirty years after its first appearance on the organ shutters of the Duomo of Capo d'Istria in 1523; whereas the Martyrdom of Christopher (Fig.86) and the Vision of St. Peter (Fig.85) on the inside, continues the practice of depicting scenes from the lives of the saints.⁹⁸

Around this time, from 1552 to 1557, Tintoretto also painted organ shutters for Santa Maria del Giglio (Zobenigo), Venice, picturing the Madonna and Child on the exterior, and on the inside, Evangelists John and Mark (Fig.87) to the left and Evangelists Luke and Matthew (Fig.88) to the right.⁹⁹ This is the only example of the Madonna and Child depicted on an organ shutter we have found throughout this thesis.

Probably belonging to 1550 are the organ shutters of San Geremia, Venice, painted by Polidoro da Lanciano, picturing the Annunciation on the interior, Sts. Geremia and Magno on the exterior.¹⁰⁰ This also belongs to the tradition of combining the Annunciation with patron saints.

Between 1552 and 1553 Domenico Campagnola painted the organ shutters for San Giovanni di Verdara, Padua, picturing the Banquet of Herod on the exterior, the Preaching and the Beheading of the Baptist (Figs.89, 90) on the inside.¹⁰¹

Between 1553 and 1555 Pomponio Amalteo painted the organ shutters for the Cappella della SS. Trinità of the Duomo Udine, representing Christ Driving the Money-changers from the Temple (Fig.91, 92) on the outside, the Pool of Bethesda (Fig.93) and the Raising of Lazarus (Fig.94) on the inside.¹⁰² These were all novel themes, and, except for the Pool of Bethesda, would never be depicted again.

After receiving the commission in 1558, Amalteo engaged in the painting of the organ shutters for the Duomo of San Vito al Tagliamento (Udine) until 1565. On the exterior he represented the Washing of the Apostles' Feet (Figs.95, 96), on the interior the Magdalen (Fig.97) and the Samaritan Woman (Fig.98). Of these, only the Samaritan Woman had been depicted by Tintoretto, and they would not be pictured any more.

Around 1558 Giambattista Zelotti painted the organ shutters for the now-demolished church of the Misericordia, Padua, of which only the outside panels, picturing the Annunciation (Figs.99,100) are extant.¹⁰⁴ Judging from the old tradition of combining the Annunciation with patron saints, the inner shutters might have depicted saints.

Between 1558 and 1560 Paōlo Veronese painted an important pair of organ shutters for San Sebastiano, Venice, representing the Presentation of Christ (Fig.101) on the exterior, the Pool of Bethesda (Figs.102,103) on the interior.¹⁰⁵ These themes had been depicted earlier in this decade(Cf.Fig.103a).

Though many new themes appeared in this time, the oldest tradition of representing saints as devotional effigies still persisted. In 1561 Veronese painted the organ shutters for San Geminiano, Venice, picturing St. Geminianus and St. Severus (Fig.104) on the exterior, St. John the Baptist (Fig. 105) and St. Mennas (Fig.106) on the interior.¹⁰⁶

In about 1560, Gualtiero Padovano painted a set of organ shutters for the parish church of Schio, of which only the exterior are extant, picturing the Martyrdom of St. Paul (Fig.107) to the left, the Martyrdom of St. Peter (Fig.108) to the right.¹⁰⁷

Other familiar subjects can be seen in the organ shutters of the Duomo of Oderzo, painted by Pomponio Amalteo, representing the Tranfiguration (Fig.109) on the outside shutters, the Nativity (Fig.110) and the Resurrection (Fig.111) on the inside.¹⁰⁸

After the organ shutters of San Martino di Valvasone, scenes from the Old Testament appeared again in the organ

shutters of Santa Maria of Praglia, painted by Giambattista Zelotti between 1559 and 1564, representing Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law (Figs.112, 113) on the outside, David Playing the Harp (Fig.115) and Saul (Fig.114) on the inside.¹⁰⁹

It is known that there were organ shutters at San Cassiano, Venice, painted by Jacopo Tintoretto and carrying the date of 1565, but the subjects are unknown to us.¹¹⁰

Probably in the late 1560s Paolo Veronese painted the organ shutters for the new San Giacomo at Murano. On the exterior he represented the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine, on the interior St. James (Fig.116) and St. Augustine (Fig.117)¹¹¹ These subjects belong to the conventional practice of picturing scenes from the lives of saints, among whom the richly dressed Catherine was especially popular in sixteenth-century Venetian painting.¹¹²

Probably in 1570 Paolo Veronese painted the organ shutters for San Antonio, Torcello, representing the Annunciation (Fig.119) on the inner sides of the shutters, the Adoration of the Magi (Fig.118) on the outer.¹¹³ It is the first and the last combination of the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi on organ shutters within the period covered by this thesis. Also probably around this time Veronese left to us a fragment of a pair of organ shutters -- the head of an angel.¹¹⁴ According to Dr. Rearick, it is from one of a pair of the

Annunciation, but we have no idea of its origin (Fig.120).

Sometime before 1573 Salviati (Giuseppe Porta) painted the organ shutters for Santa Spirito in Isola, depicting David and Goliath on the outside, Saul Throwing a Spear at David (Figs.121,122) on the inside,¹¹⁵ novel subjects from the Old Testament.

Between 1575 and 1577 Giovanni Battista Grassi da Udine painted the organ shutters for the old Duomo of Gemona (Udine), representing the Death and Assumption of the Virgin on the exterior, the Vision of Ezekiel, and Elijah Carried up to Heaven on the interior.¹¹⁶ Though the Assumption of the Virgin had been depicted earlier, on the organ shutters of the Duomo of Spilimbergo, Udine, the Death of the Virgin is a new subject, and juxtaposed with the Death and Assumption of the Virgin the pair presents a sequence of scenes on one side of the shutters. The representation of the two prophets still belongs to the conventional practice of picturing scenes from the lives of the saints.

Jacopo Tintoretto, between 1577 and 1586, painted the organ shutters for San Rocco, Venice, representing St. Roch before the Pope and the Annunciation (Figs.123, 124) in the tradition of combining saints and the Annunciation.¹¹⁷

Probably also in the 1580s Paolo Veronese painted a

pair of the Annunciation (Figs. 125, 126) on the organ shutters of unknown location.¹¹⁸ We do not have further information on the subjects of the other side of the shutters. However, judging from the tradition of combining the Annunciation with patron saints, they might be representation of saints.

Between 1585 and early 1586 Veronese and Benedetto Caliari painted the organ shutters for Ognissanti, Venice. The outside of the shutters, by Veronese, represented the Adoration of the Magi (Fig.127), while on inside were Sts. Ambrose and Augustine (Fig.129) to the right and Sts. Gregory and Jerome (Fig.128) to the left, painted by Benedetto Caliari.¹¹⁹ We have not met such a combination of the Adoration with patron saints since the organ shutters of Santa Maria della Scala, Verona, a century earlier.

Probably in the late 1580s, more likely, the early 90s, Carletto Caliari painted the organ shutters for the parish church of San Nicolò dei Mendicoli, Venice, on which he represented the Consecration of St. Nicholas (Fig.130) on the outside, the Resurrection of Lazarus (Fig.131) inside,¹²¹ following the tradition of representing patron saints.

Probably in 1580s Felice Rizzo (called Brusasorzi) painted the organ shutters for Madonna di Campagna, Verona, representing on the outside St. Zeno and St. Peter (Fig.132) to the left, St. Cecilia and St. Dorothea (Fig.133) to the

right, and on the inside the Annunciation (Figs. 134, 135),¹²¹ following the tradition of combining the Annunciation and patron saints.

After 1575, probably in 1590s, Aliense painted organ shutters for Santi Apostoli, Venice, representing the Plague of Snakes on the exterior, the Murder of Cain, and the Sacrifice of Abraham on the inside,¹²² scenes from the Old Testament that had not previously appeared on organ shutters.

Also probably in 1580s Paolo Piazza da Castelfranco Veneto painted the organ shutters for San Paolo, Venice, in which he represented the Decollation of St. Paul on the outside of the shutters, the Annunciation on the inside.¹²³

It is also recorded that Paolo Piazza represented the Martyrdom of St. Agata and Two Saints for the now-demolished church of Sant'Ubaldo (called San Boldo). They are lost.¹²⁴

Also probably in the 1580s Alvise de Friso painted the organ shutters for Santa'Apollinare (called Sant'Aponal), on which he represented the Madonna in the Wilderness on the exterior, Sts. Apollinare and Lorenzo on the interior.¹²⁵

In 1595 Jacopo Palma il Giovane painted the organ shutters for San Zaccaria, Venice, on which he represented the Triumph of David (Fig. 136) on the outside, Sts. Zaccaria and Ruggero on the inside.¹²⁶ This is the first Triumph of

David we come across.

Also belonging to the end of the sixteenth century are the organ shutters for Santa Sofia, Venice. The exterior of the shutters represents the Adoration of the Magi, while the interior depicts St. John (Fig.138) and St. Mark (Fig.137).¹²⁷ Such a combination of subjects recurred at the end of the sixteenth century. Palma il Giovane also painted the organ shutters for Santa Lucia, Venice, on which he represented the Annunciation on the exterior of the shutters, Sts. Augustine and Lucia on the interior.¹²⁸ He also painted organ shutters for Santa Maria Maggiore,¹²⁹ the chiesa della Croce,¹³⁰ and Santa Spirito, Venice.¹³¹

Also belonging to the end of this century are the organ shutters from the chapel of Luccesi at the church of S. Maria dei Servi, which were painted by Tiziano Vecellio (called Il Tizianello). On the outside he pictured Adam and Eve (Figs.139, 140), on the inside David (Fig.141) and Solomon (Fig.142). These organ shutters were executed to replace the old ones painted by Tintoretto.¹³² Particularly noticeable is the subject of the outside, Adam and Eve, which was depicted only a century earlier.

In short, early organ shutters, of about 1450, represented only the saints, but the Annunciation was added, beginning about 1460, and the combination of saints and the

Annunciation became the most frequently represented subject on organ shutters. During the 1480s the Adoration of the Magi appeared and became popular from that time on. Both the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi reflect the worship of the Virgin, which flourished from the fourteenth century on and reached its apogee in the fifteenth century after the Council of Constance (A. D. 1414).¹³³ From this decade on themes of the organ shutters proliferated greatly: themes from the New Testament, such as the Nativity, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, or figures from the Old Testament, such as Adam and Eve, David and the Shulamite, began to be added.

During the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, the traditional representation of saints again dominated organ shutter iconography. However, the traditional combination of the Annunciation and saints was revived at the end of 1510s. Also from the end of the second decade of the sixteenth century, themes for organ shutters multiplied again, and new scenes such as The Blessed Albertus Magus with the Virgin Speaking to Him, St. Thomas Aquinas Kneeling in Adoration of the Crucified Saviour, appeared.

From the 1520s on, scenes from the lives of the saints became popular, especially scenes of martyrdom, because for the Catholic Church the age of the Counter Reformation was the age of martyrdom,¹³⁴ and death appeared as a triumph, an exaltation of the spirit. Also in this decade the first ex-

ample of saints accompanied by patrons on organ shutters appeared, and other subjects, such as the Marriage of the Virgin and the Circumsion, were introduced. From 1535 on scenes from the Old Testament began to be represented, such as the Gathering of Manna, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the Sacrifice of Mechisedek.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century, the tendency to multiply the themes represented on organ shutters continued, and many biblical scenes, from both the Old and New Testament, were depicted on organ shutters for the first time.

CHAPTER TWO

STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF VENETIAN ORGAN SHUTTERS

1. Placement of the Church Organ

Before I begin to discuss the stylistic development of Venetian organ shutters from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, I would like to mention the placement of the church organ. Because the position of the organ is important in establishing the spatial relationship between the organ shutters and the spectators, it is also important to the artists' compositional decisions, especially the determination of the vanishing point.

To attain an effective result both visually and acoustically the organ should be placed at a proper height. Usually an organ placed on a gallery ten feet above the main level produces a much improved sound.¹³⁵ Sometimes the positive organ is placed in the choir or extension of the choir, or in a lateral chapel of the ambulatory, but most frequently it is placed on the rood-screen, because, from both the decorative and the acoustical point of view, the rood-screen forms an excellent pedestal for the organ.¹³⁶

Acoustically the west-end gallery is the best position for an organ in a large church. However, if the organ must be placed in the chancel, the north side is best.¹³⁷ Nevertheless,

organs can be found in various locations in the church: some are placed over the door, and very often they are against one of the piers.¹³⁸

Whatever its position in the church, the organ was always placed above the audience. Therefore, the dal-sotto-in-su was the perspectival device most frequently adopted in the organ-shutter paintings in this study. Furthermore, the barrier between the pictorial space of organ shutters and the physical space of spectators presented a challenging problem for the organ-shutter painters. Besides the iconographical and stylistic developments, treatments adopted by artists to break down the spatial barrier become the most interesting topic of this study. The following selective survey of the extant Venetian organ shutters demonstrates this.

2. The Budding Renaissance Style

Although many early organ shutters are lost, fortunately the earliest extant complete organ shutters are by such a major artist -- Gentile Bellini -- that his organ shutters for the Basilica of San Marco can be used to represent the early style of Venetian organ shutters.

On the exterior two life-sized saints face each other; St. Mark reading a book (Fig.1) and St. Theodore holding a broken spear (Fig.2). Each occupies the space immediately in front of a triumphal arch, across which hangs a garland of

fruit, on which a peacock perches;¹³⁹ the peacock above St. Mark turns its back to the spectator, while that above St. Theodore faces the spectator. On St. Theodore's side an inscription reads "BELLINI". On the podia on which these saints stand their names are inscribed as if carved in the marble. "S. MARCVS" on St. Mark's side and "S. THEODORVS" on St. Theodore's side. Such raised platforms become a stereotype whenever an architectural setting is involved.

Andrea Mantegna's influence on these two panels is ostensible; Raimond van Marle has pointed this out:

The architectural perspective of the arches which frame the two figures and the garland of fruit seem to have been borrowed from Mantegna's frescoes in the Eremitani chapel, where the figure of St. James might have inspired Gentile when he executed the patron saint of Venice. Further, the figure of St. Theodore bears a considerable resemblance also to Mantegna's St. George on the gallery of Venice, which was finished shortly before 1464.¹⁴⁰

Since Mantegna was Gentile's co-disciple in Jacopo Bellini's studio as well as Gentile's brother-in-law for close on ten years, the influence is not surprising. St. Mark and St. Theodore standing prominently in front of the arch, achieve a spatial isolation, an effect not different from that rendered by the position of Mantegna's St. James. More important in this present study is the perspectival system adopted in St. Mark and St. Theodore. When we view the panels as a whole picture, as they would appear with the organ shutters closed, the vanishing lines converge at a point right beneath the center of the podium on which these two saints stand. This dal-

sotto-in-su perspectival system was anticipated in Mantegna's St. James. However, differences are discernable between Gentile's arches and that in Mantegna's St. James Led to His Execution in the Ovetari Chapel. Although definitely a model for Gentile's, Mantegna's arch is more sumptuously decorated and archaeologically exact.

The close stylistic affinity between Mantegna and Gentile leads us to conclude that when Gentile applied Mantegna's perspectival device of fixing the vanishing point beneath the ground, he also took the position of the organ shutters into account, just as Mantegna took into account the position of his Ovetari frescoes.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, the height of the vanishing point does not necessarily reflect the actual location of the organ. In Bellini's organ shutters the podium on which the saints stand is slightly above the eye level of the spectator, which means that the organ should have been placed at the height of a person. However, church organs were usually placed much higher than that, as we have discussed before; therefore, such a dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system was a device that was followed mechanically, but not necessarily accurately, by Gentile and other artists involved in this study.

When the organ shutters are opened, we see St. Jerome in Penitence (Fig. 3) to our left,¹⁴² and St. Francis Receiving Stigmata (Fig.4) to our right. Although

they are separated by organ pipes, these two saints face each other -- a compositional stereotype adapted for the inner sides of all organ shutters. Frozen, statue-like, these two Mantegnesque figures show, nevertheless, that Gentile was already on the way to a personal style. Judging from style, St. Jerome was probably the earlier of the two panels; the austere, stern, physical appearance of St. Jerome seems to be influenced by Niccolò Pizzolo's God the Father, on the spandrels of the ceiling of the apse in the Eremitani church, which Gentile must have seen. When we compare this St. Jerome with an approximately simultaneous sketch of St. Jerome in Penitence, now in the Uffizi, Florence,¹⁴⁵ done in about 1465 by Giovanni Bellini, we can see how strong the Mantegnesque influence was on the San Marco St. Jerome. The crystal-like, harsh, barren stratifications are a rational version of Mantegna's mountain in the Calling of the Apostles James and John in the Ovetari Chapel.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, traces of Gentile's personal style are observable, though barely, in the sky, which shows a naturalistic observation akin to that initiated by Jacopo Bellini; the conical distant mountains also belong to the Bellini family tradition.¹⁴⁷

A very unusual compositional device in St. Jerome is that both the saint and his lion are shown half-length. There was no reason for Gentile to design such a composition. He had already laid out the compositions of the exterior of the organ shutters -- St. Mark and St. Theodore -- and he repre-

sented each saint in a single pictorial space. Nor is there any record that this shutter was cut. A possible explanation for the half-length figures is that Gentile laid out the composition of St. Jerome with the format of another altarpiece in mind, probably Mantegna's St. Luke Altarpiece painted for S. Giustina in 1454. The Mantegna St. Jerome (Fig.144) in the upper register of this altarpiece seems to be a model for Gentile's. Both are depicted from a dal-sotto-in-su standpoint, both are cut off at the knees, each tears aside his tunic with his left hand, while holding a stone in his right hand. Therefore, he must have painted these half-length figures before he made a trip to Padua. Upon returning from his trip, he applied the influence he received from Mantegna -- an influence that explains the robustly executed mask-like facial appearance, which suggests an initial adaptation of an alien style. Later, when he painted St. Mark and St. Theodore, he could adapt Mantegna's style in a much easier manner.

In the St. Francis Gentile's personal style began to develop prominently. Although traces of Mantegna's influence lingered on, the figures of the saint and Brother Leo are less rigid and statuesque and the artist has developed a more modulated modeling. A comparison between Brother Leo and the portrait of Giustiniani (Fig.145),¹⁴⁸ dated 1465, by the same artist, shows a strikingly similar approach. Both show that the mature style is evolving. In my own opinion, the meandering, barren stratifications of the hill look similar to that

in Mantegna's The Martyrdom of St. James in Ovetari Chapel,¹⁴⁹ nevertheless, a derivation from Jacopo's sketchbook cannot be totally ignored;¹⁵⁰ the narrowness and compression of one side of the painting in contrast with the lucidity and lack of restraint of the other half is the principle of composition prevailing in Jacopo Bellini's sketchbooks in Paris and London.¹⁵¹ The sky in the St. Francis panel is more naturalistic in execution, probably owing to Giovanni Bellini's influence. Judging from stylistic evolution, St. Francis should be the last panel to be executed -- after the exterior of the shutters have finished. Perhaps the St. Francis composition was laid out at the same time Bellini painted the St. Jerome. However, the compositional design is different -- the vanishing point is set much higher than in the St. Jerome -- therefore, I think that Gentile, though he painted St. Francis last, was forced to cut the figure of St. Francis in order to match St. Jerome.

Approximately five years later, in about 1470, Gentile Bellini painted the organ shutters for the Duomo of Traù. On the left he pictured St. John the Baptist (Fig.5), on the right, St. Jerome in Penitence (Fig.6). Facing each other, these two life-sized figures are congenial both in composition and in style. Looking at them together, these two panels seem to be symmetrical parts of one composition, divided by a longitudinal center line: the cliffs behind the saints form a large V-shaped gorge, through which a valley plain lies before us, and in Jacopo Bellini's tradition a conical distant moun-

tain, compensates for the indentation. The most conspicuous compositional difference between these and the San Marco shutters is the perspective: the San Marco shutters adopt a dal-sotto-in-su point of view, whereas the Traù shutters adopt a higher stand point, the eye-level perspective. Judging from later organ shutters, these two panels probably formed the inside of the organ shutters.

These two saints, St. John and St. Jerome, dominate the foreground space. Standing alone, St. John the Baptist holds a scroll inscribed 'Ecce Agnus Dei',¹⁵² but St. Jerome is not accompanied by his usual symbol, his lion. Dressed in a tunic of animal skins, (which protrudes from the edge of his tunic) and wearing a leather girdle, St. John takes a contrapposto pose, holding his long, slender reed cross. Also dressed in animal skins, St. Jerome beats his breast with a stone, and he stands before a cross with a long slender stem.¹⁵³ Of these two St. John is more naturalistically rendered, in the flesh and the bony structure underneath, whereas St. Jerome is awkwardly stiff, even in the representation of his tunic, which, unlike that of St. John, lacks the textural quality and folds of soft clothes. Such awkwardness can be seen in the representation of countenance and beard, too. Accordingly, the hand of an assistant must be considered in these instances.

Compared with the inner sides of San Marco's organ shutters (Figs. 3, 4), these Traù saints are no more technically

mature in terms of naturalism. However, the representation of rock stratifications in San Marco's shutters is replaced now by a much more naturalistic rendering. It is very unlikely that Gentile left the major figures to his assistants while he worked on the background; unlike his brother, he is never such an arduous pursuer of natural surroundings. The naturalistic rendering of the background seems to point to another artist's hand, say that of Giovanni Bellini.¹⁵⁴

One last thing to be mentioned about these two panels is the withered trees that grow halfway up the cliffs. We have come across such a withered tree earlier in San Marco's St. Jerome. As a symbol of sin,¹⁵⁵ it is not incongruous to include the withered tree in St. Jerome in Penitence; also, because the fall of man resulted when Adam partook of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, the artist might have adapted it in St. John the Baptist as an anticipation of the saint's coming career as a preacher and a precursor.¹⁵⁶ For whatever reason, the withered tree in St. John the Baptist cannot be found elsewhere.

When Domenico Morone painted the organ shutters for Gasparo Rossi at S. Bernardino, Verona (Figs. 7, 8),¹⁵⁷ he closely followed the tradition of Mantegna. The veined marble, the garlands of fruit, and the architectural details show Andrea Mantegna's influence. However, Gentile Bellini's influence cannot be ignored. Since Morone studied in Venice, along with

Mansueti and Gentile Bellini,¹⁵⁸ he must have seen Gentile's San Marco organ shutters. Therefore, Gentile's St. Mark and St. Theodore can be seen reiterated in St. Francis and St. Bernardino. In both pairs the saints are represented standing immediately in front of an architecture, perspective orthogonals converge on a vanishing point on the podium somewhere below the central pier. When compared with the perspective scheme of the exterior of San Marco organ shutters, Gentile Bellini's influence is undeniable. Also, it has been noted that Domenico Morone took his prevailing dark-brown skin coloring from Jacopo Bellini.¹⁵⁹

St. Bernardino on our right, points at the Monogram of Christ,¹⁶⁰ St. Francis, on our left, stands in a posture of surprise, looking at a seraph not unlike that in Gentile Bellini's St. Francis in the San Marco organ shutters. It is interesting to note that approximately at this period Giovanni Bellini, as a result of his study of light and color during the sixties and seventies, took the bold step of symbolizing a supernatural power in a Stigmatization not by a seraph but by a partly natural, partly unnatural radiation in the sky, thus giving to light a metaphysical function.¹⁶¹

Although musical angels are quite popular in Veneto, they are usually shown standing or sitting in front of or beside the Virgin's throne. This is the only instance in Venetian paintings in which musical angels are represented sit-

ting above the architecture.¹⁶²

Beside the rigid, stern Mantegnesque style, another softly-modulated style, evolved mainly by Giovanni Bellini, co-existed. The organ shutters for San Francesco, Conegliano (Figs.10, 11, 12, 13), by Cima da Conegliano follow the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system on both interior and exterior sides. The outside panels picture the Annunciation. The source of light comes from the right, which is in accordance with the architectural setting of the church. The Archangel walks in, he raises his right hand in the gesture of annunciation, and holds a lily in his left. The Virgin, standing in contrapposto, turns her head toward the angel and raises her right hand on her bosom in surprise; her left hand rests on the Bible on the prie-dieu. A dove flies in through the window. The oval shapes of the faces and the solidity of draperies reflect Antonello da Messina's influence.

On the inside St. John the Baptist is depicted on the left, St. Thaddeus on the right. St. John holds a cross with a long stem, St. Thaddeus a halberd. Each of them stands in a niche crowned with a half dome, an architectural setting that would become widely used on the inner side of organ shutters. These organ shutters, thus, are important in two respects: First, iconographically, as the first example of combining the Annunciation with the saints; second, compositionally, as the first example of saints standing in a niche, two aspects which

would last throughout the period presented in this study.

We have seen organ shutters that exemplify two major styles of the early Renaissance -- that of Mantegna and that of Giovanni Bellini -- however, traces of Medieval painting lingered. On the exterior of the organ shutters of the now-demolished Santa Maria della Vergini, Venice (Fig. 14), David in armour stands under the Tree of the Church. Posing in contrapposto, he plays a musical instrument for the Shulamite standing beside him. On the trunk of the Tree of the Church a diminutive Jesus Christ stands, gesturing benevolence; from Him radiates light, represented in gold. Among the foliage are small saints, represented in a naive style and arranged in a schematic way; each holds an opened hand-scroll. In the background spreads a harbour scene, probably representing the Tower of David, the City of David (Civitas sancta).¹⁶³ On the interior (Fig. 15) Adam and Eve stand beside the Tree of Paradise, in which saints, each also holding an opened hand-scroll, are arranged in a scheme similar to that in the David panel. Behind them a meandering landscape unfolds before us, spotted here and there with poplars, of the type often seen in the Venetian country-side, and some oddly shaped palms.

