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**Byzantine Relief Icons in Venice and along the Adriatic Coast:  
Orants and other images of the Mother of God**



"*Ex Jasp. huj. magnit.*": Cameo with the Virgin Blachernitissa, h. 4.5 cm, inscribed MP/ΘΥ, Byzantine. Illustrated on the title page of: Mons.<sup>r</sup> AGOSTINO MOLIN, *Dell'antica immagine di Maria Santissima che si conserva nella Basilica di San Marco*, Venezia: Tipografia Zerletti Editrice, 1821. The illustrated gem, not commented by Molin, was possibly in Venice in 1821. An identical stone of the same size ("bloodstone") was acquired by the Victoria & Albert Museum in London in 1982 (Inv. A.4-1982); Byzantine (Constantinople?), late 12th century. Ill. in: *Glory*, cat. no. 134. See Pl. 28.

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## BYZANTINE RELIEF ICONS IN VENICE AND ALONG THE ADRIATIC COAST: ORANTS AND OTHER IMAGES OF THE MOTHER OF GOD

Monumental Byzantine sculpture resembles a no man's land, with few markers and unclear boundaries. The small number of surviving Byzantine sculptures, mostly reliefs, may represent only a fragment of what once existed before eighth- and ninth-century Byzantine iconoclasm and before the Turkish conquest of Constantinople and the advent of Islamic iconoclasm and indifference. One can only guess how large a part of the whole this fragment represents.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the universe of large Byzantine figural sculpture appears always to have been restricted.<sup>2</sup> The 'absent' heads, decapitated and lost, and the many now mutilated faces testify to the conviction and violence to which these graven images were subjected.

Stone sculpture is not the most portable art form. Thus it appears all the more noteworthy that nearly half of the known pieces from the Byzantine period catalogued in Reinhold Lange's *Die byzantinische Relieffikone* (1964), all belonging to the Middle Byzantine period and later times, are now found in the West, west, that is, of Greece, while the 'eastern' pieces include many of modest size and quality.<sup>3</sup> Lange identified only fifty-six pieces dating before the "Nachbyzantinische Zeit" to include in his corpus. To speak of an exodus of works to the West is possibly exaggerated. But during the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204-1261) many works of art, including stone reliefs, were removed from the capital by the crusaders and transported to the rich trading cities of Italy, where they became known to a wider public and where they were highly venerated. A number of reliefs reached the Adriatic coast, principally Venice. Italian masons copied these works, sometimes carefully, and the distinction between Byzantine and Byzantinizing Italian works is, in the absence of ample comparative material, often problematic. This distinction has, possibly wrongly, been seen as an end in itself. The diagnosis 'not made in Byzantium' often brings the discussion of later pieces to an end. Considered as mere copies, they appear devoid of further interest (although icons are, by definition, 'true' copies), when, objectively, such works represent a continuation of Byzantine traditions in Italy. In any event, Otto Demus' prefatory statement to his treatment of the sculpture of the church of San Marco (1960) – "there exists nothing even approaching a consensus of opinion on the question of what is to be regarded as Venetian and what is Byzantine sculpture" – appears equally valid nearly a half-century later.

If the 'Madonna Greca' of the church of Santa Maria in Porto in Ravenna arrived on the Adriatic shore on the morning of 8 April 1100, as tradition attests, it is, in an age of western

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Very many works treated here are included and illustrated in LANGE's catalogue (1964) and in the most considered treatment of this topic: DEMUS (1960). Appendix II, a handlist of works relevant to Venice and the Adriatic coast, assembles the literature for the works and refers to further illustrations. Full references to literature cited in short form are given at the beginning of Appendix II.

<sup>1</sup> Estimates of the extent of Islamic iconoclasm are variable. A large proportion of surviving relief icons and similar stone sculpture show traces of iconoclastic damage; see, e.g., MARTIN HARRISON, *A Temple for Byzantium*, London, 1989, figs. 135-142, with damage concentrated on the faces; cf. *Faith/Power*, nos. 50-55. All the relief icons postdate Byzantine iconoclasm.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps 30 or more reliefs of Byzantine origin, most definable as icons, survive along the Adriatic coast of Italy, or have been removed from there. If, for example, 5% of a conceivable universe of Byzantine relief icons were 'rescued', this assumption would imply an original universe of some 600 pieces of substantial size and significance. A survival rate of 5% may appear high. How much material remains buried under the earth is unclear, although 'new' pieces continue to be found. The concentration of Byzantine or Byzantinizing pieces in Venice, including pieces with a Venetian provenance, is very large in relation to the surviving material. There is in progress a CNR (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche) project ('Recuperi bizantini in Italia') that foresees a future 'Corpus degli oggetti bizantini in Italia'; see ANDREA PARIBENI, in: *Bisanzio, la Grecia e l'Italia*, ed. ANTONIO IACOBINI, Roma, 2003, pp. 119-126.

<sup>3</sup> Lange's book remains the most comprehensive treatment of the Byzantine relief icon. This work received a somewhat skeptical reception from practitioners in the field of Byzantine studies (e.g., GRABAR, R.; DEMUS, R.; and HANS BELTING, in: *Byzantina*, I, 1970, pp. 238-244). Despite their reservations, Lange's comparative descriptions and analyses of the individual relief icons represent a cumulative reading of these works which is more stimulating and instructive for an outsider than that of Grabar's somewhat cryptic text of 1976, a selection of Byzantine sculptures intended more for the initiated than as an introduction. Lange's reviewers question, to an extent correctly, whether the Byzantine relief icon constitutes a genuine, existent *Kunstgattung* within Byzantine art, and they stress the need to see relief icons in relation to sculptural objects in other media and materials (metal, ivory, etc.). After 1964, a number of large and ambitious exhibitions dedicated to Byzantine art have, to an extent, done this (see Appendix II). The relationship of figural Byzantine relief sculpture to Byzantine decorative sculpture is clearly important, but it has not been treated here.

elite disbelief, less credible that this large marble icon (116 x 60 cm) was borne in the air by two torch-bearing angels and surrounded by a brilliant aureole of light, although pictures painted just yesterday continue to show this to be true.<sup>4</sup> Legend aside, it is seldom possible to determine when any given piece of Byzantine sculpture reached Italy.<sup>5</sup> The datings suggested by specialists for such works are, most often, variable, and, indeed, divergent — as are the datings proposed for works of Byzantine sculpture in general — an extreme case being the relief of the 'Nativity and the Flight into Egypt' preserved at San Marco high in the south wall of the cappella Zeno, for which the proposed datings range over seven or eight centuries.<sup>6</sup> It scarcely needs be said that in the area of Byzantine sculpture the quest for datings is no trivial pursuit, for the material requires a rudimentary order before more interesting questions can be posed. This notwithstanding, for an outsider the datings offered often do not inspire great confidence. The reasons given for them often embody as large a measure of assertion as of explanation and justification, or they reflect mere appeals to authority.<sup>7</sup>

By far the most significant nucleus of surviving Byzantine reliefs in Italy is found today in the Basilica di San Marco in Venice.<sup>8</sup> For these works a systematic survey exists only for the

<sup>4</sup> Images of the arrival: [www.mariadinazareth.it/Immagini%20Miracolose/S.M.%20in%20Porto.htm](http://www.mariadinazareth.it/Immagini%20Miracolose/S.M.%20in%20Porto.htm). The 'Madonna Greca' now wears a golden crown given her by Giovanni Paolo II.

<sup>5</sup> The principal Adriatic coastal towns and cities which received Byzantine reliefs were: Caorle, Torcello, Venice, Ravenna, Ancona, and Bari (see MARISA MILELLA LOVECCHIO, "La scultura bizantina dell'XI secolo nel museo di Bari", in: *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, XCIII, 1981, pp. 7-87, decorative sculpture, but with consideration of Byzantine patronage and workshops). The inclusion of ornamental sculpture would expand the list of centers of Byzantine influence along the Adriatic coast considerably.

<sup>6</sup> See DORIGO, I, pp. 528-530 (color ill), and the similar relief in the church of San Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice (RIZZI, p. 637, OAD 441); GABELENTZ, pp. 146-153; cf. DEMUS, p. 109, "as much as seven centuries"; p. 174 and note 152.

<sup>7</sup> When I have mentioned datings, these are intended for general orientation, and I have only attempted to follow the most dependable authorities, in so far as they can be identified.

<sup>8</sup> *Sculture esterne* (1995); this work should be consulted for all the reliefs on the façades of San Marco, especially the catalogue of Guido Tigler. Brief general indications for the San Marco reliefs as an ensemble are found in: FLEURY, pp. 96f.; GABELENTZ, 1903, pp. 131-133 (systematic and nearly complete); WULFF, II, 1924, p. 606; TOESCA, II, 2, pp. 790f.; CRICHTON, p. 91; DEMUS, pp. 122-125, 131f.; LANGE, *passim*; DEMUS, R., p. 386; VOLBACH, p. 205; BECKWITH, pp. 132f.; BELTING-IHM, p. 65 note 18; GRABAR, pp. 5, 23, 36, 123f.; POLACCO, pp. 79f.; *Sculture esterne*, pp. 87f., no. 87 etc. (Tigler); DEBORAH PINCUS, *The Tombs of the Doges*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 53-54, 195 note 50; *Mother*, pp. 237, 248 note 30 (Loverdou-Tsigarida: "cannot be assigned a provenance with any confidence"), *et passim*; SILVIA PASI, in: *Nostra Donna in sul lito adriano*, exh. cat., Ravenna: San Domenico, 2000, pp. 13 and note 74, p. 22, note 7; *Deomene*, p. 46 (Rizzardi), *et passim*; *Fede*, pp. 23f. (Fulvio Zulian). See also DORIGO (I, p. 218), who sees the "serie di madonna" in San Marco as "lavori di imitazione". Dorigo's view of the entire material represents a notable revision favoring later datings and Venetian origins (pp. 218, 515, 544, 545). BELTING (1990, ch. 10, "Pilger, Kaiser und Bruderschaften. Kultstätten von Ikonen in Byzanz und Venedig", pp. 208-232, esp. p. 220ff.) offers a vivid and interesting account of the icons of San Marco, attributing a rôle to "Pilger und Bruderschaften" in Venice similar to that which he describes in Byzantium, and making a number of concrete suggestions about the contexts in which the icons of San Marco were venerated. In fact, very little is known concerning the cult of icons in San Marco, which remains largely a topic for future research; most testimonies are fairly late (1600ff.). San Marco is presented as a pilgrimage church (p. 228: "eine Pilgerkirche byzantinischer Art"), but it was the Ducal Chapel and not a pilgrimage church in the sense that the Santo in Padua or the 'Santa Casa' in Loreto are; no organized veneration of icons in San Marco on the part of confraternities is documented, as it is in Ravenna. The relief icons in San Marco, once set into the walls, remained in place and were never carried in processions, as was, for example, the Ravenna 'Madonna Greca', in replicas. The 'andata' of the painted Nicopeia Madonna to Santa Maria della Salute is a 17th-c phenomenon. She is the principal icon of the Basilica and the protectress of Venice. The connection of the 'Mascoli' with the Orant next to the Mascoli Chapel (BELTING, 1994, p. 200) as the patron is misleading, as is the date 1221. Although ROHAULT DE FLEURY (I, 1878, p. 291) writes that a "portion considérable d'un voile" with fragments of the "robe" and "manteau" of the Virgin were transferred to Venice, sometime after 1204, these relics left, it seems, little echo, and it is unclear if the suggested connection of the San Marco Orants with these relics and the church of the Blachernae (Constantinople) ever existed. BELTING (1990, p. 226) writes that the "Blachernen-Ikonen" within San Marco "verschiedenen Instanzen und Vereinigungen als Kultbilder dienten", but again there is no evidence to support this assertion, and the "Vereinigungen" remain to be identified. The statement, "Die Vielfalt der Bilder widerstand dem Gesetz der Serie, weil jedes Bild seine eigene Geschichte und seine eigene Kompetenz besaß.", is only to a limited extent correct, and it is little more than a truism. Demus demonstrated very clearly the serial character of the Orants of San Marco. While Belting's discussion appears to provide conclusions, it essentially only raises questions, albeit interesting ones. If answers are possible, they will require *inter alia* a more systematic examination of Venetian chronicles, diaries, guide books, travel literature (including accounts of pilgrims passing through Venice on their way to eastern destinations), and the literature concerning the history of painted icons in Venice, which is more extensive than that for relief icons. For the rehousing of the Madonna Nicopeia in the northeastern chapel of the north transept, ca. 1617, see: ANDREW HOPKINS, *Santa Maria della Salute*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 4-7, 15, 235f., as well as for her new prominence from around 1620; the very large number of Venetian 'andate', which were state processions in the first instance, but to religious sites, were probably not Byzantine in origin and represent in any event a highly developed indigenous phenomenon: pp. 134ff. The Boschini frontispiece (1644), with the Madonna Nicopeia: fig. 98, and p. 149. For the slight influence of Byzantium on the rites and ceremonies of San Marco, see DEMUS, pp. 54f. Cf. the account of a procession with the "ancona" of the Amadi family in 1481: "... Et noi m. Alvise et io Angelo Amadi, sotto di tal ombrella, et Palio, sopra gli nostri homeri, overo spalle, quello tal Palchetto, con ditta Immagine, come cosa nostra, volessimo portar, come facevano li Costantinopolitani, quell'altra sua devotissima, et prodigiosa Effigie ditta Panara, et tutti noi vestiti di Porporei scarlatti, et vestimenti sirice insieme con i Figliuoli nostri, che fu Geronimo figliuolo di m. Alvise, et Lelio figliuolo di me Angelo, tutti levasimo detta Immagine, ne altri volessimo, che la portasse; per dimostrazione pubblica, di essere cosa

sculptures placed on the exterior of the Basilica.<sup>9</sup> But it is only in the often unavailable or incompletely available volumes of *La Ducale Basilica di San Marco*, published by Ferdinando Ongania between 1881 and 1893, that all the interior reliefs are illustrated, albeit in photograph albums and dispersed in several unwieldy folios.<sup>10</sup> Upon entering the Basilica di San Marco, the impression that one has found himself in an Eastern Byzantine church is owed first, perhaps, to the domed architecture and the omni-present gold mosaics. But this impression may be seconded by the quantity of large stone 'Byzantine' icons let into the walls of the Basilica, many or most placed high above eye-level and framed in simple flat borders formed by contrasting bands of stone, and perpetually lit by the '*lumini*' (small oil lamps) hanging before them,<sup>11</sup> that is to say, they are treated as an icon proper, and not as an altar *retable*. The number of relief icons in the Basilica di San Marco surpasses by far that of any church in Constantinople or on Byzantine soil.

An icon such as the *Madonna della Grazia* is placed slightly lower than some of the San Marco relief icons, but, devoid of a mensa, she is not treated as an altar image. Instead, widely framed at left and right by strips of darker stone bordering a tall *pavonazzo* panel, the relief is sheltered above by a simple baldachin-like ledge, which rests on three mensoles and from which three lamps are hung.<sup>12</sup> Below, a provisional, movable stand holds candles lit by the faithful, a usage of uncertain age. This arrangement appears to represent a half-way station between the icon and the ubiquitous Venetian '*capitelli*', that is, the exterior street tabernacles bearing a sacred image, most commonly Marian ones, and devoid of an established liturgical context.<sup>13</sup> These sacred aedicules on the exteriors of buildings are extremely common in Italy. Some display replicas of Byzantine Madonnas. The functions of the *capitelli* are protection and defense, healing and performing of miracles and wonders, extra-liturgical devotion, connection with the deity *via* intercession, all functions which resemble those often attributed to exterior Byzantine relief icons carved in stone. In any event, with one exception, the remaining relief icons of San Marco are simply treated as wall-icons, most in the traditional Byzantine fashion.<sup>14</sup>

As we have seen, the difficulties that have impeded the historical study of these works are evident: uncertainties in dating, uncertainties concerning place of origin, the questions of local copies and later recarving, changes in placement and function. It is often not clear if Venetian examples belong to Byzantine studies or to the study of Italian art, and if they have not been treated as 'untouchables', they have suffered from a measure of 'homelessness', apparently belonging unequivocally to no established branch of study. Nevertheless, the former Chapel of the Doge in Venice possesses and displays as many as fifteen and more large stone 'icons' and reliefs that are Byzantine or belong to the Byzantine tradition. It is sometimes unclear whether these are Byzantine originals, copies made in Venice, or originals restored or recarved there, or even modern replacements. Of the images of the Mother of God, all but four present the isolated *Maria Orans*. Otto Demus attempted a general distinction between

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nostra et da nostro Avolo fatta." (PIETRO PAOLETTI, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venezia, 1893, text vol., part 2, p. 206, note 3).

<sup>9</sup> *Sculture esterne*.

<sup>10</sup> The volumes are frequently found with missing illustrations. The illustrative albums ("Dettagli") of this editorial production do not constitute a printed work: the plates are original photographs pasted on heavy mounting paper, whereby the figure and plate numbers are stamped rather than printed and follow two systems of numeration. Numbers have sometimes been trimmed away in binding or rebinding.

<sup>11</sup> See LIOBA THIES, in: *Licht*, pp. 53-64 ("Lampen, Leuchten, Licht"); RDK, VI, cols. 600-617, *ad vocem* 'Ewiges Licht'. The function of vigil lamps ('*lumini*'; '*cesendelli*') before icons must be more to pay the tribute of presence than that of illumination.

