

Padua and Venice

Contact Zones

Editors

Lars Blunck, Bénédicte Savoy, Avinoam Shalem

Volume 4

Padua and Venice

Transcultural Exchange in the Early Modern Age

Editors

Brigit Blass-Simmen and Stefan Weppelmann

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Preface

Two paintings with the same basic composition. Painted by two artists, *Andrea Mantegna* and *Giovanni Bellini*, in different places. Two ingenious works: the same and yet different. Images fashioned after images, so near and yet so different!

Andrea Mantegna spent his apprenticeship and the early years of his career in Padua; Giovanni Bellini worked all his life in his native city, Venice. Both painted the motif *The Presentation in the Temple*. The compositions are congruent! Two great artists, related by marriage: Andrea Mantegna married Giovanni Bellini's sister Nicolosia. If this "plot" happened today, Hollywood would make a film about great artists in times of great upheaval. A film about different perceptions in an age of change: the transformation from Roman antiquity to the early modern period or about early modern reflections on the image of Christian Byzantium.

The dialogue of those masters exposes what constitutes the Renaissance, indeed what conditioned the evolution of the arts in the first place: the viewing of works of art extends beyond recognizing iconographic content and becomes a comparative and interpretive process; art is viewed as *human* production. The focus is no longer mimetic imitation of nature but rather the energy and radiance of an artistic invention and its afterlife. This exchange between the force fields of Bellini and Mantegna is a prologue in a nutshell for artistic assessment of the sort that found literary form in Vasari's art history of styles. We read there what Giotto inherits from his teacher Cimabue, how Leonardo breaks free of Verrocchio, how Raphael measures himself against Michelangelo. And we can continue these stories into the present – for example, when Rauschenberg erases a work by de Kooning and thus ultimately pays homage to his idol. Tradition plays an important role in this collection of essays.

Second, it is about art histories, and the accent on the plural is deliberate. The very fact that Mantegna's and Bellini's formulas are congruent ensured and ensures interpretations of that relationship. And depending on who is assigned the role of the creator and who the role of the imitator, the entire perspective on the oeuvres of the painters changes, and the assessment of topographical connections changes along with it: Did this composition result historico-genetically in Padua, or did Venice provide the innovative impulse? Topography plays the second important role in this book.

Both aspects – tradition and topography – mean that no monographic judgment about one of them, Bellini or Mantegna, can be made without a significant assessment of the other's works. The studies collected here thus contrast the *monographic* approach to viewing artworks with a polyvalent view. The aforementioned "plot" resulted from the central question: Are works of art also aesthetic formulations determined by their place of origin?

The intersection of Padua and Venice at the beginning of the modern period was the subject of four sections at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America (RSA) at the Humboldt University Berlin in 2015. International experts inter-

preted the initial conditions and the artistic exchange between these neighboring but very different cities. The present volume brings together the contributions to those RSA sections, *Art in Venice and Padua: Distinctions and Cross-Currents I–IV*.

The methodological approach is therefore transcultural; cultural exchange between two cities in the Veneto, Padua and Venice, is studied: transculturality and its effect on aesthetic forms as painting, sculpture, architecture, numismatics, literature, and paleography. The cultural comparison in a microcosm raises new questions of the cultural transfer between these two unequal neighboring cities. A kind of reweighting becomes interesting here. The change in perspectives today reveals new and surprising reassessments.

This collection of essays by various authors extends the issue in many aspects. We wish to thank all the speakers at the RSA conference and the contributors of this volume. We are grateful to Martin Gaier (Basel) and Giovanni F. Villa (Bergamo, Vicenza) for chairing two of the four RSA sections. We thank those responsible at the De Gruyter Verlag, Anke Beck and Katja Richter, for including our book in their publishing program. This publication is volume four of the forward-looking series *Contact Zones*, for which we offer great thanks to its editors: Lars Blunck, Bénédicte Savoy, and Avinoam Shalem.