These organ shutters are very unusual, both in terms of iconography and style. As competitive artist whose fame rivalled that of Gentile Bellini,¹⁶⁴ Bastiani's

style was much more mature than that presented in these organ shutters. The authenticity of these pictures is questionable, because traces of the International Gothic style prevail in these pictures, especially the upper halves, in the schematic arrangement of the saints and their hand-scrolls, in the curvilinear foliage, and in the use of gold to depict the light radiating from Christ. However, the lower halves are more advanced in terms of the Renaissance style, especially the representations of the landscape, the major figures, and the shadows cast by the trees. Although such a combination of schematic arrangement and naturalistic representation is no doubt related to Bastiani's, as can be seen in his S. Antony of Padua, S. Bonventura, and S. Luke (Fig. 146) in the Academy, Venice, nevertheless, the quality of these organ shutters does not equal that of other pictures by Bastiani. Molmenti and Ludwig are right in saying:

...disproportionate figures, and still more the childish drawing of the animals. do not allow us to attribute these paintings to the master himself, although certainly to some pupil of his school. These works are... probably by one of Bastiani's own nephews, Simons, Alvise or Cristoforo...¹⁶⁵

As the only progenitor of Jesus Christ in an earthly sense,¹⁶⁶ David seems to prefigure the salvation of the Fall, represented by Adam and Eve.¹⁶⁷

3. The High Renaissance

Although the organ shutters of Santa Maria dei Miracoli

are attached to Giovanni Bellini's name neither by documentation nor by tradition, the generally Bellinesque character of them leaves this attribution in no dispute,¹⁶⁸ perhaps with some reservation on the authenticity of the Archangel.(Figs.16,17)

The Annunciation scene takes place in a Renaissance chamber, the panelling of its marble walls closely copied from that of the Miracoli,¹⁶⁹ Limited depth is emphasized through the linear perspective of the geometrically patterned floors, the same pattern, as noted by Symeonides, as in the floors of the Blood of the Redeemer, National Gallery, London, and the Allegory, Uffizi, Florence.¹⁷⁰ The emphasis on geometric shapes of the compositional elements has been pointed out:

There is a concentration of geometric shapes, unusual in Venice: the patterned ceiling and floor, the vertical folds of the curtain, the predominantly black-and-white mural design broken by the two open windows and the door at the extreme left through which the angel enters. Even the jointure of the organ shutters, crossing the central window at its left, virtually in the frame, contributes to the intersections within the composition.¹⁷¹

Antonello da Messina's influence is highly plausible in the emphasis on geometric shape. A comparison with Antonello's Annunciation (Fig.147), Museo Nazionale, Siracuse, made shortly after Antonello's arrival in Venice in 1475, shows that this connection is justifiable. As has been noticed the arrangement of a characteristic Bellinesque landscape in the center bears reminiscences of the Pesaro Coronation of two decades ago.¹⁷² However, such a central landscape scheme had been

anticipated in Antonello's Siracuse Annunciation,¹⁷³ Furthermore, the central column in the Siracuse Annunciation, running along the left edge of one of the central windows, also anticipates the junction of the organ shutters, which crosses the central window at its left edge.

Kneeling before a prie-dieu of delicately ornate design (which recalls the motifs of the Venetian sculptor Pietro Lombardi, active in the same years as Giovanni Bellini),¹⁷⁴ the serene Virgin, unaware of the arrival of the Archangel, reads the opened Bible.¹⁷⁵ Rare in Italian art is such unawareness of the Archangel's presence, which is a scheme preferred by the old German masters.¹⁷⁶ However, without substantial evidence, the adaptation of such a scheme cannot yet be credited to the Northern influence.

The sunny light that gently falls on the Virgin takes, in a sense, a metaphysical function, substituting for the dove, the received emblem of the Holy Spirit. Such a scheme, transforming the natural light into a religious context, has been noticed in Bellini's St. Francis in the Frick Collection.¹⁷⁷

The archangel wearing an olive-bough crown on his head,¹⁷⁸ alights just inside the door on the left, holding a stem of lilies in his left hand,¹⁷⁹ and he points his right hand upwards, declaring his mission from on high.¹⁸⁰ His restless, angular, papery draperies are unlike anything else in Giovanni's work.

It has been suggested that the composition as a whole might echo a famous lost masterpiece of Bellini's -- the altarpiece in the church of San Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, and the murals of the Ducal Palace.¹⁸¹

The St. Peter (Fig. 18), which forms the interior of one of the shutters (the corresponding St. Paul from the back of the Virgin's shutter is lost), anticipates Giovanni Bellini's San Zaccaria altar of 1505, especially the concept of the niche with a half dome decorated with a curvilinear, floriated mosaic, as well as the diluted light gently sweeping the niche. However, the folds of St. Peter's robe are crisper than the softly tempered folds in the San Zaccaria altar.

The Annunciation is shown in an eye-level perspective, whereas on the inside, St. Peter, shown in dal-sotto-in-su, gives us a bold foreshortening of the saint's left foot. Such a dal-sotto-in-su point of view has been adopted from the saints in the frame of the Pesara Coronation (Figs. 148, 149).

The High Renaissance witnessed another talent. Under a possible German patronage,¹⁸² Sebastiano del Piombo, then in his early twenties, demonstrated his early virtuosity in his first major public commission, the organ shutters for San Bartolomeo a Rialto, in about 1508 (Figs. 19, 20, 21, 22). The inside panels show Sebastiano as heir to the late Quattrocento tradition of Venetian religious painting, especially that of

Giovanni Bellini, but demonstrate also how close to Giorgione he had been and how deeply he had absorbed this master's style; the outside shutters display his spatial innovation.

When the organ shutters are opened, St. Louis, on the left, is seen turning toward the center; his head, in three-quarter view, tilts back in Sebastiano's idiosyncratic manner.¹⁸³ He is dressed in an episcopal cope, decorated with fleur-de-lys, which partially conceals his under garment -- the Franciscan habit. He holds a crosier in his left hand, and carries a book in the other in a way "especiallly Bellinesque".¹⁸⁴ The pilgrim saint, St. Sinibaldus, is seen on the right, facing the center in a near profile and holding a pilgrim staff. Beside him is a curled-edged cartellino on which is represented a symbolic city. Each saint stands in a relatively shallow niche, crowned by a gold half-dome, a device for which the immediate precedent is Giovanni Bellini's St. Peter from the inside of the organ shutters of Santa Maria dei Miracoli. But a difference is conspicuous: In Sebastiano's organ shutters, the relation in scale of the standing figure to the niche is real enough, whereas Bellini's St. Peter is quite out of proportion. Following the exemplar of Bellini, the figures are lit from the left. However, instead of the tenderly diluted, Bellinesque light, which is best represented in Bellini's San Zaccaria altarpiece, the light falls brilliantly on the figures and on architectural forms, evoking dazzling reflections on the tessellated ground.

Another already-observed effect of the light is "to broaden the shapes and increase the sense of breadth and plasticity."¹⁸⁵ This is especially true in the figure of Sinibaldus. It has been noted, too, that "the architectural coherence of the design ... is strengthened by ... the attributes of crozier and pilgrim's staff to stress the ... modeling ..."¹⁸⁶

However, morphologically, these heads (Figs. 150, 151) recall rather the ideal heads of Giorgione. It has been noticed that St. Sinibaldus's head, modelled closely on the head of the head of the oldest figure in Giorgione's Three Philosophers, had yet been translated into Sebastiano's own idiom (Cf. Figs. 151, 152).¹⁸⁷

The perspective of these two saints is different from that of Bellini's St. Peter. The viewpoint is set only slightly higher than the platform on which the saints stand; we can see the top of the platform as it recedes radically.

The outside of the shutters was undertaken after the inside had been completed, showing a radical invention in its striking spatial unity. The triumphal arch that inspired Gentile Bellini's architectural setting in the organ shutters of San Marco (Figs. 1, 2) once again gave Sebastiano inspiration. Hirst points out Sebastiano's innovation in pictorial space:

But Gentile had not grasped the potentialities of the

motif of the arch for unifying pictorial space ...; and it was a brilliant idea of Sebastiano's (one which cannot have been taken from the architectural setting of the figures of the Fondaco decoration) to use the motif for the exterior canvases and create one composition in place of two.¹⁸⁸

However, this achievement is somewhat hindered by the compromise of scale:

A completely convincing portrayal of the two saints in space was compromised only by the decision to preserve for Saints Bartholomew and Sebastian the same scale as that used for Louis and Sinibaldus; as a consequence, despite its internal coherence and logic, the architecture recedes more like that of a chapel than of the triumphal arch so appropriate for the two martyrs.¹⁸⁹

The two saints stand in front of the triumphal arch, flanked by two columns on tall undecorated bases, which are crowned with Corinthian capitals. St. Bartholomew, titular saint of the church, carries in his left hand a book, the Gospel of St. Matthew,¹⁹⁰ and in the other a large knife, the instrument of his martyrdom. Looking out toward the left, St. Bartholomew stands near the center of the shutters. St. Sebastian, in contrapposto likened to the Apollo Belevvedere,¹⁹¹ stands toward the center of his panel and looks down and out, demonstrating a bold foreshortening in his outflung arm which is attached uncomfortably to the shoulder. Here, as on the inside canvases, Sebastiano deliberately excluded the traditional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system. The viewpoint is not lower than the level of the pavement's edge on which the two saints stand, and the receding pavement is visible behind them.

It has been advanced that Sebastiano's unexpected heroic, all'antica, style of Sts. Bartholomew and Sebastian was evoked by the presence in Venice of Fra Bartolomeo, there on a visit from April until July of 1508.¹⁹² A close relationship between these organ shutters and the Fondaco frescoes by Giorgione has also been formulated,¹⁹³ but it cannot be proven substantially. After Sebastiano del Piombo's breakthrough in San Bartolomeo a Rialto, space unified by an architectural setting became an orthodox device on the exterior of organ shutters.

Under the influence of Melozzo da Forlì and Lorenzo Lotto,¹⁹⁴ Antonio da Faenza executed the organ shutters for Santa Casa at Loreto, picturing the Annunciation with Isaiah and Luke (Figs.23a, 23b), between 1513 and 14. Adopting the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system conventional for the outside of organ shutters, the artist devised a complicated, architectural setting of enormous scale never before used in organ shutters. Looking up from her reading in surprise, the Virgin, shown in a contrapposto posture, occupies the right shutter in the huge nave. On the left shutter the Archangel Gabriel flies in; the wind blows his robe and bends the lily held in his left hand. Isaiah, unaware of this event, shows a scroll, but St. Luke turns his head upward to watch the descending angel. Noticeable is the way the motif of the crouching ox is represented; its forelegs stretch forth toward the spectator in a bold foreshortening. This device of blend-

ing the pictorial space and the physical, one that would be further advanced by the Mannerists, was earlier attempted in Sebastiano's St. Sebastian, his arm outflung in the organ shutters of San Bartolomeo a Rialto.

The Venetian, dilute, atmospheric, shadow is replaced here by the Marchegian limpid, translucent clarity. Furthermore, a spiral scheme is designed to link the relations among the component figures: Isaia, prominent with his outstretched scroll, gazes down at the ox, whose head, in turn, lifts up toward St. Luke; Luke, in turn looks up at the flying Archangel, who faces the surprised Virgin. Such interrelationship enhances the unification achieved by the architectural setting.

The influence of Mantegna on the local style of Verona has been observed in Domenico Morone's organ shutters of 1481, however, regular contact between Verona and Venice brought into Verona the advanced Renaissance style. We have mentioned how Jacopo Bellini influenced Domenico Morone to paint on canvas. However, knowledge of oil painting reached Verona only through Giovanni Bellini's late works. Under Bellini's guidance Veronese artists began to use lighter and cleaner colors.¹⁹⁵

In the organ shutters for Santa Maria in Organo, Verona, a collaborative work by Francesco Morone and Girolamo dai Libri

in 1515, the Mantegnesque and Bellinesque styles intermixed. Francesco Morone was responsible for the left-hand organ shutter, picturing St. Benedict and St. John the Baptist (Fig. 24) on the outside, Daniel and Isaiah (Fig. 26) on the inside, whereas Girolamo dai Libri painted the right-hand organ shutters, picturing St. Catherine and St. Dorothy (Fig. 25) on the outside, the Adoration (Fig. 27) on the inside. Each artist demonstrates one of the two major currents: the figures by Girolamo dai Libri show the dominant influence of Giovanni Bellini; those by Francesco Morone show that of Mantegna via his father -- Domenico Morone.

Although executed separately by two artist, these organ shutters are, nevertheless, consistent in their general layout. Both outside and inside are encompassed in a landscape setting that features the countryside round Verona, showing hills at the foot of high mountain ranges; the distant lake on the interior may be Lake Garda.¹⁹⁶ The outside follows the traditional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system, traceable in this instance to the organ shutters by Gentile Bellini. However, a branch of fruit hanging down from nowhere in each canvas recalls Mantegna. On the left shutter, by Francesco Morone, the treatment of the robes, especially that worn by St. John the Baptist, reflects the severe, three-dimensional solidity of Domenico Morone, whereas on the right shutter, by Girolamo dai Libri, in the robes of St. Catherine and St. Dorothy such three-dimensional quality gives way to a more painterly tenden-

cy. Morphologically, the oval shapes of the heads in the right-hand shutter are reflections of Mantegna's.

When the shutters are open, the inside, though separated, forms a unified impression because the two prophets on the left gesture toward the Adoration on the right. The way the Child is placed and the landscape background suggest a knowledge of Hugo van der Goes's Portinari Altarpiece, and the awning reminds us of Jacopo Bellini's sketchbooks. No matter how consistent these two artists tried to be compositionally, individual idiosyncrasies are revealed most tellingly in the arrangement of the angels supported by the cloud. The asymmetrical grouping of the angels above the prophets contrasts with the symmetrical grouping of the angels above the Adoration. The prominent position that the musical angels occupy in Girolamo's shutters will recur in the organ shutters of Ognissanti, Venice, executed by Paolo Veronese and Benedetto in 1585, and the painterly tendency that Girolamo showed will reach its fruition in Veronese.

At the same time, at Brescia, the farthest outpost toward Milan of the Venetian dominion and the artistic and political center of the "Veneto-Lombardy", the connection with Venice made its effects strongly felt. In such a milieu the organ shutters of the old Duomo were executed between 1516 and 18 by Brescians Floriano Ferramola and Moretto. Moretto, who joined Floriano Ferramola in 1518 and was responsible

for the inside of the shutters, pictured St. Faustinus (Fig. 29a) on the left shutter and St. Giovata (Fig. 29b) on the right. Both saints are dressed as modern knights and ride steeds beneath triumphal arches that, unlike the triumphal arches we have seen, are made of polished marble, decorated only by its own veining. On the top plump putti play on the frieze, a device that recalls the angels playing musical instruments in Domenico Morone's organ shutters. Also outside the Venetian vocabulary is the strong chiaroscuro; however, the brilliant color betrays strong Venetian influence. The two canvases show the eye-level perspectival system, which, as later instances demonstrate, is a device mostly adopted on the inside of the organ shutters, while the outside follows the dal-sotto-in-su device. An explanation for these different perspectival applications is yet to be developed; it lies beyond the scope of this present study.

In the vogue of arranging figures in a pompous architectural setting, Pellegrino da S. Daniele, between 1519 and 1521, placed his figures in similar architectural settings on the organ shutters for the Duomo of Udine -- though not so grandiose in scale as Antonello da Faenza's. On the exterior (Fig. 30) Hermagoras, kneeling in profile, receives the crosier from St. Peter, who kneels on a cushion placed on a dais. Behind St. Peter an attendant holds a foreshortened cross. Seven more attendants watch this scene. Behind them is a barrel-vaulted nave; on the capitals of the pilasters are

placed statues of Adam and Eve. Two things are notable in these shutters; first, in these shutters light falls in from the right in order to accord with the natural light source in the church; second, the perspectival systems are internally inconsistent. In the right shutter, we see a dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system as we would expect on the outside of organ shutters, however, the left shutter has another set of vanishing lines, that of the edges of the daise, which converge at a vanishing point approximately at the mid-height of the shutters.

The interior (Figs. 31, 32) of the organ shutters pictures, arranged symmetrically, the Four Doctors. On the left St. Jerome, facing the spectator, holds a book; his left hand rests on a lectern, behind which St. Gregory sits in half-shadow and turns to St. Jerome. To the right, St. Augustine, in three-quarter view and in the black habit of the Augustine Order of Friars,¹⁹⁷ places his left hand on a book on his knee, as with his right hand he writes on a book on the lectern. St. Ambrose, sitting in half shadow, points at St. Augustine. These pairs of saints sit in a vaulted chapel, supported by ornamental pillars with mosaic decoration. On the capitals of the pilasters of the left shutter stand statues of David with the sling to the left, a boy with a banner to the right; on the right shutter, Judith and a boy. On each archivolt sits a putto. These organ shutters show that Pellegrino's style was undergoing a conversion under the influence of his former pupil, Pordenone, who brought back to his native province the first

results of his experience in Rome. Pordenone imposed himself upon the local tradition, which, until then, was an eccentric continuation of a locally formed Quattrocento style.¹⁹⁸

Belonging to a similar transitional style is a pair of organ shutters by Giovanni Speranza which comes from San Bartolomeo at Vicenza (Figs.33a, 33b). On the outside,¹⁹⁹ the artist pictured the Annunciation with the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system, conventional for the outside of organ shutters. The figures are "still dominated by the gloomily impressive figure of the caposcuola of the late Quattrocento."²⁰⁰ The artist tried to represent the scene in a continuous space, but the result is awkward. On the left shutter the ceiling, the curtain, and the prie-dieu are cut off abruptly. With no indication of the third dimension, the prie-dieu looks awkward. Spectators are led to expect a continuation of the left-shutter ceiling onto the right shutter, because the artist seems to render the left shutter as an interior; it is only after frustration that they decide, hesitantly, that the left shutter depicts not an interior, but a loggia, and, accordingly, the drapery is a cloth of honor instead of a curtain. Another illogical compositional device is the panoramic landscape seen beyond the wall from a high standpoint, which contradicts the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system in the foreground.

Nevertheless, an extraordinary device is adopted here: the Archangel Gabriel approaches from the right, a form intro-

duced into Italy from the North in the early Cinquecento.²⁰¹

Physiognomically, Antonello da Messina's influence is discernible; while the crisp, solid folds of the drapery recall Domenico Morone. Speranza was influenced by these artists through his teacher, Bartolomeo Montagna, the artist who painted the inside of these present shutters, and who had studied with Domenico Morone in Verona and Antonello da Messina in Venice.²⁰²

The advent of Giorgionism in early Cinquecento Venice, which we have noticed in the organ shutters by Sebastiano del Piombo, did not transform the entire artistic practice of the city. A conservative patronage provided sufficient market for those painters who stood untouched by the rapid pace of innovation. Vittore Carpaccio painted in the Bellinesque style until his last years, when, in 1523, he painted the organ shutters for the Duomo of Capo d'Istria. The Presentation in the Temple (Fig.34) and the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 35) originally constituted the front and back of one of the organ shutters, only later were they joined to form a single picture. Lauts ' is very observant in pointing out the reasons for doubting the attribution:

Extensive collaboration of the workshop in the execution must be assumed, perhaps even in the design of the composition, which is unorganic and unoriginal, put together from parts of earlier works: The Presentation in the Temple adopts the main group from the picture of 1510 with the same subject, in the Academy in Venice ...; the

man standing on the left seen from the back comes from the Calling of St. Matthew of 1502 ... in San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, the child next to him from the Ordination of St. Stephen of 1511 ..., the architecture in the background comes partly from the Sermon of St. Stephen...

The Turkish rider with his companions in the Triumph of St. George in the Scuola di San Giorgio... was used for the Massacre of the Innocents, single motives for the other groups were taken from the Martyrdom of St. Ursula of 1493... The figure of the shepherd on the mountain was taken from a woodcut by Durer (Joachim before the Angel from the Life of the Virgin, B.78...).

It was because of such plagiarism that Carpaccio did not follow the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system, instead, he used the eye-level device. In the Presentation the top of the platform on which the major figures stand recedes radically backward, a design surely modeled on the Presentation of 1510 by the same artist (Fig. 153). Such a close copy in terms of perspective is reiterated in the Massacre, which was modeled after the Triumph of St. George, by Carpaccio, in San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (Fig. 154).

We have attested, up to this point, that organ shutters reflected the style of contemporary painting. We have seen the early development of the Renaissance style in the organ shutters done by major artists, such as Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, also how they influenced artists of local schools, such as those of Brescia and Verona, and their followers in the city of Venice. However, the organ shutters, because of their position in the church, presented themselves as a pictorial ground whose spatial relationship with the spectator

especially needed to be resolved. Accordingly, the relationship between pictorial and physical space, from the very beginning, posed a problem that organ-shutter painters needed to conquer, and, for that reason, two systems of perspective were developed: one was the traditional eye-level device, and the other was the dal-sotto-in-su. The dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system, from the earliest examples until the end of this study, was usually applied on the outside; whereas for unknown reasons, the eye-level perspectival system was usually adopted for the inside.

3. The Bloom of Mannerism

The tendency to blend the pictorial space of the organ shutters with the physical space of the spectator justified the adaptation of Mannerism, which, as a conventional style, suited particularly well this tendency. In the Mannerist vogue, in 1524, Pordenone painted a set of organ shutters for the Duomo of Spilimbergo, depicting on the outside the Assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 36), and on the inside the Fall of Simon Magus (Fig. 37) and the Conversion of St. Paul (Fig. 38). The perspective demands of the organ shutters gave him a pretext for more exercises in illusionism. Emulating Titian's picture of the same subject in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice, in 1516-18 (Fig. 155), Pordenone presents the Assumption as a dramatic scene filled with grand gestures and seen in a dal-sotto-in-su as extreme as the view of the spectator

will allow. The composition of the Assumption shows Pordenone's heavy reference to Titian's Frari Assumption, though Pordenone tried to outdo Titian. Both Assumptions comprise groups of agitated, gesticulating apostles at the bottom; the Virgin occupies the upper half, sustained by putti soaring upward. However, Pordenone economized on compositional motives by eliminating the God-the-Father borne by angels in the Frari Assumption. Instead he emphasized the central Virgin by adding an atrium supported by columns crowned with Corinthian capitals, a device that would henceforth become popular. The looming architectural perspective and the boldly foreshortened, athletic arm of the apostle on the left help to focus the view of the spectator on the Virgin. Pordenone replaced the angelic harmony of the Frari Assumption with robust sensationalism in the Spilimbergo Assumption.

Pordenone made one spatial innovation in the organ-shutter painting. The architectural setting had been used, up to this point, mainly as a scenery backdrop, in front of which the major figures act on a platform. In this Assumption the atrium extends forward, encompassing the spectator's space. The painting ceases to be spectacle and becomes an event in which the viewer is required to participate. Moreover, the elimination of any foreground platform further helps such spectator involvement.

A similar extension of the pictorial space into the

physical is also discernible on the inside of the shutters. On the left is the Fall of Simon Magus, on the right the Conversion of St. Paul. From under a ruined triumphal arch, through which the magician Simon Magus falls from the sky, St. Peter, St. Paul, Nero, and his courtiers look up. The looming architectural perspective helps to force the viewer to focus on the falling Magician, and the foreshortened right arm of St. Peter contributes to the focusing too.

The most striking illusionistic device of the shutters is yet to be seen in the Conversion. This scene takes place under a triumphal arch, too. St. Paul, on the road to Damascus,²⁰⁴ is struck to the ground and blinded by a sudden light from the heaven. What interested Pordenone is not the archaeological precision (St. Paul was depicted wearing Renaissance armour) but the illusionistic effect. The stumbling horse of St. Paul hurtling out of the canvas and intruding into the physical space of the spectator, a device foreshadowed only in Antonio da Faenza's Loreto organ shutters (Fig. 23a) but here used in a much more effectively menacing Baroque manner. Freedberg makes an insightful comment on this aspect of Pordenone, which forms an effective conclusion for this discussion of the Spilimbergo organ shutters:

It seems that Pordenone made deliberate distinctions in style based not only on the kind of content, dramatic or devotional, that was desired in the picture, but on its function in respect to a specific setting; no less important, it appears that he made distinctions according to the measure of sophistication -- or lack of it --

that he expected of his patron.²⁰⁵

We have seen how Moretto assimilated the Venetian influence into the local style of Brescia, as attested in the organ shutters of S. Maria Valvendra, Lovere (Figs. 28, 29a,b). However, it was Gerolamo Romanino who initiated the history of Cinquecento style in Brescia. In his prime Gerolamo Romanino executed the organ shutters for the Duomo of Asola in 1524-26 (Figs. 39, 40, 41, 42a,b). Gerolamo was a Brescian twelve years older than Moretto with whom he had decorated the Cappella del Sacramento in San Giovanni Evangelist in 1521-24.²⁰⁶ The outside of the shutters picture St. Andrew to the left, holding the X-shaped cross, the instrument of his martyrdom, and St. Erasmus to the right, dressed as bishop. When the shutters are closed, the saints appear to be standing under an arcade, a device that is traceable to Gentile Bellini's San Marco shutters of ca. 1464 (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4). But a Brescian convention can be seen in the putti playing on the archivolt. These saints follow the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system, and are still in the tradition of being represented as devotional figures.