<sup>12</sup> POLACCO, fig. at p. 197; DEMUS, *Mosaics*, I, 1, pl. 19. Photo of placement within the Basilica, in: BELTING, 1990, fig. 120. BELTING (pp. 226, 227) identifies the icon as the "Madonna delle Grazie", but she did not bear this title.

<sup>13</sup> *Capitelli*: a Venetian expression '*capitèlo*' ('*capitèo*') for street tabernacle or *Strassenkapelle*; see the discussion, „I '*capitelli*'-Tabernacoli", in: RIZZI, pp. 73-78 (with lit.); also CUMÀN-FABBIÀN, pp. 17-19, and numerous studies by Cumàn. Notices for these devotional constructions are had from 1128 A.D. (Rizzi), and "nei testi più antichi essi vengono chiamati *icone* o *anconae*" (Rizzi, p. 73). See: ANTONIO NIERO, "Il capitello nella storia della religiosità popolare veneziana", in: *I capitelli e la società religiosa veneta* (Atti del convegno, Venezia, 17-19 marzo 1978), Vicenza, 1979, pp. 21-60, figs. I-IV ([www.istitutoperlericerchedistoriasocialeereligiosa.vi.it/convegni.html](http://www.istitutoperlericerchedistoriasocialeereligiosa.vi.it/convegni.html)), ed. A. LAZZARETTO ZANOLO and ERMENEGILDO REATO, Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa (Vicenza); cf. ANTONIO NIERO, "Il culto dei santi nell'arte popolare, in: AA.VV., *Santità a Venezia*, Venezia, 1972, pp. 231-289.

<sup>14</sup> Associated with doors: 'Candelabra Madonna', Ancona, Caorle; altar: Ravenna. Cf. BELTING-IHM, pp. 65f.

the Byzantine and Venetian works. In the former the figures are not confined by the frame. They are placed on an empty field of broader proportions. In contrast, the frames, or the formats, of the Venetian works are taller and narrower, the frames constricting the lengthened figures, no longer displayed against emptiness. Both aesthetic and spiritual endlessness are now delimited by enframement.

Among the reliefs of the standing Virgin in the Basilica, first place is usually assigned to the image called the 'Madonna della Grazia', mentioned above. This relief icon of the Orant Virgin is found in the north aisle, to the left, as the Basilica proper is entered from the atrium through the north door ('Porta di San Pietro'). The relief is said to be 'made in Byzantium' and to have provided the pattern for most of the other Virgins Orant in San Marco. But there are substantial reasons for doubting both these assumptions. The 'Madonna della Grazia' is rendered difficult to study by the dim illumination within San Marco, by its elevated position, and by the heavy, disfiguring gilding which covers it. Demus writes that "the severe and meticulous drapery comprised of straight lines with only a minimum of curves" is a characteristic shared with Byzantine works of the eleventh century, without, however, excluding a later date, and he affirms the "essentially Byzantine character of the relief", believing that it "reached Venice as a part of the Crusaders' booty". The relatively broad proportions of the relief and the holes bored through the hands of the Virgin (now filled in) might also have been advanced as arguments for the Byzantine origin of the relief, as might have been the cruciform holes over the forehead. Nevertheless, prolonged and repeated observation of the work has convinced me that Demus' reservations about the 'Madonna della Grazia' ("not of the first quality", "the lack of finesse and precision") deserve even more weight than he gave them, and, further, that in this work a number of unbyzantine traits suggest a Venetian origin and a later date, probably within the thirteenth century.

The possibility that the surface of the figure has been reworked has been raised, and this is a possibility which is not easily subject to proof or disproof, and thus it remains an imponderable.<sup>15</sup> The thick gold paint may blunt the precision of the forms, and, although the gold paint may conceal a greater subtlety of modeling than is apparent, nothing of the present surface conformation suggests that any single detail of the linear outline and configuration of figure and drapery is lost. In the 'Madonna della Grazia' the forms of the Virgin's *maphorion*, or the ample veil covering her head, shoulders, and breast, constitute a unity, rather than being articulated in several clearly distinguished motives, discrete and self-contained, as in Byzantine examples, and the fan-like folds that fall to her side merely drop from her bent arms, rather than emerging, as if from a hood or cloak, from framing pleats in the *maphorion* below and behind her elbows, a trait of the securely Byzantine Blachernitissa examples and one often preserved even in modern replications. Here a comparison with the *Orans* of Santa Maria Mater Domini (Venice) is highly instructive. In the 'Madonna della Grazia', the vaguely amorphous, loosely hanging drapery of her garment is immediately apparent: missing is a taut and vital inner structure. There are no grooved chevrons (V-shape and inverted V-shape forms). The tasseled belt and fringed hem of the end of fabric over the right hip cannot be seen without reservation as typically Byzantine.<sup>16</sup> In the upper corners, the letters MHP and ΘΥ (MHTHP EOY, Mother of God) are raised in relief and not incised, as in most genuine

<sup>15</sup> Later modifications are presented as a certainty by Loverdou-Tsigarida, in: *Mother*, p. 248, note 30. Concerning the problem of later restorations and re-workings, including the question of later copies, see the review by PETER DIEMER of Wolters, in: *Kunstchronik*, XXXV, 1982, pp. 105-110, with reservations concerning the frequent assumption of an undemonstrated "Überarbeitung" of older pieces in the 13th century (pp. 109f.); see *infra*, Appendix I. Tigler, in: *Sculture esterne*, is generally sceptical of the putative reworking of numerous pieces. Venerated painted icons were, almost uniformly, subjected to very considerable later intervention in the course of their service in cult practices. Although stone is more durable, there is *prima facie* no reason to believe that stone relief icons were spared similar changes.

<sup>16</sup> Cf., however, GRABAR, p. 66, cat. no. 53 ("motif rare"). The fringed belt-end recurs in two Byzantinizing Venetian relief icons of the Virgin Orant and St. Pantaleon, Vienna. Nevertheless, the *maphorion* of Berlin Maria Orans does appear to have been fringed (LANGE, no. 3; Konstantinopel, ed. ARNE EFFENBERGER, exh. Ravenna, Roma: De Luca, 2000, no. 25). The Virgin's girdle is, after her mantle and her veil, her principal relic, and often thought to be infused with her mother's milk.

Byzantine pieces.<sup>17</sup> All these elements suggest a later date. The compact, rounded, and inverted U-shape form of the narrow shoulders (DEMUS, fig. 36) may point to the thirteenth century, and the fluted nimbus (with filling, within the flutes, molded in relief) of the Madonna appears more occidental and Venetian than Byzantine.<sup>18</sup> The ornamental nimbus could be thought to be the "result of an alteration", but its value as a temporal indicator clearly accords with others which all point to a later date.<sup>19</sup> The holy face of the Virgin resembles perhaps most closely that of the Kyriotissa in San Giovanni in Bragora (LANGE, no. 25), a Venetian reformulation of Byzantine patterns, and that of the Messina Orans, sometimes labeled 'made in Italy'. The lambent S-curve of the tongue of drapery that curls about the Virgin's neck seems unbyzantine in intonation, almost Gothic. Not only are curved and V-shape grooves absent in the 'Madonna della Grazia', but they have been substituted by the beginnings of the curved creases around the 'free', 'revealed' leg (*Spielbein*), and the same curved creasing of drapery is an even more pronounced feature of the Venetian thirteenth-century Virgin Orant of the West façade of San Marco and of the Evangelists of the North façade, also of the Duecento.

The standing, full-length Virgins Orant of San Marco are, with one exception, generally similar, conforming in their main outlines to two variants of a single type. The Maria Orans immured in the exterior wall on the south side of the cappella dei Mascoli is the exception, and she closely resembles, for instance, in the double U-form of the *maphorion* over the breast, a large marble icon of the Blachernitissa in Berlin (LANGE, no. 3), from the church of the Theotokos Peribleptos in Psamatia, and she was clearly copied in a small jeweled statuette, described as an "imitazione veneziana del XIII-XIV secolo di una scultura del X secolo" mounted in the Votive Crown of Leon VI and preserved in the Tesoro di San Marco.<sup>20</sup> In the dominant type, the San Marco Blachernitissa Orants stand on a *suppedaneum*, with *Standbein* and *Spielbein* clearly if not emphatically distinguished and with outstretched arms, the *maphorion* crossing the breast with a zig-zagging hem and falling behind the figure, at either side, in a succession of fan-like pleats. The belted skirt is dominated by vertical folds. The resemblances and dependencies of the several relief images of the Mother of God in San Marco have not been comprehensively surveyed, and when all the examples are considered, some of the partial conclusions previously drawn appear less than tenable.

As mentioned above, the 'Madonna della Grazia' is seen as the most important prototype for the Virgins Orant within San Marco. Demus has shown that she is close in style to the Orant high above the Porta di San Clemente, which gives onto the atrium from the south aisle. He convincingly argues that the San Clemente Orant, flanked by two candelabra in *opus sectile*, is an integral part of the thirteenth-century stone facing of the interior wall, "a supposition further supported by the fact that the corresponding motive above the Porta di San Pietro in the north aisle is an inlaid cross, a symbol for Christ".<sup>21</sup> The link between Maria Orans and the Cross is evident, and images of the Orant and Christ are, for instance, often found on the obverse and reverse of Byzantine pectoral crosses.<sup>22</sup> The resemblances between the Madonna della Grazia and the San Clemente, or 'Candelabra' Madonna, are many. The

<sup>17</sup> Cf., however, the Berlin Orans and Michael: LANGE, no. 3; VOLBACH, pl. 107; *Glory*, no. 12; Byzanz. Macht der Bilder, ed. MICHAEL BRANDT and ARNE EFFENBERGER, Hildesheim, 1998, no. 56; Konstantinopel, ed. ARNE EFFENBERGER, exh. Ravenna, Roma: De Luca, 2000, nos. 26-27 (13th c, third quarter); *Licht*, no. 1.21; cf. *Faith/Power*, no. 50; and the Messina Orans.

<sup>18</sup> Cf., however, the Madonna relief in the Chapel of the Madonna Nicopeia.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Sculture esterne*, p. 107, fig. 115; p. 163, fig. 162 (*Benignità, Arco*<sup>2</sup>, *porta centrale*, 13th c, nearly identical); p. 176, fig. 171 (*Clipeo con l'Angus Dei*, 13th/14 c; cf. also Santa Maria Maggiore, Firenze), p. 194, fig. 188.

<sup>20</sup> *Deomone*, pp. 221-222; excellent photograph in: ROBERTO CASSANELLI, *Furti d'arte*, in: *Il Mediterraneo e l'arte nel medioevo*, ed. ROBERTO CASSANELLI, Milano, 2000, p. 224. PINCUS (*cit.* in note 8), p. 53; *Il tesoro di San Marco*, ed. H. R. HAHNLOSER, vol. II, Firenze, 1971, cat. no. 8, pp. 117-123 ('Grotta della Vergine'), pl. CXLVIII, 6-8. See also an icon made of lapis lazuli in the Louvre with the same double-U pattern for the *maphorion*: *Mother*, p. 226, fig. 171; p. 231, fig. 177 (Virgin orans), p. 292, no. 11, p. 361, no. 41; *GLORY*, pp. 178f., no. 133; further: a cameo in Munich (*Licht*, no. IV.80).

<sup>21</sup> See: POLACCO, 1991, fig. at p. 190, "Sezione della navata ... verso ovest". See the drawing in: DEMUS, *Mosaics*, vol. I, pl. 13. The form of the cross resembles that on the outside of a gilt bronze triptych in the Victoria and Albert, 14c, said to be Venetian or from Venice (*Faith/Power*, pp. 500-502, no. 304). The linking of the Virgin with the Cross also in: *Glory*, no. 135, Cameo with the Virgin Hagiosoritissa (front) and Cross (back), Byz., late 12th c, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

<sup>22</sup> Portable Byzantine pectoral crosses often appear in Byzantine exhibitions, e.g., *Deomene*, no. 64ff.; *Mother*, nos. 23-26; *Glory*, nos. 119ff.

latter is illustrated only in the volumes of Ongania, and Demus considered her perhaps "even a copy". Nevertheless, her hands also appear to be perforated, although this observation requires confirmation, and more holes are drilled to attach small crosses over her forehead, shoulders, and knees (the last appear, judging from the broken gashes remaining, to have been violently removed), as are further holes for attaching monograms with the letters MP and ΘY (perhaps on metal discs) at either side of her unadorned nimbus, as in Byzantine examples. The forms of the drapery are, in fact, more disciplined and, indeed, more Byzantine than those of the 'Madonna della Grazia'. The lines of dependence are scarcely unequivocal.

The Orant Madonna set high in the marble revetment of the wall just outside the cappella dei Mascoli, and to its right, is also said to depend from this type, but it has not been observed that she is a later revision, not of the 'Madonna della Grazia', but of the 'Candelabra Madonna', as even a rapid inventory of drapery motives reveals. It is sufficient to conceive the two Orants in linear outline to recognize that most of the drapery configurations of the 'Candelabra Madonna' are simply copied in the dress of the Orant next to the Mascoli Chapel: the maphorions are nearly identical; in both figures the *Standbein* is marked by inverted chevron grooves, the *Spielbein*, by longer V-shape curves. That the Mascoli Orant is a clear and deliberate imitation of the 'Candelabra Madonna' must be seen as an indirect, but compelling testimony to the importance ascribed to the 'Candelabra Madonna'. Unlike the 'Madonna della Grazia', the letters MP and ΘY, in the Mascoli Orant, are engraved into the ground. The ornate frame may owe something to that of the Byzantine Orant with Christ in a medallion in the Venetian church of Santa Maria Mater Domini, as has been suggested, but the upper arched element of the ornate frame is simply patterned after that of the Orant on the exterior of the Mascoli Chapel itself. In the Madonna next to the Mascoli Chapel in the interior of San Marco, a new undulation enters the forms of the veil, the shawl, and the ends of the belt, and the now pretty face is lightly animated. The 'mitella', or *kekryphalos*, that covers the Virgin's head under the veil has the form of a woven basket. The nimbus is outlined by a narrow flat border, which is ornamented with a large beaded interior profile. The *suppedaneum* is replaced by a shallow ledge on which the Orant stands, as if in a niche.<sup>23</sup> All this speaks for a rather late date, as Demus has suggested.

A further Virgin Orant, found, as one turns the corner from the 'Madonna dello Schioppo' (*infra*), high on the west face of the southeast pier of the cupola of San Giovanni, does not copy the prototype of the 'Madonna della Grazia' at all (cf. DEMUS, p. 124); it represents a second distinct pattern or tradition of the Virgin Orant in San Marco. There are points of contact with the first group of Orants, just examined (the 'lembo' of the veil that curls at the side of her neck, the rope-like belt, the fringed end of the 'skirt' over the right hip), but the *Standmotiv* has been reversed; the *maphorion* acquires a completely new configuration; the pleats falling behind the Orant are less angular. Inverted V-shape folds over the legs are still present, but the forms of the drapery are fuller. The proportions of the rectangular icon have become quite narrow; the hands now not only touch the beveled frame, but they overlap it, and extend beyond. The letters indicating the Mother of God are carved in relief; their form is somewhat amorphous. Similarly, the holes drilled for small crosses over the Virgin's forehead and her shoulders have been substituted by small crosses carved in relief, a trait which finds correspondence in sculptures on the exterior façades dating perhaps to the later thirteenth century as well as in the full-length standing Madonna and Child relief icon from the thirteenth century or later at the left side of the cappella dell'Altare del Sacramento (*infra*).<sup>24</sup> Unlike the Madonna next to the cappella dei Mascoli, the *suppedaneum* is still present, but it

<sup>23</sup> This treatment may simply be based on that of the exterior Orant of the cappella dei Mascoli, who now stands on a projecting ledge (*Sculture esterne*, pp. 37-38).

<sup>24</sup> See also, for example, the *Nativity* relief of the North façade (*Sculture esterne*, pp. 47f., no. 33, with variable datings in the 13th c, until 1280); the *Maria Orans between two Angels* (p. 58, no. 42; GABELENTZ, "um 1300"; SACCARDO: "14th c"; DEMUS, "first half of 13th c"), and the standing *Hodogetria* relief icon set into a pillar to the left of Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, which Demus appears to assign to the 14th c; cf. BECKWITH, pl. 249, as 13th c. The Byzantine relief of the *Theotokos Aniketes* (Venice, Zeno Chapel) also shows small raised crosses over the forehead and shoulders.



is rendered in a rudimentary receding perspective, rather than reverse perspective.<sup>25</sup> The face has acquired a momentary quality: it is full, softer, slightly turned, and animated by a note of human expression. Again a rather late dating is indicated. Thus it is surprising to notice that the palms of the Orant's hands have clearly been bored through, the holes having been filled in with stucco. A 'truism' of studies of Byzantine relief icons is that perforated hands are a guarantee of an authentic Byzantine execution. The usual explanation for the original holes is that water issued from the palms of the Blachernitissa, and the icons served as sacred fountains. This explanation continues, affirming that foreign, that is, Italian, copyists would not have understood the function of the perforated hands and would not have copied the holes. This appears *prima facie* very reasonable, and why, one asks, would a copyist drill holes, only to fill them in (although, naturally, there is no way to know when or why the holes were filled in; a later 'improver' might have lost sight of the fact that they had been copied). At all events, the first argument is not especially compelling, and the present Orant clearly contradicts the perforated hands-test' for authentic Byzantine manufacture. Moreover, as we have seen, neither the 'Madonna della Grazia' or the 'Candelabra Orant' make exceedingly strong claims for being Byzantine manufactures, although both works appear to display perforated hands. If a copyist sought to copy as faithfully as was within his powers, he may well have copied holes that he did not fully understand, believing that they lent an air of authority and authenticity to his copy.