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Brigit Blass-Simmen, Berlin

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Brigit Blass-Simmen

Cultural Transfer in Microcosm

Padua and Venice: An Introduction

Two Unequal Neighbors

The artistic process is not independent of its place of origin. At the same time, *aesthetic* formulations help shape their surroundings. Padua and Venice are only twenty-three kilometers apart. The lagoon separates the two cities into distinct geopolitical areas. Even today, they look very different. Venice is built into the water on many tiny islands in a lagoon in the northern Adriatic Sea (fig. 1). Padua, by contrast, is located on the mainland, in a plain, the southern Po Plain, at the edge of the Euganean Hills (fig. 2). These topographical locations conditioned distinct histories and developments. Padua was founded by the Romans. By contrast, unlike almost all other important Italian cities, Venice cannot be traced back to a founding in antiquity. On the contrary, only the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the founding of Constantinople and the Eastern Roman Empire on the opposite side of the Mediterranean created the conditions for the topographically complicated collection of small islands to become a world power. Venice's rise was based on sea travel and the trade routes via the Eastern Mediterranean. Trade with the East brought wealth to the city built on the lagoon. In Venice, people came together from diverse regions and cultures, so that Venice had national associations of Greeks, Turks, Dalmatians, Albanians, Armenians, and Germans as well as a large Jewish community (the origin of the word "ghetto") to name only some. Whereas in Venice the economy and business-oriented thinking were significant, Padua, with its university founded in 1222, is one of Europe's oldest university towns, a center for the reception of antiquity and humanist education.

Contact Zone

The geographic proximity of the two cities naturally led to exchange. Because the two places almost form a contact zone in the physical, literal sense, to cite the title of this book series, exchange functions as if by osmosis through a kind of membrane in which the flow can take place in either direction. The exchange was particularly lively in the trecento and early quattrocento, because the paradigm shift at the beginning of the early modern period increased the receptivity to the new. Padua did not lose its identity with its independence when the Venetians took control of it in 1405. But the empire had to be administrated, and Venetians did occupy important positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the government. Citizens of Padua did not become



Fig. 1: Folco Quilici, Aerial view of Venice.

citizens of Venice, however, and they proudly kept up their own traditions. A local Paduan “patriotism” was probably supported by the need to distinguish themselves “in the hinterlands” from their more powerful “cosmopolitan” neighbor Venice. In contrast with the horizontal, spatial openness to the world of the *Serenissima*, Paduans emphasized the vertical, the much older and “nobler” historical past, and their descent from the Romans. The cultivation of antique roots but also its university and its humanists created a climate in Padua that was particularly receptive to antiquarianism and the revival or transformation of ancient concepts.

The carriers or messengers of this exchange were, among others, artists and scholars, their works, and their patrons. Manuscripts and, beginning in the late quattrocento, the famous printing presses, especially the press of Aldus Manutius in Venice, promoted communication.¹

¹ “It has been estimated that some 4,500 separate editions had been printed in Venice before 1500, and that half or more of all books printed in Italy in the sixteenth century were produced in the city”; see Nicholas Davidson, ‘As much for Its Culture as for Its Arms.’ *The Cultural Relations of Venice*

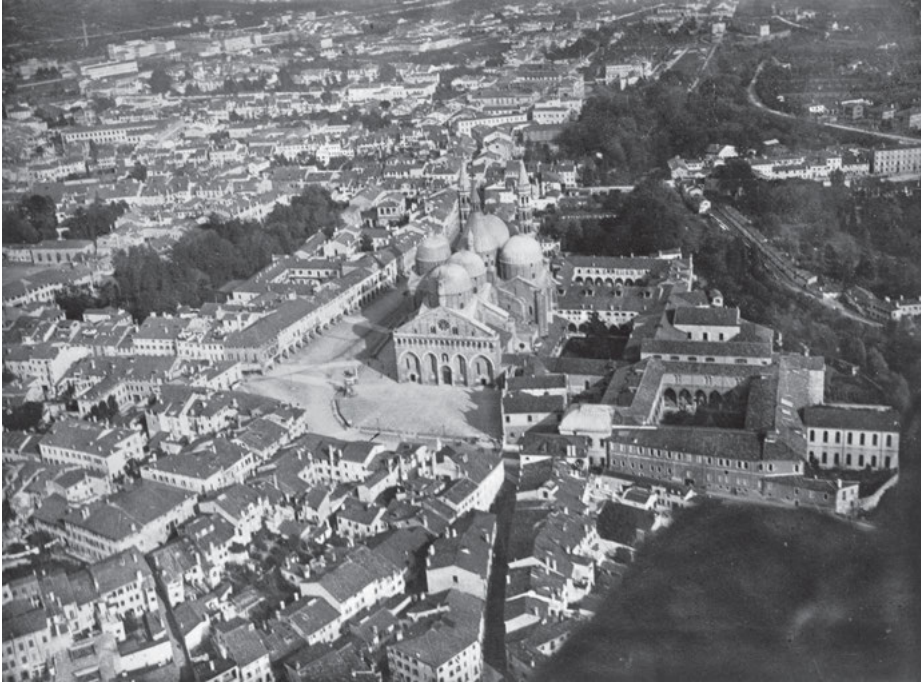


Fig. 2: Aerial view of Padua, ca. 1915.