When the organ shutters are opened, we see two narrative panels: the Virgin Appears to St. Augustine to the left, the Sacrifice of Isaac to the right. Iconographically, they are the first examples of "historical" figures in the organ shutters. This St. Augustine scene narrates the vision of

St. Augustine in which the Virgin and the Child appear to him who kneels on one leg. Monica, St. Augustine's mother, looks up and raises her hands in surprise. Compositionally, the Isaac is unique in organ-shutter paintings in placing the major figure in the middle ground: an angel stays Abraham's hand at the moment when he was about to sacrifice his son who kneels on a wooden altar. In the foreground we see three men, perhaps attendants, reclining or sitting, accompanied by a dog and Abraham's ass. In these two narrative scenes the artist dresses his figures in modern costumes.

Approximately at the same time, between 1525 and 1530, Moretto also painted the organ shutters for San Pietro in Oliveto. When these shutters are closed we see Sts. Peter and Paul Kneeling and Supporting the Temple (Fig. 43). St. Peter, facing the spectator and St. Paul, are represented in heroic, Michelangesque postures, carrying a huge model of a church which recalls the designs of Alberti.

The scene is arranged in a stage-like shallow space, the podium on which the saints sit, and the curtains, of a type that is of Central Italian origin, are shown in a strong chiaroscuro which enhances this theatrical impression. Although the bottom of the podium on which the church stands is seen from underneath, the platform on which the saints stand is represented from above; the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system has been abandoned here.

When the organ shutters are opened, we see the Flight of Simon Magus (Fig. 44), to the left, and the Fall of Simon Magus (Fig. 45), to the right, both following the conventional eye-level perspectival system of the inner side of the organ shutters. In the Flight, a Michelangelesque St. Peter points to Simon Magus who is carried by the devil, while St. Paul kneels in prayer. An obelisk helps to unify and concentrate the central figures in the Flight scene. In the Fall, the magician falls through the air beyond a Doric architecture in the foreground. Both scenes are represented with the eye-level perspectival system conventional for the inner side of organ shutters. These two scenes are represented in a limpid coloring and strong chiaroscuro, few traces of Venetian influence are discernible any more, that influence that was once strong in the inner shutters of the Duomo of Brescia of 1518 (Figs. 29a,b).

Also at this time, in 1526, Giovanni da Asola painted the organ shutters for San Michele in Isola, Murano. On the outside he pictured Doge Pietro Orseolo before St. Romualdus (Fig. 47) to the right, Benedict Enthroned with Two Monks (Fig. 46) to the left; here he abandoned the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system of the outside shutters. The two scenes are represented as if each of them occupies one end of an interior, beyond which a distant landscape is seen through a loggia.

The inside shutter panels follow the eye-level per-

spectival system conventional for the inside of organ shutters. On the left we see a beautifully designed Michael Hurling Satan down to Hell (Fig. 48), a composition that deserves the name of Mannerism. On the right we see a mediocre design of the Assumption (Fig. 49), which in composition follows chiefly Titian's Frari Assumption (Fig. 155). The Virgin in the Heavens above a group of saints, holds her girdle, an attribute connected with the Immaculate Conception which became widely depicted in the Cinquecento.²⁰⁷

Between 1524 and 1529, Calisto Piazza executed a set of organ shutters for San Clemente, of which only the Annunciation pair is extant (Figs. 50, 51). Once again, this Annunciation pair, shown in eye-level perspective, is assumed to comprise the exterior. However, the Archangel is pictured in a plein-air milieu, whereas the Virgin is in a chamber; the prie-dieu, the book, and the window on the right panel are cut abruptly. Because of inconsistencies between these two canvases, this claim as an exterior pair is doubtful.

Similar in subject but coarse in treatment are Piazza's organ shutters for the parish church of Esine. In the Annunciation (Figs. 52, 53) on the exterior, the robust angel approaches threateningly. The platform on which the Virgin kneels recedes abruptly to make space for the angel. Physiognomic features betray Pordenone's influence, but the Holy Ghost takes the form of a beam of light, a device traceable to

Giovanni Bellini's St. Francis in the Frick Collection, New York, and shared with Titian's Danaë in the Prado, Madrid. Also following the eye-level perspectival system is the inside, which pictures St. Paul (Fig. 54) to the left and St. Peter (Fig. 55) to the right in a sharp chiaroscuro. Each saint stands in a shallow niche crowned with a half-dome, a compositional cliché by this time.

Between 1528 and 1532, Francesco Pagani da Milano executed the organ shutters for the Duomo di Serravalle, Vittorio Veneto, picturing St. Agatha, St. Andrew, St. Peter, and St. Catherine (Fig. 56) on the exterior. Compositionally, these paired canvases abandon the conventional dal-sotto-in-su device, and take a rather high, above, eye-level perspectival system. Furthermore, the spaces of these two shutters are unified by an off-center archway, through which a distant, hilly landscape is visible beyond a tree that grows almost at the center of these shutters. The architectural setting, lacking its facade, does not confine the space, instead, it impresses the spectator with a sense of openness. Immediately before the pier supporting the arch, St. Agatha stands, holding a palm of victory and a salver on which her breasts are laid; St. Andrew beside her carries his X-shaped cross; St. Peter holds a key; and St. Catherine wearing a crown to signify her royalty, bears a palm and holds a book in reference to her erudition.

Created in the Mannerist vogue Francesco Vecellio's

organ shutters for San Salvatore illustrate the classicism he inherited from his Venetian predecessor -- Giovanni Bellini. Executed between 1530 and 1535, the shutters picture on the outside the Transfiguration (Fig. 57) to the left and the Resurrection (Fig. 58) to the right. Both follow the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system conventional for the outside of organ shutters. In the Transfiguration, Christ, enveloped in dazzling white light, is accompanied by Moses and Elijah on either side of Him. The apostles fall prostrate before the vision. The influence of Titian,²⁰⁸ Francisco's younger brother, dominates these two scenes. The apostles facing us in the foreground recall Titian's The Vision of St. John the Evangelist (Fig. 156),²⁰⁹ in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.: the turn of the head, the raised left arm, the bent right leg, the dal-sotto-in-su point of view. The Resurrection recalls Titian's picture of the same subject in Palazzo Ducale, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino (Fig. 157):²¹⁰ the tilt of the head, the gesture of the raised right arm, the way the shoulder tilts toward the left arm; even the pole of the banner tilts at the same angle, and the linen is blown in a similar way. The only difference is that Christ's right leg in Francesco's Resurrection is bent at the knee, while Titian's Christ holds both legs straight.

The inside follows the eye-level perspectival system conventional for the inside of organ shutters. To the right St. Theodore (Fig. 60), the patron saint of Venice, is repre-

sented dressed in modern armor as a Christian knight, trampling on the dragon. His left hand rests on a shield decorated with a cross, his right hand holds a lance which also serves as the staff of a banner. A putto flies above holding the martyr's palm. The banner and the Doric temple behind the saint reflect vaguely Titian's Pesaro Madonna in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. To the left St. Augustine (Fig.59), dressed as a bishop with mitre, crosier, and cope, giving Holy Communion to two kneeling monks in a courtyard surrounded by a high wall. A tall archway and a column of the Corinthian order give the impression of verticality. Such emphasis on verticality is seldom seen in organ-shutter compositions. Another observation is that the the landscape backgrounds of these paintings are done in the vein of Giorgionism, which Francesco Vecellio drew from Titian.

The classical temper seen in Francesco Vecellio's organ shutters is, nevertheless, like a ripple that is soon overrun by the wave of Mannerism. The organ shutters for chiesa del Santo Corpo di Cristo, San Martino di Valvasone, were started by Pordenone in 1536 and finished by Pomponio Amalteo in 1549. The outside pictures the Gathering of Manna (Fig. 61), which follows the eye-level perspectival system. The composition shows the crowdedness and violent action that betray Pordenone's idiosyncratic style. However, the rendering of figures takes on "a specifically Romanist character, not just extending what he [Amalteo] had found in Pordenone but

liberating himself from Pordenone's models to consult the style of classicistic Mannerism directly."²¹¹

When the organ shutters are opened, the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 64) is seen to the left, the Offering of Melchisedek (Fig. 65) to the right . Both take the eye-level perspectival system. The heroic figure of Abraham rivals that in a picture of the same subject by Titian in Santa Maria della Salute, Venice.²¹² The perfectly proportioned nude figure of Isaac recalls Lorenzo Ghiberti's Isaac in the competition panels for the Doors of the Florentine Baptistery of more than a century ago. In the Offering, Abraham, dressed in armor, kneels before Melchisedek, who, both king and priest, wears a mitre and priestly robes; he raises his right arm in a gesture of blessing. One of Melchisedek's retinue brings bread and a chalice to emphasize that the episode is regarded as a prefiguration of the Last Supper and the Mass.²¹³ Others among Abraham's men bring forward the spoils. In these two interior canvases, the "Romanism" mentioned by Freedberg is more opulent.

In the 1540s Andrea Schiavone painted the organ shutters for San Pietro, Belluno. On the exterior,²¹⁴ the Annunciation is treated in Andrea's idiosyncratically bold, animated brushwork and a rich impasto that would inspire Tintoretto's.²¹⁵ However, the elongated figure of the Archangel is strongly influenced by Parmigianino in an entirely intellectual evoca-

tion of Mannerism. An unusual iconographical motif in the Virgin panel is the pelican perching on the balustrade,²¹⁶ prefiguring Christ's sacrifice for us, probably connected with the Immaculate Conception.²¹⁷ The distant port beneath the Anchangel probably refers to Mary's titles of "Star of Sea" and "Port of Our Salvation".²¹⁸ These two panels follow the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system.

The inside portrays St. Paul (Fig. 69) to the right and St. Peter (Fig. 68) to the left. Each of them stands in front of a triumphal arch. They follow the eye-level perspectival system conventional for the inside of the organ shutters. The figural types betray the influence of Bonifazio Veronese.

In 1540 Gerolamo Romanino painted a set of organ shutters for San Giorgio Maggiore in Braida, Verona. On the outside he pictured St. George before the King (Fig. 70) in the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system. The general layout of these paired canvases recalls Paolo Veronese, especially the Family of Darius before Alexander (Fig. 158), in the National Gallery, London,²¹⁹ and St. Sebastian before Diocletian (Fig. 159), in San Sebastiano, Venice,²²⁰ which, in turn, were influenced by the theaters conceived by Palladio.²²¹ Among many motifs that imitate the Veronese paintings, the posture of St. George is almost a reverse version of that of Veronese's St. Sebastian. However, the treatment of individual figures is in Romanino's own idiom.

On the inside, two martyrdom scenes are pictured: the Torture of St. George on the Wheel (Fig. 71) to the left, the Torture of St. George in Boiling Oil (Fig. 72) to the right. They follow the eye-level perspectival system conventional for the inside of organ shutters. These majestic, powerful martyrdom scenes prove that Romanino was not limited to imitating, but endowed with an expressive power of utterance particular by his own. Nevertheless, the king and Queen standing behind the cloth of honor suggest that Romanino had some knowledge of Antonello da Messina's St. Sebastian in Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

The first half of the Cinquecento witnessed a host of local painters active in the execution of organ shutters for local churches, working under intermixed influences from the city of Venice, from Lombardy, and from central Italy. Among them Pordenone, Moretto, and Romanino stand out as genuine artists from Veneto province. Pordenone even rivalled Titian in many cases. Nevertheless, under the overwhelming influence of Mannerism, each of them unavoidably expressed this trend to some extent. Of interest to this thesis, Mannerism enhanced organ-shutter paintings toward a stylistic diversity, and also toward the blending of pictorial with physical space in an illusionistic rendering. The only instance of anticlimax is evidenced in the work of Francesco Vecellio, who continued to echo the predominant sovereignty Titian exerted on the city of Venice.

4. Mannerism vs. Classicism

Amidst the prevalence of Mannerism, classical temper, such as we have seen in Francesco Vecellio's organ shutters, did not fade away. In 1535-41 Romanino painted the organ shutters for the new Duomo at Brescia. The outside pictured the Marriage of the Virgin (Fig. 73), following the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system conventional for the outside of organ shutters. The scene takes place in an atrium looming toward the spectator, a device which was first used in the organ shutters by Pordenone in the Assumption of the Virgin for the Duomo of Spilimbergo, Udine (Fig. 36). The central grouping of these figures suggests that Romanino might have some knowledge of Pordenone's lost organ shutter of the same subject for the parish church of Venzone (Fig. 61). The play of light and shade, probably influenced by the work of Lorenzo Lotto in Bergamo,²²² anticipates Caravaggio and Rembrandt.

Unlike most interior shutters, these picturing the Nativity (Fig. 75) to the right and the Visitation (Fig. 74) to the left, display the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system. Both scenes are seen through an arch on which putti play. Romanino attained an expanded classical style in these organ shutters, which is described by Freedberg:

It is the continuity of a view of art that precedes classicism, rather than the classicizing formulae they still observe, that is significant in Romanino's late organ shutters with the Life of the Virgin.²²³

However, such a classical manner is sometimes replaced by a "popular verism, in a way that is modern in touch but archaizing -- Germanic and Gothic -- in substance is turned to the account of expressive caricature,"²²⁴ as can be observed in Romanino's Adoration of the Magi (Figs. 76, 77), the outside of the organ shutters for Santi Nazaro e Celso, Brescia.

Probably also belonging to this period were a set of organ shutters done for San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia, by Moretto, who followed the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system conventional for the outside, picturing a beardless St. John the Evangelist (Fig. 78) to the left, holding a tablet inscribed with " IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM" (In the beginning was the Word).²²⁵ The eagle, the symbol of his inspiration, perches beside him with an inkhorn hanging from its neck. To the right is St. John the Baptist with his cross (Fig. 79), pointing at the nimbed lamb that crouches in the air. Each of the saints sits in a deep niche crowned by a half-dome, a traditional architectural setting for the inside of organ shutters.

The inside pictures the Parting of St. John the Baptist from Zachariah (Fig. 81) to the right. Zachariah raises his hand in blessing and Elizabeth weeps, while the young Baptist kneels before his parents. On the left we see the Baptist preaching and it is in this figure that Titian's classical influence dominates. These two scenes follow the eye-level perspectival system conventional for the inside of organ shutters.

In the middle of the Cinquecento, between 1552 and 1554, Jacopo Tintoretto painted the organ shutters for Madonna dell'Orto, Venice. On the outside he pictured the Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 84). The composition suggests his knowledge of Lorenzo Lotto's painting of the same subject at San Michele del Pozzo Bianco (Fig. 160).²²⁶ However, the major inspiration for his Virgin is in Titian's painting of the same subject for Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità. Titian's and Tintoretto's Virgins are identical in profile and in the way they hold their dresses (Cf. Figs. 161, 162).²²⁷ This pair of Presentations has been for a long time regraded as the apogee of Tintoretto's early style. Of concern to this thesis is the visual innovation in these shutters. Although this scene follows the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system conventional for the outside of organ shutters, Tintoretto has further enhanced the impression by extending the staircase toward the picture plane so that it seems to reach into the physical space and involve the spectator in the scene. The triangular composition and the postures of the old man and the mother in the foreground further enhance the scene of viewer involvement. The old man stretches out his right arm toward us while the mother turns her back toward the spectator and points at the Virgin almost as if to beckon us to follow her up the stairs.

On the inside, the Vision of St. Peter (Fig. 85) to the left, and the Martyrdom of St. Christopher (Fig. 86) to

the right, both follow the eye-level perspectival system conventional for the inside of organ shutters. These two canvases present a compositional innovation for the inside of the organ shutters: St. Peter, facing the spectator, turns his head to the side looking at the angels carrying a cross which leans toward us; St. Christopher, his back toward us, looks up at an angel bringing the victorious palm and a laurel wreath. A strong compositional contrast was thus formed, and the rather monotonous symmetry previously used has been abandoned. Furthermore, both saints are illuminated by a metaphysical light that seems to radiate from the interior of the picture. This is the first instance in which the lighting in organ-shutter pictures does not correspond to the natural lighting of the architectural setting. In these organ shutters, both inside and outside, Parmigianino's influence, via Schiavone, on the figural type is ostensible.²²⁸

Tintoretto, between 1552 and 57, also painted organ shutters for Santa Maria del Giglio, of which only the inside canvases are extant; they picture the Evangelists John and Mark (Fig. 87) to the left, the Evangelists Luke and Matthew (Fig. 88) to the right. Here he took the compositional device of representing one Evangelist facing the spectator on one shutter, and the other Evangelist turning from the spectator on the other shutter, which resemble the compositional device of the inner canvases of the **Madonna dell'Otto shutters**. Such postures are said to be "derived from Central Italian

mannerism".²²⁹ Also similar to the Madonna dell'Otto is the supernatural lighting radiating from the interior of the pictures. The brushwork, vigorously rendered in heavy impasto, is much freer than that in the last mentioned organ shutters, the Evangelists bear some resemblance to the group of Apostles in the Last Supper at San Marcula, Venice, of 1547 (Cf. Figs. 163, 164, 165).

In the meantime, the classical style of Titian was reflected in the organ shutters for San Giovanni di Verdara, painted by Domenico Campagnola in 1552-53.²³⁰ The softly modulated modelling of the figures, notable in that of the Baptist, reflects Titian. Morphologically, the head of the Baptist recalls the Christ in Titian's "Ecce Homo" in the Prado, Madrid (Fig. 166). Nevertheless, the compositional scheme of the inside of the organ shutters, the Preaching of the Baptist (Fig. 89) to the left and the Beheading of the Baptist (Fig. 90) to the right, shows the influence of Mannerism. Furthermore, these two pictures are both closed in a trompe l'oeil frame: in the Preaching the woman at the lower right sits on the frame, and her drapery falls over it; in the Beheading the executioner stands outside the frame. Both are represented with dal-sotto-in-su perspectival systems.

Mannerism in organ shutters reached its full bloom in those of the Duomo, Udine, painted by Amalteo in 1553-55. The outside and the inside follow the dal-sotto-in-su perspec-

tival system. On the outside Amalteo represented Christ Driving the Money-changer from the Temple (Figs. 91, 92); the heroic proportions and the grandiose postures of the figures show how deeply Michelangelo influenced him. Such Michelangelesque posture is especially noticeable in Lazarus on the inside of the organ shutter, which is inspired by and reversed from Michelangelo's Libyan Sibyl on the Sistine Ceiling. God the Father accompanied by putti on a cloud is derived from the Creation of Adam in the Sistine Chapel. However, Pordenone's influence lingers on, particularly in the physiognomy of the Christ. A look at the Christ in the Transfiguration by Pordenone in 1511 attests to their resemblance (Cf. Figs. 93, 94, 167)

The Washing of the Apostles' Feet (Figs. 95, 96) is depicted on the outside of the organ shutters for San Vito al Tagliamento, which Amalteo finished in 1565. The diagonal line formed by the back of the Christ and extended by that of the apostle behind Him, as well as the spiral vortex of the general lay-out, are apparent influences from Tintoretto. However, the dynamic rhythm of the picture, the grace and splendor of the component parts, and a harmony of content and form rival Tintoretto. Both the outside and the inside, the Magdalen (Fig. 97) to the left and the Samaritan Woman (Fig. 98) to the right, follow the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system. Heroic though the gestures are, compositionally they are quite mediocre.

Mannerism also prevails in Amalteo's organ shutters for the Duomo of Oderzo, in the twisted postures of the astonished apostle reclining on the foreground, in the "orant" gesture of the Christ, and in the exaggerated gestures of Moses and Elijah on the outside: the Transfiguration (Fig. 109). The drawn draperies reflect the influence of Central Italy, that we have seen in Moretto's organ shutters for San Pietro in Oliveto (Fig. 43). On the inside, the Resurrection (Fig. 111), is an emulation of Titian's pictures of the same subject in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche (Fig. 157). Both the Resurrection and the Nativity (Fig. 110) are seen through a painted arch, which would later be adapted by Paolo Veronese.

We have seen how the Veronese painters tried to combine the local influence with the Venetian in the first half of the Cinquecento. The Veronese School reached its apogee, so far as this study is concerned, in Giambattista Zelotti and Paolo Veronese. The former was responsible for two sets of organ shutters, one for Misericordia, Padua, the other for Santa Maria, Praglia. Of the Misericordia organ shutters, only the exterior are extant, picturing the Annunciation (Figs. 99, 100), which follows the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system conventional for the outside of organ shutters. As a fresco painter, his style is more brisk and pointed. The postures of the Virgin and the Archangel betray the influence of Roman Mannerism. However, the classical

temperament remains strong; it would be suitable to compare them to the grand classicism of Paolo Veronese rather than to an eccentric Mannerism. The general impression of this Annunciation pair is that of a Greco-Roman relief. Compared with the mannered Annunciation (Figs. 123, 124) by Tintoretto, executed in 1577-86 for San Rocco, Venice, the difference is self-evident. Though the Annunciation was frequently represented on organ shutters -- inside or outside -- the Virgin and the Archangel are always arranged in the same plane. In Tintoretto's Annunciation, the Parmigianinesque Archangel appears to leap forward, out of the pictorial plane, while the Virgin kneels before the prie-dieu in profile, stretching out her arms in surprise. It was a long way from the serenity and placidity of Giovanni Bellini's Annunciation (Figs. 16, 17) to the agitation and dynamics of Tintoretto's.

In the organ shutters of Santa Maria, Zelotti chose the eye-level perspectival system on the outside, Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law (Figs. 112, 113), but dal-sotto-in-su on the inside, David Playing the Harp (Fig. 115) and Saul (Fig. 114). Of particular interest is the architectural setting, which, influenced by Palladio's theory, creates a harmony between the architecture and the people to express serenity and self-containment.

Through his grand Classicism, Paolo Veronese, Zelotti's compatriot, counterbalance the predominant Mannerism that

prevailed in Venice during the middle and later years of the Cinquecento. He executed many sets of organ shutters, some with the assistance of his bottega, most likely his son Benedetto. In 1558-60 Paolo Veronese painted the organ shutters for San Sebastiano, Venice. The organ was built by Domenico Marangone according to the design of Veronese,²³¹ the first example of an organ case designed by the painter of the organ shutters. By a simple and effective design, wherein the arch breaks through the base of the pediment, Veronese made an innovation in the format of organ shutters, which "may derive from the illustration of an antique doorway outside Rome by Sebastiano Serlio."²³² Following the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system, Veronese blends the painted pilaster and the real Corinthian column, a device which reflects a link with Mantegna's San Zeno altar in Verona.

The compositional devices of the outside -- the Presen-
tation in the Temple (Fig. 101) -- are discussed by Cocke as follows:

The composition is a good example of the skill with which he reconciles the demands of narrative with an interest in rich effect. The figures are composed in a deep frieze-like grouping which is maintained in the front plane; the great curving arch that frames the figures is masked at its lower spring so that the apparent depth of the building is denied. Veronese achieves a flowing rhythm through the line of heads which, like the glances of the attendants, focuses attention upon Christ who is set off by the brilliant blue of the Virgin's robe, which is the main accent of the colour in both canvases.²²³

The grandeur and theatricality of the architectural setting in

Tintoretto's organ shutters of the same subjects is thus denied (Cf. Fig. 84). Once again, these compositional devices contrast the difference between the Manneristic grandioso and the non-Maniera style.

When the shutters are opened, the Pool of Bethesda (Figs. 103a, b) pair are seen. Also following the dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system, these pictures introduce another innovation. Unlike the conventional device of shallow niches crowned with a half-dome which generate a simulated architectural space parallel to that of the central organ case, Veronese's device of the atrium, initiated by Por-denone in the Assumption on the outside of organ shutters for the Duomo of Spilimbergo, Udine (Fig. 36), created an optical illusion of a colonnade that encompasses the central pediment (Fig. 102). It has been observed that this device "reflects the painted cornice that runs behind the figures in the [S. Zeno by] Mantegna".²³⁴

Less innovative are Veronese's organ shutters for San Geminiano, Venice, in 1561. The old, round-headed, organ, shown by Coronelli's engraving of ca. 1709 (Fig. 168), was replaced by a square one in the early years of the eighteenth century; the present exterior canvases were adjusted to fit the new organ, while the inside canvases were cut down.²³⁵ Though no information is available, it is possible that this unusual form of organ case was also designed by Veronese.