The much discussed Maria Orans relief of the west façade of San Marco conforms in a general way to the type of all the Orants thus far mentioned. She constitutes a key element in Demus' analysis of the sculptural icons of the west façade and in his identification of a Heracles Master. The west façade Orant is difficult to assess owing to the present fractured and corroded fabric, but the condition of this marble relief was doubtless more satisfactory in the 1920s, when Demus began his studies of San Marco. An engraving in Rohault de Fleury (1878) does, however, show the Virgin's face completely abraded and featureless,<sup>26</sup> and thus the present face, reattached to the relief in 1970, is a modern substitution, belonging to the controversial nineteenth-century restorations of the Basilica. Demus emphasized the sophistication, the notable quality, and the 'modern' character of this Byzantinizing relief icon (its "complex linear structure", its "sensitive modeling of folds and creases", its "agitated linearism"), concluding that the model for this work was a Byzantine original found, or "available" in Venice in the thirteenth century. The reasons why such a venerated prototype might vanish remain unclear, for Greek icons were treasured as relics of early Christianity, and not lightly cast aside. Despite a similarity in the overall outlines and a very few specific resemblances (the curling of the veil about the neck, the cord belt with fringed ends), the 'Madonna della Grazia' could scarcely have served as the model. Not only is the *Standmotiv* reversed in the West façade Orant, but the configuration and form of *maphorion* and skirt are dissimilar. If the façade Orant be compared to the second type of *Maria Orans* found within the Basilica, that is, to the Orant, described above, who shares a pier with the 'Madonna dello Schioppo', it will be seen that the similarities are very great indeed: the same flat unadorned nimbus in each Orant, the same broad, upward-arching opening of the veil above the forehead, the same general configuration of the *maphorion*, the same *Standmotiv*, with the *Spielbein* at the viewer's left, and a nearly identical coursing of the hem of the skirt at the bottom, as well as a 'receding' *suppadaneum* in both examples.

In the interpretation of the Orant on the West façade there is manifest a new multiplicity of pleats in the *maphorion* as it is folded before the breast and as it falls at the sides, and this

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Oxford, III, ad vocem 'Perspective'*; overlapping the frame. The relief appears to be very slightly convex.

<sup>26</sup> ROHAULT DE FLEURY, pl. CIX, after p. 100 (signed "Rohault de Fleury"); not noted in *Sculture esterne*, cat. no. 87. See Wolters, dust jacket; ill. by PETER DIEMER, *Kunstchronik*, 1982, p. 104, fig. 4. The present face must be a modern replacement (cf. DEMUS, p. 131), and not an endangered original. ROHAULT DE FLEURY's Saint Vierge (1878) contains numerous engravings after his drawings, made over many years, which document the state of conservation of sculptural objects, occasionally including detailed measurements; see, e.g., pls. 78, 79, 91, 93, 95, 101, 105, 106, 106<sup>bis</sup>, 116, 122, 125, 130, 137, 139. Similar concerns are found in the illustrations to the books of Raffaella Garrucci and others.

enrichment of the design is accompanied by a new multiplicity of curving creases around the legs, arching forms which largely replace the V-shapes of the similar Madonna of the church interior. Could the Madonna 'apud Schioppo' have been the point of departure for an improved, more innovative version for the West façade of the Basilica?<sup>27</sup> Can the 'superior' model, which Demus posits, be identified or more closely delimited? The accentuation of the angular borders and hems might have been suggested by the Orant relief icon of Santa Maria Mater Domini, but nothing of its drapery conformation and its very many incised, grooved folds is reflected in the West façade Orant, who was perhaps made less to confound than to offer a new interpretation of an old pattern. Although well-known and of high quality and significance, the Mater Domini Orant has been the object of little detailed study, if compared to equally significant works from later periods.

It is, however, the Orant relief from the Mangana Monastery (LANGE, no. 1), now found in the Istanbul Museum, that constitutes a touchstone for all the Byzantine Orant Madonnas.<sup>28</sup> And, as Demus has written, the Madonna preserved in Santa Maria in Porto, Ravenna, is a fairly good replica of this type.<sup>29</sup> In fact, the unusual form of the *suppedaneum*, curved in its upper contour, on which the West façade Madonna stands, is a form also found in the Ravenna Orant,<sup>30</sup> who also displays an analogous decorative elegance in the angular lines of her costume. Venice had numerous documented connections with the church of Santa Maria in Porto in the early thirteenth century and later.<sup>31</sup> But the import of the resemblances to the Ravenna Orant is not great, and these resemblances pale in light of the more ample proportions of the broad rectangular format which the Ravenna Orant occupies, and in light of the unusual solid proportions of the Virgin, who stands firmly on her footstool, with its implicit reference to the Cross, the source and basis of her prayers. All this contrasts diametrically to the lengthening of proportions in the West façade Orant and to her ethereal, almost floating stance.

In his analysis of the design of the West façade Madonna, Demus (p. 173) has stressed the zig-zagging line, aimed less at expressiveness than toward achieving an effect of decorative elegance, one of composition and line, and one which would shape the development of relief sculpture in Venice. A very late, if not last expression of this Byzantine revival tendency in Venice can be seen in Campo San Luca, at 'numero civile' 4590, in a large 'Madonna orante', dating from 1913, a work of the eclectic Venetian sculptor and architect, Domenico Rupolo,<sup>32</sup> and one which still exploits the effect of a point moving in angular and curving trajectories to form a decorative and dynamic pattern of lines.<sup>33</sup>

If one looks for other Byzantine Orant models further afield and down the Adriatic coast, which extends as far as Otranto, the easternmost town in Italy and the most important port in Byzantine South Italy, one soon comes upon the marble icon of a 'Vergine orante' placed,

<sup>27</sup> DEMUS, p. 124, raises this possibility, before denying it, p. 124: "If the forms of this figure were more elaborate, the result would be something like the Madonna on the West façade, which, however, followed a different prototype."

<sup>28</sup> Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, no. 3914, marble, 201 x 99: RICE, p. 144, 11th c; from St. George Manganon; WULFF, 'Nachtrag' vol. , p. 84 (see: Burlington Magazine, LVII, 1930, pp. 128f.); EUA, II, p. 659, pl. 415 (Talbot Rice); DAVID TALBOT RICE, *The Art of Byzantium*, New York, 1959, p. 323, no. 142 (ill.), 11th c (very fine marble; halo and discs covered with metal); LANGE, no. 1; BECKWITH, p. 117, pl. 210 (11th-12th c); GRABAR, p. 35, no.1; *Mother*, p. 239, notes 27-28 on p. 248 (Loverdou-Tsigarida).

<sup>29</sup> DEMUS' (p.131) reservations about the qualitative level or limitations of this icon deserve consideration. Circumstantial conditions (local pride and the centuries old cult that surrounds this icon) impede an objective evaluation.

<sup>30</sup> The curved *suppedaneum*, seen almost in elevation, finds analogies in the small foot-carpet of the San Marco 'Deesis' (DEMUS, fig. 32); cf. also the Vienna St. Pantoleon (from the Lido) and the Berlin, St. Michael (eastern provenance).

<sup>31</sup> *Deomene*, p. 47; see also: SIVIA PASI, in: *Omaggio a Nostra donna in sul lito Adriano: storia di un'icona, storia di una città*, Ravenna, 2000, p.21 and note 23 (bibl.); also: CLEMENTINA RIZZARDI, "Il rilievo marmoreo con l'immagine della cosiddetta Madonna Greca in Santa Maria in Porto di Ravenna", in: *Felix Ravenna*, CXIII-CXIV, 1977, p. 180 note 38 ("rapporti tra la Canonica di Porto e la città ducale erano molto intensi e diretti nel secolo XII"). Also: BENINI, pp. 8f., 11; SULFRINI, 1887, pp. 102-104.

<sup>32</sup> RIZZI, p. 667, no. OM 87, San Marco 4590 (ill.); cf. RIZZI, p. 681, no. OM 377 (also by Rupolo). Domenico Rupolo (1861-1945), architect and sculptor, most often in a revival vein, is not treated in the biographical dictionaries of Thieme-Becker or Vollmer. He 'discovered' Jacopo Sansovino's bronze Madonna and Child group now in the Sacristy of the Redentore (Venice) and has recently been studied: MARIA CRISTINA PAVAN TADDEI, "Aspetti dell'attività di un architetto veneto-friulano," in: *Colloqui del Sodalizio / Sodalizio tra Studiosi dell'Arte*, 2.a ser., 1976/1980 (1976), pp. 169-177; RAFFAELLA PORTIERI, *Domenico Rupolo architetto*, Pordenone, 2001 (pp. 28, 31: contacts with Mariano Fortuny); cf. *Splendori: Maria Andalaro*, "Bisanzio e il Novecento", pp. 55-67.

<sup>33</sup> See PAUL KLEE, *Pedagogical Sketchbook*, introduction and translation by SIBYL MAHOLY-NAGY, London: Faber, 1968, pp. 16-18 = I.1-3; first German edition, 1925.

apparently as early as 1210, on the façade of Santa Maria della Piazza in far away Ancona, over the entrance portal and within the context of a programme of sculptural decoration that reutilizes earlier works.<sup>34</sup> Ancona, however, does not share Ravenna's relative proximity to Venice and Ravenna's dense concentration of Byzantine monuments, and thus Ancona would almost seem to fall outside the purview of artists working in Venice. Owing to its long outside exposure, the condition of the Ancona Orant is compromised. Although her general outlines might seem to be echoed in those of the 'Madonna della Grazia' and the 'Candelabra Madonna', both in San Marco, the true affinities of the Ancona icon lie elsewhere, with, as Lange recognized, the Thessaloniki Orant (Museum), a work characterized by its plasticity and by an unschematic classicism.<sup>35</sup> In distant Sicily, but still with a maritime connection with Venice, is found the beautiful Byzantine or Byzantinizing Orant, unearthed at the church of San Francesco in 1599 circa and now in the Museo Regionale in Messina,<sup>36</sup> a Mediterranean port city with strong connections to Byzantium.

Returning to the Basilica di San Marco, the large relief icon called the 'Madonna dello Schioppo' (a *Hodegetria* rather than an *Orans*) under the 'arcone settentrionale' (to the left of the central dome of the crossing) is often included in the group of Byzantinizing Madonnas of San Marco. But it represents only a coda to our theme. The epithet, "dello Schioppo" (*fucile* ['rifle'; 'shot-gun']) derives from a nineteenth-century ex-voto attached at the side of the icon.<sup>37</sup> Although this icon retains the tall rectangular format of the San Marco relief icons, and follows their placement and function, there is little to recall Byzantine art directly, beyond the general iconographic scheme. Demus, who places the quality and interest of the work high, appears to date it early in the Trecento, relating it to the Palaeologan *Virgin Aniketos* of the cappella Zeno in San Marco. But the forceful three-dimensional plasticity of the figure, its narrative and psychological components, its weight and earthbound density are all traits that seem to belong to a post-Byzantine era. In addition to the *Theotokos Aniketos* of the cappella Zeno, the church of San Marco contains one other marble relief icon, also Palaeologan, of the Enthroned Virgin and Child, that found in the chapel of the Madonna Nicopeia, set rather high into the far wall of the chapel, to the right of the altar.

As mentioned previously, there is a further Byzantine icon in San Marco which was, in its function, transformed into something resembling an altar image.<sup>38</sup> This is the venerated 'Madonna del Bacio', positioned, exceptionally, low on a pier, before the south transept, just at the end of the south aisle, at the right, and near the entrance to the Treasury, once a Byzantine original of considerable quality and refinement. But, in the course of centuries, it has been consumed by the endless kisses and touches of the faithful.<sup>39</sup> The icon of the 'Madonna del Bacio' transposes a classic Byzantine pictorial type familiar from painted icons, the half-length *Theotokos Hodegetria*, into a sculptural relief icon. Among Lange's corpus of relief icons, its appearance is that of a quite atypical work. No other Byzantine relief icon resembles, perhaps, so closely a painted icon.<sup>40</sup> An analogous half-length *Virgin Hodegetria*

<sup>34</sup> Cf. "la decorazione interna del timpano posto a coronamento dell'icona è la stessa che si riscontra nelle arcate", Raffaella Farroli Campanati, in: CAVALLO, p. 180, fig. 88, color, no. 39, as XII c, Byzantine execution.

<sup>35</sup> And not with Ravenna, as: Farrioli Campana affirms, p. 180 (in: CAVALLO). Thessaloniki: LANGE, pp. 75-76, nos. 19-20; GRABAR, p. 122, no. 120, pl. XCIII, 76 x 95 cm, as XII sec.; Byzantine Art, 9th Exhibition of the Council of Europe, Office of the Minister to the Prime Minister of the Greek Government, Department of Antiquities and Archaeological Restoration, Athens, 1964, p. 136 (ill.), no. 20, Plaque, *Virgin Orans*, marble, 95 x 76, Thessaloniki, Rotunda of St. George, 10th-11th c., found 1926, Thessaloniki, in area north of the Byzantine Church of the Prophet Elijah; *Mother*, p. 239 notes 31-32 (p. 248), pl. 187, with. bibl. (Loverdou-Tsigardia); VOLBACH, pl. 174a (10th-11th c); LANGE, Hag. Georgios, marble, no. 20, fig. at p. 73; G. A. SOTRIU, in: Fs. Nikodim Pavlovic Kondakov, Prague, 1926, pp. 136-137 (14th c).

<sup>36</sup> Messina, Museo Regionale, Inv. no. 20, or No. 285, marble, 181 x 108, scultura bizantina e normanna-sveva, sec. XII-XIII (see Appendix III, *infra*).

<sup>37</sup> Offered probably by the sailors of the Venetian navy in 1849: GIULIO LORENZETTI, Venezia e il suo estuario, ed. Venezia, 1926, p. 197.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the later example: S. Marco, Altare di San Pietro, San Pietro, XIV sec. SACCARDO, p. 273; WOLFGANG WOLTERS, La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460), Venezia, 1976, cat. no. 4, fig. 8, Venezia, S. Marco, Pala dell'altare della cappella di S. Pietro, 112 x 86.8. See also DEMUS, p. 173. Transformation from relief icon in an 'Altarbild': BELTING, 1990, p. 228, fig. 122.

<sup>39</sup> This was already the case when JACOB BURCKHARDT noted the work in 1855: Il cicerone, 1855, ed. Firenze, 1952, p. 632. SACCARDO, in 1888, writes: "mezzo corrosa dal continuo baciarla che hanno fatto i fedeli".

<sup>40</sup> Note also the 'Eleusa' Madonna, cappella Zeno.

in Santa Maria di Dionisio, Trani, is a South Italian work made for a Byzantine official. The nearly half-length Christus in Serres (or Serrai, in Macedonia) also depends from a painted, or mosaic prototype. A fragment of a possibly pendant relief icon of the Theotokos found at Serres, is an example similar to the 'Madonna del Baccio'.<sup>41</sup> All three of these relief icons are carved with wide stone borders. The wide integral stone border of the 'Madonna del Bacio' is a decidedly Byzantine characteristic of the work.<sup>42</sup>

We must turn to small sculptural objects to find closer tereutic parallels. A fine example of the half-length *Hodegetria* type is a small steatite icon in the British Museum. It is a more formal and hieratic version of the *Hodegetria* type than the 'Madonna del Bacio', with its human and maternal overtones, but the general similarities are great.<sup>43</sup> A missing Panagiaron from the Monastery of St. Panteleimonos at Mount Athos shows a circular composition of the *Hodegetria* which is more closely related to the tenor and figural positions of the 'Madonna del Bacio'.<sup>44</sup>

Despite its ruinous state of conservation, the original quality of the 'Madonna del Bacio', may be discerned in a few less worn parts, e.g., the draperies of the *maphorion* and shoulders. Owing to the poor legibility of the image, this unusual and not unimportant relief has received almost no critical attention beyond Lange's brief catalogue entry. Nevertheless, its general outlines are still discernable. In its present state, with the Christ Child nearly completely consumed, the icon is dominated by the head of the Virgin with her large halo. It has escaped notice that a rather careful Venetian late thirteenth-century 'copy' of the 'Madonna del Bacio' exists in San Marco, less than twenty meters distant, a version which permits reconstructing several no longer readily legible aspects of the appearance of the *Kußmadonna*. This 'copy' is the tall and narrow standing '*Vergine Odeghitria*' set into the pillar of the passage opening onto, at the right, the cappella dell'Altare del Sacramento, an 'andito', which, at the left, gives onto the staired entrance area before the cappella di San Clemente. The *Hodegetria* ("colei che indica il cammino"<sup>45</sup>) indicates the Christ Child reclining in her arms (and thus Him as the Melismos lying on the altar), and she implicitly indicates, beyond, the Eucharistic altar of his Sacrifice, the Altare del Santissimo Sacramento. This large relief is composed of two rectangular slabs of stone, the upper segment of which replicates the 'Madonna del Bacio' in nearly every detail. It is noteworthy that this upper segment, which is not as tall as the inferior slab, very closely approximates in its proportions of height to width those of the 'Madonna del Bacio'.<sup>46</sup> In the *Hodegetria* near the Altar of the Sacrament, the entity of the derivation can be tracked in countless motives, and it would be superfluous to enumerate what can readily be seen by any interested observer. What is more pertinent is what this early 'copy' brings into focus in the severely abraded image of the 'Madonna del Bacio'.