One of the most important pioneers of humanism, Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), lived in Venice in 1362 and at the end of his life was at the court of the Carrara in Padua (1368–1374). Many humanists studied in Padua, such as the young Guarino da Verona (1374–1460), who – after an extended stay in Constantinople, where he studied Greek at the school of Manuel Chrysoloras – taught Greek in Venice from 1414 to 1419. From 1458 to 1459 Guarino translated Strabo’s *Geographia* from Greek into Latin, having been commissioned by Jacopo Antonio Marcello (1399–1463), a man who performed various political and military tasks for the Venetian state. The manuscript, whose illustrations have been attributed variously to Jacopo Bellini, Giovanni Bellini, and Andrea Mantegna, was presumably written in Padua.² Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446) studied in Padua and later taught there as well. In 1415 he learned Greek at Guarino’s school in Venice, which both scholars left for Padua when the plague

and Its Dependent Cities, 1400–1700, in: Alexander Cowan (ed.), *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400–1700*, Exeter: University Press 2000, pp. 197–214, p. 205.

² Gennaro Toscano, 31a-d Strabone, *Geographia*, traduzione latina di Guarino da Verona, in: Davide Banzato et al. (eds.), *Mantegna e Padova, 1445–1460* (exh. cat.) Musei Civici agli Eremitani, Padua (Milan: Skira, 2006), pp. 204–207.

broke out. Later, in 1423, Vittorino founded his famous school in Mantua. From 1443 onward, Venetians were required to study in Padua.³

Venetian Patricians came to dominate the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Padua:⁴ For example, the Venetian humanist Pietro Donato (1380–1447) was Bishop of Padua from 1428 and as a bibliophile founded the scribe's school of the Cathedral of Padua. Pietro Donato worked with Ciriaco d'Ancona, the early scholar of antiquity. Ciriaco is known to have visited Padua in 1434 and 1442–1443; Ciriaco is also known to have visited Venice in 1431. In his home in Padua, the Venetian cardinal and humanist Pietro Bembo dedicated himself to assembling a rich collection of antiquities, books, and paintings and to intense literary activity. At one point, his collection included Mantegna's *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (see Villa, fig. 1). Amy N. Worthen's essay explores the question of why the Venice-born scholar, philosopher, and orator Cassandra Fedele (1465–1558) was appreciated and studied in detail in Padua in particular.

The question of a comparison of the two cities – or better, the question of their mutual cultural exchange – is a new one and has led to diverse results. It goes without saying, however, that an anthology of essays by various authors and its introduction cannot cover every aspect in detail. The essays are arranged chronologically according to the subject matter.

The methodical approach to the question of the transcultural within a microsystem, a geographical (transregional) comparison of close things, which Padua and Venice represent owing to their proximity, is easier to control than a global comparison between two continents, since, for example, the viewer's gaze does not automatically remain on just one side.⁵ Changing one's viewpoint goes without saying. There was no cultural incline from one place to the other; rather, put simply, the exchange was between a place oriented toward Byzantium and the East and a place that drew its legitimacy from antiquity. Within the intercontinental and even intracontinental comparison, the asymmetrical doubling of the viewer's perspective represents a difficulty for one of its objects. On the other hand, close comparisons lack the effect of surprise. Still, the question of geographical proximity in this study is compelling because the cultural transfer from Padua to Venice and vice versa can be observed over a long

3 On Venice's influence on Padua, see the important article by Sarah Blake McHam, Padua, Treviso, and Bassano, in: Peter Humfrey (ed.), *Venice and the Veneto, Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 207–251, pp. 212–214, p. 213: "The Venetian government did move early to bring the university under its influence [...] and legislated that Venetians must attend the University of Padua."