Both sides follow the conventional dal-sotto-in-su perspectival system. The outside pictures St. Geminianus and St. Severus (Fig. 104) in heroic proportion, accompanied by an attendant; they stand in "a niche that recalls that of Giovanni's S. Zaccaria altar with a festoon in the upper part that derives from the work of Giovanni da Udine in Rome".²³⁶

The inside pictures St. John the Baptist (Fig. 105) to the left, St. Mennas (Fig. 106) to the right. The Baptist, accompanied by his lamb who appears to thrust its forelegs into physical space, a device initiated by Antonio da Faenza in his organ shutter for Santa Casa, Loreto, in 1514 (Figs. 23a, b). The Baptist betrays the strong influence that Titian had exerted on Veronese: the substantially modulated flesh and the morphology are inspired by Titian's Christ type, e.g., "Ecce Homo" (Fig. 166) in Prado, Madrid. St. Mennas, in addition to showing Titianesque features, stands in a posture that recalls St. Liberalis in Giorgione's Castelfranco Altar, yet much more heroic; his left foot juts forward into the spectator's space. One innovation that these two pictures achieve is that the two saints, rather than facing each other as the figures on the inside of organ shutters conventionally do, face the same direction, i.e., toward the high altar.²³⁷

The rounded form of organ shutters recurs in Veronese's, or Benedetto Caliari's, organ shutters for Ognissanti, Venice. The outside pictures the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 127), in

which a boy, standing outside the threshold and trying to hold back his dog, gives a touch that unifies the pictorial space and the physical space. The inside pictures St. Gregory and Jerome (Fig. 129) to the right St. Ambrose and St. Augustine (Fig. 128) to the left. Though the authenticity of these inside canvases has been doubted, these figures, nevertheless, have been much admired: "... the figures of Saint Gregory and Saint Jerome ... are without a rival in the art of Veronese, almost in the art of Titian himself. Rarely has the strength and dignity of noble manhood been so impressively expressed".²³⁸ The most impressive compositional innovation is the prominence of the musical angels; never before have the musical angels been treated in this way on organ shutters, except on the inside canvas of the organ shutters by Girolamo dai Libri painted for Santa Maria in Organo, Verona (Fig. 27). Dr. Rearick points this out especially, saying: "The musical angels, always familiar staffage of Paolo's pictures, are most specifically related to those in the wings of the Adoration of Magi organ shutters..."²³⁹

Veronese's preference for arched organ shutters behind which a semi-circular space is created by the architectural setting is reflected in the organ shutters for Sant'Antonio di Torcello, executed by Veronese's bottega. On the outside, the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 118) is enclosed in an arch that spans the scene, on the inside, the Annunciation (Fig. 119) is placed before a circular architecture. This format is

also reflected in Carletto Caliari's organ shutters for San Nicolò dei Mendicoli, in which the round-headed shutters and the semi-circular space derived directly from Veronese (Figs. 130, 131).

The second half of the Cinquecento witnessed the dominating influences of Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, two geniuses whose opposing styles -- Mannerism vs. Classicism -- challenged the leadership of the Venetian School with the aged and dominant Titian. Many compositional innovations to the organ-shutter pictures were introduced by these two giants as we have already seen. Nevertheless, stylistically different though they might be, those innovations were basically a continuation of the trend toward breaking the boundary between the pictorial and the physical spaces, which constituted from the very beginning of this study a major concern of the organ-shutter painter. Later Venetian organ shutters were only mediocre reiterations based on these illusionistic devices and were stylistically inferior to the earlier works.

NOTES...

- 1 Among the old organs in Venice there were some for which we have the exact date of building, though none of them survive:
San Marco had seven organs (1316, 1374, 1388, 1389, 1464, 1489); San Giorgio Maggiore had two organs (1362, 1444); Scuola di Santa Maria della Misericordia (1427); San Salvatore (1427); Santa Maria della Carità (1460); San Giovanni in Bragora (1486); Museo Correr (1494); Sant' Elena (1497); Santa Maria Forma (1526); Santo Stefano (1533); Santa Maria del Rosario (1547); Santa Maria del Giglio (1548); and San Sebastiano (1558).
Libera, Sandro della, L'arte degli organi a Venezia (Venice: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1962), pp.22-24, 238, 190-91, 73, 236, 104, 86, 101, 107, 64, 203, 60, 215, 208.
- 2 Hopkins, E.J., and Rimbault, E.F., The Organ: Its History and Construction (Hilversum: Frits Knuf, 1965; reprinted of the 3rd. ed., London, 1877). p.5.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Sumner, William Leslie, The Organ: Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use (London: MacDonald and Jane's in association with New York: St. Martin's Press,), p.261.
- 5 Hill, Arthur George, The Organ-case and Organs of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (London, n.p., 1883), p.79.
- 6 See below, p. 8 and fn. 39.
- 7 See below, p.18.
- 8 Panofsky, Erwin, Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), Vol.I, p.161; Vol.II, fig.199. I am indebted to Dr. Jean Caswell for valuable suggestions on the grisaille figures in this context.
- 9 Panofsky, Ibid., p.221. See also Philip, Lotte Brand, The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck (Princeton: Princeton University Press,), p.54.
- 10 See below, pp.8,28.
- 11 Philip, op.cit., p.59.
- 12 Destroyed in 1773 through the collapse of the old campanile of San Giorgio. It is known that Giovanni d'Alamagna and Antonio da Murano cooperated on these organ shutters. However, judging from the close cooperation between Giovanni

d'Almagna and Antonio Vivarini, it seems appropriate to assume that Antonio da Murano is the same person as Antonio Vivarini. Zanetti, A.M. in Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture della città di Venezia, etc (Venice, 1733), p.15, gives the inscription as follows: "1445 Johannes de Alemania, et Antonius de Muriano, pin.", as quoted in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, A History of Painting in North Italy (2nd. ed., London: John Murray, 1912), Vol.I, p.27. See also Libera, op.cit., p.238.

- 13 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op.cit., Vol.I, p.217.
- 14 Now in the Museo Civico, Padua, Nos.1893. Ibid., p.221-22; Vol.II, p.2,fn.1. See also Molmenti, Pompeo, and Ludwig, Gustav, trans. Cust, Tobert H. Hobart, The Life and Work of Vittore Carpaccio (London: John Murray, 1907), p.12.
- 15 Libera, op.cit., pp.100-02.
- 16 Molmenti and Ludwig, op.cit., p.12.
- 17 Libera, op.cit., p.23.
- 18 Mariacher, Giovanni, Arte a Venezia: Dal Merioevo al Settecento (Venice: Alfieri, 1971), pp.24-26. See also Pallucchi, Rodolfo, trans. from the Italian by R. H. Roothroyd, Giovanni Bellini (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1963), p.94. See also Hendy, Philip, and Goldscheider, Ludwig, Giovanni Bellini (London: Phaidon Press, 1945), p.33. See also Symeonides, Sibilla, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Paintings in the Accademia Gallery Venice (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1977), pp.133-36. See also Pignatti, Terisio, L'opera completa di Giovanni Bellini (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1969), pp.103f. See also Heinemann, Fritz, Giovanni Bellini e I Belliniani (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1959), Vol.I, pp.70, 127, 128, 129. See also Berenson, Bernard, Venetian Painting in America: The Fifteenth Century (New York: Frederic Fairchild Sherman, 1916), pp.220-23. See also Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Venetian School (Hereafter referred to as Venetian School) (London: Phaidon, 1957), Vol.I, p.35. Robertson, Giles, Giovanni Bellini (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp.96-7. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.121-2.
- 19 Tietze, Hans, "St. Jerome in the Wilderness by Gentile Bellini", Art in America, Vol.28, 1940, pp.111-15.
- 20 Now in the Museo del Arte Sacra S. Apolloniá. Mather, Frank Jewett, Jr., Venetian Painters (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1963), p.48. See also Libera, op.cit., p.24. However, this dating does not reach conclusive agreement. Mather insisted that they were done "rather before than after 1460", on the basis of its close relationship with Mantegna's

fresco in the Eremitani chapel, and, therefore, were done "near the Padua sojourn". Mather, op.cit., p.24. Notwithstanding the different opinions on dating, these shutters are important in terms of Gentile's personal artistic development, because they illustrate the painter's earliest steps in the application of oil medium, as well as the development of organ shutters as a whole. A passage in Venezia e Dintorni seems, nevertheless, seems contradictory to other informations in terms of the present location of these organ shutters:

Nell'interno [di chiesa di S. Basso] hanno trovato sistemazione le 4 grandiose *portelle dell'organo di S. Marco, già nel Museo Marciano, raffiguranti, nella parte anteriore, i Ss. Marco e Teodoro in uno sfondo di architettura quattrocentesca (firmate) e i Ss. Girolamo e Francesco, con sfondo di paesaggio, tra le più solenni e nobili opere di Gentile Bellini (fine del sec. XV).

GVIDA D'ITALIA DEL TOVRING CLVB ITALIANO (Hereafter referred to as T.C.I.), Venezia e Dintorni (Hereafter referred to as Venezia) (Milan: ARTIDTICO-LETTERARIA DEL T.C.I., 1969), p. 107.

21. Tieze, op.cit., See also Tabor, Margaret E., The Saints in Art with Their Attributes and Symbols Alphabetically Arranged (London: Methuen & Co., 1969), p.185.
22. Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.28. See also Cancogni, Manlio, and Perocco, Guildo, L'opera completa da Carpaccio (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1967), p.117. Judging from the figural style and landscape settings, which are not very different from those of the above organ shutters, we can place them around the date 1470, because the date of 1467 is connected with the completion of the Duomo of Trau. Marle, Raimond van, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1970), Vol.XVII, p.141.
23. M. Boschini, Ritratto di Venezia (Venice, 1705), p.105, as cited by Libera, op.cit., p.52.
24. St. Moses, a saint who was only represented in the Venetian, was convented robber, who turned hermit. Jameson, Anna Brownell Murphy, Sacred and Legendary Art (5th ed., London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866), Vol.II, p.756. (Hereafter referred to as Sacred)
25. When a new organ was placed in 1801, these organ shutters were lost. Libera, op.cit., p.52.
26. Zampetti, Pietro, A Dictionary of Venetian Painters (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, Publishers, Limited, 1969), Vol.I, p.107. (Hereafter referred to as Dictionary)
27. Formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Present

- location unknown. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op.cit., Vol.I, p.69, fn.3.
- 28 Libera, op.cit., p.232.
- 29 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op.cit., Vol.III, p.341, fn.1.
- 30 Zanetti, A. M., Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture della città di Venezia, etc. p.327, as cited by Libera, op.cit., p.232.
- 31 On the outside shutters is inscribed: "Ano Dñi MCCCCLXXXI". These four shutters are all painted with tempera on canvas, but they were later repainted with oil. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op.cit., Vol.II, p.176. See also T.C.I., Veneto (Milan 1969), p.93. See also Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian School, (London: Phaidon, 1968), Vol.I, p.281. (Hereafter referred to as North School) See also Wittkower, Rudolf, Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p.196. (Hereafter referred to as Idea) But Berenson and Wittkower do not mention the last two saints.
- 32 At. Bernardino of Siena was founder of the Observants, St. Francis of Assisi was founder of the Franciscan order. St. Louis of Toulous, great-nephew of Louis IX of France and grandson of Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily, became a Franciscan frair at his youth, and was made Bishop of Toulouse. Bonaventura became General of the Franciscan Order in 1256, and, some years later, was made cardinal, and Bishop of Albano. He took a leading lord part in the great council at Lyons in 1274, held to reconcile the Greek and Latin Churches. Tabor, op.cit., pp.30-32, 77-80, 126-27, 33-34.
- 33 Brenzoni, Baffaello, Domenico Morone (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1977), pp.31-34.
- 34 Now in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona, No.176. Crowe and Calvaselle, op.cit., Vol.II, p.176. See also Berenson, North School, Vol.I, p.213.
- 35 Since he returned to Verona in 1482, and visited Venice perhaps in 1487, we might put it within this time span. Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.I, p.66.
- 36 Present collection unknown. Sansovino, F. mentioned Tacconi's signature: "O.pera FRANCISCI TACHONI CREMON. PIC. 1490. MAIJ. 24". Sansovino, F. and Stringa, G., Venetian sitta Nobilissima et singlare (Venice, 1604), pp.28b, 31, as quoted in Libera, op.cit., p.24. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.331-32, in which the titles are given differently as the Nativity, the Epiphany, Resur-

rection, and the Assumption. See also Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.I, p.103.

- 37 Oil on canvas. The Archangel measured 78 x 178 cm., the Virgin 79 x 172 cm.. Now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Nos. 148 and 150, the two saints 817 and 818). Once attributed to Cima da Malvolti, to Giovanni Martini dall'Edwards, to Girolamo da Udine. Some affinities with Rondinelli has been noted. The two saints were once attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo. Moschini-Marconi, Sandra, Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia: opere d'Arte dei Secoli XIV e XV (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955), p. 119,120. Berenson attributed the exterior to Pellegrino da Daniele, the interior to Beccaruzzi. Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, pp.27, 140. See also Coletti, Luigi, Cima da Conegliano (Venice, Neri Pozza Editore, 1959), pp.98f. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.I, pp.248f. Cima da Conegliano was in Venice in 1492, hence, he must have painted these organ shutters after this year. Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.I, p.40.
- 38 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.I, p.252.
- 39 Now in the Museo Civico Correr, Venice. Libera, Organi, p. 127.
- 40 Berenson, The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance (New York: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1897, 3rd ed.), p.128. (Hereafter referred to as Painters). See also Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.151. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.II, p.306.
- 41 Hanover, No.43. Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.150.
- 42 Libera, Organi, p.218. Since Caselli da Parma returned to Parma at the turn of the century, we can safely place these organ shutters before 1500. Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, pp.41f. St. Albert is regarded as the Founder of the Carmelite Order, to which Santa Maria del Carmelo belongs. Tabor, Saints, pp.5f.
- 43 Pallucchini, Giovanni Bellini, p.94.
- 44 Oil on canvas. Each 225 x 106 cm.. Now in Accademia di Venezia No.734/82 and No.734a/82. The authorship has been attributed to Pier Maria Pennacchi. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.I, pp.121f. See also Heinemann, Giovanni Bellini e i Belliniani, pp.70,129. Berenson first attributed these panels to Rondinelli in Venetian Painting in America: The Fifteenth Century, pp.220-23, instead of Pennacchi. However, he later changed his mind and attributed the authorship to Giovanni Bellini. See also Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.35. See also Symeonides, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Paintings in the Accademia Gallery Venice, pp.133-35. But the hand of a certain assistant has been suspected. Robert-

son, Giles, Giovanni Bellini, pp.96f. See also Pignatti, L'opera completa di Giovanni Bellini, pp.103f.

- 45 These shutters were lost, probably during the plundering of Napoleon. Since Catena was first recorded in 1495 (Zam-
petti, Dictionary, Vol.II, p.42. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History,
Vol.I, p.263. See also Libera, Organi, p.97.
- 46 In situ. Lucco, Mauro, and Volpe. Carlo, L'opera com-
pleta di Sebastiano del Piombo (Milan: Rizzoli Editore,
1980), pp.93f. See also Wilde, Johannes, Venetian Art from
Bellini to Titian (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp.94-
98. (Hereafter referred to as Venetian) See also Achiardi,
Pietro d', Sebastiano del Piombo (Rome: Casa Editrice de
"L'arte", 1908), pp.32-36. See also Pallucchini, La
Pittura Veneziana del Cinquecento (Istituto Geografico de
Agostini Novara, 1944), p.XIV. See also Pignatti, Terisio,
and Ruggeri, Augusti, Giorgione a Venezia (Venice: Electa
Editrice, 1978), pp.154f. See also Berenson, Venetian
School, Vol.I, p.164. See also Hirst, Michael, Sebastiano
del Piombo (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp.6-13. Oil
on canvas, 293 x 165 cm. each. Scholars agree that the
artist of these organ shutters is Sebastiano del Piombo.
However, Crowe and Cavalcaselle held a different opinion,
that these shutters were painted by another artist --
Rocco Marcone--, which seems rather impossible. Crowe and
Cavalcaselle, History, p.206, fn.
- 47 T.C.I., Venezia, p.229.
- 48 An altar picturing Sts. Christopher, Jerome, and Augustine
was painted by Giovanni Bellini in 1513. Another altar
representing St. John Chrysostom Enthroned with Sts.
Augustine, Jerome, John the Baptist, Liberale, Catherine,
Agatha and Magdalen was executed by Sebastiano del Piombo
in 1507-09. Hirst, Sebastiano del Piombo, pp.26ff.
- 49 Libera, Organi, p.166. See also T.C.I., Venezia, p.229.
See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.I, p.225.
- 50 Boschini assigned it to Vivarini, as cited by Crowe and Ca-
valcaselle, History, p.225.
- 51 This attribution is probably due to four panels, Ss. Girolamo,
Giov. Crisostomo, Giona e Mosè, in the sacristy of the same
church. T.C.I., Venezia, p.229.
- 52 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.I, p.225. See also
T.C.I., Venezia, p.229.
- 53 Libera, Organi, p.135.
- 54 T.C.I., Venezia, pp.303f.

- 55 Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.9. Once attributed to Palma il Vecchio, they are now attributed to the present artist. Now in Palazzo Apostolico, Loreto.
- 56 Oil on canvas. Outside measured 330 x 155 cm. each, inside 330 x 175 each. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History Vol.II, pp.199f. See especially Wittkower, Rudolf, Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp.214, 222. Now in the Museo Civico, Verona.
- 57 Tempera on canvas. Now in Santa Maria in Valvendra, Lovere. St. Faustinus (cat. 85a), St. Giovita (sat. 85b), each 485 x 215 cm.. Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, pp.81f. See also Berenson, North School, Vol.I. p.277. See also Panazza, Caetano et al., Mostra di Girolamo Romanino: Catalogo (Brescia, Comitato della Mostra di Girolamo Romanino, 1965), pp.169-171. For the most recent study on Moretto, see Guazzoni, Valerio, Moretto: Il tema sacro (Brescia: Grafo edizione, 1981), see especially pp.13-18. (Hereafter referred to as Moretto) St. Faustinus and St. Giovita are patron saints of Brescia, two brothers who suffered martyrdom under Hadrian about A.D. 120. Tabor, Saints, p.73.
- 58 Now in Museo Civico, Udine. Accordingly to Berenson, one of the saints is St. Mark, but Crowe and Cavalcaselle, as well as Zampetti think he is St. Peter. I follow the latter's attribution, according to the key held by the aged saint. Berenson, Venetian School, History, Vol.III, p.101. See also Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, p.59. The most recent and detailed discussion on these organ shutters is given by Cavalcaselle in La Pittura Friulana del Rinascimento (Venezia: Neri Pozza Editore, 1973), pp.54f.
- 59 Panel, 284.5 x 139.7 cm.. The two saints are now at Sacristy of Westminster Cathedral, London, whereas the Annunciation pair is at New College, Oxford (Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, pp.115, 166). They passed down through the collections of Righetti, Venice, and Norfolk, London. See Puppi, Lionello, Bartolomeo Montegna (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1962), p.167. It is also mentioned that there were four large figures on shutters of the great organ at San Bartolomeo, Vicenza, but they are now missing. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, p.173.fn.
- 60 Since Montagna was in Vicenza from 1480, and Speranza was born in 1480, we can place these shutters between 1510, when Speranza was thirty years old, and 1523, when Montagna passed away. Zampetti, Dictionary, pp.81, 99.
- 61 Now lost. Borenius, Tancred, The Painters of Vicenza: 1480-1550 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1909), p.87.
- 62 Canvas, 412 x 255 cm.. Now in Museo Civico, Capodistria.

Inscribed on the Presentation: "MDXXIII". These two canvases have been pieced together to form a single picture since 1706. The companion piece, the subject of which is not known, was purchased from Emperor Franz I in 1803 by Baron Francesco Maria di Carnea Steffanea; it reached Vienna and has since disappeared. Fiocco, Giuseppe, Carpaccio (Novara, Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1958), p.33. See also Fiocco, Carpaccio (Paris: Les Éditions G. Grès & Cie, 1977), p.87. See also Lauts, Jan, ed., trans. from the German by Millman, Erica, and Marquerite Kay, Vittore Carpaccio: Paintings and Drawings (New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1962), pp.40, 240. See also Zampetti, Pietro, Vittore Carpaccio (Venice: Alfieri, edizione d'arte, 1966), p.91. See also Cancogni, Manlio, and Perocco, Guido, L'opera completa de Carpaccio (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1967), p.113. Considerable evidences of the hands of an assistant can be discerned; the authorship was attributed, even, to young Benedetto Carpaccio, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.I, p.216.

- 63 After 1450 the subject of the Holy Innocents assumed an extraordinary degree of popularity and importance throughout all Italy, especially in Tuscan. This zeal was initiated by Lionardo Bruni of Arezzo, Chancellor of Florence, who addressed the senate in the behalf of the orphans and neglected children. He was responded with enthusiasm; a hospital (Ospedale degli Innocenti) was found accordingly with Brunelleschi appointed as architect. When finished (1444), it was dedicated to the 'Holy Innocents'. This refuge for destitute children excited the greatest interest and sympathy, not only in Florence but also in the neighboring states, and was imitated in Pisa, Arezzo, and Siena. Jameson, Anna Brownell Murphy, The History of Our Lord, as Exemplified in Works of Art: With that of His types; St. John the Baptist; and other persons of the Old and New Testament (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1890. Reprinted by Gale Research Company, Book Tower, Detroit, 1976). Vol.I, pp. 262f. (Hereafter referred to as Lord)
- 64 Cavalcaselle, Friulana, pp.71f. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, pp.154-55, fn.1. See also Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.146. See also Fiocco, Il Pordenone (Padua: Le Tre Venezie, 1943), pp.58, 104. See also Pallucchini, La Pittura Veneziana del Cinquecento (Istituto Geografico de Agostini Novara, 1944), Vol.I, p. XXXV. See also Rizzi, Aldo, Capolavori d'Arte in Friuli (Venice: Electa Editrice, 1976), p.46. A compositional study for the Fall of Simon Magus (257 x 167 mm., pen and brown ink) is in the department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, London (No. 1854-6-28-112). See also Cohen, Charles E. The Drawings of Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone (Florence: La nuova Italia, 1980), pp. 80f. A fragment of a drawing in Raccolta privata, Amsterdam, is probably a study of the Assumption, Fiocco, Il Pordenone,

Fig.116.

- 65 Mrs. Jameson divided all the sacred representations into two great classes -- the devotional and the historical -- and gave the following definition:

Devotional pictures are those which portray the objects of our veneration with reference only to their sacred character, whether standing singly or in company with others. They are neither portrait nor history...

All subjects, then, which exhibit to us sacred personages, alone or in groups, simply in the character of superior beings, must be considered as devotionally treated.

But a sacred subject, without losing wholly its religious import, becomes historical the moment it represents any story, incident, or action, real or imagined. All pictures which exhibit the events of Scripture story, all those which express the actions, miracles, and martyrdoms of saints, come under this class...

Jameson, Sacred and Legendary Art (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1866), Vol.I, p.11. (Hereafter referred to as Sacred)

- 66 In situ. Distemper on canvas, 500 x 230 cm, each. Berenson, North School, Vol.I, p.365. See also Panazza et al., Romanino, pp.78-80. See also Ferrari, Maria Luisa Ferrari, Il Romanino, (Milan: Bramante Editrice, 1961), pp.34-35, 71-75, Figs.44,45.
- 67 In T.C.I., the Visitation is attributed to "Seb. Filippi da Lendinara (firmato e datato 1525)". See T.C.I., Veneto (Milan: 1969), p.197.
- 68 Wood. Life-size. The Visitation is at San Biagio at Lendinara, St. Peter and St. Paul are at the church of Misericordia at Lendinara. The visitation inscribed: "Sebastianus pictor faciebat MDXXV". Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, p.235.
- 69 Hall, James, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Rev. ed., 1979), p.337. (Hereafter referred to as Dictionary)
- 70 Meseo Civico, Verona. No.315. The outside 85 x 158 cm.; the inside 85 x 74 cm. each. Crowe and Cavalselle, History, Vol.II, p.200. See also Wittkower, Idea, p.216.
- 71 Now in Seminario diocesano, Brescia. Crowe and Cavalselle, History, Vol.II, p.292. See also Berenson, North School, Vol.I, p.276. For the most recent study on Moretto, see especially Guazzoni, Moretto.
- 72 Shutters picturing two saints are still at that church, where-

as two inside shutters are in the Museo Correr, Venice. Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, p.63. Libera, Organi, p.246. See also Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.88. See also T.C.I., Venezia, p.110.