Many of the discrepancies between the two Madonnas are merely variations in what are larger similarities. First there are details such as the small raised cross of the *maphorion* of the Madonna near the Altar of the Sacrament, in contrast to the indented cross of the *maphorion* of the 'Madonna del Bacio' and the depressions of the 'jeweled' halo of the Child, inscribed with the Cross, both perhaps once filled with colored glass paste; similarly, the MHP and ΘΥ monograms, alternatively in relief and engraved, but placed nearly identically. It is, however, the incised pupils, staring down at the Child, that give the *Kußmadonna* a bizarre expression,

<sup>41</sup> LANGE, nos. 17, 18. Christ: white marble, 116 x 93; LANGE, pp. 68-69; GRABAR, 1976, p. 153, no. 162, pl. CXLI; image: [www.macedonian-heritage.gr/HellenicMacedonia/en/img\\_B22333a.html](http://www.macedonian-heritage.gr/HellenicMacedonia/en/img_B22333a.html) : Christ Eucrgetes (the Benefactor), Archeological Museum, 12th-13th c, from the Metropolitan Church of Agioi Theodori.

<sup>42</sup> In Lange's illustration the frame is severely cropped; see ONGANIA, pl. 235 (M.4); cf. LANGE, p. 12; nos. 17 and 18 (Serrai); nos. 5, 9, 15, 20, 32, 33, 41.

<sup>43</sup> London, British Museum, no. M & LA 89.5-11.13, 5 x 4.1 cm, 14th c. *Lit.: Mother*, pp. 187f., col. ill. at p. 192, fig. 128; see further KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, no. 134.

<sup>44</sup> *Mother*, p. 192, fig. 129; KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, no. 132, pl. 65 (with the sole of Christ's right foot held forward to the viewer; v. *infra* note 55); cf. also pl. 45, no. 80; pl. 80, A-8a.

<sup>45</sup> *Splendori*, p. 305f.

<sup>46</sup> The inferior slab is about 1/3 to 1/2 times greater in height than the upper one. Both the 'Madonna del Bacio' and its copy are ca. 3:2 (or 29:21 and 30:23) in proportion of height to width.

but her large almond-shaped eyes match those of the 'Sacrament' *Hodegetria*, whose eyes are, in contrast, blank, without irises and pupils, and the incised pupils of the Madonna del Bacio, may be thought a later 'improvement', added in a failed attempt to reanimate the abraded face of the Virgin. The flat ribbon-band border of the Sacramentary Altar Virgin's veil neglects the three-line incised border of the 'Bacio' Madonna's veil, which enriches and emphasizes the effect of this striking and typically Byzantine motive.<sup>47</sup> The almost lightly fluttering impression of the meandering border of the *maphorion* is an isolated effect to be found in other, otherwise divergent relief icons: the San Trovaso Petrus (Venice), the Messina Orant, the Berlin Maria Orans.<sup>48</sup> Her *kekryphalos* is also incised, where that of the 'copy' is smooth. The greatest configural discrepancies, however, lie in the forms of the *maphorion* that cover the Virgin's body and arms. The folds that diagonally transverse the breast of the 'Madonna del Bacio' in a wide arching band, convex in its upper contour, from the forearm to the right shoulder, are reversed in the 'copy', but they reflect, in the 'original', a common late-antique and Byzantine drapery-motive, one which is not represented elsewhere among the San Marco Orants, although it is frequently encountered in the several variant types of the Byzantine Orant.<sup>49</sup> The same drapery motive is found in a half-figure relief of the Virgin discovered in 1960 in Serres.<sup>50</sup>

In the transposition to the standing *Hodegetria* the design of the 'Madonna del Bacio' has been almost reduced to a flat surface (although, despite its low salience, the relief possesses greater plasticity than some photographs suggest; cf. *Ongania*), drawn or engraved, with the image, which is contained in a shallow, tendentially two-dimensional layer, devoid of the fuller plasticity of the *Kußmadonna*, a process that is reversed as the same design passes to the 'Madonna dello Schioppo'.

The hair of the Child, which resembles that of the heads, re-carved in the thirteenth century, of the San Marco relief of the 'Deesis', a Byzantine relief icon of the eleventh century,<sup>51</sup> was not necessarily derived from the Child of the 'Madonna del Bacio', but as the 'copy' in San Marco makes clear, the Christ Child holds a rotulus ("I am the Law"; *Splendori*, p. 305), and it is likely that in the original He indicated benediction, as belongs to the *Hodegetria* type. In the Madonna *Hodegetria* at the side of the Sacramentary Altar, the Child's forehead faces the beholder, his first two fingers (*index* and *medius*) are lifted and raised forward, with the annular finger retracted and the last finger (*auricularis*) recessive. A wall painting of 1193 shows the Christ Child making a nearly identical gesture of benediction. It is an elongated and standing *Hodegetria*, very similar to the San Marco *Hodegetria* – not only in costume, stance, proportions, facial type, but also in the Virgin's intimacy with her Son – in which Christ's muted benediction is, it seems, addressed in the first instance to the Virgin herself.<sup>52</sup> The Virgin's gesture indicates the way: "la via, la verità, la vita",<sup>53</sup> a gesture of supplication and intercession.

As we see more clearly in the Venetian 'copy', from the upward-looking Child, the eyes of Mother and Son meet, and thus a contact on a psychological, personal level is established. The relief represents a step in the transition from the austere and hieratic traditional *Hodegetria*-type to the *Eleousa* (Virgin of Tenderness, Mother of Mercy), a fact, in turn, reflected in its affective reception by the faithful of Venice. The Virgin's pose suggests her personal relation with the Christ Child. With a marked inclination of her head she turns toward Him. Placed lower than in traditional examples, He reclines into his mother's arms, in

<sup>47</sup> Very common in painted Byzantine icons. Also observable in South Italian painted icons: CAVALLO, figs. 421, 422, 423.

<sup>48</sup> LANGE, nos. 16, 15, and 33a; cf. *Faith/Power*, p. 105, no. 50 (Capital with bust of Archangel Michael).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. LANGE, diagram, p. 70, no. 18, fragment of a half-figure Mother of God. Among the relief icons, see LANGE, nos. 1, no. 4, 11, and, in Venice, the San Trovaso Petrus, with a broad band of folds crossing the torso.

<sup>50</sup> LANGE, p. 70, no. 18, sees her as a pendant to the Christ Pantokrator, also in Serres (*supra*).

<sup>51</sup> DEMUS, p. 122: beginning of 11th c; LANGE, pp. 52-53; middle of 11th c; GRABAR, p. 121, no. 117, 12th c (but hypothetical).

<sup>52</sup> KONSTANTINOS D. KALOKYRES, *He theotokos eis ten eikonographian anatoles kai dyseos*, Thessaloniki, 1972, pl. 81. Above, the two monograms of the Mother of God, and laterally: two angels with passion symbols.

<sup>53</sup> *Splendori*, p. 305.

contrast to more austere, hieratic versions of the same iconography. The Child is enclosed within the outline of the Virgin's body, as in the 'Madre di Dio del Segno' iconography, where Christ is enclosed in a medallion, placed before the Virgin's womb.

A late thirteenth- or early fourteenth century micro mosaic (Venice, Seminario Patriarcale, 17th-century donation) exhibits much the same iconography, although the image is still strongly indebted to the traditional half-length *Hodegetria* type.<sup>54</sup> This small mosaic icon is inscribed in mosaic tesserae "H ΕΛΕΟΥΣΑ" (The *Eleousa*), although without this epithet the icon would doubtless be labeled simply as a *Hodegetria*. In the 'Madonna del Bacio', the Virgin's personal relation with the Christ Child receives emphasis. With a marked inclination of her head she turns toward Him. Placed lower than in traditional examples, he reclines into his mother's arms, sinking into the folds of her garment, and He turns toward his Mother. As is evident in the icon near the Sacrament Altar, the legs of Christ in the 'Madonna del Bacio' are crossed, and the sole of his right foot is shown to the faithful in a reference to his passion, "the vulnerable heel with upturned sole".<sup>55</sup> The relation to the passion in this frequent iconic motive is made clear in an icon such as Andrea Rico da Candida's 'Madonna della Passione', Fiesole, Museo Bandini (ex-Uffizi).<sup>56</sup>

The Virgin and Child do not look at the worshipper, although the Virgin still indicates Him. If we accept that the Child blesses his Mother, then he also recommends Her to the worshipper inviting him to kneel before her as a protectress and as a *mediatrice*, thereby expressing the unity of Christ and the Church, who received from God the faculty to intercede for mankind for his salvation. Thus the intercessional dimension of the icon, which met with such 'success' in Venice, appears to have been present from the time of its making. This is even more clearly expressed in 'diptych' icons in which the Virgin and Child are paired with the Pantokrator.<sup>57</sup>

The circling folds of the Virgin's mantle that enfold Christ beneath Him are, in the 'Madonna del Bacio' intersected by the frame, and left incomplete. The Venetian copyist follows the original, but he completes the circle of drapery. The addition is made, however, not on the stone slab on which the 'Madonna del Bacio' is copied, but on the second, inferior slab of stone. The inferior arc of the circle constitutes a reference to the medallion of Christ of the Platytera Orans, as in the relief icon in Santa Maria Mater Domini. Within this church, on the wall above the icon, a large, diagonally placed band, of early, if uncertain date, has been attached, bearing in large letters the didascalical message: "MATER MISERICORDIAE".<sup>58</sup> A thirteenth-century Venetian Platytera Orant is still found immured next to the façade of the church of the Abbazia della Misericordia, set into the brick wall of the chapel to the right of the marble façade.<sup>59</sup> The circle of the medallion surrounding the bust of Christ over the Virgin's breast has been replaced by a long, downward curving, and perfectly symmetrical half-circle formed by her mantle, a motive which encircles the large half-figure Christ Child, and one present, if less apparently so, in the 'Madonna del Bacio'. This variation of the Platytera type follows an established Byzantine iconography documented in many examples, for example, the small stone paten center formerly at Sainte-Geneviève de Paris (before 1678).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Faith/Power*, pp. 216f., no. 127; ITALO FURLAN, *Le icone bizantine a mosaico*, Milano, 1979, pp. 76-77, no. 26 (lit.); *Splendori*, no. 38; *Venezia e Bisanzio*, no. 85.

<sup>55</sup> *Mother*, pp. 151, 317, 408f.; cf. RbK, 2, *ad vocem* 'Fußwaschung'; CHRYSANTHI BALTOYIANNI, *Icons. Mother of God in the Incarnation and the Passion*, Athens, 1994, pp. 132-134.

<sup>56</sup> III in: SERGIO BETTINI, *La pittura di icone cretese-veneziana e i madonneri*, Padova, 1933, pl. II.

<sup>57</sup> See, e.g., *Treasures of Mount Athos*, Museum of Byzantine Culture, managing ed. ATHANASIOS A. KARAKATSANIS, Thessaloniki, 1997, exh. cat., nos. 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11; cf. Serres: LANGE, nos. 17-18.

<sup>58</sup> The same title ("MATER MISERICORDIAE") is added on a titulus above the mosaic fragment of the Virgin Orant from the Oratorio of John VII (705-707) in Old St. Peter's in Rome, transported to Florence (1609) and installed over an altar in the church of San Marco (which belong to a limited 'primitive' revival in Florence in these years): *Marienlexikon*, V, p. 12 ("Orante"); BELTING-IHM, pp. 62-63, pl. XXIVa.

<sup>59</sup> See also a Byzantine hand relic of Saint Marina (Museo Correr), formerly in the church of Santa Marina in Venice (*Glory*, no. 332).

<sup>60</sup> *Deomene*, pp. 223-224, no. 94; see also nos. 98, 100, 104, 112; *Mother*, p. 191, fig. 127; also Mount Athos, Chelendary Monastery, Panagiaron, possibly Serbian [RADOJCIC, 1955, p. 193; BOGDANOVIC-DJURIC-MEDAKOVIC, 1978, p. 58, fig. 35]; see Mount Athos [www.culture.gr/](http://www.culture.gr/); also: *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. KARAKATSANIS, 1997, exh. cat. (see note 57 *supra*), no. 9.5; cf. no. 9.8). And,

Demus writes that the "standing *Hodegetria* on the pillar next to the cappella del Sacramento is a feeble product of a related workshop", related, that is, to the workshop of the sculptor of the 'Madonna dello Schioppo'.<sup>61</sup> This evaluation appears mistaken, and, despite the similarity of motive, the Sacrament Altar Madonna, when set beside the almost eruptive plasticity of the nearly full-round figures of the large Schioppo relief, tendentially assumes a graphic character. The relief seems intentionally to strive, successfully, for a markedly Byzantine appearance. In the transposition to the standing *Hodegetria* the design of the 'Madonna del Bacio' has been almost reduced to a flat surface (although, despite its low salience, the relief possesses greater plasticity than photographs suggest (cf. *Ongania*).

When the sculptor turned to extending his version of the 'Madonna del Bacio' into a full-length standing *Hodegetria*, he may have found other prototypes in Venice, for instance, the standing Byzantine or Byzantinizing *Hodegetria* placed high on the inner façade of the church of San Francesco della Vigna with its similarly elongated legs, in both instances 'revealed' by the adherent drapery and marked by irregular oblong ovoid forms and V-shaped linear forms.<sup>62</sup> In addition to mural paintings, already mentioned, some large painted Byzantine icons exhibited similar features.<sup>63</sup> John Beckwith has compared the Sacramentary Altar *Hodegetria* with the Palaeologan *Theotokos Aniketos*, seeing, e.g., analogies of drapery style in the multiple folds,<sup>64</sup> but the forms of the inferior slab seem to reflect more those of the mosaic decoration of San Marco, in particular those of the *Maria Orans* of the south (left) nave (thirteenth century),<sup>65</sup> extremely similar in the *Standmotiv*, in the expression and forms of the legs, and in the long lines of the descending drapery, and in a characteristic detail such as the two narrow and separated strips of the belt, with tasseled ends, palmette-like in form.

As suggested earlier, the disposition of the 'Madonna del Bacio' within the Basilica is not typical of that reserved for most of the relief icons found in the interior of the church. Nearly all of these are set into the wall far above the heads of the faithful. The visual relationship between the 'faithful' (*Betrachter*) and the 'image' (*Bild*) was similar to that established for the relief icons of the Basilica's exterior façades, owing to their elevated placement. The 'Madonna del Bacio', instead, lies within the reach of the hands of the faithful, and of the merely curious. The icon does not stand above a mensa, and thus it is not conceived as part of an altar for the celebration of the Eucharist, but it is, nevertheless, through its presentation, addressed to a recipient in several distinct ways. In addition to its own wide border, carved in the same stone as the image itself, the icon is framed by a wide flat band of dark stone, which is variegated in a dense texture of lighter and darker flecks, a treatment that corresponds to that of nearly all the relief icons set into the walls and piers of the Basilica and one that serves to isolate the icons from the church and its decorative programme. An unusual variant of this same treatment, situated near the 'Madonna del Bacio', represents the Archangel Michael. It is a much damaged icon painted on a marble slab,<sup>66</sup> framed in a wide border of pieced green stone, and apparently a varied replication of the now neglected large early Byzantine relief icon of an Angel found in the cappella Zeno, high on the south wall near the altar.<sup>67</sup>

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combining the medallion form with the circle of drapery: *Mother*, p. 244, fig. 190. See also *Glory*, pp. 179f., no. 134, cameo, Victoria & Albert Museum.

<sup>61</sup> DEMUS, p. 189 note 194. In reality, the 'Madonna dello Schioppo' (DEMUS, pl. 107) appears largely as a monumental, three-dimensional re-elaboration of the design of the Sacramentary Altar *Hodegetria*, whose narrow proportions and confining frame are notable.

<sup>62</sup> The dais on which the Virgin stands overlaps the inferior frame, in a fashion similar to the San Leonardo of the North façade; ill. in: *Sculture esterne*, p. 39, no. 23. Lit.: WLADIMIR TIMOFIEWITSCH, Girolamo Campagna, München, 1972, pp. 113, 120-121, pl. 151.

<sup>63</sup> *Mother*, pp. 434-437 (Chryssanthi Baltoyanni), no. 67, Naxos, 188 x 68.3, late 13th c (H EΛEOYCA = the Merciful); also pp. 344-345.

<sup>64</sup> BECKWITH, pls. 248 and 249; p. 133. The connection with the Palaeologan style of *Theotokos Aniketos* extends to the face of the Virgin and the small crosses in relief of her costume.

<sup>65</sup> DEMUS, *Mosaics*, II, 2, pls. 18 (color), 17; II,1 (Text), p. 50, 13th c.

<sup>66</sup> DORIGO, I, p. 180, fig.; POLACCO, ill. at p. 16: "Il pilone sud-ovest del pilastro presbiteriale sud con Arcangelo dipinto ad encausto, ritenuto Pilastro del Miracolo"; DEMUS, *Mosaics*, II, p. 28, fig. 24, part 1, fig. 14, with a lamp burning and as a guardian of the 'reliquary pier'.

<sup>67</sup> The painted Michael, apparently intended to resemble stone, is not based on either of the two similar exterior relief icons of angels, both reflecting that of the Zeno Chapel (*Sculture esterne*, nos. 2 and 200 (Tigler). Many of the single figure mosaics of San Marco receive a similar 'iconic' treatment.