4 Ibid., p. 213.

5 In connection with the overcoming of the national historical perspective in the social sciences as a consequence of globalization, methodological instruments have been discussed: Michael Werner, Bénédicte Zimmermann, Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der *Histoire croisée* und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002) pp. 607–636.

period and was not initiated by a special event – for example, the conquest of Padua by Venetian troops. A certain arbitrariness is therefore inherent in the beginning and end of the period to be studied. Thanks to the diversity and dynamics of the contacts among the humanists, scholars, artists and their works and concepts, patrons, and collectors of both cities, a complex plexus of cultural creativity emerges. It speaks for their “patriotic” power that each of the cities, especially Padua, retained its identity and characteristic look at least until the beginning of the cinquecento. Padua allied against Venice with Maximilian I and other of Europe’s most powerful leaders as part of the Lega di Cambrai in 1508/09, and Venice bloodily defeated the league in the Wars of Cambrai; afterward, the Serenissima tightened its grip on Padua to prevent any future rebellion. From that time forward, Padua was subject to Venetian dictate in cultural matters as well. In the end, the Venetian lion publicly dominated the main building of the University of Padua.⁶ Claudia Marra’s essay studies this now unequal relationship between Venice and Padua: the defensive façade of the Palazzo of the Venetian *podestà* on Padua’s main square, the Piazza d’Erbe, became an unmistakable demonstration of the power of the Venetian state.

Padua and Antiquity

According to legend, Padua was founded by Antenor, the son of Aesyetes and Cleomestra of Troy. According to the Roman tradition of Livy (*Ab urbe condita* I,1,1–3) and Virgil (*Aeneid* I, 242–247), he brought the Heneters (i. e. Veneters), who had been exiled from Paphlagonia, an ancient region on the Black Sea, to Italy at the mouth of the Po and founded there the city of Patavium (Padua). In contrast to the Venetians, who did not claim to be descended from Antenor and Troy, even though the name Venezia might suggest that, the Paduans created a foundation myth that made them direct successors of the Trojans (see Pincus, fig. 3, Tomb of Antenor in Padua). The Roman arena is an important Roman building in Padua that still stands today.

Padua: A Watershed of Artistic Powers Where Donatello’s Equestrian Statue Transformed the Well-Known Category of the Roman Monument

In the middle of the quattrocento, Padua was a center of artistic innovation and very attractive to young artistic talents. Emerging artists from northern Italy, even from Venice, but also Dalmatians and Slavonians came to Padua to study and learn

⁶ McHam 2007 (as fn. 3), p. 228.

pingere in recenti [painting in the current style]. Francesco Squarcione ran an important studio in Padua that functioned as a kind of factory for artists. The attraction of his workshop to young artists was probably based on his large collections of, among other things, plaster casts of ancient sculptures and model drawings that could be used as objects of study.⁷ Not only Andrea Mantegna but also Nicolò Pizolo, Marco Zoppo, and Giorgio Schiavone came out of Squarcione's workshop.⁸

Padua, with its awareness of its roots in antiquity, became the foundation for getting innovative artists from Florence interested in the city. The young Fra Filippo Lippi is documented in Padua in 1434. His numerous works for Padua, many of which were lost and are known only through documents, suggest he had an extended stay there (decoration of the Podestà Chapel and an altarpiece for *Il Santo*).⁹ The Florentine sculptor Niccolò Baroncelli worked for *Il Santo* and for the Church of the Eremitani. At the same time, from around 1443 to 1453, the most famous sculptor of his time, Donatello of Florence, lived in Padua. He had two important commissions to fulfill there. For *Il Santo*, Donatello created the crucifix and the high altar in bronze. The equestrian statue that Donatello made for the Condottiere Erasmo da Narni, called *Gattamelata* (1370–1443), as Sarah Blake McHam demonstrates, is a landmark of the antiquarian and classicizing achievements of the Renaissance (see McHam, fig. 1). In her important contribution, Sarah Blake McHam observes that both works, the high altar and the equestrian statue, which was probably commissioned shortly after *Gattamelata*'s death in 1443 and was erected in front of Saint Anthony's Basilica (*Il Santo*) in Padua in 1453, radically altered the cityscape of Padua and the look of its art: The allusions the *Gattamelata* monument provided to ancient Rome recalled Padua's status in the empire and continued the symbolic language of venerable origins that distinguished Padua's pedigree from her overlord Venice's post-antique settlement.¹⁰ Donatello's works differ from everything that had been produced in Venice until that point. Sarah Blake McHam's contribution is concerned with the *Gattamelata* family and its commissions granted to artists of various origins (Venice, Florence, Padua). She concludes that for each task the artist who was best suited for it was chosen. The awarding of the commission for the equestrian statue went to a Florentine artist

7 Irene Favaretto, La raccolta di sculture antiche di Francesco Squarcione tra leggenda e realtà, in: Alberta De Nicolò Salmazo (ed.), *Francesco Squarcione. Pictorum gymnasiarcha singularis*, Atti delle giornate di studio 1998, Padua: Il Poligrafo, 1999, pp. 233–244.