- 73 Little is known about Paolo Zoppo, but he is known to have spent two years painting a crystal basin for Doge Gritti (1523-38). A painter of pictures and frescoes, but better known as a miniaturist, he is known to be a friend of Giovanni Bellini in 1505. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, pp.321f.
- 74 Berenson, North School, Vol.I, p.337. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, p.323. See especially Panazza, Romanino, p.201.
- 75 Berenson, North School, Vol.I, p.338. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, p.324. See especially Panazza, Romanino, p.205.
- 76 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, p.79, fn.
- 77 Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.80.
- 78 Ibid., p.194. See also Libera, Organi, p.72. See also Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, p.140.
- 79 Libera, Organi, p.135. Berenson did not mention these organ shutters, but according to T.C.I., these organ shutters were painted by Francesco Vecellio's son Marco Vecellio, and the title of the outside shutters is given as Visita del doge Leonardo Donato alla chiesa; see T.C.I., Venezia, p.304. But Marco Vecellio was born in 1545, and the church was rebuilt after 1513, hence, it is unlikely that the new organ shutters were painted half a century later. Furthermore, Francesco Vecellio is known to have left the army of the Republic in about 1521 (Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, pp. 139f). Therefore, I think the authorship belongs to Francesco Vecellio.
- 80 Of the Marriage and the Circumcision there are copies by Pomponio Almateo in the Duomo of San Daniel and engraving copies by Variante C. Percoto. Now in the Galleria Manfrini. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, pp. 172f. See also Fiocco, Il Pordenone, p.123; PL.112.
- 81 Fiocco, Il Pordenone, pp.58f.
- 82 We have three drawings of the Gathering of Manna in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milano (Cod. F.269 inf.no.3; Cod. F.269. inf. no.36; Cod. F.263 inf. no.67). Cohen, Drawings, pp.36, 89, 92, 101. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, p.200. See also Fiocco, Il Pordenone,

- p.122. Menegazzi, Luigi, Amalteo (Pordenone: Museo Civico, 1980), pp.156f. See also Truant, Giuseppe, Pomponio Amalteo e le sue opere (Pordenonesi: Grafiche Editoriale Artistiche, 1980), pp.282f. See also Cavalcaselle, Friulana, pp.111-12.
- 83 Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.159. See also Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, pp.114f.
- 84 T.C.I., Venezia, pp.299f.
- 85 Because the organ of San Giacomo dell'Orio was remade in 1532, also because he was known to be active in the 1540s, it is justifiable to put these two organ shutters in the 1540s. See Libera, Organi, pp.155f. See also Goule, Cecil, The Sixteenth-century Venetian School (London: National Gallery, London, MCMLIX), p.73.
- 86 In situ. Distemper on canvas. He must have passed this church on his way to Trent. On the St. George before the King is inscribed "MD-XL". T.C.I., Veneto, pp.122f. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, p.283. See especially Panazza, Romanino, pp.121f.
- 87 For the Catholic Church the age of the Counter Reformation was the age of martyrdom. Martyrs of the Orders were particularly venerated at this period. The increasing numbers of the scene of martyrdom reflects this zeal. Mâle, Émile, Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century (7th ed., Moonday Press, 1966), pp.175ff. For the discussion on physiological aspects of martyrdom, see Rahner, Karl, On the Theology of Death (Rev. ed., London: Burns & Oates, 1962), pp.88-119.
- 88 In situ. Oil on canvas. 490 x 220 cm. each. See especially Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, pp.283f. See especially Panazza, Romanino, pp.118f. See also Freedberg, S.J., Painting in Italy: 1500 to 1600 (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971), p.247.
- 89 In situ. Being cut down. Tempera on canvas. 335 x 175 cm.. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, p.285. See also Berenson, North School, Vol.I, p.367. See also Ferrari, Il Romanino (Milan: Bramante Editrice, 1961), Fig.94. See especially Panazza, Romanino, pp.125f.
- 90 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, p.303.
- 91 In situ. Tempera on canvas. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (History, Vol.III, p.289, fn.2) mentioned these as panels for the high altar of this church. See also Guazzoni, Moretto, p.117. See also Berenson, North School, Vol.I, p.276.
- 92 In an estimate of ca. 1547 for the organ of San Maria del

Giglio, Vincenzo Colombo, the organ maker, proposed an instrument "come quello che ho fatto a Sancto Alvisse ale monache". Libera, Organi, p.180. Therefore, we atleast know that the organ of Sant'Alvisse was made before 1547. Thus, the organ shutters were also painted around that time.

93. Libera, Organi, p.203. But this attribution of authorship is dubious. I looked through books on Titian, but have not been able to confirm this information given by Libera.
- 94 They are now lost. Libera, Organi, p.193. See especially Ridolfi, Carlo, trans. by Enggass, Catherine and Robert Enggass, The Life of Tintoretto and His Children Domenico and Marietta (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984), pp.19,24. (Hereafter referred to as Life)
- 95 Ridolfi, Life, p.19.
- 96 Libera, Organi, p.245.
- 97 Each wing of the Annunciation measured 113.03 x 95.25 cm.; now in the Otto Lanz Collection, Amsterdam. Each wing of the Christ measured 115.9 x 93.04 cm.; now in the Uffizi, Florence (Catalogued Nos.3497, 3498). Tietze, Hans, Tintoretto: the Paintings and Drawings (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., MCMXLVIII), pp.346, 350. (Hereafter referred to as Tintoretto) See also Ridolfi, Life, p.19.
- 98 Still in that church. Bercken, Erich von der, Die Gemälde des Jacopo Tintoretto (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1942), p. 123. See also T.C.I., Venezia, p.254. See also Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.180.
- 99 Pallucchini, Pittura, p.XVI. Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.180. Bercken, Gemälde, p.124. See also T.C.I., Venezia, pp.261f.
- 100 He arrived in Venice in 1536 (Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, p.97), and there is a record in 1557 concerning "Ser Andrea organista a S. Hieremia" (Libera, Organi, p.183). Hence, it is justifiable to date it in the 1550s.
- 101 Now in Palazzo Selvatico, Padua, Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.52.
- 102 The outside panels measured 433 x 461 cm., and on them is inscribed "Pomponi Amaltei MDLV. April"; the inside ones 436 x 238 cm. each. Still in situ. Truant, Amalteo, pp. 266-69. See also Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.5. See also Menegazzi, Amalteo, pp.160. See also T.C.I., Friuli Venezia Giulia (Milan: Industrie Grafiche Italiane Stucchi, 1963), p.132. (Hereafter referred to as Friuli).

See also Cavalcaselle, Pittura, p.114.

- 103 Menegazzi, Amalteo, pp.164-70. See also Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.4. See also T.C.I., Friuli, p.92. See also Cavalcaselle, Pittura, p.115.
- 104 Tempera on canvas, each 210 x 91 cm.. The authorship of these shutters has been attributed variously to Francesco Salviati, Giuseppe Porta dit Salviati, and Veronese, whereas the date of execution has been variously put in 1541-42, alightly after 1551, and 1558. But judging from the handling of the architectural elements and drapery on another organ shutter by Zelotti, that of Santa Maria di Praglia, I agree on the date of 1558. Marini, Remigio, trans. from the Italian by Ada Carella, Tout l'oeuvre peint de Veronese (Paris: Flammarion, 1970), p.89. See also Sgarbi, Vittore, Palladio e Maniera (Venice: Eletta Edutrice, 1980), p.61. See also Pignatti Terisio, Veronese (Venice: Alfieri, 1976), Vol.I, p.107. See also Pallucchini, Mostra di Paolo Veronese (2nd ed., Venice: Ca' Giustinian, 1939), pp.46f.
- 105 The front panels measured 490 x 190 cm., the inside ones 490 x 80 each. Still in situ. Cocke, Richard, Veronese (London: Jupiter Books Publishers, 1980), pp.13, 52. See also Libera, Organi, p.214. See also T.C.I., Venezia, p.341. See also Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol.Xiv, "Veronese", by Pallucchini. There is a Pool of Bethesda (canvas, 103.5 x 106 cm., No. 56.49.2.) in the Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, California, which is a copy of the inner panels of the shutters of San Sebastiano. See Pignatti, Veronese, Vol.I, p.191; Vol.II, Fig.865.
- 106 The old, rounded-headed, organ, built in 1558, was replaced by a square one in the early years of the eighteenth century. The present exterior of the shutters have been adjusted to fit with the new organ while the inner were cut down (each 247 x 122 cm.). When the church was demolished in 1807 they were removed; later, the exterior panels were pieced together into one painting (441 x 240 cm.). Since 1924 these shutters are reunited in the Galleria Estense of Modena. Cocke, Veronese, p.50, 52. See also Marini, Veronese, p.98. See also Pignatti, Veronese, Vol.I, pp.75, 124. See also Ticozzi, Paolo, Paolo Veronese e i suoi incisore (Venice: Alfieri, 1977), p.22. See also Libera, Organi, pp.80f.
- 107 In situ. Tempera on canvas, each 230 x 122 cm.. Sgarbi, Palladio, pp.34f.
- 108 On the Transfiguration there is an inscription: "Pomponii Amalthei". Truant, Amalteo, pp.152-57. Cavalcaselle, Pittura, p.117.
- 109 Tempera on canvas. The two panels of Moses measured 353 x

142 and 353 x 147 cm., whereas David and Saul 353 x 177 cm. respectively. Sgarbi, Palladio, pp.62f.

110 Libera, Organi, p.153.

111 The old church of San Giacomo had demolished and a new one was built in 1557. The inner panels (200 x 85 cm. each) were sold in 1807 to an English consul and are now at Stamford, Burghley House Marquess of Exeter. They are now rather reduced in measurement. The Mystic Marriage was acquired by Sir Charles Wright and he sold it in 1771 to Lord Clive; it is now in the Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels. It is pieced together into one painting and is slightly reduced from its original measurement of 216 x 213.5 cm.. Rearick, W.R., Maestri Veneti del Cinquecento (Florence:Istituto Alinari, 1980), p.44. See also Libera, Organi, pp.79, 257. See also Marini, Veronese, p.109. See also Pignatti, Veronese, p.208.

112 Hall, Dictionary, p.58.

113 Oil on canvas. Now in Museo Provinciale, Torcello (Venezia). The Annunciation (No.1084) measured 275 x 187 cm., while the Adoration of the Magi (No.1085) 271 x 188 cm.. These shutters show considerable work by an assistant. Pignatti, Veronese, pp.209, 313. See also Libera, Organi, p.258. See also Marini, op.cit., p.111.

114 Oil on canvas. Formerly in W.S. Baden's collection, Vienna; now in the Collection Suida, New York. Dr. Rearick pointed out to me that this is a fragment of an organ shutter. Unfortunately, there is no further information. Suida Wilhelm, "Notes sur Paul Veronese". Gazatte des Beaux-arts (1938, Ser. 6, XIX), p.174-184. See also Marini, Veronese, p.134.

115 In situ. Because 1573 is the last year information is recorded concerning him, also, in this very church, there is an altarpiece -- Descent of the Holy Spirit -- by Titian dated ca. 1555, we can put these shutters in late 1560s and early 70s. T.C.I., Venezia, pp.334f.

116 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History, Vol.III, pp.196f. See also Berenson, Venetian School, Vol.I, p.91. See also Cavalcaselle, Pittura, pp.105f.

117 T.C.I., Venezia, p.319. See also Libera, Organi, p.142f. See also Ridolfi, Life, p.29.

118 Oil on canvas. Each measured 245 x 127 cm.. Formerly in M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco (California); present location is unknown. Compared with the Annunciation in the National Gallery (Kress Collection), Washington, D.C. of ca. 1580 (Pignatti, Veronese, p.126, Fig.255a), and

another Annunciation in the de Young Memorial Museum (Ibid., Fig.255a), it is justifiable to put it around 1580. Ibid., p.207.

- 119 Now in Brera, Milan. Hands of Benedetto Carletto Caliri or assistants from Veronese's bottega are discernible in the Adoration (455 x 355 cm.). With regard to the four saints, the authorship is doubtlessly attributed to Benedetto Caliri. Since the organ of this church was constructed between 1584 and 1586, the latter date is possibly close to the date of the painting of these shutters. Marini, Veronese, p.131. See also Libera, Organi, p.209. See also Rearick, Maestri, p.45.
- 120 Oil on canvas. 370 x 230 cm. each. Marini, Veronese, p.135. Libera, Organi, p.216. Because Carletto Caliri was only eighteen years old when Veronese died in 1588. I prefer to put these shutters in the early 1590s, though he was already known to assist his father in the 80s.
- 121 Oil on canvas. Each shutter measured 260 x 130 cm.. The foundation of this church was laid in 1559, when the pace di Cateau-Cambrésis was signed. Hence, this church was also called Madonna della Pace. Accordingly, it is justifiable to put these shutters in the 1580s, when construction of the church was probably finished. Maganato, Licisco, Cinquat'anni di Pittura Veronese: 1580-1630 (Neri Pozza Editore, 1974), pp.51, 57, 58. He was also known to paint the altarpiece for this church. See also Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.II, p.35.
- 122 Libera, Organi, pp.168f. This church was renovated radically since 1575. Since there is a Last Supper by Cesare da Conegliano dated 1583 in this very church (T.C.I., Venezia, p.230), also, Aliense was known to have painted a Plague of Snakes (signed and dated 1587) in Chiesa dell' Angelo Raffaele, Venice (T.C.I., Venezia, p.342), therefore, it is highly possible that he painted these shutters in the 1580s.
- 123 These shutters were attributed to Paolo Piazza by Fr. Sansovino, but Zanetti attributed them to Alvise da Friso, nephew of Paolo Veronese. I agree with Sansovino. Libera, Organi, p.138. Nevertheless, these shutters are not mentioned in T.C.I.. Because Paolo Piazza was born in 1557, it is reasonable to date these shutters in the 1580s, when he was in his late 20s and early 30s.
- 124 Zanetti gave a record of these shutters. Libera, Organi, p.148.
- 125 These shutters were lost in 1810 when this church was closed down. Libera, Organi, p.134. Since Alvise da Friso was

- born in 1554, it is justifiable to date these shutters in the 1580s, when he was in his late twenties and early thirties.
- 126 Libera, Organi, p.92. The Triumph of David is hung at the cappella di S. Atanasio of this church. T.C.I., Venezia, p.200.
 - 127 Oil on canvas. The inside measured ca. 300 x 110 cm. each. The inner canvases are in the Gallerie di Venezia, whereas the exterior ones are known to have been in Seminario partiarcale until 1819. Libera, Organi, p.170. In Sofia there is a Deposition with Angels, also by Palma il Giovani, T.C.I., Venezia, p.200. See especially Moschini-Marconi, Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia, p.155, Fig.260.
 - 128 This church was closed to the cult within the first ten years of 1800. It is recorded that these shutters are hung in the chapel of S. Veneranda of San Geremis, Venice (Libera, Organi, P.194), but I cannot find them in T.C.I..
 - 129 No titles are given. It is said that they are hung at San Basso, Venice (T.C.I., Venezia, p.107). However, there are no rogan shutters by him in this church, instead, there are organ shutters by Gentile Bellini. See above, fn.20.
 - 130 Zanetti testified that these shutters pictured the Madonna and two bishop saints. Libera, Organi, p.159.
 - 131 Palma il Giovane painted the organ shutters for Santo Spirito. It is also known that these shutters went to Santa Maria della Salute in 1656, when the Senato della Repubblica, for sustaining the expense of the war of Candia, sold goods and furniture from Convento dei Canonici and Santo Spirito. However, these shutters cannot be found in Salute, according to T.C.I.. Libera, Organi, p.244.
 - 132 Oil on canvas. The outside canvases measured 158 x 81 each; the inside ones 160 x 80 each. Now in the Gallerie dell'Academia, Venice. See Libera, Organi, p.193.
 - 133 Jameson, Legends of the Madonna as represented in the fine arts (Reprinted in 1972 by Detroit, Book Tower, Gale Research Company. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1890), pp. XXVI-XXXIII. (Hereafter referred to as Legends)
 - 134 See fn.87.
 - 135 Sumner, Organ, pp.259f.
 - 136 Servières, "La Décoration des Buffets d'Orgue aux XVe et XVIe Siecles" (premier article), Gazette des Beaux-arts, December 1916, pp.457-73.

137 Sumner, Organ, p.261.

138 The Duomo at Milan, the Duomo at Verona, the Duomo at Cremona, the Chiesa del Carmine at Padua, and the Duomo at Lidi have two large organs, one on each side of the choir. The church of St. Dominico, at Bologna, has two organs in the choir, and two more in the north transept. The church of St. Annunziata, Florence, has an organ on each side of the nave. The duomo at Genoa has an organ in each transept. The church of St. Bernardino, at Verona, has an organ at the north-east of the nave. The church of St. Salvatore, Venice, has one organ bracketed on the north wall of the north aisle. The church of St. Francesco, Perugia, has an organ at the south-east of the nave. The Chiesa del Carmine, at Florence, has a small organ at the east end, and a large one at the west end. The church of Borgo St. Lorenzo, Perugia, has two organs in projecting galleries from the clerestory. The Duomo at Viterbo has an organ over the south transept arch. Hopkins and Rimbault, Organ, pp.84f.

139 Although there is no direct indication, so far as I know, of Mantegna's influence on Gentile's peacock perching on the garland of fruit, a very interesting comparison can be made with a copy of a preliminary study for Canvas VII of the Triumphs of Caesar (Fig. 143), painted by Andrea Mantegna approximately two decades later, in which a facon perches on a garland of fruit. Reproduced in Martindale, Andrew, The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1979), Fig. 55.

140 Marle, Raimond van, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting. Vol.XVII, pp.140f. Nevertheless, Jacopo's influence on the perspective and his antiquarian interest cannot be totally ignored, though Mantegna's influence in this instance is definitely stronger. Drawings from the sketch book of Jacopo Bellini in the Louvre, Paris, shows Jacopo's mastery of perspective and interest in the antique revival.

141 A diagram of the fresco decorations in the Ovetari Chapel gives us a better idea of how Mantegna choose his perspective. See Fiocco, The Frescoes of Mantegna in the Eremitani Church Padua (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 2nd ed., 1978), p.27. Fig. 8. (Hereafter referred to as Frescoes)

142 First popular in the Quattrocento, the theme of St. Jerome in the wilderness which brings man, animals, and nature so intimately together, was favored especially in Venice, indeed it became a Venetian theme par excellence. Sharing this "desert" tradition is the theme of St. Francis Receiving Stigmata and St. John the Baptist, they are manifestations of the Quattrocento love of the natural world.

Meiss, Millard, Giovanni Bellini's St. Francis in the Frick Collection (Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 19-24; p. 45, fn. 36. (Hereafter referred to as St. Francis)

- 143 Mather, Venetian Painters, P. 48.
- 145 Uffizi, Florence, N. 152F. Reproduced in Heinemann, Fritz, Giovanni Bellini e i Belliniani (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1962), Vol.I, p.83, Fig.139.
- 146 Although the mountain looks like a rational version of Mantegna's background in The Calling of the Apostles James and John in Ovetari Chapel (reproduced in Fiocco, Frescoes, p.30, Fig.10), it is also possible that Gentile derived the rocks from his father's sketchbooks.
- 147 For example, the distant in Virgin and Child with Lionello d'Este.
- 148 Now in the Accademia Venezia. Planiscig, von Leo, Jacopo und Gentile Bellini (Vienna, Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co., 1928), pp.20f.
- 149 Reproduced in Fiocco, Frescoes, PL.XII.
- 150 Such derivation from Jacopo's sketchbooks is not unusual in Mantegna's and Giovanni's paintings. Study has been made that Bellini and Mantegna in their The Agony in the Garden both derived from a drawing of the same subject by Jacopo in the sketchbook of the British Museum. Hendy, Philip, and Ludwig, Giovanni Bellini (Oxford: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1945), p.14, Figs. 8 and 9; PLs. 7-10.
- 151 Tietze, "St. Jerome in the Wilderness by Gentile Bellini", especially p.112.
- 152 This inscription is derived from the fourth Gospel (1:36), John looked toward Jesus and said, "There is the Lamb of God." Ferguson, George, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art (New York: Oxford University Press, n.d.), pp.223-24.
- 153 Such a cross can also be seen in Giovanni Bellini's St. Jerome in Penitence on the predella of the Pesaro Altarpiece (Reproduced in Heinemann, Giovanni Bellini e i Belliniani, Fig.42) and St. Jerome among the Rocks in Conte Alessandro Contini Bonaeossi's Collection, Florence (Reproduced in Ibid., Fig. 46).
- 154 Hamilton Jackson (The Shores of the Adriatic, Murray, 1908) mentioned these shutters as works by Giovanni Bellini in 1489, cited in Fiocco, Carpaccio, p.60.
- 155 Réau, Louis, Iconographie de L'art Chrétien (Paris: Presses

- Universitaires de France, 1955), Vol.I, p.132. This device of growing a tree from a cliff can also be seen in Giovanni Bellini's St. Jerome (Heinemann, Bellini, Fig.224), St. Jerome in Penitence (Ibid., Fig.42). Since similar devices cannot be found in other contemporary Venetian paintings, it is possible that this device is a family heritage.
- 156 Plus, Raoul, S. J., Saint Jean-Baptiste dans L'art (Paris: Editions Alsatia, 1937), pp.19-23.
- 157 Berenzoni, Raffaello, Domenico Morone (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1977), p.31-35.
- 158 Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.I, p.83.
- 159 It is also known that Jacopo Bellini introduced the use of canvas into Verona. Wittkower, Rudolf, Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp.190, 210.
- 160 St. Bernardino of Siena was a monk of the Franciscan Order, who joined the Order in 1402, and was canonized in 1450 by Nicholas V. Kaftal, George, and Fabio Bisogni, Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), p.150.
- 161 Meiss, St. Francis, pp.30f.
- 162 However, angels placed in the upper half of a composition are not without precedents in early Venetian paintings, such as Paolo Veneziano's The Coronation of the Virgin in the polyptych of St. Francis and Chiara in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Reproduced in Pallucchini, Rodolfo, La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento, Venice: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1964, Fig.144) or Stefano di Sant'Agnese's Madonna and Child with Musical Angels in the private collection of Conte Vittorio Cini, Venice (Ibid., Fig. 578), to name only a few.
- 163 Cant. iv. 4, 12, 15.
- 164 Molmenti and Ludwig, Carpaccio, pp.7, 8.
- 165 Ibid, p.14.
- 166 Jameson, Lord, Vol.I, p.211.
- 167 Ibid, pp.102ff. Nevertheless, Mary is regarded as the second Eve, because through her came the promised Redemption (Jameson, Legends, p.xlviii). Therefore, the palm-tree, emblems of the Virgin, justify themselves in the background (Ibid, p.xivi).
- 168 See above, fn.44.

- 169 Robertson, Giles, Giovanni Bellini (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p.97.
- 170 Symeonides, Fourteenth, p.134.
- 171 Robertson, Bellini, p.97.
- 172 Ibid. See also Symeonides, Fourteenth, p.134.
- 173 Heinemann also points out that Antonello's influence can be seen in the leftmost head in the Crucifixion of St. Peter in the predella of Pesaro Coronation. Heinemann, Bellini, Vol.I, p.62.
- 174 Symeonides, Fourteenth, p.134.
- 175 It is the Book of Wisdom, and is supposed to be opened at the seventh chapter. Jameson, Legends, p.xlvii.
- 176 Ibid, p.178.
- 177 Above, fn.161.
- 178 The olive-bough is the mystical symbol of peace on earth. Jameson, Legends, p.180.
- 179 'I am the rose of sharon, and the lily of the valleys.' (Cant. ii. 1, 2). As the general emblem of purity, the lily is introduced into the Annunciation. Ibid, p.xlv.
- 180 Ibid, p.180.
- 181 Symeonides, Fourteenth, p.134.
- 182 Saint Sinibaldus on the inside of the shutters was a patron saint of Nuremberg. Hirst, Sebastiano, p.7, fn.31.
- 183 A similar inclination of the head also appears in St. Bartholomew on the outside of the shutters.
- 184 Hirst, Sebastiano, p.10.
- 185 Ibid.
- 186 Ibid.
- 187 Wilde, Venetian, pp.94f.
- 188 Hirst, Sebastiano, pp.11f.
- 189 Ibid, p.12.
- 190 Jameson, Sacred, Vol.I, pp.244f.

- 191 Wilde suggests that a knowledge of this famous statue was acquired by Sebastiano through a drawing. Wilde, Venetian, pp.95ff. Later mentioned by Hirst, Sebastiano, p.13.
- 192 Pignatti and Ruggeri, Giorgione a Venezia, p.155. However, Hirst disagreed with this explanation.
- 193 Freedberg, Painting, p.92.
- 194 Zampetti, Dictionary, Vol.I, p.18.
- 195 Wittkower, Idea, p.210.
- 196 Probably also influenced by Domenico Morone, as can be noted in Domenico's earliest datable work, the Madonna and Child of 1484, Staatliche Musee, Berlin. Reproduced in Berenson, North School, Vol.III, PL.1299.
- 197 Ibid, pp.20f.
- 198 Freedberg, Painting, p.239.
- 199 According to the convention of organ shutters, the Annunciation is usually depicted on the outside, the saints on the inside. However, the present Annunciation seems to deny this convention, because it seems to me that they were once separated by the organ pipes. The lack of continuity of the component elements, especially the ceiling, was thus compensated by the spectator's imagination. However, perhaps the right shutter has been repainted to change the ceiling into sky, and the right edge of the left shutter has been cut, creating the present awkwardness of this pair when they are looked at as one whole picture. Since no further information can be gathered, I follow the traditional attribution and accept this pair as an exterior Annunciation and leave this question open for the present.
- 200 Freedberg, Painting, p.238.
- 201 Denny, Don, The Annunciation from the Right from Early Christian Times to the Sixteenth Century (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), especially pp.121ff.
- 202 Mather, Venetian Painters, p.148.
- 203 Lauts, Carpaccio, p.240.
- 204 Acts 9: 1-9.
- 205 Freedberg, Painting, p.493, fn.32.
- 206 Ferrari, Il Romanino, pp.30f.