The 'Madonna del Bacio' is, as are the relief icons of the other piers, a framed image set within an outer frame or border, and the icon is thereby isolated and accorded a heightened significance. In addition, the exigencies of the beholder, that is, the worshiper, are addressed in two specific ways. Firstly, a stone step ('gradino') is built into the base of the wide pier into which the icon has been set, bringing it within the reach even of children and adults of moderate height, who are thus brought face-to-face with the holy image, into, that is, direct communion with it. The age of this step-arrangement is uncertain, although it would appear to be very considerable.<sup>68</sup> Secondly, beneath the relief icon a substantial wooden ledge, supported by a mensole, has been let into the pier to support candle holders and to receive votive candles offered as a sign of veneration and respect. Three *lumini* hang from the pier above. Thus the icon is offered to the faithful as a *Gnadenbild*,<sup>69</sup> but not as a visual image alone, to be seen and believed, for, in its San Marco setting, it embodies an offer, an *Angebot*, that extends beyond the visual dimension of experience. The 'Madonna del Bacio' has been called a *Kußtafel*, a perhaps too facile and mistaken comparison, but one that does draw attention to the non-visual modes of responding to Christian images and objects in an age prior to the primacy of seeing written words as the first means of perception, communication, and understanding, as it has become in our modern writing culture.

As late as the mid-nineteenth century, Italy remained, as did most other nations (with the exceptions of England, Germany, and the Netherlands), a marginally literate society, with an illiteracy rate of 75% at the time of the first census in 1861.<sup>70</sup> In contrast to traditional Anglo-Saxon culture, Italian culture (which, needless to say, is not static) seemed to be more strongly aural and oral, one in which aural and oral performance, communication, and comprehension were more highly developed and perfected, similar, one could hazard, to what anthropologists, and communication scientists and theorists might consider a modern version of a 'performance culture', a concept usually applied to pre-modern societies, but one equally applicable to non-emergent, traditional social strata in early modern Europe, whose members remained culturally fluent in speech, gesture, touch, smell, and taste, and thus able to employ a full range of senses in perception, communication, comprehension, and appropriation.<sup>71</sup>

Critics of modern culture have noted that the dominance of the written word has 'disturbed', or at least changed and diminished our relationship to our senses and our sensory experience and capacities, fostering alienation from and distance to body and senses. (Others have discerned a new medial revolution which may mean that the days of the predominance of the written word are numbered.) Every objective visitor to pilgrimage shrines has witnessed that the touching of religious images continues unabated, even if he may be tempted to look upon this practice with a trace of disdain, as superstitious and indeed 'primitive', or at least simple. Unease is, however, scarcely justified. Touching is a cognitive process, a means of knowing, of relation, of contact, of understanding, of taking possession. The desire to hold tangible objects may also belong to a mental set which attaches special significance to physical places, and leads to travel in order to come into direct physical contact with holy places.

In the Basilica di San Marco, the 'Madonna del Bacio' belongs to an age when bringing wood, linen, silk, etc., into direct contact with a genuine relic could create new relics (*Berührungsreliquie*), and, similarly, touching the tactile image of the Madonna and Child with hands and, indeed, with lips, demonstrated fuller love and veneration, and perhaps promised greater assurance of receiving the proffered grace of the Mother of God through

<sup>68</sup> The step itself appears clearly in the plan of the Basilica of San Marco contained in a volume published in 1888: BOITO, following p. 148. The stone base around the pier is covered in wood.

<sup>69</sup> The status as *Gnadenbild* may well represent a response to the initial response of the faithful and pilgrims to the icon, and it is impossible to know if its 'presentation' preceded or followed the recognition of the image's 'supernatural' character. The latter might seem more probable, although the low position and the proximity to the Treasury (*infra*) might indicate the former. The mensole houses an offering box for donations. The candlesticks are old and precious.

<sup>70</sup> Treccani, *ad vocem* 'Analfabetismo'.

<sup>71</sup> See BERNARD J. HIBBITTS, "Coming to our senses", in: Emory Law Journal, IV, 1992, 873ff. ([www.law.pitt.edu/hibbitts/papers.htm](http://www.law.pitt.edu/hibbitts/papers.htm)).



tactile connection. The promise of *Gnade* held out by the 'Madonna del Bacio' was doubtless heightened by her proximity to the *Tesoro* of San Marco, which, first among its treasures, housed countless venerable sacred relics brought from Constantinople, from the Holy Land, and from other places in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The 'Madonna del Bacio' is, at the western side of the south transept, positioned exactly at the head of the longitudinal vaulted entry passage ("navatina") that leads directly to the entrance doorway of the Treasury and to its enshrined bones. While many of the Treasury's relics were exposed on the main altar of the Basilica on feast days, the chambers of the Treasury were kept as a strong-box where only the high and the mighty entered, and where visits were strictly regulated by a detailed protocol.<sup>72</sup> Not only were the reliquaries themselves priceless, but other objects fashioned of precious metals and ornamented with precious stones were stored for safe-keeping in the Treasury, along with jewels and other precious objects, including reliquaries, deposited there to secure enormous Venetian state loans to foreign princes and states.<sup>73</sup> Thus it would seem that the 'Madonna del Bacio' functioned, in part, as a surrogate, standing in for and representing the potent sacred relics of the Treasury, the knowledge of which was kept alive in the Basilica by their display on the occasion of feast days, through oral traditions, and doubtless also through the proclamations of the priests, friars, and functionaries present in the church, in words spoken to enhance the reputation of their relics with their public to whom the prized relics were at once 'promised' and withheld.

Along and behind the rear wall of the Treasury, a narrow corridor leads from the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale (specifically from the 'portico' behind the Portal Della Carta referred to the Portico Foscari) directly into the south transept of the Basilica. At the left, as one enters, there is set into the outside face of the Treasury a bas-relief, representing four, or five, of the principal relics of Christ's Passion conserved within the *Tesoro*.<sup>74</sup> In 1886, Antonio Pasini, "Canonico della Marciana", reports, in his description of the 'Tesoro di San Marco', the following concerning this relief: "*Come i fedeli, passandovi dappresso, usarono sempre di toccarlo colla destra e poi segnarsi, in attestato di devozione per le preziose Reliquie là dentro custodite, così oggidi la superficie n'è in parte logora e guasta, tanto più che, sebbene sia sculto il bassorilievo in marmo statuario, questo non è per altro de' più solidi e migliori.*"<sup>75</sup>

Here, too, a sculptural image functions as a proxy for the relics of the Treasury, and in this instance it unmistakably receives the veneration and devotion owed to the relics of the Passion and of the saints locked away in the Treasury. The relief of the relics of San Marco owed its magnetism to the intercessional cult of relics and to the belief in the real presence of the saints in their relics. And thus this relief has also been consumed by the tactile devotion of the faithful.

The Treasury itself consists of three chambers, the 'Antitesoro', the 'Tesoro' proper, and the 'Santuario'. The Sanctuary contains on its far wall an altar, and, above the mensa, a wide *lipsanoteca* where one-hundred and ten ancient reliquaries are kept, and, above the relics, two very old sculptural reliefs, set one above the other. Behind the reliquaries, on the outside of the same wall, and thus virtually in contact with the relics themselves, is positioned the stone relief representing the most precious reliquaries housed in the Treasury. The tactile images of the reliquaries served as a conduit to bring the faithful into contact with the power of the relics.

<sup>72</sup> RODOLFO GALLO, *Il tesoro di San Marco e la sua storia*, Venezia-Firenze, 1967, pp. 63ff.

<sup>73</sup> PASINI, p. 10: "una specie di Monte di Pietà, a vantaggio non già dei poveri ma dei maggiorenti d'Europa".

<sup>74</sup> Marble, cm 89 x 56. See DEBRA PINCUS, "A Thirteenth-century Relief Plaque in the Church of San Marco", in: Fs. Michelangelo Muraro, Venezia, 1984, pp. 39-57 (with a political interpretation, a dating to ca. 1240-1275, and new identifications of the reliquaries) and RENATO POLACCO's corrective, "Proposte per una chiarificazione sul significato e sulla funzione del 'bassorilievo delle reliquie' dell'andito Foscari in San Marco a Venezia", in: Fs. Wladimiro Dorigo, Padova, 2003, pp. 133-137, 359, with an emphasis on the "significato strettamente religioso". Also ill. in: *Tesoro di San Marco*, ed. HAHNLOSER, *cit.*, vol. II, p. CXVII. Access to the 'andito Foscari' can be had from the interior of the Basilica, without passing outside. The exact identity of the relics represented is disputed, but, while a point of interest, it is, in the present context, not essential.

<sup>75</sup> PASINI, p. 3; cf. p. 10, 24-32.

Thus it appears that among the relief icons of San Marco the 'Madonna del Bacio' is the icon most directly addressed to the visitor, that it is presented with affective and communicative intentions, and that the immediate and tactile connection of *Bild* and *Betrachter* is foreseen, although these terms, with their exclusive visual orientation are not entirely adequate to account for the tactile modalities of experiencing three-dimensional objects implicit in the icon's function.<sup>76</sup> At some not recent date, in the *sestiere* of San Marco (no. 791), at the Ponte dei Ferali near the church of San Giuliano, that is in the immediate proximity of the Basilica di San Marco, there was erected at a height of about six meters above ground level an exterior 'capitello', or tabernacle, with a second 'Madonna del Bacio', a careful replica (50 x 40 cm) of the original relief icon in San Marco: above a mensola for protection and below a second 'mensolina' as a *portacandele*.<sup>77</sup> The shift in function is slight, but the icon of the interior of San Marco has been transformed into a 'capitèi', a street tabernacle, accessible by day and by night.<sup>78</sup>

As we have seen, the 'Madonna della Grazia', at the Porta di San Pietro entrance to the Basilica, attracted a similar cult of non-Eucharistic devotion and worship in a similar 'capitello'-like setting. A photograph published in 1888 in Boito's volume on the history and art of the Basilica shows the Virgin's prayer-raised hands still hung with *paternostri*, almost as rosary bracelets hung from hooks at each sides of the hands. A line of eight hooks forms an arc around the Virgin's shoulders, and all of these must have been earlier hung with devotional objects and ex-votos. Two hooks at the sides of her head doubtless supported a crown. Presumably the name, 'Madonna della Grazia' reflects the widespread cult to the 'Madonna della Grazia', and thereby it testifies to the Virgin's primary rôle in obtaining Christ's pardon for mankind. Only the *fulcra* of the 'Madonna dello Schioppo' now reflects the once common practice of attaching multiple *ex voto* to the relief icons.<sup>79</sup> In so far as they were accessible, all these images, to a greater and lesser extent, were attributed intercessional, miraculous, thaumaturgic, and prophylactic qualities, and thus they were the object of devotion, prayers, vows, requests for grace, dispensation, favor, and clemency, and of ritual gestures and words (e.g., 'segno della croce', 'ave maria') of many kinds. To see is to behold from afar; to touch is to come into immediate connection with the object of desire. "Only connect!", a phrase quoted from E. M. Forster, was the title John Shearman gave to his book, which, although conceived entirely independently from and not entirely in sympathy with the *Rezeptionsästhetik*-approach in vogue in Germany in the same years, exemplified an Anglo-Saxon, empirical approach to the 'reception' of works of art by their beholders that owed much to the traditions of *Kunstgeschichte* brought to England by Johannes Wilde, a Hungarian trained in the tradition of the *Wiener Schule*, and by others.

The relief icon of the *Madonna Aniketos* in the cappella Zeno is now set high in the wall to the left of the altar as a secondary lateral image. Around 1500 she was given a new systematization and set within an enclosing, four-sided 'picture' frame, crowned by a round tympanum, and set into an elegant Renaissance tabernacle-like framework of white and green marble, with slender membering and restrained, understated ornament. The two relief icons of the cappella Nicopeia were, as we have seen, set, at a distance, into the altar wall at the sides of the Altar of the Madonna Nicopeia as independent reliefs positioned rather high above the floor. But they were accessible only at a distance, screened by the solid stone parapet fencing

<sup>76</sup> The serious concern of recent years with re-establishing the historical functions of works of art poses the dilemma of the extent to which these functions, often functions of 'belief', should be allowed to continue when they conflict with the demands of physical conservation.

<sup>77</sup> CUMÁN-FABBIAN, p. 105, with ill. (connection with the 'Madonna del Bacio' not noted).

<sup>78</sup> The Ponte dei Ferali, or 'Fanali' was a place where makers of lamps worked, and it was so-called for the 'cesendelli' or lamps for nocturnal illumination, recorded there as early as 1128 (GIUSEPPE TASSINI, *Curiosità veneziane*, 4th ed., Venezia, 1863, *ad vocem* 'Ferali'). The use of street tabernacles to increase security at night (though light and holy protection) belonged to explicit public policy. See RIZZI, p. 667, no. OM 10, Calle Fiubera (al Ponte dei Ferali), San Marco 791A\*: "Madonna col Bambino".

<sup>79</sup> The Orant Madonna next to the Mascoli Chapel shows five dowel-like elements, apparently destined for such attachments, or, possibly to hold candles, and a similar arrangements were made for the *Hodegetria* near the Sacrament Altar, who apparently also received a crown. A shallow framed and glassed case containing conventional ex-votos (silver flaming hearts, etc.) is hung above the relief in a photograph from before 1915 (KONDAKOV, p. 257, fig. 139; also in: ONGANIA). A similar 'vetrina' is located beneath the 'Madonna dello Schioppo'.

the outer perimeter of the chapel and closed by the grating that gates the entrance to the chapel. The Orants were for the most part placed high on the piers of the Basilica, and the Porta San Clemente Madonna occupies an over-door position. Thus the relief icons of San Marco appear to preserve the traditions of the Byzantine relief icon and its function, in so far as these are understood.<sup>80</sup> Demus writes that most of the Byzantine relief icons remained what they were before they were shipped to Venice, being used to enrich the walls of the state church; “originally destined for worship”, they were “simply reinstated to their former function after their transfer to Venice” (pp. 111, 121): they served to remind and to instruct, to recall to memory, to elevate, to aid the faithful in worship and veneration, and to enhance the beauty of God's house. The relative neglect of the relief icons of the interior of San Marco is, in part, a testimony to the extraordinary richness and density of the Basilica's decoration and of its mosaic vaults and domes, to the almost incomprehensible infinitude of sacred images that fill its spaces.

The only Venetian Orant thus far not mentioned, the Madonna of the cappella Bernabò in San Giovanni Crisostomo, is treated in an Appendix (*infra*). Her perforated hands afford another instance in which this trait appears in a work not clearly of Byzantine origin, and this case seconds that of the Orant in San Marco found on the same pier as the ‘Madonna dello Schioppo’, noted above.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, an early copy of the Messina Orant repeats her perforated hands unquestioningly.<sup>82</sup> At this point, the belief that perforated hands can guarantee the Byzantine pedigree of a piece seems unsustainable. In reality, the importance of the ‘mains perforées’ is not that of a fool-proof diagnostic symptom. It lies in what they may reveal about the functions of the relief icons. Information is so slight for Byzantium itself, that it needs be supplemented with indications gathered from areas that fell under Byzantine domination and influence, and, indeed, from areas of modern Italy, such as Venice. In Venice, the practice, at San Marco, of placing large numbers of relief icons on the exterior façade is notable, and San Marco is directly reflected on the façade of the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, where fewer Byzantine sculptured reliefs are placed, but in a nearly identical fashion. Within the Basilica di San Marco, the Porta di San Clemente Orans was integrated into the decorative program of the upper levels in a position high over an entrance door; two relief icons are placed in lateral positions near a painted icon, the Madonna Nicopeia. She herself placed over an altar.<sup>83</sup> But most were placed as independent icons on the walls and piers of the Basilica. Demus has suggested that pier icons (*Pfeilerikonen*) in connection with the Templon may account for one of the functions of the Byzantine relief icon, pointing to the example of relief icons (Peter and Paul) in the church of the Zepina medieval fortress in Bulgaria,<sup>84</sup> a usage clearly reflected in San Marco. The picture that emerges in San Marco does not, however, point to a single use, and multiple motivations were doubtless at work. Nevertheless, the most obvious possibility of re-use, the icon as an altar *retable* (*Altarbild*), as in the case of the ‘Madonna Greca’ in Ravenna and in that of many painted portable icons in Venice, was, for the relief icons in San Marco, largely avoided in favor of a systematization that appears to be aligned with eastern usage. The veneration of these images, as time moved forward, meant that two of them became treated nearly as ‘devotional tabernacles’, directly accessible to the believing without the intervention of the clergy, in a function similar to that of exterior *capitelli*.

As the Basilica is entered, at the left and at the right, respectively, the ‘Madonna della Grazia’ and the ‘Deesis’ are set into large vertical bands or panels of *pavonazetto antico* in the walls of the north and south aisles (which are without lateral chapels). The regular forms

<sup>80</sup> See DEMUS, pp. 111, 121.

<sup>81</sup> ‘Candelabra Madonna’; if, as often suggested, the Madonna on the exterior of the Mascoli Chapel is a 19th-c copy (which is far from certain), she is an further example.

<sup>82</sup> In Positano in 1950; see Appendix I.

<sup>83</sup> See note 38 *supra*.