8 Of the copious literature on the subject, see especially: Giovanni Agosti, Mantegna 2046, in: Giovanni Agosti, Dominique Thiébaud (eds.), *Mantegna 1431–1506* (exh. cat.), Musée du Louvre, Paris 2008–2009, pp. 29–52, pp. 32–37; Laura Cavazzini, Aldo Galli, Padua, Carrefour artistique, in: *Mantegna 1431–1506* (ibid.), pp. 55–101, esp. pp. 55–60.

9 Andrea de Marchi, Un Raggio di Luce su Filippo Lippi a Padova, in: *Nuovi Studi* 1.1 (1996), pp. 5–23, esp. p. 5.

10 McHam 2007 (as fn. 3), p. 216.



Fig. 3: Andrea Verrocchio, Equestrian Statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni, bronze, Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, 1479–1499.

who was well versed in antiquarian culture. Artists from Padua and from Venice were hired to decorate the tomb chapel in Il Santo.

Bartolomeo Colleoni (1400–1475), a Bergamasque condottiere serving the Venetian Republic, bequeathed to Venice a large sum on his death that was to be used for the Turkish War and for his equestrian monument. As in Padua, Verrocchio's equestrian statue stands on the piazza in front of a church, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, which was traditionally the location of the tombs of the doges. As in Padua, a Florentine artist was commissioned. How closely the Colleoni statue on its similar high pedestal is connected to Donatello's Gattamelata remains to be studied (fig. 3).¹¹

¹¹ Probably in the same year as the Gattamelata statue, 1443, the bronze equestrian statue for Nicolò III d'Este (1383/84–1441) was commissioned in Ferrara. Verrocchio's monument was commissioned in 1479, cast in 1488, and installed in 1492. See Norbert Huse, Wolfgang Wolters, *Venedig. Die Kunst der Renaissance, Architektur, Skulptur, Malerei 1460–1590*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1986, p. 183. Leonardo's equestrian statue for Francesco Sforza was another monumental bronze equestrian statue (1488–1499, unrealized design) in the tradition of honoring publicly those in power, and rulers.

Paleography

One important subject in the enthusiasm for antiquity was epigraphy: the study of ancient inscriptions. The enthusiasm was not primarily about the content of the inscriptions but rather their form: the letters of Latin inscriptions, the majuscules of the Roman Empire, were copied and studied. They were admired for their balanced proportion of individual letters and the distance between the letters. Ideally, the letter could be inscribed in a square, with a play of chiaroscuro of emphatic up, down, and cross strokes, ending in clear and sharp serifs.

Padua was, along with Florence and Rome, the center of writing *all'antica*, as Debra Pincus deduces in her central essay.¹² Pincus rightly distinguishes between the majuscules written in the manuscripts and epigraphs carved in stone. She attributes a crucial role to the evolution of the Carolingian uncials in old manuscripts. Pietro Donato, the Bishop of Padua from 1428 to 1447, was a great connoisseur and lover of books. From the hunt of similar expeditions during the Council of Basel (1431–1436), searching for ancient manuscripts in the libraries of Swiss and southern German monasteries, he brought numerous ancient texts to Padua for the cathedral scriptorium. There they were copied by numerous scribes. The use of different, alternating colors for individual majuscules, which is also found in the Carolingian Eusebius (Oxford Merton College, ms Coxe 315), became a trademark of Paduan writing *all'antica* (Pincus, fig. 5). As Debra Pincus shows, Ciriaco d'Ancona played a role in the copying of Carolingian manuscripts in the cathedral scriptorium: certain manuscripts have marginal notes in his hand (Pincus, fig. 2). The tradition of writing *all'antica* in Padua was continued and sharpened by Felice Feliciano (Pincus, fig. 8) and Giovanni Marcanova; it continued to be related directly to ancient models. There is no longer any trace of a Carolingian or Gothic tradition. The famous expedition that the two scholars of antiquity Feliciano and Marcanova made with Andrea Mantegna to the southern end of Lake Garda concerned ancient inscriptions in stone. The combination of experiences with Carolingian manuscripts and the inscriptions on Roman tombstones led to a very specifically northern Italian form of writing *all'antica*.