- 207 Levi d'Ancona, Mirella, The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (College Art Association of America in conjunction with the Art Bulletin, 1957), especially Part I.
- 208 Francesco is known to have collaborated with Titian on the frescoes of the loggia of Capitanio di Vicenza. Pallucchini, Tiziano (Florence: G. C. Sansoni Editore, 1969), Vol.I, p.210.
- 209 Reproduced in Ibid, Vol.II, PL.300.
- 210 Reproduced in Ibid, Vol.II, PL.286.
- 211 Freedberg, Painting, p.240.
- 212 Reproduced in Pallucchini, Tiziano, Vol.II, PL.277.
- 213 Jameson, Lord, Vol.I, pp.137f.
- 214 The inconsistency of the paired Annunciation, once again, makes the author doubt Berenson's claim that these are the outside of organ shutters.
- 215 Tintoretto is known to assist Schiavone without any recompense in order to learn Schiavone's method. Ridolfi, Carlo, trans. by Enggass, Catherine, and Robert Enggass, The Life of Tintoretto and of His Children Domenico and Mareitta (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984), p.17.
- 216 The pelican symbolizes Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Ferguson, 1966, p.23.
- 217 Levi d'Ancona, pp.36ff.
- 218 Hartt, Frederick, History of Italian Renaissance Art (2nd ed., New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979), p.444.
- 219 Reproduced in Pignatti, Veronese, Vol.II, PL.428.
- 220 Reproduced in Ibid, Vol.II, PL.150.
- 221 Rosand, David, Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), Chapter 4.
- 222 Mascherpa, Giorgio et al., Lorenzo Lotto: Riflessioni Lombarde (Bergamo: Centro Culturale S. Bartolomeo, 1980), pp.104ff. p.153f.
- 223 Freedberg, Painting, p.247.
- 224 Ibid,

- 225 John 1:1.
- 226 Rosand, Painting, p.110.
- 227 A study of the iconographical development of the Presentation of the Virgin is given in Rosand, Painting, Chapter 4. As for Tintoretto's Presentation, see particularly p.110; p.272, fn.97; p.274, fn.114. See also Tietze, Tintoretto, p.44.
- 228 Above fn.215. See also Tietze, Tintoretto, p.33.
- 229 Tietze, Tintoretto, p.371.
- 230 Pallucchini, Tiziano, Vol.I, p.207.
- 231 Cocke, Richard, Veronese (London: Jupiter Books Publishers, 1980), p.52.
- 232 Ibid.
- 233 Ibid. p.13.
- 234 Ibid.
- 235 Ibid. p.50.
- 236 Ibid.
- 237 Libera, Organi, pp.80f.
- 238 Powers, H. H., Venice and Its Art (New York: MacMillan Company, 1930), p.364.
- 239 Rearick, Maestri, p.45.

APPENDIX 1

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ORGAN

1. Types of the Organ

The history of the organ can be traced back to antiquity. It reached a considerable degree of development in Greco-Roman when three types of the organs were known: (1) the pneumatic; (2) the hydraulus; (3) the hydraulic organ.¹

After the decline of the Roman Empire, techniques of organ-building were transmitted to the Middle East and gradually filtered back to the West during the Early Christian era.² Throughout the first millenium A.D., the organ was used continuously, and the art of organ-building spread to various parts of Europe.³ The English began to build organs by the beginning of the eighth century, and the French by about the middle of the eighth century.⁴

During this expanding period -- the Early Christian era -- several types of organs developed, namely, the positive organ, the portative organ, the large organ, and the regal. Although only the large and the positive organ are equipped with organ shutters, for a better understanding of various types of the organ, it would be helpful to give a brief survey of these types in sequence of their develop-

ment.

The positive organ was made in two sizes: a small organ which stood on a table (positif de table) or a larger type which stood on a floor (positif à pied). They are first recorded in the late tenth century.⁵ The positive organ was played in courts, in churches, and used in Mystery plays "pour accompagner les Voix du Ciel ou les Diablotins descendus sur terre".⁶ In fourteenth-century France, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries the table positive was a favored musical instrument of the society.

When the large organ took over the major role, the positive organ, played in the church from the fifteenth century on, survived and was often placed on the screen (pulpitum) or in the tribune side by side with the great organ.⁷

While the positive organ was in vogue, a small type of organ was developed in England and Italy: Portative (nimphale), called organetto in Italy.⁸ First heard of in England in the twelfth century, it prevailed both there and on the Continent until the sixteenth century.⁹ Both profane and sacred music were played on it in the houses of merchants or in the private chapels of the nobility. Occasionally, it was also used at the portals of the Cathedral for accompanying Miracle and Mystery plays.¹⁰

Magnificent, large church organs were very popular in many parts of Europe from the fifteenth century on. Germany seems to be the country where large organs developed earliest, perhaps as early as the twelfth century,¹¹ and there were also large organs in France, Spain, England, and the Low Countries.¹² During the process of its development, the large church organ replaced the positive organ on the screen or the organ-gallery of large churches, and, consequently, the positive organ came to be used mainly as a chamber organ. Usually, a large organ built around 1500 had several compartments: (1) a grand orgue; (2) a Positif à dos, or Cheyère; (3) Trompes, or Bordunen; and (4) extra contrivances.¹³

Another type of small organ was the regal, a small reed organ which originated in sixteenth-century Italy.¹⁴ However, the name regal organ sometimes denotes a positive organ, for example, in Henry VIII's inventory of 1547, all chamber organs were designated as regals.¹⁵

2. The Accelerating Development of the Organ from 1400 to 1600

Several reasons for the accelerating development of the organ are suggested. First of all, the technology of organ-building continued to advance. In addition to the growth in size of the organ, the invention of solo stops and sound softening stops enhanced the tone of the instrument.¹⁶ Other mechanical devices such as the pedal-board also developed in Germany and in the Netherlands. For example, the organ in

Halberstadt, Germany, built in 1361, had three manuals and an early form of the pedal clavier.¹⁷ However, in France the device of the pedalboard did not develop greatly during this period. At this time, the Italian organ contained only one manual and short pedal. As for the Spanish organ, they were characterized by Claviers of four octaves and large families of trumpet stops. Compared to the Continental organ, the English organ developed quite late, and, even as late as the sixteenth century, had only one clavier, several stops, and no pedalboard.¹⁸

Generally speaking, the pace of organ-building accelerated tremendously between the late Gothic and early Renaissance throughout Europe, particularly in Germany, Burgundy, Flanders,¹⁹ Normandy, Castile, the plains of the Po, the Austrian lowlands, even in the New World.²⁰ However, the Venetians enjoy special recognition for their skill in organ-building. When the technology of organ-building was passed to the Middle East and remained a Byzantine secret in Charlemagne's time,²¹ Western Europe knew nothing of this art until a Venetian monk made an organ at Aix-la-Chapelle for Louis the Pious.²²

Although the Italians first adopted the use of stops between 1400 and 1450, the oldest extant organ that has stops was built in 1470 in St. Petronio, Bologna. Italians also first developed such innovations as the channed chest, which enabled the selection of single ranks of pipes from the

Ripieno, the slider, used as early as 1480 in the Cathedral of Orvieto, and the spring chest, by 1507 used at Santa Maria, Montertone.²³ Furthermore, organ-building in Southern France was undoubtedly influenced by Italian organ-building. We know that a Venetian, J. Torrian, was summoned to reconstruct the organ of the Notre-Dame-des-Tables of Montpellier in 1504.²⁴

As a consequence of the technological development, organs of tremendous size were found in almost every Cathedral and parish church. For example, the organ of the Amiens Cathedral, built in 1429, had 2,500 pipes,²⁵ the organ of the Rheims Cathedral, built in 1487, had pipes 27 feet long and a case 54 feet high.²⁶

The luxuriant wealth accumulated from trade with the East and the New World also helped to advance the costly art of organ-building; interest in the organ as a symbol of wealth became a catalyst in the development.²⁷ The organ became a necessary item of luxury furniture at court. For example, in the palace of Lorenzo de Medici, there were five organs. And, with the clavicord and the lute, the organ took the principle role in sovereigns' collections.²⁸

An increase in amateur organists as well as the rise of the social status of professional organists also helped to increase the public interest in the organ music,²⁹ both the Church

and the Court became major patrons of organists.³⁰ Individual organists began to gain fame because of their performing powers; some of their names come down to us from fifteenth-century Italy, such as Francesco Landini and the Florentine Antonio Squarcialupi (1416-1480);³¹ and from Germany, Henrick Isaak,³² Comrad Paumann (c.1410/15-1473) and Arnolt Schlick (born c. 1450-60; died after 1520).³³

Because of the above reasons -- the technological innovations, the accumulation of wealth, the increase of the number of the organist, the exaltation of the social status of the organist, and the patronage of the Church and the Court -- organ-building bloomed. Furthermore, the increasing activities of organ-building had a reciprocal relationship with the development of organ music. Although compositions of organ music from fifteenth-century England, France, Italy, and Spain have virtually disappeared, and only a few fragments survive from Germany, there must have been a preparatory period in these countries.³⁴ The earliest extant source of organ music is the Robertsbridge Codex dating from about 1352.³⁵ An Italian Codex Faenza, compiled between 1475 and 1479, is the next known source.³⁶ The Ileborgh Tablature, dated 1448, from Stendal in middle Germany, is the earliest existing piece not based on a previously existing model.³⁷ As for the early sixteenth-century Italian organ music composition, there are Marc Antonio Cavazzoni da Bologna's Recerchari, Motetti, Canzoni, Libro Primo (Venice, 1523) as well as Andrea Antico da Montona's

Frottole Intabulate da Sonare Organi (Rome, 1517).³⁸ Under such flourishing creativity there emerged around 1500 new types other than liturgical music -- the toccata, ricercar, canzona, variation, and dance types.³⁹

The abundance of musical instruments and their increasing importance resulted in the sudden emergence of popular musical treatises at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1511 a German priest, Sebastian Virdung, published a small book entitled Musica getutscht vnd außgezogē, or 'Music Germanized and Abstracted'.⁴⁰ In the same year, Arnold Schlick, the court organist at Heidelberg, published a Spiegel der Orgelmacher uñ Organisten, or 'Mirror of Organ Makers and Players', the first printed monograph on the construction of a single musical instrument.⁴¹ Martin Sore (1486-1556) published 'Musica instrumentalis in German, which comprises a method of learning to play on various wind instruments based on the art of singing, and how to play organs, harps, lutes, viols, and all instruments and strings according to the correct tablature' (the first edition 1528, the fifth and last 1545).⁴² Such publications were in demand because of the increasing number of professional and amateur organists as well as the growing popularity of the organ with the public.

3. The Organ and the Church

The organ has been used in the public service of the church since early time. Some scholars trace its use back into

the second century A.D.. It is also said that St. Ambrose, in the fourth century, used it in public service in the Cathedral of Milan. Sources also testify that it had been in common use in Spanish churches at least by the fifth century. However, these claims are dubious, but authentic historical records show that the organ was employed for religious worship by Pope Vitalian I in A.D. 666.⁴³

By the second half of the thirteenth century the organ was already accepted as part of the normal features of churches,⁴⁴ and by about 1500 the large church organ was essentially like the instrument as we know it today.⁴⁵

In the churches of the Medieval era the organ was used to "add splendour to some ceremony rather than to accompany regular liturgical service."⁴⁶ On the patron's feast day at the abbey of Saint-Denis, near Paris, minstrels were allowed inside to play music. They were also allowed to play at the beginning of monastic meals.⁴⁷

Because the English church was interested more in singing than in large instruments, small organs like the positive or the portative were considered sufficient.⁴⁸

After the Reformation the organ played a less prominent role in Protestant churches than in Catholic churches, yet Martin Luther regarded music as a very important element

in congregational worship. He said:

Whoever despises music I am displeased with him. Next to theology, I give a place to music; for thereby all anger is forgotten, the devil is driven away, and melancholy⁴⁹ and many tribulations, and evil thoughts are expelled.

Therefore, the Lutheran chorals were accompanied by various types of organs. Nevertheless, Calvinism in the Low Countries, France, and England was less tolerant towards music.⁵¹ Especially in England, after the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536, the organ was often identified with Roman Catholicism, and it was completely disposed of by Cromwell in 1642.⁵²

However, in Roman Catholic churches the organ was continuously used as a solo instrument and as an accompaniment for the choir. For instance, the Magnificat was frequently performed in alternation between the choir and organ, the even-numbered verses being sung and the odd-numbered ones played.⁵³ Accordingly, many outstanding organ masters, such as Schlick, Redford, Cabezón, and Cavazzoni worked exclusively or predominantly in liturgical music, and they also composed outstanding organ music. Under the patronage of the sixteenth-century Roman Catholic Church, liturgical organ music grew into full blossom and laid the foundation for the development of the Protestant organ chorale in the Baroque era.⁵⁴

NOTES OF APPENDIX 1

- 1 The pneumatic organ used "the blastbag and unsteady wind supply". The hydraulic was "blown by hand, in which the water was used to stabilize the wind press". And the hydraulic organ used the "gravitational effect of water" to generate the air. Sumner, William Leslie, The Organ: Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and use (London: MacDonald and Jane's in association with New York: St. Martin's Press), p.22. (Hereafter referred to as Organ)
- 2 Ibid., pp.32-34.
- 3 Hughes, Dom Anselm and Abraham, Gerald, ed., New Oxford History of Music, Vol.3, Ars Nova and the Renaissance: 1300-1540 (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.469. (Hereafter referred to as History)
- 4 Sumner, Organ, p.32.
- 5 Ibid., p.54.
- 6 Ibid..
- 7 Ibid., p.56.
- 8 Ibid., p.47.
- 9 In Hughes and Abraham, History, p.487, the given date is the early fourteenth century, whereas in Sumner, Organ, p. 54, the date is the twelfth.
- 10 Sumner, Organ, p.54.
- 11 For example, in 1444, a large organ was built by Heinrich Traxdorf for St. Sebald's Church, Nuremberg. At St. Laurence in the same city a large organ was built by Leonard Marca in 1479, which contain 1,100 pipes. Sumner, Organ, pp.53, 47.
- 12 There was a large organ at the Amiens Cathedral built in 1429, which had 2,500 pipes. Rheims Cathedral had a large organ built in 1487. Sumner, Organ, pp.53f. A detailed list of France Renaissance organs from 1470 to 1570 is given by Dufourcq, Norbert, Le Livre de L'orgue Francais: 1589-1789 (Paris: Editions A.& J. Picard, 1975), pp.78-83. The organ in the Nicolai Church in Utrecht, dated 1479, is the oldest one in Holland, Douglass, Fenner, The Language of the Classical French Organ: A Musical Tradition before 1800 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp.10-13.
- 13 The Grand Orgue is the major element of the large church

organ, which contains up to about 2,000 pipes or more, was called Blockwerk (or staend principae) in the low Countries and Germany, and the case for it was the Blocklade. The French words Fourniture, Principal, and Plein Jeu at that time meant the same thing. The Positif à dos, or Cheyère, had a much smaller number of pipes, the case for which was always placed behind the player on the gallery rail. The Trompes, or Bordunen, were divided equally in matching towers beside the Grand Orgue. As for the extra contrivances, mechanical gadgets operating on the wind of the organ were typical components of organs of the Renaissance. Or, other contrivances such as the Tremulants and revolving stars. Douglass, Language, pp.10-13.

- 14 Arnold, Corliss Richard, Organ Literature: A Comprehensive Survey (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1973), p.4. (Hereafter referred to as Literature) The origin of the word regal is discussed below:
'The most usual usual explanation is that it was first made as a present to a king. Again, the word has been regarded as a corruption of Rigabello, an instrument formerly used in Italian churches before the introduction of the organ. Or it may have been a contraction of the organ, and it appeared as rigol or regol, an instrument for keeping the the "rule" or "order" of the plainsong.
Sumner, Organ, p.61.
- 15 One item of this inventory runs:
"One pare of single Regales with viii Stoppes of pipes, of wiide vernisshed yellowe and painted with black anticke woorke standinge uppon a foote of wainscott the Bellowses lieing in the same: it hathe but one stoppe of pipes of woode a Cimbball of Tinne and a Regall."
Sachs, Cirt, The History of Musical Instruments (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1940), p.286. (Hereafter referred to as Instruments)
- 16 Arnold, Literature, p.3.
- 17 Sumner, Organ, p.66.
- 18 Ibid..
- 19 From the fourteenth cintury on, organ building was a major industry in the Netherlands. In the Low Countries there developed a "Brabant organ", which contributed very much to the art of organ-building during the Renaissance era. Kratzenstein, Mailou, Survey of Organ Literature and Edition (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1980), p.129. (Hereafter referred to as Survey) See also Sumner, Organ, pp.73ff.
- 20 Sachs, Instrument, p.304.
- 21 Above, fn.2.

- 22 Hughes and Abraham, History, p.468.
- 23 Douglass, Language, pp.15f.
- 24 Dufourcq, Livre, p.30.
- 25 Sumner, Organ, pp.48, 54.
- 26 Ibid., p.54.
- 27 Ibid., p.63.
- 28 Jacquot, Jean, La Musique Instrumentale de la Renaissance (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1955), p.42. (Hereafter referred to as Musique)
- 29 Harrison, Frank and Rimmer, Joan, European Musical Instruments (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964), p.21. (Hereafter referred to as European)
- 30 Arnold, Literature, pp.5f.
- 31 Apel, Willi, The History of Keyboard Music to 1700, trans. and rev. Hans Tischler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), p.81. (Hereafter referred to as History)
- Kratzenstein, Survey, p.13.
- 32 Sumner, Organ, pp.63, 67.
- 33 Kratzenstein, Survey, p.23
- 34 Hughes and Abraham, History, p.426.
- 35 Kratzenstein, Survey, p.23.
- 36 Apel, History, p.109. See also Kratzenstein, Survey, p.3.
- 37 Kratzenstein, Survey, p.23.
- 38 Sumner, Organ, p.64, fn.
- 39 Apel, History, p.75.
- 40 Sachs, Instrument, p.298.
- 41 Ibid., p.299.
- 42 Ibid., p.299.
- 43 Hopkins, E.J. and Rimbault, E.F. The Organ: Its history and construction (Hilversum: Frits Knuf, 1965; reprint of 3rd. ed., London 1877), p.17.
- 44 Hughes and Abraham, History, p.413.

- 45 Grout, Donald Jay, A History of Western Music (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1960, rev.ed., 1973), p.225.
- 46 Hughes and Abraham, History, p.412.
- 47 Ibid., p.413.
- 48 Sumner, Organ, p.101.
- 49 Rimbault, Edward F., The Early English Organ Builders and Their Work (London: WM. REEVES, 1864), p.4.
- 50 Arnold, Literature, p.4.
- 51 Servieres, Georges "La Decoration des Buffets d'Orgue aux XVe e XVIe Siecles" (deuxieme article), Gazette des Beaux-arts January 1917, pp.95-107.
- 52 Sumner, Organ, p.101.
- 53 Grout, History, p.81.
- 54 Apel, History, p.81.

APPENDIX 2

Below are listed all the organ shutters known to me in Veneto in the Quattrocento and the Cinquecento. For works mentioned in the text the reader is referred to the page in which they are first mentioned.

Alamagna, Giovanni d',. See Antonio Vivarini.

Aliense

Punishment of Snake (out.)

Murder of Cain and Sacrifice of Abraham (in.)

Santi Apostoli, Venice.

In situ.

1580s. p.27.

Alivise da Friso

Madonna in Wilderness (out.)

Sts. Apollinare and Lorenzo (in.)

Sant'Apollinare, Venice. Now dispersed.

1580s. p.27.

Amalteo, Pomponio

Christ Driving the Money-changers from the Temple (out.)

Pool of Bethesda (in.)

Raising of Lazarus (in.)

Duomo, Udine.

In situ.

Signed 1555. p.22.

Washing of the Apostles' Feet

The Magdalen

The Samaritan Woman

San Vito al Tagliamento (Udine), Duomo.

In situ

1558-65. p.22.

Gathering of Manna (out.)

Sacrifice of Isaac (in.)

Offering of Melchisedek (in.)

Chiesa del Santo Corpo di Cristo, Duomo of Valvasone (Udine)

In situ.

(Started by Pordenone in 1536. Finished by Amalteo in 1549)
pp. 17-18.

Transfiguration (out.)

Nativity (in.)

Resurrection (in.)

Duomo, Oderzo (Treviso)

In situ.

Signed 1563. p.23.

Antonio da Faenza

Annunciation with Isaiah and Luke

Basilica della Santa Casa, Loreto

Now in Palazzo Apostolico, Loreto

1514. p.11.

Bastiani, Lazzaro

Annunciation (Only Archangel Michael and Gabriel remain)

San Michele, Padua.

Now in Museo Civico, Padua. Nos. 1893 and 613.

The former bears the forged signature of Jacopo Nerito.

Before 1460. p.4.

Annunciation (out.)

St. Helen and St. Benedict (in.)

Sant'Elena, Venice

Now in Accademia, Venice

1494-99. p.4.

Adam and Eve beside the Tree of Paradise (out.)

King David and the Shulamite beside the Tree of the Church(in.)

Santa Maria della Vergini, Venice
Now in the Museo Civico Correr, Venice
1490s. p.8.

Beccaruzzi, Francesco

Baptist and Taddeus (in.)
(Outside by Pellegrino di S. Daniele)
Museo Civico, Treviso

Madonna and Saints
S. Rocco, Conegliano

Bellini, Gentile

St. Mark (out.)
St. Theodore (out.)
St. Jerome (in.)
St. Francis Receiving Stigma (in.)
San Marco, Venice
Now in the Museo del Arte Sacra S. Apollonia, Venice
Signed 1464. p.5.

St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist
Duomo, Trau (Dalmatia)
In situ
ca. 1470. p. 5.

Bellini, Giovanni

Annunciation (out.)
St. Peter (in.)
St. Mark (in.) (Lost)
Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Venice
Now in Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice
ca. 1490. p.9.

Brusaporzi (Felice Rizzo)

St. Zeno and St. Peter (out.)

St. Cecilia and St. Dorothea (out.)
Annunciation (in)
Madonna di Campagna, Verona
In situ
1580s. p.26-27.

Caliari, Carletto

Consecration of St. Nicholas (out.)
Resurrection of Lazarus (in.)
San Nicolo dei Mendicoli, Venice
In situ
1580s-90s. p.26.

Campagnola, Domenico

Banquet of Herod (out.)
Preaching and Behead of the Baptist (in.)
San Giovanni di Verdara
Now in Palazzo Selvatico, Padua
1552-53. p.22.

Carpaccio, Vittore

Presentation in the Temple
Massacre of the Innocents
Duomo, Capo d'Istria
Museo Civico, Capo d'Istria
1523. p.13.

Caselli, Cristoforo, da Parma (called Il Temperello)

Annunciation (out.)
St. Elijah and St. Albert (in.)
Santa Maria del Carmine, Venice
Before 1500. Now lost. p.9.

Catena, Vincenzo

Annunciation (in.)
St. Mark and Andrew (out.)
San Luca, Venice. p.9.

Cima da Conegliano

Annunciation (out.)

St. John the Baptist (in.)

St. Thaddaeus (in.)

San Francesco, Conegliano

Now in Accademia, Venice.

1492. p.8.

Fialetti, Odoardo

Ecstasy of St. James

St. James and the Mohammedan

San Giuliano, Venice

Francesco (Pagani) da Milano

Annunciation (in.)

St. Agatha, St. Andrew, St. Peter, and St. Catherine (out.)

Duomo de Serravalle, Vittorio Veneto (Treviso)

In situ

1528-32. p.16.

Gieronimo de Priuli

inner side of organ shutters

San Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice

Before 1513. Lost. pp.10-11.

Giovanni da Asola

Benedict Enthroned with Two Monks (out.)

Doge Pietro Orseolo before St. Romualdus (out.)

Assumption (in.)

Michael Hurling Satan down to Hell (in.) (In cooperation
with Bernardino)

San Michele, Murano.

Now in Museo Correr, Venice

1526. p.15.

Grassi, Giovanni Battista, da Udine

Death and Assumption of the Virgin (out.)

Vision of Ezekiel (in.)
Elijah Carried up to Heaven (in.)
Old Duomo, Cremona (Udine)
1575-77. p.25.

Libera da Verona

Adoration of the Magi (out.)
St. Peter (in.)
Right shutter is lost
Santa Maria della Scala
Now in Museo di Castevecchio, Verona
1480s. p.7.

Maganza, Vincenzo

Angeli Musicanti (out.)
Chiesa di Santo Stefano, Vicenza

Mansueti, Giovanni

St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome (out.)
St. Andrew and St. Agatha (in)
San Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice
In situ
Formerly attributed to Alvise Vivarini. p.10.

Martino, Giovanni

Organ shutters from S. Vito of Inchiaraio, Venice.
1531. Now lost. p.16.

Montagna, Bartolomeo

Sts. Augustine and Bartholomew (in.)
Annunciation (out.) (In association with Speranza)
San Bartolomeo, Vicenza
Inside is in the Westminster Cathedral, Sacristy, London
Outside is at New College, Oxford.
1510-23. p.12.

The Blessed Albertus Magnus with the Virgin Speaking
to Him
St. Thomas Aquinas Kneeling in Adoration of the Crucified
Savior
San Giacomo, Vecenza
ca. 1520s. p.12.

Moretto

Annunciation (out.), by Floriano Ferramola
St. Faustinus and St. Giovita (in.)
Old Duomo, Brescia.
The outside is lost. The inside is in situ.
1518. pp.11-12

Sts. Peter and Paul Kneeling and Supporting the Temple (out.)
Flight and Fall of Simon Magus (in.)
San Pietro in Oliveto
Now in Seminario diocesano, Brescia
1525-30. p.15.

St. John the Evangelist (out.)
St. John the Baptist (out.)
Parting of St. John the Baptist from Zachariah (in.)
St. John Preaching in the Desert (in.)
San Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia
In situ
1540s. p.19.

See also Floriano Ferramola.

Morone, Domenico

St. Francis and St. Bernardino (out.)
St. Louis and St. Bonaventura (in.)
S. Bernardino, Verona
1481. p.6.

Morone, Francesco

St. Sebastian and St. Paul (out.)

St. Anthony the Abbot and St. Roch (out.)

St. Bernardino with a Patron (in.)

St. Chiara with Two Patroness (in.)

Santa Chiara, Verona

Now in the Museo Civico, Verona

ca. 1520. pp.14-15.