<sup>84</sup> DEMUS, *R.*, p. 387.

of the generally rectangular stone slabs that compose the two large *pavonazetto* panels suggest that they do not predate the insertion of the two relief icons. Their configurations show instead that the *pavonazetto* panels are, in their dimensions, accommodated to the relief icons: the panel at the right is exactly the width of the 'Deesis'; the panel at the left, narrower, is contoured to form a sort of 'capitello' around the Orant relief, through the addition of a baldachin above, which is reflected in the pattern of the stone slabs.

If the 'Madonna della Grazia', and, later, perhaps also the *Madonna Aniketos* and the two relief icons of the Nicopeia Chapel were, to an extent, placed prominently on display, most of the relief icons found their homes in *Zwischenräumen*, not on altars, not in chapels, not facing the nave, but on piers, and between piers, in the lateral aisles, not hidden, but made accessible to 'private' devotion, in the interstices of the liturgical spaces of the Basilica.

At Caorle, on the Adriatic coast north of Venice, the central portal of the Cathedral of Santo Stefano (11th c) is flanked by two Byzantine relief icons representing the saints Agathonicus martyr and Geolmeon, or Guglielmo. In the bare expanse of the ancient brick façade the life-size and over-lifesize reliefs are set low and very close beside the portal, which the saints flank, as if two sentinels standing vigil; the protective, almost apotropaic function is, visually, immediately comprehensible, even before one recognizes that Geolmeon, who appears almost as a giant, is armed as a warrior. Agathonicus is shown as an Orant, and both his hands have been bored through with round holes. Here there seems no unequivocal explanation for the holes, and no immediate reason to associate Agathonicus with water or with a fountain. A tenth-century ivory in Rome (Palazzo Venezia) shows him as a martyr holding a hand cross (*Handkreuz*),<sup>85</sup> the martyr's cross as Agathonicus' usual attribute, and thus his first association seems to be with Christ's sacrifice. Possibly the holes in Agathonicus' hands have an evocative or symbolic association with the cross. There is, however, no record of him as a stigmatic, with stigmata, corresponding to the crucifixion wounds of Christ.

In 1955 Demus suggested that, "*die Reliefikone des Agathonikos als Spolie nach Caorle kam*", and that, "*das zweite Relief von einem einheimischen, provinziellen Meister als Gegenstück dazugemacht wurde – ein Vorgang, der ja auch in San Marco begegnet [wird]*". Subsequently Lange argued, convincingly, I think, against this pendant-hypothesis and for the Byzantine character and origin of the Geolmeon. And, not only is nothing of the Agathonicus reflected in the pendant relief, but the second relief is objectively taller and narrower, and thus a distinctly different size. It is further conceived in a completely different scale. Thus *in situ* the two figures form an ill-assorted pair, and Geolmeon seems to tower above the meek Agathonicus.<sup>86</sup> For the Geolmeon, it is conceivable that a local master might have been inspired by the Demetrius relief icon of the façade of San Marco, but if he were, it would seem reasonable to expect from him an image in some way similar to the seated Demetrius and his very similar 'modern' pendant on San Marco, the relief of St. George, but not the strange standing warrior we meet in Caorle, who seems so eccentric in the context of the Adriatic relief icons, but who finds many resemblances of type and costume in Byzantine art in other media.<sup>87</sup> The photographs published in Lange (1964) and those published in 1988 by Gaberscek (figs. 29-30) document that the condition of the "San Guglielmo" relief (sometimes, 'San Giorgio') is notably more deteriorated than that of the "San Agatonico", which, following the 'pendant hypothesis' should be much older.

The question of the original functions of the Byzantine relief icon and their original

<sup>85</sup> LCI, V, col. 51.

<sup>86</sup> See [www.caorle.com/duomo/](http://www.caorle.com/duomo/). Geolmeon's identity needs to be clarified; cf. LCI, VIII, cols. 604-605, 607-611.

<sup>87</sup> See, for instance, *Glory*, no. 81, ivory; KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, nos. 6, 8, 10, 11, steatite; Mount Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Icon with St. George, 11th c, steatite: [www.culture.gr/2/21/218/e21800.html](http://www.culture.gr/2/21/218/e21800.html); cf. Treasures of Mount Athos, ed. KARAKATSANIS, 1997, exh. cat. (see note 57 *supra*), no. 9.1. The resemblance to a Byzantine metal relief from Georgia (St. George) is very striking; ill. in: FRANZ XAVER KRAUS, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1896, p. 587, fig. 458 (after N. P. KONDAKOV, *Beschreibung der Baudenkmäler und Kunstwerke in einigen Kirchen und Klöstern Grusiens* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1890, fig. 51):

positions in or on ecclesiastical buildings and elsewhere is one that has not been fully answered. Many, it is said, were used on exteriors where painted images would have suffered from exposure to the climate (heat, cold, rain, sun, wind, humidity, etc.), and, although very few relief icons have survived in their original places and positions, many doubtless were displayed on exteriors. But the explanation of relief icons simply as substitutes for painting *tout court* is incomplete, as is demonstrated by the fact that many stone icons were probably painted. Looking to the periphery of Byzantium, to Russia, Georgia, Armenia, and even Italy, and to the 'after-life' of the relief icon, promises a somewhat fuller picture, gained via induction, and a certain number of still-*in situ* relief icons appear to give confirmation to the belief that many relief icons found initially an exterior placement.<sup>88</sup> Beyond the highly visible 'Byzantine' relief icons of the façades of San Marco, a very large part of the remaining number of Byzantine and Byzantinizing reliefs in Venice are or were formerly installed in exterior positions.<sup>89</sup>

The Orant Virgins constitute by far the single largest category of Byzantine relief icons, and perhaps as many as ten<sup>90</sup> display the "*mains perforées*", which, as Sotiriou and Lange have shown, probably served as an opening from which water issued, the reliefs belonging to sacred fountains in "*Quellenräumen*", usually in the vicinity of churches and shrines, where stone reliefs were employed for durability, owing to humidity and direct contact with water.<sup>91</sup> While the literary testimony of the historical sources are not entirely conclusive, as Andrea Paribeni has recently shown, they add support to the belief that the Orant relief icons belonged to fountain complexes, to 'hagiasmas', associated with sacred springs whose waters, in contact with the Virgin's hands, had a sanctifying and thaumaturgic character,<sup>92</sup> and thus they provide an indispensable basis for attempting an interpretation. If, as Grabar has suggested, the appellation 'Zoodochos Pege', the Life Giving Source, is not correctly applicable to the marble Orants themselves,<sup>93</sup> nevertheless the theme of the 'fountains of the Virgin and Child' is related and relevant, and it confirms the likelihood of the water-bestowing hands of the Virgin.<sup>94</sup> The physical evidence of the surviving pieces, some with further holes in the lower zones of the reliefs, also speaks for the "reliefs-fontaines" interpretation. The circular holes beneath the feet of the Messina Orant, identical in form to those found in her hands, add a slight, but not insignificant further support. Painted Orants do

<sup>88</sup> LANGE, no. 54, Serres (Macedonia), Metropolis, marble, 62 x 45, formerly on the outside wall of church, half-figure Maria Orans, destroyed after the war; DEMUS, *R.*, p. 387: "Ikone des Hesios David in Thessalonika" (LANGE, no. 14), with evidence of knife and dagger sharpening, still practiced on the "Außenwänden" of Greek churches; LANGE, p. 79, no. 23, Athos, Xeropotamou Monastery, St. Demetrius holding a hand cross; Mount Athos: [www.culture.gr/2/21/218/218bf/e218bf8.html](http://www.culture.gr/2/21/218/218bf/e218bf8.html); cf. Treasures of Mount Athos, ed. KARAKATSANIS, 1997, exh. cat. (see note 57 *supra*), no. 6.8: "The icon is embedded in the wall at the south-west outer corner of the narthex of the katholikon", serpentine, 12th c; 18c marble surround; 40 x 25, inscription states it comes from Constantinople; Bari, San Nicola di Bari, East façade, 14th-c relief of San Nicola, with a stone cross walled above: [www.stnicolascenter.org/stnic/images/bari-bas-relief-ig.jpg](http://www.stnicolascenter.org/stnic/images/bari-bas-relief-ig.jpg).

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix II ('handlist'): Santi Giovanni e Paolo; Santa Maria Mater Domini, formerly outside; San Trovaso, St. Peter; San Giovanni Elemosinario, formerly outside (Nativity; above note 6; RIZZI, p. 612, DD349), Campiello de Ca' Angaran; Abbazia della Misericordia. Among the later, but still Byzantinizing works, see: RIZZI, p. 376 (lit.), SP 235, Campo San Polo, Chiesa di San Polo, Sagrestia, "tra le finestre, principio XIV sec.", 80 x 130 cm (possibly once in interior); RIZZI, p. 231, CS 404m Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo, "Chiesa, fianco destro, 2° contrafforte, rilievo, princ. XIV sec.", 40 x 40 ca., Madonna Odighitria, "bizantineggiante" (cf. Frari, SP 348); and many others, e.g. CUMÀN-FABBIÀN, Capitèli di Venezia, p. 69, no. CS 2424, Campo San Martino, "Madonna con Bambino", 70 x 50, "MCCCLXII", 1362. See also: *Fede*, pp. 50f., no. 4; DORIGO, I, pp. 544f., who sets the number of autonomous sculptured icons in Venice of the first half of the 14th c at 20 or more. On the functions of the icons in Venice: DORIGO, I, p. 515.

<sup>90</sup> The Berlin Orans clearly shows traces of the bored holes in her broken hands, and it was, perhaps, these holes which determined the fracture line (LANGE, no. 3); this may also be the case with the Thessaloniki Orans (LANGE, no. 20), which is broken in a very similar fashion. See further, Andrea Paribeni, in: *Deomene*, p. 40, "una decina ... con le palme ... attraversate da un foro circolare" ("La Vergine e l'acqua: le icone in marmo dell'orante nel contesto dei santuari mariani di Costantinopoli", pp. 40-47, a useful and cautious, if inconclusive survey of the topic). GRABAR, p. 36: "une dizaine". The true number seems less than ten.

<sup>91</sup> DEMUS, *R.*, p. 387; GRABAR, *R.*, pp. 277-278; GRABAR, 1976, p. 36; LANGE, pp. 43-44, 142; G. A. SOTIRIOU, in: Fs. Kondakov (*cit.*), note 35), pp. 125-128, 131. It is said that remains of calcium deposits were found in the bored channel of the Mangana Orant's hand, but this relief icon was found close by a "*Brunnen*", "*auprès d'une grande fontaine*", and calcium accumulates rapidly.

<sup>92</sup> Texts for water: see PARIBENI, pp. 40ff.; COSTANTINO PORFIROGENITO, de Caerimoniis, II, 12: writes of a "virgo in marmo da cui sgorga acqua"; GRABAR, p. 36 (not a reference to Maria, but to a virgin *Quellengöttin*); "mirra" from the hands: PARIBENI, p. 40. See also FABRIZIO BISCONTI, "L'orante, Maria e le acque: l'incontro dei temi", also in: *Deomene*, pp. 19ff.

<sup>93</sup> GRABAR, p. 36.

<sup>94</sup> LCI, vol. 3, 'Maria, Marienbild', par. 13, 'Maria in Halbfigur über Brunnenschale, Zoodochos Pege', cols. 176-177; Marienlexikon, vol. 5, 1993, p. 14; see also the entry 'Zoodochos Pigi'. Images: KONSTANTINOS D. KALOKYRES, He theotokos eis ten eikonographian anatoles kai dyseos, Thessaloniki, 1972, pls. 286-288; *Deomene*, nos. 110-111, 'La Madonna Fonte di Vita'. See further, OXFORD, III, p. 1616; JENS FLEISCHER, The Mother of God - The Life-Giving Fountain, in: Images of Christ, ed. Søren Kaspersen, Copenhagen, 2004, pp. 255-263.

not show perforated hands, which suggests that the holes are functional rather than symbolic. Sacred water predates Christianity, and it figures in nearly all religions. But, in Christianity, holy water, that is, in the last analysis, water sanctified by the sign of the cross, pervades a wide sphere: the water of baptism; blessed water placed in the vestibule of the temple for ablution; the holy water font, linked by the faithful to the sign of the cross; the water of aspersion; Easter water; water transformed in to wine; the holy water of exorcism; the miraculous water of Lourdes and the Jordan River. Hands, implicitly the hands of the Virgin, are also linked to the Cross in a relief on a small sixth or seventh-century *Grabstele* in Berlin: where small 'hand' crosses are positioned just above the raised hands of a standing, full-length Orans.<sup>95</sup> The female Orant is not, or not yet Maria. Her hands reach toward the Cross. We are still in the age when the bare isolated Cross constitutes the harsh central image of the Church, an image of dread and horror, of a sacrifice wrought by a distant, threatening, and righteous God, which only later will be succeeded by the more humane and attracting and female image of the merciful Mother of God as the intercessor for mankind.

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<sup>95</sup> OSKAR WULFF, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke: Altchristliche Bildwerke*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1909, 1. Text, 2, Tafeln, pp. 34-35, no. 74; cf. *Welt*.

## APPENDIX I

### THE ORANT MADONNA OF THE CAPPELLA BERNABÒ IN THE CHURCH OF SAN GIOVANNI CRISOSTOMO IN VENICE

My interest in Byzantine relief icons in Italy stemmed, initially, from the Orant set into the vault lunette over the altar 'pala' signed by Tullio Lombardo in the cappella Bernabò (execution: 1503-October 1506, although the planning may have begun as early as 1500). In 1903, Gabelentz (p. 132) mentioned this "*Marienrelief*" very briefly, labeling it "*eine späte und geringe venezianische Nachbildung*". Including even the slightest references in guide books, the Bernabò Orant has been noted, since Gabelentz wrote, ten additional times, nearly always in little more than an echo of Gabelentz. It is nearly always called "*veneto-bizantino*", and often dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Although a date of ca. 1500 has also been proposed, the documents as well as the appearance of the relief exclude this possibility. The only published treatment which exceeds a mere mention, is that contained in the dissertation of Sarah Wilk, which includes a misleading attribution of the piece to Tullio Lombardo.<sup>96</sup> In addition, I discussed the Bernabò Orant in the context of a paper comprehensively treating the Bernabò Chapel and the records of its 'fabbrica', read at the 'convegno internazionale' held at the *Iuav-dipartimento di storia dell'architettura* in Venice, 4-7 July 2001 ("La bottega dei Lombardo: Architettura e scultura a Venezia tra Quattro e Cinquecento").

The marble Bernabò Orant measures 96.7 x 67 cm. Much more can be learned about its history than about that of any of the other 'Byzantine' Orants in Venice. The earliest notice of the Madonna is contained in the testament of Jacomo de' Bernabò (11 July 1438), written shortly before his death, whereby Bernabò carefully provided for the establishment of the Commissaria Bernabò, which was responsible for establishing his chapel and for administering it until the Napoleonic suppression of the Scuola Grande della Misericordia, from which the Commissaria Bernabò depended: "*la mia ancona granda la qual'è una figura grande di nostra donna dorata*", and Bernabò directs that his "*ancona*" (= *icona*)<sup>97</sup> is to be placed over the altar of his chapel. The church of San Giovanni Crisostomo was damaged, apparently severely, in a fire of 1475, and, beginning in 1497, rebuilt within a few years. Toward 1500 Bernabò's Madonna was refurbished and subsequently placed in its present position, very high above the altar of his newly rebuilt chapel. In December 1499, a stonemason, "*maestro Guglielmo tagliapietra*",<sup>98</sup> was paid 60 soldi to "*conzare una madonna Grecha*", a not insubstantial sum, and one that suggests a very substantial intervention in the fabric of the relief. In the accounts of the 'fabbrica Bernabò' the 60 soldi paid to 'maestro Guglielmo' represent the work of between 3 and 5 days.<sup>99</sup> In the following month there is recorded a payment for "*gesso da metter [al]la madonna*", and it is followed, on January 23, 1500, by Lire 3 (= soldi 60) paid to "*maestro Zuan Piero taglia piera per investito [= rinvestito] la Madonna della cappella de piere negre*". The £. 3 may also include the cost of the *pietra negra veronese* revetment that, still today, covers the flat ground of the white marble Orant icon. Despite the fact that the Madonna was venerated and treasured, its owners were entirely willing to intervene in the physical fabric of the stone relief. Some months later, on 21 December 1501, there is a payment to porters, "*per far chavare la pala dela chapela da cha chorner et farla meter in altro luogo*". At this point in time the marble for Tullio's 'pala' had not yet arrived in Venice (17.12.1502),<sup>100</sup> and this document refers to Bernabò's first 'pala'. Antonio Corner kept the books of the 'fabbrica Bernabò', and Ca' Corner was the house of Antonio Corner at the foot of the Ponte di Rialto on the San Bartolomeo side of the Canal Grande, where building materials for the construction of the chapel were sometimes housed. The refurbished 'pala' Bernabò was brought to the church of the Santi Apostoli (near San Giovanni Crisostomo and the church of the branch of the Corner family to which Antonio Corner aspired to belong, or to rejoin) and placed there in deposit, in conformity with a provision of Bernabò's testament requiring that the obligatory daily masses and the anniversaries be held elsewhere if they could not take place in his chapel. Following the fire of 1475, masses for Bernabò's salvation had continued in San Giovanni Crisostomo until rebuilding began. The importance of Bernabò's testament for the Commissaria Bernabò cannot be overestimated; it was the foundation paper for the Commissaria, to which recourse was had to resolve every one of the many disputes recorded in the Commissaria's surviving papers, papers which, for this reason, contain numerous copies of Bernabò's testament.