Donatello's inscription on the pedestal of the Gattamelata statue reveals a stylistic turn in his use of his writing style that was very much related to his experiences in Padua (see fig. 1 in McHam and the essay by Pincus).¹³ They are perfectly balanced letters *all'antica*. In the same location, above the main entrance to Il Santo, there is an inscription signed and dated (1452) by Mantegna for the fresco of Saints Anthony

¹² For an early article reflecting this view, see Millard Meiss, Toward a More Comprehensive Renaissance Palaeography, in: *The Art Bulletin* 42, 2 (June 1960), pp. 97–112, p. 107.

¹³ See *ibid.*, pp. 101–102, who moved Donatello's "palaeographic shift" to balanced *quadratae litterae* to Padua (inscription on the pedestal of the Gattamelata statue).

and Bernardino, once again in perfect *all'antica* form.¹⁴ Mantegna's sense for writing *all'antica* is evident in many of his works.

How did Paduan paleography interact with the use of writing *all'antica* in Venice? Ciriaco (1392–1452) was not from Padua but from Ancona. He explored the entire Mediterranean region for antiquities, Roman and Greek inscriptions, which he documented in his six-volume compendium.¹⁵ From 1424 until his death in 1452, Ciriaco d'Ancona sketched ancient monuments, reliefs, tombstones, coins, and gems, recording their complete appearance including inscriptions and depictions. We know that Ciriaco sold particularly valuable and rare Greek coins to Venetian collectors, including the physician and humanist Pietro Tomasi.¹⁶ Collections of Greek and Latin inscriptions were less common in Venice in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁷ We do not know whether Jacopo Bellini ever met his contemporary Ciriaco or was familiar with his work. It is a fact that the volumes of his drawings have copies of ancient monuments, including inscriptions (fig. 4), similar to those of Ciriaco, Felice Feliciano, and Marcanova. In the case of Felice Feliciano, we find the constructive principles of letters *all'antica* (Pincus, fig. 8). The dating of Jacopo Bellini's drawings is not definitive: Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt argue for an earlier dating of the drawings with ancient inscriptions: around 1440. By doing so they attribute a pioneering role to Jacopo Bellini in paleography and epigraphy.¹⁸ The accentuation of the letters with thick and thin strokes on the curves or with up and down strokes – not yet found in Ciriaco's writing – suggests rather a later date and a connection to Paduan calligraphy.

¹⁴ The fresco was taken down in 1935 and is now held in the Museo Antoniano. See the discussion by Stefano Zamponi at the conference on signatures organized in Berlin by Alessandro della Latta, January 26–27, 2017. The question was even asked which inscription, Donatello's or Mantegna's, was made first and who could have made them.

¹⁵ See Bernhard Degenhart, Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450*, part 2, *Venedig. Jacopo Bellini*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1990, vol. 5, pp. 193–195. Ciriaco's compendium is thought to have been destroyed in 1514 when the library of Pesaro burned, but new scholarship has raised hope that the *Compendium* may have survived. There are excerpts and imitations, some of them autograph, such as ms. Hamilton 254 in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin and ms. Trotti 373 in the Ambrosiana, Milan.

¹⁶ Irene Favaretto, *Antikensammlungen in Venedig. Ein historischer Streifzug vom 14. zum 19. Jahrhundert*, in: *Venezia! Kunst aus venezianischen Palästen, Sammlungsgeschichte Venedigs vom 13. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (exh. cat.), Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz 2002), pp. 34–42, pp. 36–37.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.

¹⁸ Degenhart, Schmitt 1990 (as fn. 15), part 2, vols. 5–6, reverse the previous chronology of the drawings: they date the Paris volume to between 1430 and the mid-1450s and the London volume to between 1455 and the mid-1460s. On the dating, see *ibid.*, part 2, vol. 5, p. 103, and of the drawings with inscriptions, *ibid.*, p. 203; on Jacopo Bellini and antiquity, *ibid.* pp. 192–213.



Fig. 4: Jacopo Bellini, *Studies of Three Classical Monuments*, sketchbook, pen, brush, and ink over metalpoint on parchment, Louvre, Paris, fol. 45.