Morone, Francesco in association with Girolamo dai Libri

St. John and St. Benedict (out.), by Morone

St. Catherine and St. Dorothy (out.), by Girolamo dai Libri

Adoration (in.), by Girolamo dai Libri

Daniel and Isaiah (in.), by Morone

Santa Maria in Organo, Verona

Parish church of Marcellise, near Verona

1515. p.15.

Padovano, Gualtiero

Martyrdom of St. Peter (out.)

Martyrdom of St. Paul (out)

Parish church, Schio

ca. 1560. p.23.

Palma il Giovanni

Triumph of David (out.)

Sts. Zaccaria and Ruggero (in.)

San Zaccaria, Venice

1595. p.27.

Adoration of the Magi (out., lost)

St. John and St. Mark (in.)

Santa Sofia, Venice

The inside pair is now in the Accademia, Venice

1590s. p.28.

Annunciation (out.)

St. Augustine and St. Lucia (in.)

Now in the chapel of S. Veneranda of S. Geremia, Venice
1590s. p.29.

Shuttera painted for the old organ of Santa Maria Maggiore,
are now hung in San Basso, Venice. p.28.

Shutters painted for the Santo Spirito, Venice, are now
hung in the sacristy of the Chiesa della Salute, Venice. p.28.

Shutters picturing two bishop saints for the organ of the
Chiesa della Croce, Venice. Now lost. p.28.

Pellegrino da San Daniele (Martino da Udine)

Hermagoras Being Consecrated as Bishop by St. Peter (out.)

St. Augustine and Ambrose, St. Jerome and St. Gregory (in.)

Duomo, Udine

Now in the Museo Civico, Udine

1510-23. p.12.

Pellegrino da San Daniele in association with Beccaruzzi

Annunciation (out.) (in. by Beccaruzzi)

Museo Civico, Treviso

Peranda, Santa

St. Peter and St. Paul

Santa Giustina, Venice

Peranda in association with Odoardo Fialetti

St. Rocco among the Plagued, by Peranda (left shutter)

Death of St. Rocco, by Peranda (left shutter)

Ecstasy of St. James, by Fialetti (right shutter)

St. James and the Mohammedan, by Fialetti (right shutter)

San Giuliano, Venice

Piazza, Calisto (Calisto da Lodi)

Annunciation (out.)

Inside pair is lost.

San Clemente, Brescia

In situ

1524-29. p.16.

Annunciation (out.)

St. Peter and St. Paul (in.)

Parish church, Esine (Val Camonica)

ca. 1527. p.16.

Piazza, Paolo, da Castelfranco Veneto

Decollation of St. Paul (out.)

Annunciation (in.)

San Paolo, Venice

1580s. p.27.

Martyrdom of St. Agatha and Two Saints

Sant'Ubaldo, Venice. Now lost. p.27.

Polidoro da Lanciano (also called Lanzani)

St. Geremia and Magno (out.)

Annunciation (in.)

San Geremia, Venice. Now lost.

1550s. p.21.

Pordenone, Giovanni Antonio Regillo, da

Assumption of the Virgin (out.)

Conversion of St. Paul (in.)

Fall of Simon Magus (in.)

Duomo, Spilimbergo (Udine)

In situ

1524. p.13.

Marriage of the Virgin

Adoration of the Magi
Circumcision
Parish church, Venzone
Now lost
1526-27. p.17.

Pordenone in association with Pomponio Amalteo

Gathering of Manna (out.)
Sacrifice of Isaac (in.)
Offering of Mechisedek (in.)
Started in 1535 by Pordenone; finished in 1549 by Amalteo
Santo Corpo di Cristo, San Martino di Valvasone
pp.17-18.

Porta, Giuseppe (Salviati)
David and Goliath (out.)
Saul Throwing a Spear at David (in.)
Santa Spirito in Isola
In situ
Before 1573. p.25.

Rondinelli, Niccolò
Annunciation (out.)
Dominic and Peter Martyr (in.)
S. Domenico, Ravenna
In situ
Late 15th C. pp.8-9.

Romanino
St. Andrew and St. Erasmus (out.)
The Virgin Appears to Augustine (in.)
Sacrifice of Isaac (in.)
Duomo, Asola
In situ
1525-26. p.14.

St. George before the King (out.)
Torture of St. George on the Wheel (in.)
Torture of St. George in Boiling Oil (in.)
San Giorgio Maggiore in Braida, Verona
1540. p.18.

Marriage of the Virgin (out.)
Birth of the Virgin (in.)
Visitation (in.)
New Duomo, Brescia
In situ
1539-41. p.19.

Adoration of the Magi (out.)
Santi Nazaro e Celso, Brescia
Inside pair is lost
In situ
1540. p.19.

Santa Croce, Gerolamo da
St. Giovanni Cristomo and Girolamo (out.)
St. Agatha and Andrea (in.)
San Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice
Now in the Sacristy of this church

Schiavone, Andrea
Annunciation (out.)
St. Peter and St. Paul (in.)
St. Pietro, Belluno
1540s. p.18.

David and Samson
San Giacomo dell'Orio, Venice
1540s. p.18.

Sebastiano del Piombo
St. Bartholomew and Sebastiano (out.)

St. Sinibald and St. Louis of Toulouse (in.)
St. Bartolomeo a Rialto, Venice
In situ
1507-9. p.10.

(Wrongly attrib.)

Visitation with Joseph and Zacharias (out.)
St. Peter and St. Paul (in.)
Parish church, Lendinara
Outside pair is now in San Biagio, Lendinara
Inside pair is now in the Church of Misericordia, Lendinara
1525. p.14.

Speranza, Giovanni in association with Bartolomeo Montegna
Annunciation (out.), by Speranza
St. Augustine and St. Bartholomew (in.), by Montegna
S. Bartolomeo, Venice
Outside pair is now in New College, Oxford; inside pair
is now in the Sacristy, Westminster Cathedral.
1510-13. p.12.

Tacconi, Francesco
Nativity and Adoration of the Magi (out.)
Resurrection and Ascension (in.)
San Marco, Venice
Present collection unknown. p.7.

Tintoretto, Domenico
Annunciation (out.)
St. Mark and St. Justin (in.)
San Marcilliano, Venice

Shutters attributed to D. Tintoretto
Sant'Andrea della Zirada

Tintoretto, Jacopo
Annunciation (out.)

Christ and the Woman of Samaritan (in.)

San Benedetto, Venice

Outside pair is in the Otto Lanz Collection, Amsterdam

Inside pair is in the Uffizi, Florence

Before 1546. p.20.

Annunciation (out.)

St. Rocco Presented to the Pope (in.)

San Rocco, Venice

In situ

1577-86. p.25

Presentation in the Temple (out.)

Martyrdom of Chridtopher (in.)

Vision of St. Peter (in.)

Madonna dell'Orto, Venice

In situ

1552-56. p.21.

Madonna and Child (out.)

Evangelists Luke and Matthew (in.)

Evangelists Mark and John (in.)

Santa Maria del Giglio, Venice

In situ

1552-57. p.21.

St. Augustine and St. Paul (out.)

Annunciation (in.)

Santa Maria dei Serviti, Venice

Now lost

Before 1546. p.20.

Shutters carries the date of 1565.

Titian (wrongly attrib.)

Presentation of Habit (out.)

Pope Urbano V (out.)

Annunciation (in.)

Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice
Present location unknown
Before 1547. p.20.

Vecellio, Francesco

Tranfiguration (out.)
Resurrection (out.)
St. Theodore (in.)
St. Augustine Giving Holy Communion (in.)
San Salvatore, Venice
Now in the Accademia, Venice
1530-35. p.17.

A Priest with Doge Crimani (out.)
St. Mark and Giovanni Elemosinario (in.)
San Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice
1520s, 30s. p.17.

Vecellio, Tiziano (Il Tizianello)

Adam and Eve (out.)
David and Solomon (in.)
S. Maria dei Servi, Venice
Now in the Accademia, Venice
1590. p.28.

Veronese, Bonifazio

St. Luigi and St. Augustine (out.)
Annunciation (in.)
Sant'Alvise, Venice
Before 1547. pp.19-20.

Raising of Lazarus
Mary Magdalene
Chiesa della Maddalena, Venice

Veronese, Paolo

Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine (out.)

St. Augustine and St. James (in.)

San Giacomo, Murano

The outside is now in Musée Royaux des Beaux-arts, Brussels

The inside is now in Stamford, Burghley House Marquess of Exeter

1560s. p.24.

St. Geminianus and Severus (out.)

St. John the Baptist and St. Mennas (in.)

San Geminiano. Now in Galleria Estense di Modena.

p.23.

Presentation of the Christ (out.)

Pool of Bethesda (in.)

San Sebastiano, Venice

In situ

1559-60. p.23.

Adoration of the Magi (out.)

Annunciation (in.)

San Antonio, Torcello

Now in the Museo Provinciale, Torcello (Venezia)

1560s. p.24.

Annunciation

Formerly in De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco

Present collection unknown

1580s. pp.25-26.

Head of an Angel (From the Annunciation)

Collection Suida, New York

1560s. p.24.

Paolo Veronese and Benedetto Caliari

Adoration of the Magi (out.)

St. Ambrose and Augustine (in.)

St. Gregory and St. Jerome (in.)

Ognissanti, Venice
Now at Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan
1585-86. p.26.

Vivarini, Alvise

Gabriel on the exterior; an Evangelist on the inner side
The right shutter is lost
San Basilio, Venice
Formerly in Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.
Present collection unknown

St. George and St. Moses (out.)
Annunciation (in.)
San Moise, Venice. Now lost
1476-80. p.6.

Vivarini, Antonio in association with Giovanni d'Alemagna

St. Stephen and St. George
San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice
1445
Destroyed in 1773. pp.3.

Zelotti, Giambattista

Moses Receives the Tables of the Law (out.)
David Playing the Harp and Saul (in.)
Santa Maria, Praglia
Now in Museo Civico, Padua
1559-64. pp.23-4.

Annunciation
Misericordia, Padua
Now in Museo Civico, Padua
ca. 1558. p.22.

Zoppo, Paolo

Annunciation (out.)

Martyrdoms of St. Nazaro and Celso (in.)

SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia

1520s, 30s. p.15

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Fig. 1
Gentile Bellini
St. Mark
Museo del Arte Sacra S. Apolloniá



Fig. 2
Gentile Bellini
St. Theodore
Museo del Arte Sacra S. Apolloniá



Fig. 3
Gentile Bellini
Pentitence of St. Jerome
Museo del Arte Sacra S. Apollonia



Fig. 4
Gentile Bellini
St. Francis Receiving Stigmata
Museo del Arte Sacra S. Apollonia



Fig. 5
Gentile Bellini
St. John the Baptist
Duomo. Trau



Fig. 6
Gentile Bellini
St. Jerome in Pentinence
Duomo, Trau



Fig. 7
Domenico Morone
St. Francis
S. Bernardino, Verona



Fig. 8
Domenico Morone
St. Bernardino
S. Bernardino, Verona



Fig. 9
Liberale da Verona
Adoration of the Magi (Detail)
Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona



Fig. 10
Cima da Conegliano
St. John the Baptist
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 11
Cima da Conegliano
St. Thaddeus
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 12
Cima da Conegliano
Angel Annunciate
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 13
Cima da Conegliano
Virgin Annunciate
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 14
Lazzaro Bastiani (attrib.)
King David and the
Shulamite beside the
Tree of the Church
Museo Civico Correr,
Venice



Fig. 15
Lazzaro Bastiani (attrib.)
Adam and Eve beside the
Tree of Paradise

Museo Civico Correr,
Venice



Fig. 16
Giovanni Bellini
Angel Annunciate
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 17
Giovanni Bellini
Virgin Annunciate
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 18
Giovanni Bellini
St. Peter
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 19
 Sebastiano del Piombo
St. Bartholomew
 San Bartolomeo a Rialto, Venice

Fig. 20
 Sebastiano del Piombo
St. Sebastian
 San Bartolomeo a Rialto, Venice



Fig. 21
Sebastiano del Piombo
St. Louis of Toulouse
San Bartolomeo a Rialto,
Venice



Fig. 22
Sebastiano del Piombo
St. Sinibald
San Bartolomeo a Rialto,
Venice



Fig. 23a
 Antonio da Faenza
Annunciation with Isaiah and Luke
 Palazzo Apostolico, Loreto



Fig. 23b



Fig. 24
 Francesco Morone
St. Benedict and
St. John the Baptist
 Museo Civico, Verona



Fig. 25
 Girolamo dai Libri
St. Catherine and Dorothy
 Museo Civico, Verona



Fig. 26
 Francesco Morone
Daniel and Isaiah
 Museo Civico, Verona



Fig. 27
 Girolamo dai Libri
Adoration
 Museo Civico, Verona

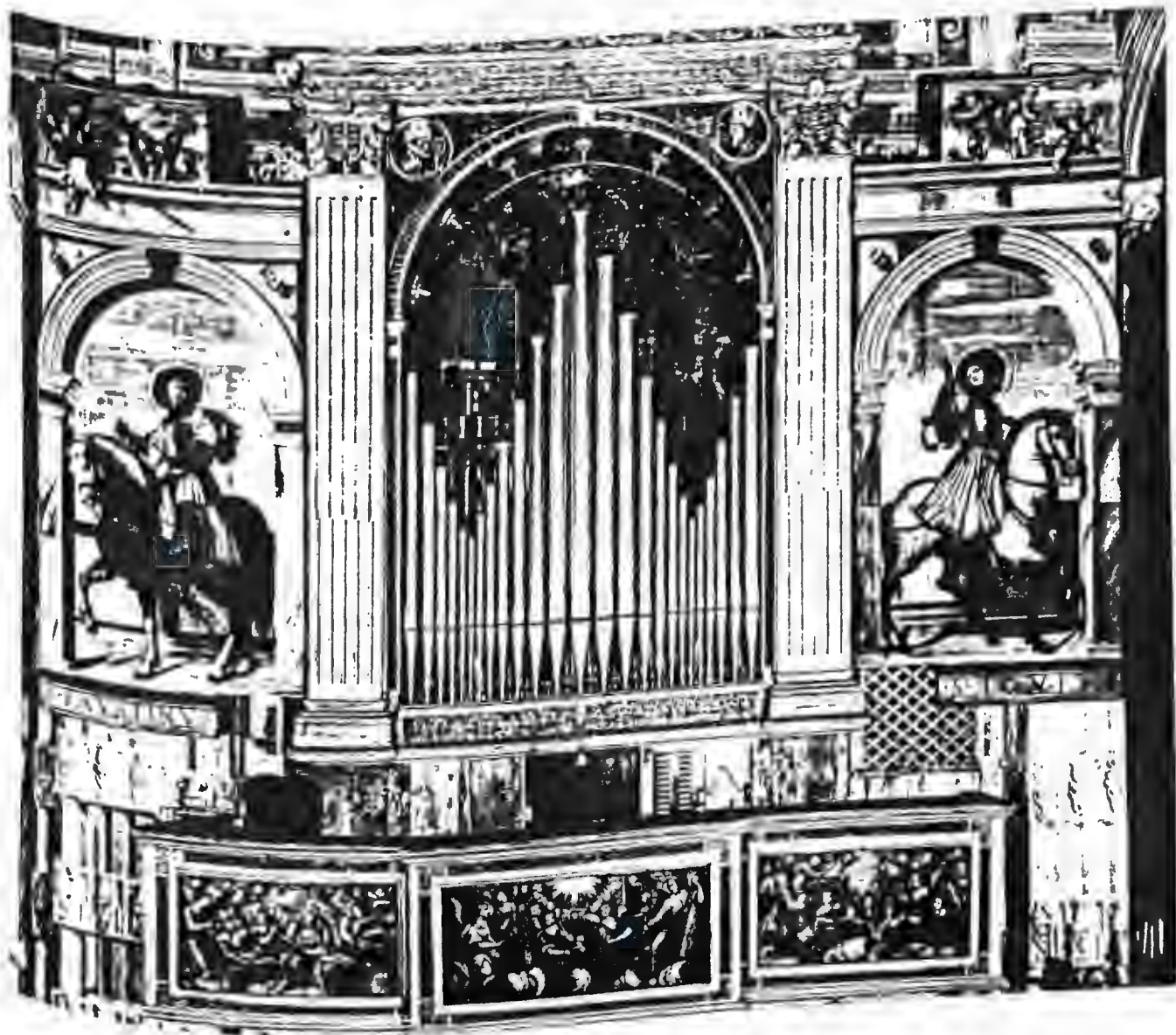


Fig. 28
Opened organ shutters
S. Maria Valvendra, Lovere



Fig. 29a
Moretto
St. Faustinus
S. Maria Valvendra, Lovere



Fig. 29b
Moretto
St. Giovata
S. Maria Valvendra, Lovere

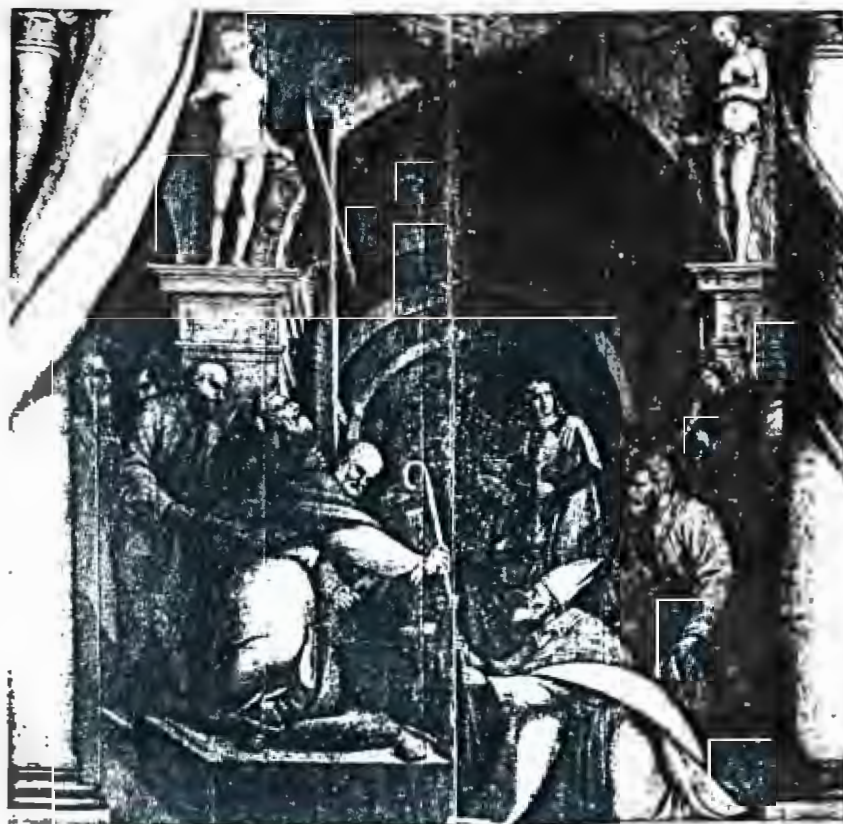


Fig. 30a

Fig. 30b

Pellegrino de S. Daniele
Hermagoras Being Consecrated as Bishop by St. Peter
 Museo Civico, Udine



Fig. 31
Pellegrino da S. Daniele
St. Jerome and St. Gregory
Museo Civico, Udine



Fig. 32
Pellegrino da S. Daniele
St. Augustine and St. Ambrose
Museo Civico, Udine



Fig. 33a
Giovanni Speranza
Virgin Annunciate
New College, Oxford



Fig. 33b
Giovanni Speranza
Angel Annunciate
New College, Oxford



Fig. 34
Vittore Carpaccio
Presentation in
the Temple
Museo Civico,
Capodistria

Fig. 35
Vittore Carpaccio
Massacre of the
Innocents
Museo Civico,
Capodistria



36a

36b

Pordenone
Assumption of the Virgin
Duomo, Spilimbergo



Fig. 37
Pordenone
Fall of Simon Magus
Duomo, Spilimbergo



Fig. 38
Pordenone
Conversion of St. Paul
Duomo, Spilimbergo



Fig. 39
Girolamo Romanino
St. Andrew
Duomo, Asola



Fig. 40
Girolamo Romanino
St. Erasmus
Duomo, Asola

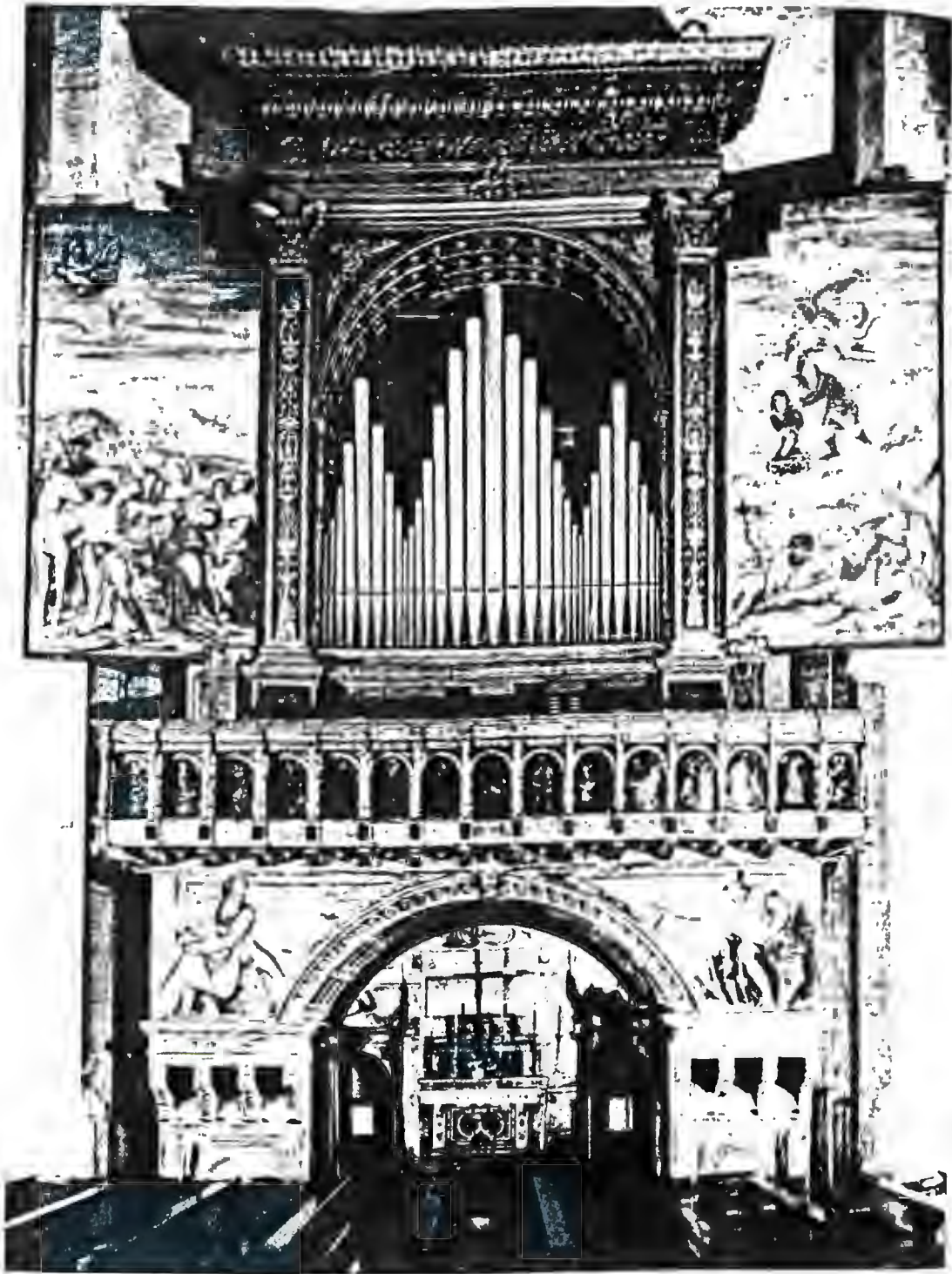


Fig. 41
Opened organ shutters
Duomo, Asola



Fig. 42a
Girolamo Romanino
The Virgin Appers to Augustine
Duomo. Asola



Fig. 42b
Girolamo Romanino
Sacrifice of Isaac
Duomo. Asola

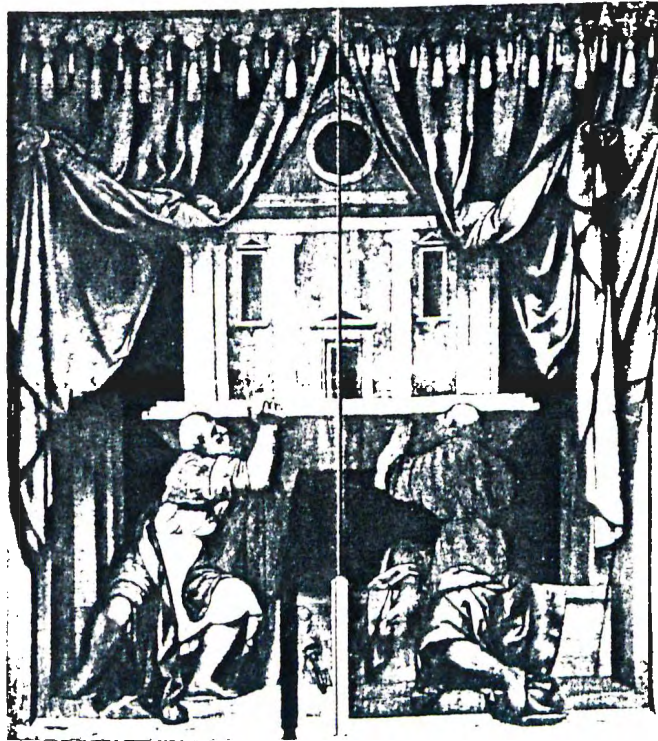


Fig. 43
Moretto
Sts. Peter and Paul Kneeling and
Supporting the Temple
Seminario diocesano, Brescia