The 'pala Bernabò' did not go unnoticed in the Santi Apostoli. At the end of May the following year, 1502, "*messer Francesco Barbarigo consiglier, come procurator delle Reverende Donne Muneghe di Santa Maria*

<sup>96</sup> SARAH WILK, *The Sculpture of Tullio Lombardo*, New York-London, 1978, p. 87, and an implicit dating of ca. 1500. Her treatment, arguing from models and influences, constructs a 'Byzantine' interpretation of the entire chapel and contains misleading statements and questionable interpretations.

<sup>97</sup> LUIGI GRASSI and MARIO PEPE, *Dizionario di arte*, Torino: UTET, 1995, *ad vocem* 'ancona'.

<sup>98</sup> The accounts of the 'fabbrica Bernabò' contain payments to "maestro Vielmo di Antonio tagliapietra", to "Vielmo di Antonio di Carona", to "maestro Vielmo tagliapietra a San Silvestro", and to "maestro Vielmo tagliapietra a San Stae", who are doubtless not all distinct persons.

<sup>99</sup> In the accounts of the Bernabò *fabbrica*, the master mason, in charge of the works, was paid, when working by the day, 22 soldi, and his son, working with him, 12 soldi each day.

<sup>100</sup> ASVe, SMV 66: 157-158.



*Mazor*” demanded the ‘pala’ from the ‘commissaria’ and from the Scuola della Misericordia to place in the new church that his nuns were building.<sup>101</sup> The ‘pala’ is called “*una palla vecchia della ditta commissaria la qual era sopra l’altare della sua cappella posta in la giesa de san Zuan Grisostomo*”. Barbarigo’s request was granted, with certain accessory conditions, among them that the “*detta palla siano quella per esse donne fatta refrescar et renovando l’arma del ditto messer Giacomo [Bernabò].*” Francesco Barbarigo “*conseglier*” was, in fact, the ‘procuratore’ of the nuns of Santa Maria Maggiore, but not their *consigliere*. He was a member (‘consigliere’) of the Consiglio dei Dieci, whose members watched over, supervised, and regulated the activities of the *Scuole grandi* and their satellite *commissarie*, and he was clearly not a man to whom to say “no”.<sup>102</sup> But the alienation of Bernabò’s ‘Madonna vecchia’ from his chapel was equally unthinkable, and, indeed, diametrically in contradiction to the explicit and binding terms of Bernabò’s testament. The Madonna was already destined for the ‘new’ cappella; the relief had been given a dark ground in accord with the new scheme of the Renaissance chapel, where ‘Byzantine gold’ no longer found a place.<sup>103</sup> The rectangular opening to receive the Madonna in the marble revetment of the lunette of the chapel was in place by early 1500.<sup>104</sup> No “Madonna grande” or “pala vecchia” ever appears among the celebrated treasures of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>105</sup>

The question naturally arises, “What is the Madonna Bernabò?” Jacomo Bernabò was a wealthy silk merchant, who had contacts outside Venice, in London and Bruges. The ‘Silk Road’ leads eastward, and although no specific connection of Bernabò with the Levant is known, knowledge about Bernabò is so slight that this is not surprising. Beyond his testament and chapel, he hardly exists as a historical figure, outside the records of his *commissaria*, all posthumous. In any event, his “ancona” certainly existed in 1438, apparently long an object of Bernabò’s personal devotion and certainly not a new acquisition. Among Bernabò’s numerous testamentary provisions, there was one to dispatch representatives to pilgrimage shrines, in Italy and beyond, to pray for his soul, first to the Holy Land (“*al santo sepulcro*”), and then to Spain (“*San Iacomo di Galitia*”), to Vienne in France (Saint Antoine de Viennois), to the “*Perdono di Sixa*” (Assisi), to Rome, and to the “*Angelo di Puglia*” (Monte Sant’Angelo).<sup>106</sup> The geographical reach is impressive. Bernabò’s Orant shows today no trace of its former gilding, but it was refinished in 1499. And, while Bernabò’s coat-of-arms on the exterior of his chapel is a surviving stone component element from Bernabò’s first chapel which was reutilized in the new chapel, it was gilt in 1504,<sup>107</sup> although no trace of gilding survives today. The framing of this *stemma* is, in a Venetian context, where nearly everything in this period is bordered by a double-denticulation molding, unusual in the extreme, being composed of alternating rectangles and lozenges, or rhombi.<sup>108</sup> Having discovered no exact parallels in Venetian stone ornament in books and photographs, or on the ground, I have concluded that this border is an imitation of Byzantine jeweled ornament, as we have seen it in the ‘Madonna di Mangana’,<sup>109</sup> and thus reflects a taste parallel to that reflected in his “ancona”. The initial five-member Commissaria included Bernabò’s widow, relatives, and business associates, and it presumably followed Bernabò’s wishes for his chapel. By 1500 the Bernabò’s relief was considered old, a ‘Madonna greca’. Thus it is hardly possible to date Bernabò’s *Orans* later than the fourteenth century.

<sup>101</sup> ASVe, SMV, Notatorio 166, c. 61r (cf. ODENTHAL, p. 165: SMV busta 198, fol. 34); in: PAOLETTI, 1893, I, 2, p. 111, no. 90.

<sup>102</sup> His son, Andrea, was one of the three ‘procuratori’ of the fabbrica of the new San Giovanni Crisostomo (1504), and Francesco Barbarigo’s testament was notarized by Lodovico Talenti, *parroco* of the church and the leading force in the campaign to re-build it.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. ALBERTI’s reservations about gold: De Pictura, II, 49. The coloristic differentiation of figure and ground to, *inter alia*, increase legibility, is found in other Venetian sculptural works of the time placed in an elevated position. At the Scuola di San Marco, when the relief of San Marco blessing the ‘confratelli’, salvaged from the fire of 1485, was reinstalled, as a lunette over the central portal, the background was covered with dark stone. Other instances of contrasting colored backgrounds, mostly in dark or black stone, e.g., Antonio Bregno, Monument to Doge Francesco Foscari, Frari (Leo Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Wien, 1923, p. 37, fig. 31); Madonna dell’Orto, Scuola dei Mercanti, over lateral door, relief with a ‘yellow’ (gold) background, Madonna della Misericordia with two Saints (Rizzi, p. 81, fig. 52 (CN184). There are further examples in Venice.

<sup>104</sup> This is made clear by the building accounts and by the outlines of the polygonal slabs of marble of the wall revetment, clearly cut to surround the Madonna, very probably in place by the end of 1499 and certainly by April 1500.

<sup>105</sup> Bernabò’s ‘ancona’ or ‘pala’ in stone is not to be confused with the celebrated Madonna “*miracolosa*” of Santa Maria Maggiore, which was a painted portable icon of the half-length Hodegetria. Its burnt remains are in the church of San Trovaso, and it is engraved, shown in its metal revetment, in: [FLAMINO CORRER] Venezia favorita da Maria, Relazione delle immagini miracolose di Maria conservate in Venezia, Padova, 1758 [Bibl. Marciana, 223.D.199; D136 D137], facing p. 9 [“*Imagine della Beata Vergine MARIA Nella Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggior di Monache Francescane*”], and described as “*un’antica divota Imagine di Maria Vergine dipinta a forma Greca*”. The records of the Scuola Grande della Misericordia and of the Commissaria Bernabò are filled with decisions reached, and reversed nearly on the following day. See now: HELEN DEBORAH WALBERG, Una compiuta galleria di pitture veneziane”: The church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Venice, in: Studi veneziani, n.s. XLVIII, 2004, pp. 259-303, which assembles much, albeit incomplete information concerning the furnishings of the church. The icon of Santa Maria Maggiore was brought to the church of San Trovaso around 1805, where it was nearly destroyed in a fire in 1964, although its remains survive in storage (p. 263 and fig. 2 at p. 264).

<sup>106</sup> See the author’s lengthy account of his visit to the ‘Angelo di Gargano’ (“The Angel of Manfredonia”), in: NORMAN DOUGLAS, Old Calabria, London, 1915 (available online as an eBook).

<sup>107</sup> ASVe, SMV, 66, c. 8 sinistra: “*adi 14 settembre per chontadi per far Indorare l’arma della chapela in sul campo [di san Giovanni Crisostomo] — £. — s. ij d. —*”.

<sup>108</sup> See RIZZI, p. 320, no. CN 425, “*Stemma (XV sec.)*, pietra d’Istria, cm 70 x 60, scudo gotico, comparto con inconsueto bordo composto di rombi alternati a rettangoli ...”; see, however, RIZZI, p. 292, CN 290-291, no. civ. 4565 CN, Calle Larga dei Proverbi no. 4564, “*arco trecentesco*”, in arch: rectangles and rhombi border; see also ‘Byzantine’ revival brick ornament, e.g., in the Corte de l’Alboro (Rizzi, p. 671).

<sup>109</sup> Not found among Venetian stone ornament, but the *suppedaneum* of Demitrios (LANGE, no. 28) bears this same ornament; cf. RIZZI, p. 384, no. SP 271, ill., 1349, Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista.



This relief icon has recently been cleaned, in the context of a general restoration of the cappella Bernabò, and its restoration will be treated in another place (see publications of Annalisa Bristot). Here, I repeat a few of the considerations that I proposed in 2001, prior to the restoration. The first most striking aspect of the Madonna Bernabò is how little she has in common with the Venetian Orants. Although her display within wide bands of dark stone on a lighter marble background is directly inspired by the installation of the San Marco relief icons, she is, herself, in Venice, *sui generis*, and this fact alone speaks against a later Venetian imitation, and, indeed, against a Venetian manufacture. Thus the convenient definition as 'veneto-bizantino' appears excluded.

A few aspects of the Orant icon merit brief mention. First, the broad proportions and ample impagination of the relief itself, contained with a wide, flat, and simple raised border, which contrasts with most of the Venetian Orants, typified by their unbyzantine narrowness.<sup>110</sup> The figure herself does not come into contact with the frame, and she is not constrained within the frame as are the Venetian examples of later manufacture. Instead she almost seems to float, unanchored, on a groundless ground, in limitlessness — motionless, static, expressionless, timeless, with no trace of contrapposto. There is no psychological or narrative moment. The hands are held high, perhaps less in the gesture of 'expansis manibus' of the Venetian Orants and many Byzantine examples, where finger tips do not reach the level of the chin, as in one of 'mani alzate', raised in prayer, as seen in the Ravenna Orans and in others (and also in other media), where the finger tips reach the level of the nose, as they do in the Bernabò example.

As we saw, examining the 'Madonna della Grazia', the upper part of the *maphorion* is conceived as a unitary motive, rather than in terms of clearly distinguished parts. The folds of her *maphorion* spread out over the breast in a fan-like effect from a single 'unseen' point above and to the right. If the diagonal lines (tending leftward toward verticality) were extended they would indeed converge around a single point. Here we perhaps witness a taste similar to that evinced in the Angels of the central square of the Basilica di San Marco (DEMUS, pl. 99; p. 208: 2nd quarter of 13th c). This fan-like expansion of folds is not found in the Mangana Orant, nor at Ravenna, Athens, Messina, Ancona, Thessaloniki, etc., all authentic Byzantine Orants, but it is characteristic to a greater and lesser degree of the Venetian Orants (e.g., *apud* Mascoli, Porta di San Clemente). The simplified construction of the Venetian *maphorions* is not found in the Bernabò example; its forms are articulated into four or five distinct motives. Above, the lines run in clear straight diagonals, with a slightly convex upward arching of the upper edge (cf. serpentine roundel with the Virgin Orans, Victoria & Albert Museum, ca. 1078-1081; *Glory*, pp. 176f., no. 130; VOLBACH, pl. 102c); a large complex of folds falls from the shoulder onto the upper arm, at the right, as in many Byzantine examples (also West façade). The forms of the *maphorion* are, however, not so emphatic as in the Mangana and Messina Orants or so clear as in Mater Domini or Ravenna. What is missed in the clearly Venetian examples is the construction of the *maphorion*, which in Byzantine examples, even those of middling quality, tends toward exactness and specificity. The quality of the design of the Bernabò Orant appears higher than that of the 'Madonna della Grazia'.

The vertical folds of the *maphorion* that fall at both sides of the Bernabò Orant emerge from the two sides of a cape-like form that surrounds and encloses the back of the Virgin, as if from a protective hood, a characteristic detail found in the Mangana Orans and in many other of the Byzantine Orant relief icons, as well as presentations of this motive in other media — painting, mosaic, ivory, steatite, metal. This detail of construction is not present in every Byzantine Orant, but its recurrence is geographically widespread and temporally nearly without limit, found sometimes even in very recent 'icon' representations. In Venice it is seen only in the relief icon at the church of Santa Maria Mater Domini. Its observance in the Bernabò Orant is a detail not without some significance in the assessment of an image whose surface has been seriously disturbed. The qualities of design, evident in a distant view, lose their focus when the relief is viewed from nearby. From a close vantage point the forms appear somewhat vague and formless.

The *Standmotiv* is not the most typical one in Venice, but it accords with the Mangana, Messina, Ravenna, Mater Domini, and West façade examples. The course of drapery at the bottom of the skirt is close to Ravenna, and it exhibits almost fluttering furls at the center of the hem and to the right, similar, but differently positioned, to what is seen in the Ravenna Orant.

The face has been clearly damaged and repaired, in an attempt to restore an undamaged appearance. Before the fire of 1475, which left the church of San Giovanni Crisostomo in ruin, the icon was set over a wooden altar. The broken nose has been evened and rounded, but remains formless; the mouth has nearly disappeared. Many eastern works sustained similar damage. The damaged state is difficult to assess. Nevertheless, the face seems comparable to eastern examples: the Berlin Orans and Michael, the serpentine roundel, mentioned above, with her broad, heavy features (see also: *Mother*, p. 300, no. 17).<sup>111</sup> There is also some resemblance to the Virgin's

<sup>110</sup> Measuring 96,7 x 67 cm, the proportional relationship of height to width is 1.44 to 1. Proportions of genuine Byzantine relief icons appear to range from just under 1.7 to 1 up to just over 2 to 1, although this is only an estimate based on published measurements and the proportions suggested by photographs. If other erratic pieces are taken into account, the Bernabò proportions seem unremarkable, but in marked contrast to the Venetian tendency.

<sup>111</sup> See also *Mother*, p. 300, no. 17. There is also some resemblance to Virgin's head in a provincial Serbian sculpture, the Sokolica Virgin, with its broad, full proportions, and thinly outlined, staring eyes (*Faith/Power*, pp. 84-85, no. 41, early 14th c). Some points of contact with a regional, provincial work such as the small Madonna of the Abbey of Seckau (Stira): OTTO DEMUS, Ein Madonnenrelief in Sekau, in: Fs. Hermann Schnitzler, Düsseldorf, 1965, pp. 158-162, fig. 89 (= *Studies*, II, pp. 271-276, pl. XXX.1); MICHAEL SEMFF, *Arti minori romaniche*,

head in a Serbian sculpture, the Sokolika Virgin, with its broad, full proportions, and thinly outlined, staring eyes (*Faith/Power*, pp. 84-85, no. 40, early 14th c), and there are also resemblances to Veneto-Byzantine metal work.<sup>112</sup>

In the Madonna Bernabò traces of small holes (ornamental or for metal attachments) can be seen in some of the usual places: on the left wrist, over the left knee; but matching holes on the right side cannot be found. The surface has been abraded, in part removed, and made more even and smooth, so that the shallow holes have largely been erased, leaving traces only in a few instances. The hands have been perforated and the large, round holes filled at some distant time with 'stucco' or a similar substance. This detail can be seen in the Cameraphoto photograph made in the year 2000, with insufficient light, and it is more clearly visible in a later photo made when scaffolding was first erected.

The Madonna Bernabò does not exhibit any strong or specifically western characteristics: there is no 'contrapposto'; no strong plasticity. The slight roundness of the bands of drapery may have been emphasized by the Renaissance mason's intervention which has left the surface vague and ill-defined. If we seek filiations among the Italian examples, we may look first to the Mater Domini Orant, where the type is similar, but the conception of drapery, with many incised grooves is very different, and look then to Ravenna, where the connection is perhaps stronger. Whether these two prototypes constitute a sufficient basis for the creation of the Bernabò Orant merits further consideration. But it seems clear that she cannot be explained by reference to Venice alone. She is without a belt, but her stance appears slightly unstable, as does that of the West façade Orant of San Marco, whose mantle, with its full expansiveness behind, is also similar. Giacomo Bernabò's "*figura grande di Nostra Donna dorata*" may have simply had a 'fondo d'oro' as does the Orant of Santa Maria Mater Domini and not have been herself gilt, as is the 'Madonna della Grazia'. If this were the case, the exact zones where gold was applied were the ones covered, at the very beginning of the new century, in 1500, with black stone.

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in: Ori e tesori d'Europa, Atti del convegno di studio, Castello di Udine, 3-5 dicembre 1991, ed. GIUSEPPE BERGAMINI e PAOLO GOI, Udine, 1992, p. 114, fig. 19 (22 x 11 cm).

<sup>112</sup> See, e.g., the Virgin of the Pala d'oro of Torcello (Museum: *Venezia e Bisanzio*, no. 64) and the half-figure Virgin Orant of the 'pala' of the Duomo in Caorle (gilt silver, 13th c: *Omaggio a San Marco: tesori dall'Europa*, ed. HERMANN FILLITZ and GIOVANNI MORELLO, Milano: Electa, 1994, p. 177; *Venezia e Bisanzio*, no. 55; GIUSEPPE BERGAMINI, ed., *Ori e tesori d'Europa: mille anni di oreficeria nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, Milano, 1992 (ill.).