The inscription of a polyptych from 1450 by Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini (Bologna, Pinacoteca) with numerous ligatures also suggests it was more likely developed from Carolingian writing (on the work of the Vivarini, see below). Giovanni Bellini's early *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (Birmingham Barber Institute) has an inscription on the *cartellino* that, in addition to its unusual orthography IHOVANES BELINUS, has painted majuscules that lack geometrical balance.¹⁹ Later his signatures feature an oversized L; the lengthening of individual letters points to inspiration from Paduan and Carolingian uncials.²⁰

The printed works of Aldus Manutius (b. 1449 in Bassiano and d. 1515 in Venice) are based on Antiqua script. Manutius published in Venice Greek and Latin works by ancient writers, thus making an essential contribution to their dissemination

¹⁹ Debra Pincus rejects the signature, accepted by other scholars, as not autograph: Debra Pincus, Bellini and Belliniana. The Issue of Signatures, Four Case Studies, in: Nicole Hegener (ed.), *Künstler-Signaturen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Petersberg: Imhof, 2013, pp. 232–243, p. 237. It seems to me that the orthography IHOVANES BELINUS was intended to suggest a certain “Greekness.”

²⁰ Meiss 1960 (as fn. 12), fig. 1, 33. Caution is in order regarding Bellini's signatures, as their authenticity has often been questioned as (later?) additions to increase the value of the painting; see also Beverly Louise Brown in the present volume (p. 111, esp. fn. 1).

and to the evolution of humanism. It is reasonable to assume that the typography of Manutius' publishing house was influenced by Paduan epigraphy and that, conversely, his printed books made it to Padua and were read there. Perhaps the most famous book from his press was the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna, a fantastic romance with enigmatic emblems and images (Pincus, fig. 10 and Brown, fig. 5). In her essay on the so-called *Brocardo Portrait* in Budapest, Beverly Louise Brown examines, among other things, the emblems and inscriptions on the *parapetto* in the foreground of the portrait. She relates it to Petrarch's "lofty game" of love, to Pietro Bembo's *Asolani*, and to the enigmas and emblems of the *Hypnerotomachia*. Petrarch, Bembo, and Colonna were authors published by Aldus Manutius. We do not know who is the author of the painting or its sitter for certain. It can, however, serve as an example of the influence held by writers and thinkers in and beyond Venice thanks to Manutius' press as their texts were disseminated by it and were then translated into paintings.²¹

Ancient Coins

Ancient coins were easy for scholars of antiquity to get because so many of them had survived. There was a true "numismania": people collected ancient coins and imagined the acts and achievements of the Roman emperors based on their profile portraits. Once again, Padua showed an early interest in this ancient form and its transformation in the spirit of the art of the early modern period. Petrarch was already advising Charles IV, when he came to Italy in 1355 to be crowned emperor, to have himself portrayed on a coin as the ancient emperors had done. Petrarch illustrated his advice with ancient coins that he included with his letter as gifts.²² As Sylvia Volz

²¹ On this, see also Guido Beltrami, Davide Gasparotto (eds.) *Aldo Manuzio il Rinascimento di Venezia* (exh. cat.), Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (Venice: Marsilio, 2016).

²² Francesco Petrarch, *Letters on Familiar Matters (Rerum Familiarium Libri)*, trans. Aldo S. Bernardo, vol. 3 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985), p. 79; Francesco Petrarch, *Aufrufe zur Errettung Italiens und des Erdkreises. Ausgewählte Briefe Lateinisch-Deutsch*, ed. and trans. Berthe Widmer, Basel: Schwabe, 2001, pp. 427–443; Karl-Heinz Stierle, Die Illegitimität der *translatio*. Petrarca und das "dunkle" Mittelalter, in: *Petrarca-Studien, Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 48 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012), pp. 268–288; Annegrit Schmitt, Zur Wiederbelebung der Antike im Trecento. Petrarca's Rom-Idee in ihrer Wirkung auf die Paduaner Malerei. Die methodische Einbeziehung des römischen Münzbildnisses in die Ikonographie "Berühmter Männer," in: *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 18.2 (1974), pp. 167–218. Petrarch was, however, not alone in his admiration for ancient coins. We know that Venice had, already in the fourteenth century, developed into the most important market for the trade of Greek and Roman antiquities. See Michele Asolati, Francesco Petrarca und seine numismatische Sammlung, in: *Venezia!* 2002 (as fn. 16), pp. 72–74, and Michele Asolati, Die Geschichte der venezianischen Münzsammlungen, in: *ibid.*, pp. 220–221.