Fig. 44 Moretto Flight of Simon Magus
Seminario diocesano, Brescia



Fig. 45 Moretto Fall of Simon Magus
Seminario diocesano, Brescia



Fig. 46
Giovanni da Asola
Benedict Enthroned
with Two Monks
Museo Correr, Venice



Fig. 47
Giovanni da Asola
Doge Pietro Orseolo
before St. Romualdus
Museo Correr, Venice



Fig. 48
Giovanni da Asola
Michael Hurling Satan down to
the Hell
Museo Correr, Venice



Fig. 49
Giovanni da Asola
Assumption
Museo Correr, Venice



Fig. 50
Calisto Piazza
Angel Annunciate
San Clemente, Brescia



Fig. 51
Calisto Piazza
Virgin Annunciate
San Clemente, Brescia



Fig. 52
Calisto Piazza
Angel Annunciate
Parish church, Esine



Fig. 53
Calisto Piazza
Virgin Annunciate
Parish church, Esine



Fig. 54
Calisto Piazza
St. Paul
Parish church, Esine



Fig. 55
Calisto Piazza
St. Paul
Parish church, Esine



Fig. 56a

Fig. 56b

Francesco Pagani
St. Agatha, St. Andrew, St. Peter, and St. Catherine
 Duomo di Serravalle, Vittorio Veneto



Fig. 57
 Francesco Vecellio
Transfiguration
 San Salvatore, Venice



Fig. 58
 Francesco Vecellio
Resurrection
 San Salvatore, Venice



Fig. 59
 Francesco Vecellio
St. Augustine Giving Holy Communions
 San Salvatore, Venice



Fig. 60
 Francesco Vecellio
St. Theodore
 San Salvatore, Venice



Fig. 61 Pordenone Marriage of the Virgin
Engraving by Variante C. Percoto after the lost
organ shutters of Venzone



Fig. 62 Pordenone Circumcision
Engraving by Variante C. Percoto after the lost
organ shutters of Venzone



Fig. 63
Pordenone and Amalteo
Gathering of Manna
Santo Corpo di Cristo, San Martino di Valvasone



Fig. 64



Fig. 65

Fig. 64 Pordenone and Amalteo Sacrifice of Isaac
Santo Corpo de Cristo, San Martino de Valvasone

Fig. 65 Pordenone and Amalteo Offering of Michesedek
Santo Corpo de Cristo, San Martino de Valvasone



Fig. 66
 Andrea Schiavone
Angel Annunciate
 S. Pietro, Belluno



Fig. 67
 Andrea Schiavone
Virgin Annunciate
 S. Pietro, Belluno



Fig. 68
 Andrea Schiavone
St. Peter
 S. Pietro, Belluno



Fig. 69
 Andrea Schiavone
St. Paul
 S. Pietro, Belluno



Fig. 70a



Fig. 70b

Girolamo Romanino
St. George before the King
 S. Giorgio Maggiore in Braida, Verona



Fig. 71
Girolamo Romanino
Torture of St. George on the Wheel
S. Giorgio Maggiore in Braida, Verona



Fig. 72
Girolamo Romanino
Torture of St. George in Boiling Oil
S. Giorgio Maggiore in Braida, Verona



73a

73b

Girolamo Romanino
Marriage of the Virgin
 Duomo Nuovo, Brescia



Fig. 74
Girolamo Romanino
Visitation
Duomo Nuovo, Brescia



Fig. 75
Girolamo Romanino
Birth of the Virgin
Duomo Nuovo, Brescia



Fig. 76

Fig. 77

Girolamo Romanino
Adoration of the Virgin
 Santi Nazario e Celso, Brescia



Fig. 78

Moretto

St. John the Evangelist

S. Giovanni Evangelista

Brescia



Fig. 79

Moretto

St. John the Baptist

S. Giovanni Evangelista,

Brescia



Fig. 80
Moretto
St. John Preaching in the Desert
S. Giovanni Evangelista,
Brescia



Fig. 81
Moretto
Parting of St. John the Baptist
S. Giovanni Evangelista,
Brescia



Fig. 82
Jacopo Tintoretto
Angel Annunciaté (detail)
Otto Lanz Collection,
Amsterdam



Fig. 83
Jacopo Tintoretto
Virgin Annunciate (detail)
Otto Lanz Collection,
Amsterdam



Fig. 84

Jacopo Tintoretto
Presentation in the Temple
Madonna dell'Otto, Venice



Fig. 85
Jacopo Tintoretto
Vision of St. Peter
Madonna dell'Otto, Venice



Fig. 86
Jacopo Tintoretto
Martyrdom of St. Christopher
Madonna dell'Otto, Venice



Fig. 87
Jacopo Tintoretto
Evangelists John and Mark
Santa Maria Giglio, Venice



Fig. 88
Jacopo Tintoretto
Evangelists Luke and Matthew
Santa Maria Giglio, Venice



Fig. 89
Domenico Campagnola
Preaching of the Baptist
Palazzo Selvatico, Padua



Fig. 90
Domenico Campagnola
Beheading of the Baptist
Pallazzo Selvatico, Padua



Fig. 91

Fig. 92

Pomponio Amalteo
Christ Driving the Money-changers from the Temple
 Duomo, Udine



Fig. 93
 Pomponio Amalteo
Pool of Bethesda
 Duomo, Udine



Fig. 94
 Pomponio Amalteo
Raising of Lazarus
 Duomo, Udine



Fig. 96

Fig. 95

Pomponio Amalteo
Washing of the Apostles' Feet
 Duomo, S. Vito al Tagliamento



Fig. 97
 Pomponio Amalteo
Magdalen
 Duomo
 S. Vito al Tagliamento



Fig. 98
 Pomponio Amalteo
Sumaritan Woman
 Duomo
 S. Vito al Tagliamento



Fig. 99
Giambattista Zelotti
Angel Annunciate
Museo Civico, Padua



Fig. 100
Giambattista Zelotti
Virgin Annunciate
Museo Civico, Padua



Fig. 101 Paolo Veronese
San Sebastiano, Venice

Presentation of Christ

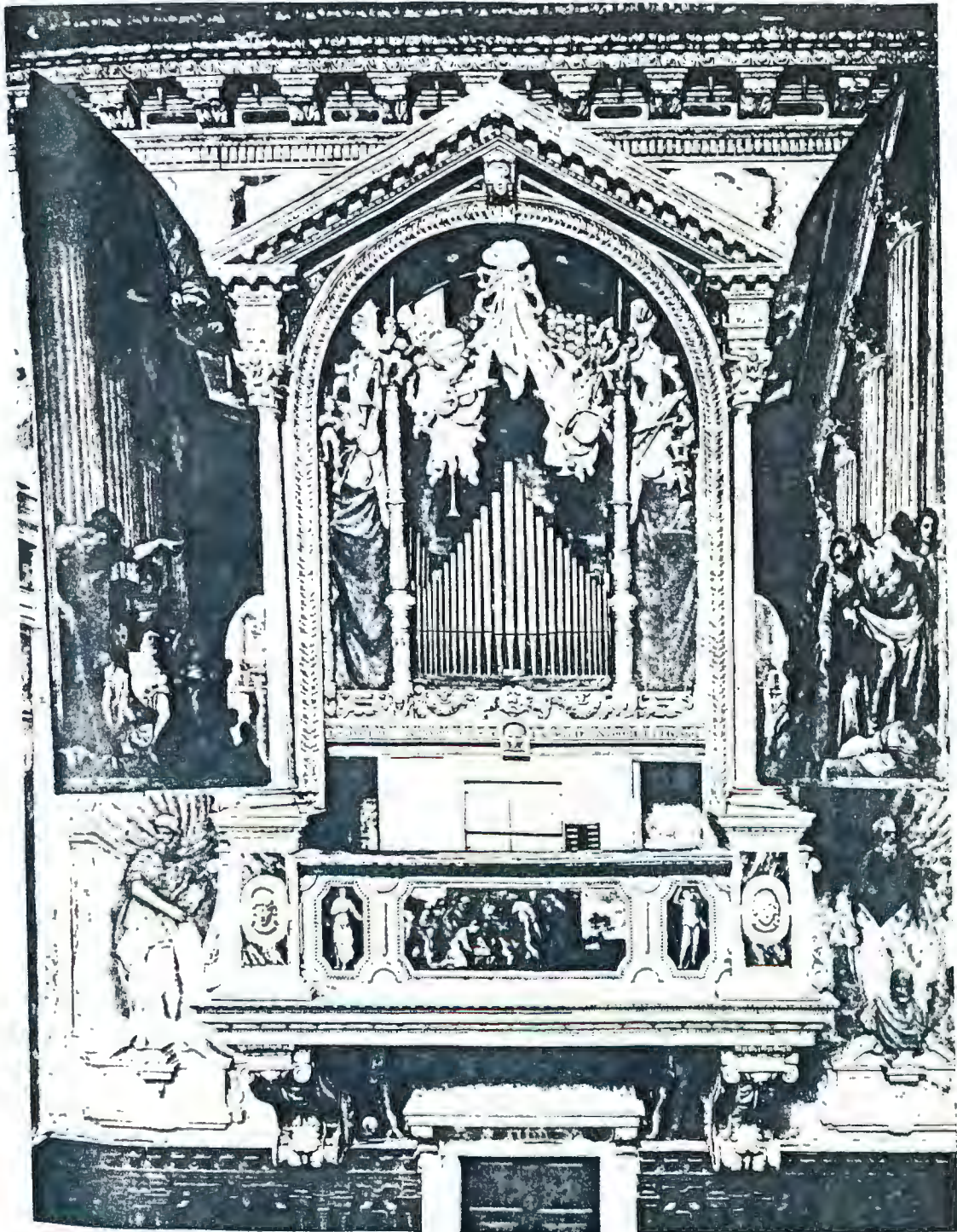


Fig. 102 Opened organ shutters San Sebastiano, Venice



Fig. 103a
 Paolo Veronese
Pool of Bethesda
 San Sebastiano, Venice

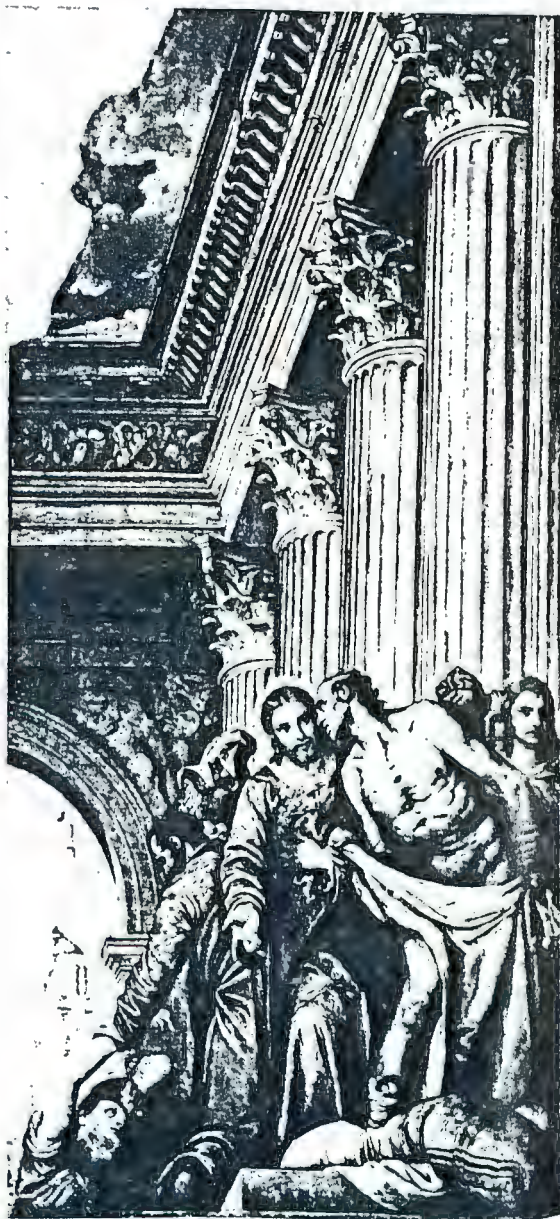


Fig. 103b



Fig. 104
Paolo Veronese
St. Geminianus and St. Severus
Galleria Estense, Modena



Fig. 105
St. John the Baptist
 Galleria Estense, Modena



Fig. 106
St. Mennas
 Galleria Estense, Modena



Fig. 107
Gualtiero Padovano
Martyrdom of St. Paul
Parish church, Schio



Fig. 108
Gualtiero Padovano
Martyrdom of St. Peter
Parish church, Schio



Fig. 109
 Pomponio Amalteo
Transfiguration
 Duomo, Oderzo



Fig. 110
 Pomponio Amalteo
Nativity
 Duomo, Oderzo



Fig. 111
 Pomponio Amalteo
Resurrection
 Duomo, Oderzo



Fig. 112

Giambattista Zelotti
Moses Receiving the
Tables of the Law
 Santa Maria, Praglia



Fig. 113

Giambattista Zelotti
Moses Receiving the
Tables of the Law
 Santa Maria, Praglia



Fig. 114
Giambattista Zelotti
Saul
Santa Maria, Praglia



Fig. 115
Giambattista Zelotti
David Playing the Harp
Santa Maria, Praglia



Fig. 116
Paolo Veronese
St. James
Burghley House
Marquess of Exeter
Stamford



Fig. 117
Paolo Veronese
St. Augustine
Burghley House
Marquess of Exeter
Stamford



Fig. 118

Paolo Veronese

Adoration of the Magi

Museo Provinciale, Torcello



Fig. 119
Paolo Veronese
Annunciation
Museo Provinciale, Torcello



Fig. 120
Paolo Veronese
Head of an Angel
Suida Manning Collection, New York



Fig. 121
Salviati
Saul Througning a Spear at David
Santa Spirito in Isola



Fig. 122



Fig. 123
 Jacopo Tintoretto
Angel Annunciate
 San Rocco, Venice

Fig. 124
 Jacopo Tintoretto
Virgin Annunciate
 San Rocco, Venice



Fig. 125
 Paolo Veronese
Angel Annunciate
 De Young Memorial Museum
 Francisco



Fig. 126
 Paolo Veronese
Virgin Annunciate
 De Young Memorial Museum
 Francisco



Fig. 127
Paolo Veronese
Adoration of the Magi
Ognissanti, Venice



Fig. 128
Benedetto Caliari
St. Gregory and
St. Jerome
Ognissanti, Venice



Fig. 129
Benedetto Caliari
St. Ambrose and
St. Augustine
Ognissanti, Venice



Fig. 130
 Carletto Caliari
Consecration of St. Nicholas
 San Nicolò dei Mendicoli, Venice



Fig. 131
 Carletto Caliari
Resurrection of Lazzarus
 San Nicolò dei Mendicoli, Venice



Fig. 132
 Brusasorzi
St. Zeno and St. Peter
 Madonna de Campagna, Verona



Fig. 133
 Brusasorzi
St. Cecilia and St. Dorothea
 Madonna de Campagna, Verona



Fig. 134
 Brusasorzi
Angel Annunciate
 Madonna di Campagna, Verona



Fig. 135
 Brusasorzi
Virgin Annunciate
 Madonna di Campagna, Verona

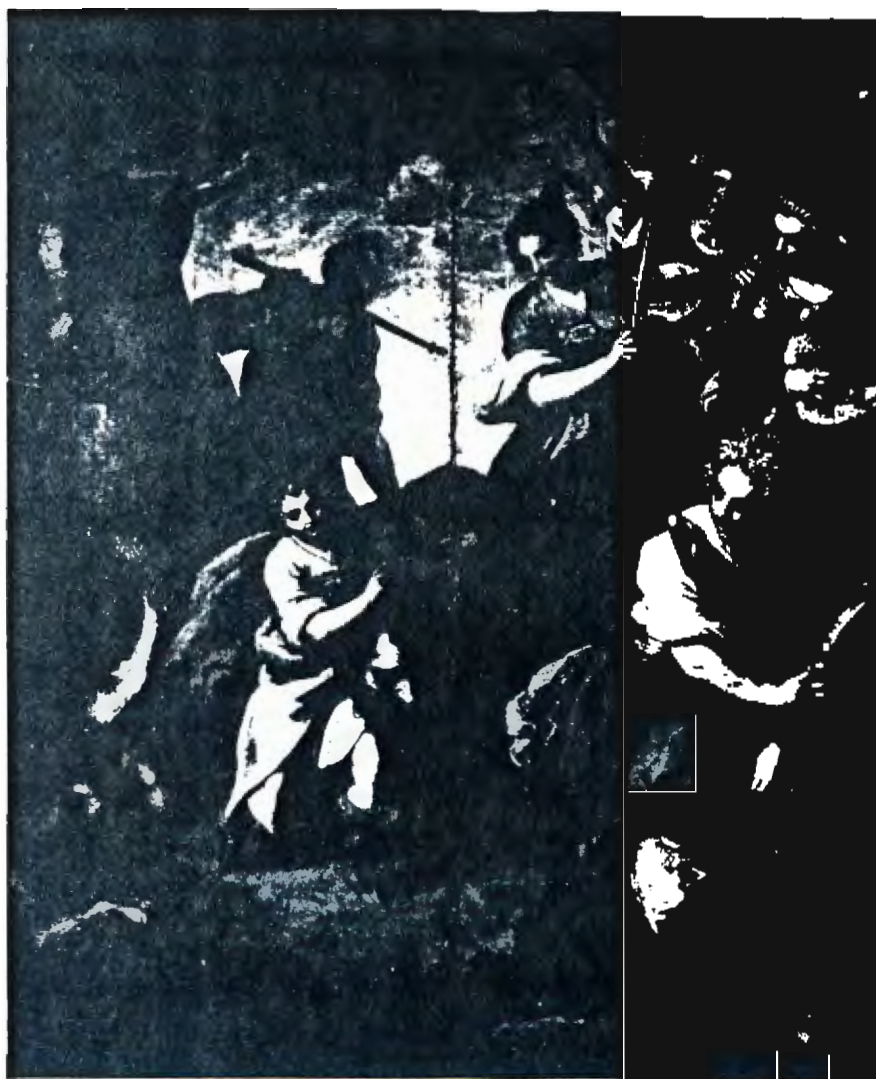


Fig. 136
Palma il Giovani
Triumph of David
San Zaccaria, Venice



Fig. 137
 Palma il Giovani
St. Mark
 Accademia, Venice



Fig. 138
 Palma il Giovani
St. John
 Accademia, Venice



Fig. 139
Tiaiznello
Adam
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 140
Tizianello
Eve
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 141
Tizianello
David
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 142
Tizianello
Salomne
Accademia, Venice

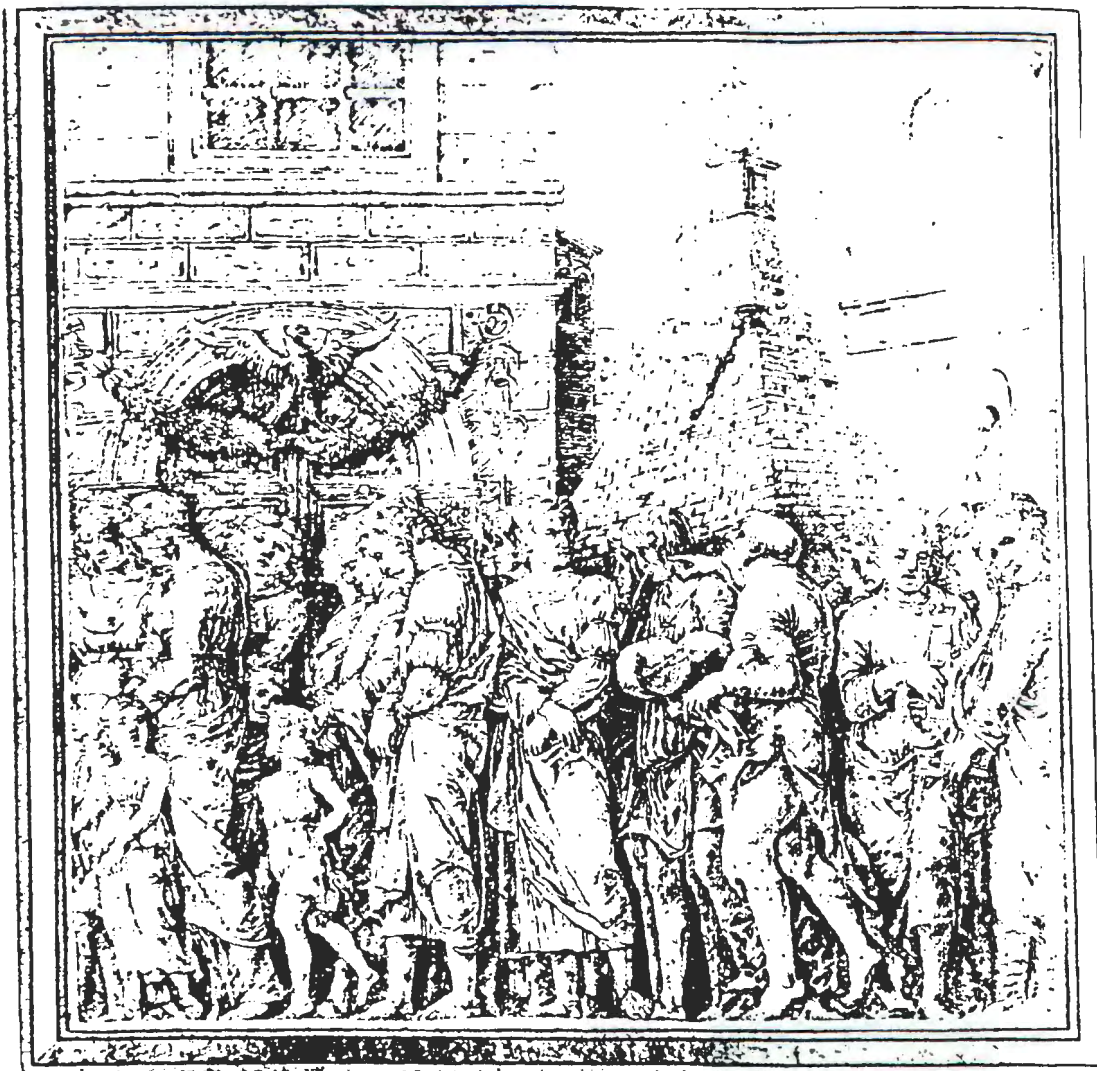


Fig. 143
After Andrea Mantegna: Copy of a preliminary study for
The Triumphs of Caesar, Canvas Vii.
Chantilly, Musee Conde



Fig. 144
 Andrea Mantegna
St. Luke and St. Jerome
 fom the St. Luke Altarpiece
 San Giustina, Milan, Brera



Fig. 145
 Gentile Bellini
Beato Lorenzo Giustiniani
 Accademia, Venice



Fig. 146
Lazzaro Bastiani
St. Anthony of Padua, St. Bonaventura,
and St. Luke
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 147
Antonello da Messina
Annunciation
Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Bellomo, Syracuse



Fig. 148
Anthony of Padua
 From the frame of the
Pesaro Coronation
 Museo Civico, Pesaro



Fig. 149
Beata Michelina
 From the frame of the
Pesaro Coronation
 Museo Civico, Pesaro



Fig. 150
Sebastiano del Piombo
St. Louis of Toulouse (detail)



Fig. 151
Sebastiano del Piombo
St. Sinibaldus (detail)



Fig. 152
Giorgione
Three Philosophers (detail)



Fig. 153
Vittore Carpaccio
Presentation in the Temple
Accademia, Venice



Fig. 154
Vittore Carpaccio
The Triumph of St. George (detail)
San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice



Fig. 155
Titian
Assumption of the Virgin
Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice



Fig. 156
Titian
Vision of St. John the Evangelist
National Gallery of Art, Washington



Fig. 157
Titian
Resurrection
Palazzo Ducale
Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



Fig. 158
 Paolo Veronese
The Family of Darius before Alexander
 National Gallery of Art, Washington



Fig. 159
 Paolo Veronese
St. Sebastian before Diocletian
 San Sebastiano, Venice



Fig. 160
Lorenzo Lotto
Presentation in the Temple
San Michele del Pozzo Bianco, Bergamo



Fig. 161
Virgin in Titian's
Presentation in the Temple



Fig. 162
Virgin in Tintoretto's
Presentation in the Temple



Fig. 163 Head of St. John
Detail from Fig. 87



Fig. 164 Head of St. Matthew
Detail from Fig. 88



Fig. 165 Jacopo Tintoretto Group of Apostles
Detail from the Last Supper San Marcuola, Venice



Fig. 166
Titian
"Ecce Homo"
Museo del Prado, Madrid



Fig. 167
Pordenone
Transfiguration
Brera, Milan



View of the interior of S. Geminiano in Venice, from the Sansovino.

Fig. 168
View of the interior of S. Geminiano
From V. Coronelli's Singolarità di Venia; Venice, ca. 1709

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