## APPENDIX II

### HANDLIST

#### *Abbreviations:*

an. = 'anno'; anon. = anonymous; app. = appendix (-ices); Byz. = Byzantine; c = century; ca. = circa; cat. = catalogue; cf. = compare; *cit.* = cite, cited; col. = color; column; doc. = document; ed., eds. = editor(s), edition, edited; esp.: = especially; est. = estimate, estimated; exhb. = exhibition; f. = and the following page; Fs. = Festschrift; ill. = illustration; lit. = literature/bibliography; n.d. = no date of publication; no. = number; Sopr. = Soprintendenza.

CN = Cannaregio; CS = Castello; DD = Dorsoduro; SC = Santa Croce; SM = San Marco; SP = San Polo

#### *The three principal references cited are:*

DEMUS = Otto Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice*, Washington, 1960  
GRABAR = André Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen age*, II, Paris, 1976  
LANGE = Reinhold Lange, *Die byzantinische Relieffikone*, Recklinghausen, 1964

#### *Exhibition catalogues are cited as follows:*

*Deomene* = Deomene, ed. Angela Donati and Giovanni Gentili, Milano, 2001 (Ravenna)  
*Faith/Power* = Byzantium, Faith and Power (1261-1557), ed. Helen C. Evans, New York, New Haven, London, 2004 (Metropolitan)  
*Fede* = I tesori della fede, Oreficeria e scultura dalle chiese di Venezia, ed. Stefania Mason and Renato Polacco, Venezia, 2000  
*Glory* = The Glory of Byzantium, A.D. 843-1261, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, New York, 1997 (Metropolitan)  
*Konstantinopel* = Konstantinopel, ed. Arne Effenberger, Ravenna, 2000  
*Licht* = Byzanz, Das Licht aus dem Osten, ed. Christoph Stiegemann, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Paderborn, 2001 (Mainz 2001)  
*Mother* = The Mother of God, ed. Maria Vassalaki, Athens, 2000; Milano: Skira, 2000  
*Splendori* = Splendori di Bisanzio, ed. Giovanni Morello, Milano: Fabbri, 1990 (Ravenna)  
*Venezia e Bisanzio* = Venezia e Bisanzio, intro. Sergio Bettini, exhibition, Venezia, 1974; Milano: Electa, 1974  
*Welt* = Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe, ed. Ludwig Wamser, München, 2004

#### *Further citations in short form are:*

ASVe = Archivio di Stato, Venezia  
BECKWITH = John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Harmondsworth, 1970  
BELTING, 1990 = Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult*, München, 1990  
BELTING, 1994 = Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, Chicago-London, 1994  
BELTING-IHM = Christa Belting-Ihm, "Sub matris tutela", Heidelberg, 1976  
BETTINI = Sergio Bettini, *La scultura bizantina*, 2 vols., Firenze, 1944  
BENINI = Alieto Benini, *La basilica rinascimentale di Santa Maria in Porto e i suoi cimeli*, Ravenna, 1950  
BOITO = Camillo Boito *et al.*, *La Basilica di San Marco in Venezia illustrata nella storia e nell'arte*, Venezia, 1888 (part of ONGANIA)  
CAPPELLETTI = Giuseppe Cappelletti, *Storia della chiesa di Venezia dalla sua fondazione sino ai nostri giorni*, Venezia, 1849-1853, vols. I-IV, VI [vol. V, not printed]  
CAVALLO = Guglielmo Cavallo *et al.*, *I bizantini in Italia*, Milano, 1982  
CRICHTON = G. H. [= George Henderson] Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, London, 1938  
CUMÀN-FABBIÀN = Fiorenzo Cumàn, Pietro Fabbian, *I "capitèli" di Venezia*, Venezia, 1988  
DEMUS, *Bisanzio* = Otto Demus, *Bisanzio e la scultura del Duecento a Venezia*, in: *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento*, ed. Agostino Pertusi, Firenze, 1966 (*Civiltà europea e civiltà veneziana, Aspetti e problemi*, 4), pp. 141-155  
DEMUS, *Mosaics* = Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, 2 vols. in 4, Chicago-London, 1984  
DEMUS, *R.* = Otto Demus, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LIX, 1966, pp. 386-387 (review of Lange)  
DEMUS, *Studies* = Otto Demus, *Studies in Byzantium, Venice and the West*, ed. Imgard Hutter, London, 1968, 2 vols. [collected articles]  
DORIGO = Wladimiro Dorigo, *Venezia romanica*, 2 vols., Sommacampagna (Verona), 2003  
EUA = *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte*, Roma-Venezia, 1958-1978, 16 vols.  
FLEURY = Charles Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, 2 vols., Paris, 1878  
FULIN-MOLMENTI = Rinaldo Fulin and Pompeo Molmenti, *Guida artistica e storica di Venezia*, Venezia, 1881  
GABELENTZ = Hans von der Gabelentz, *Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig*, Leipzig, 1903  
GALLO = Rodolfo Gallo, *Il tesoro di San Marco*, Firenze, 1967  
GRABAR, *R.* = André Grabar, in: *Cahiers archéologiques*, XV, 1965, pp. 276-277 (review of Lange)  
HUBALA = Eric Hubala, *Venedig*, Stuttgart, 1974 (*Reclams Kunstführer*)  
JULIER = Jürgen Julier and Giulia Hempel, *Katalog der Skulpturen*, in: *Die Skulpturen von San Marco in Venedig: Die figürlichen Skulpturen der Außenfassaden bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*, München, 1979, pp. 17-57  
KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER = Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, Wien, 1985  
KONDAKOV = Nikodim Pavlovič Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, Sainte-Petersbourg, 1915 (vol. II)  
KHI = Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz  
LCI = *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, Roma, 1968, 8 vols.  
*Marienlexikon* = *Marienlexikon*, ed. Remigius Bäumer and Leo Scheffczyk, 1988-1994, 6 vols.  
MOLMENTI = Pompeo Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 3 vols., Bergamo 1905-1908  
MOSCHINI = Giannantonio Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia*, 2 vols., Venezia, 1815  
ONGANIA = *La ducale basilica di San Marco, Venezia: Ferdinando Ongania editore*, Venezia, 1881-1888/93, 6 vols. [The 'Dettagli' Albums are volumes of variable sets of mounted photographs with stamped numeration.]  
ONGAGNIA-CECCHETTI = Ferdinando Ongagnia-Bartolomeo Cecchetti (ed.), *Documenti per la storia dell'Augusta Ducale Basilica di San Marco in Venezia*, Venezia, 1887  
OXFORD = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, New York, 1991, 3 vols.  
PASINI = Antonio Pasini, *Il tesoro di San Marco in Venezia, Venezia: Ongania*, text vol. 1886/1887; plates 1885 [part of ONGANIA]

- PASINI, *Guide* = Antonio Pasini, *Guide de la Basilique St. Marc a Venise*, Schio, 1888  
 PLANISCIG = Leo Planiscig, *Geschichte der venezianischen Skulptur im XIV. Jahrhundert*, in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Kunstsammlungen* (Wien), XXXIII, 1916, pp. 31-212  
 POLACCO = Renato Polacco, *San Marco: la basilica d'oro*, Milano, 1991  
*RbK* = Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Stuttgart, 1966-, vol. I -  
*RDK* = Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Stuttgart, 1937-, vol. I -  
 RICE = David Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Art*, Oxford, 1935  
 RIZZI = Alberto Rizzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia, Corpus delle sculture erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della sua laguna*, Venezia, 1987  
 ROHAULT DE FLEURY: see FLEURY  
 SACCARDO = Francesco Saccardo, "Sculture diverse", Part XII, in: BOITO, 1888 (pp. 269-275; sculture bizantine, pp. 270-271)  
*Sculture esterne* = Le sculture esterne di San Marco, essay by di Otto Demus, catalogue by Guido Tigler, contributions by Lorenzo Lazzarini and Mario Piana, Milano: Electa, 1995  
 TIGLER = *Sculture esterne*  
 TOESCA = Pietro Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I, 2, Il Medioevo, Torino, 1927  
*Treccani* = Enciclopedia italiana, ed. Istituto Giovanni Treccani, Milano, 1929-1937, 35 vols.  
 VENTURI = Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milano, 1911-1940, 11 vols.  
 VIO *et al.* = Ettore Vio, Irene Favaretto *et al.*, *Marmi della Basilica di San Marco, Bogaro Torinese* (Torino): Rizzoli, 2000  
 VOLBACH = Wolfgang Fritz Volbach and Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten*, Berlin, 1968 (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. III)  
 WULFF = Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin-Potsdam, 1914-1924, 2 vols. with 'Nachtrag' vol., Potsdam [ca. 1935]  
 ZANOTTO = Francesco Zanotto, *Nuovissima Guida di Venezia*, Venezia, 1856

For the closely related topic of painted Byzantine icons of the Madonna in Venice, see especially ENNIO CONCINA, *Venezia, le chiese e le arti*, 2 vols., Udine, 1995, with further literature (much more extensive than for the relief icons), *inter alia*, ALBERTO RIZZI, *Le icone bizantine e postbizantine delle chiese veneziane*, in: *Thesaurismata*, 1972. Much relevant material is found in: FLAMINIO CORNELIO (Cornaro/Corner), *Ecclesiae Venetae Antiquis Monumentis*, Venice 1749, 16 vols.; and in: [CLAUDIO DE GRANDIS], *Vite e Memorie de' santi spettanti alle chiese della diocesi di Venezia*, 7 vols., Venezia 1761-1763 (Opera d'un padre dell'oratorio di Venezia). Among older works dedicated to portable Greek Madonnas, see esp. [FLAMINIO CORNARO] *Venezia favorita da Maria, Relazione delle immagini miracolose di Maria conservate in Venezia, Padova, 1758* [Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 223.D.199 and D 136.D.177], FLAMINIO CORNARO, *Notizie storiche delle apparizioni, e delle immagini più celebri di Maria Vergine Santissima nella Città, e Dominio di Venezia ...*, Venezia, 1761 [Marciana: 126.D.184 and 140.D.146; Latin ed., 1760: D 142.D.185], and Mons.<sup>r</sup> AGOSTINO MOLIN, *Dell'antica immagine di Maria Santissima che si conserva nella Basilica di San Marco, Venezia: Tipografia Zerletti Editrice*, 1821. Further early texts relating to the use of such icons in Venetian worship, cult ritual, and popular devotion (including relics, which are nearly inseparable from this thematic complex), are included in EMMANUELE ANTONIO CICOGLA's *Saggio di bibliografia veneziana*, Venezia, 1847, pp. 56- 61 ff. (nos. 437-476ff.), and in a continuation to Cicogna: GIROLAMO SORANZO, *Bibliografia veneziana*, Venezia, 1885, pp. 30-32ff. (nos. 383-399ff.).

#### HANDBLIST OF VENETIAN AND ADRIATIC WORKS:

Nearly all of the known Byzantine works are included in the handlist. A few well-known works in Venice are treated very briefly, e.g., the well-known 'Deesis' in San Marco, and others on the exterior of San Marco. For the latter, see LANGE and esp. TIGLER, in: *Sculture esterne* (with analytic discussion of the literature). A few works treated here are not icons proper, but they are nevertheless closely related to this material. The following entries collect the literature; additional literature is sometimes cited in the works referred to here (often indicated by 'lit.'). Very many of the works cited contain only very brief mentions of, assessments of, or opinions about the work. The largest part of the literature is characterized by considerable repetition of earlier works. Only a few pieces have been studied in detail, others almost not at all. Numerous references do not imply that a work has been studied in depth. Under the rubric 'Lit.', citations are chronologically ordered. Older points of view have often not been superseded. Local literature, both historical and modern, merits further investigation. The handlist is ordered alphabetically by place names. Dimensions have been given when possible, with the notable exception of Caorle. These derive, in part, from previous publications; in part, from physical, on site measurement or estimates, in part, from a photogrammetric survey made for the Procuratoria di San Marco, generously provided by the Proto of San Marco, Ettore Vio. Very many of the works have previously been without reported measurements, and the values given here should all be, ideally, verified in a single, consistent procedure of measurement. The Internet addresses (URLs) given for Internet sites will doubtless all, sooner or later, expire, but new search possibilities for finding the same, or similar and additional material will emerge.

**ANCONA:** Santa Maria della Piazza, Orant, marble. *Lit.*: FLEURY, pl. 112; GABELENTZ, pp. 132f.; WULFF, II, p. 606; TOESCA, I, 2, p. 902; CRICHTON, p. 123, pl. 78; LUIGI SERRA, *L'arte nelle marche dalle origini cristiane alla fine del gotico*, Pesaro, 1929, pp. 85-88, 99f., 144-146; ARTHUR HASELOFF, *Die vorromanische Plastik in Italien*, Firenze-Berlin, 1930, p. 76; *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia*, VIII, Provincie di Ancona e Ascoli Piceno, ed. LUIGI SERRA, BRUNO MOLAJOLI, PASQUALE ROTONDI, Roma, 1936, pp. 145f., ill. (v. also, "bassorilievo della Vegine col Bambino, 60 x 45, pietra, sec. XII-XIII, Duomo, cripta, anteguerra; ora Museo Diocesano; ill.); BENINI, pp. 44f.; MANLIO MARINELLI, *L'architettura romanica in Ancona*, 2nd ed., Ancona, 1961, pp. 172-175 ff., 187; LANGE, p. 75, no. 19; GRABAR, p. 123 (Byz.); CAVALLO, p. 164, fig. 88, color, no. 39 (12th c, Byz.), p. 180 (Farroli Campanati); MICHELE POLVERARI, *Ancona e Bisanzio*, exh. cat., Ancona, 1992, pp. 19f., 80f., fig. 32.4 (S.B.A.A.M.; recent state of conservation; fig. 32.3: protome of an Angel, 12th c., Byz.); DORIGO, p. 515. The condition is very worn, with numerous fractures; the hands are perforated, and there are small holes for the attachment of small crosses, a provision for attaching the letters indicating the Mother of God, and two large openings in the inferior corners. It appears very likely that the present placement belongs to the initial thirteenth-century façade decoration. For dimensions, see: [www.geogra.it/attivita/stereofotogrammetria.htm](http://www.geogra.it/attivita/stereofotogrammetria.htm) (photogrammetric survey made by GEOGRÁ, via Indipendenza 106, 46028 Sermide (MN); responsible party: Giuseppe Boselli). This is an important work imported from the east.

**BERLIN:** Staatliche Museen, Virgin and Christ Child Enthroned, marble, 88 x 52; from Conversano (Bari). *Lit.*: OSKAR WULFF, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, Teil II, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1911, pp. 2-3, no. 1700; LANGE, pp. 81-82, no. 26.

**BERLIN:** Staatliche Museen, Virgin and Christ Child (Kyriotissa), marble, 48 x 26,5. *Lit.*: OSKAR WULFF, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienischen Bildwerke*, Teil II, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1911, pp. 2-3, no. 1697 (earlier in Postdam, Friedenskirche); WULFF, II, p. 606, fig. 517; LANGE, p. 80, no. 24, from Venice; RDK, II, cols. 821, 828, *ad vocem* 'Blacherniotissa'.

**CAORLE:** Cathedral, St. Agathonicus, Geolmeon (St. Geogios), marble (life-size). *Lit.:* RICE, p. 144, note 1 ("a western Byzantine manner"); BETTINI, II, pp. 34f., 38 (ill.; Byz.); OTTO DEMUS, "Zwei marmorne Altarikonon aus San Marco," in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, IV, 1955, pp. 99-21, esp. pp. 103-104; EUA, II, pl. 417; LANGE, pp. 93-95, nos. 29-30; DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, pp. 147f., Agathonicus (Byz., „bottino di Costantinopoli del 1204“; „tardo XI o primo XII secolo“); Geolmeon ("origine ... certamente locale"; "artista veneto provinciale del XIII secolo"; cf. Rodolfo Egger, 1924: "Guglielmo di Tolosa"); GIOVANNI MUSOLINO, *Storia di Caorle*, Venezia, 1967, p. 177; VOLBACH, p. 205; GRABAR, p. 124, no. 125, pl. XCV (XII c, Sainte Agathonikos, "mains perforées"); CAVALLO, p. 306, fig. 245 (col.), no. 179 (Farioli Campanati; lit.); CARLO GABERSEK, "La scultura medioevale a Caorle", in: *Studi caorlese*, Udine, 1988 (Antichità altoadriatiche XXXIII; Atti delle Giornate di Studio tenute a Caorle, 28-29 maggio 1988), pp. 117-132, esp. 128-130, fig. 29 (Sant' Agatonico); fig. 30 (San Guglielmo; "scultore locale", p. 130); *Deomene*, p. 40 (with the improbable suggestion that "la presenza di fori sulle mani può essere attribuita a rilavorazioni successivo del pezzo", uncritically following the model of the Maria orans reliefs [Andrea Paribeni]). Images in Internet, e.g., [www.caorle.com/duomo](http://www.caorle.com/duomo). HAYFORD PEIRCE and ROYALL TYLER, *A Marble Emperor-Roundel of the XIIIth Century*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 2, 1941, pp. 1-9: St. Agathonicus, Caorle (pls. 15, 17 [head]). Caorle: Fotos as Böhm; p.7, St. Agathonicus, "life-size", "may be mid-12th c"; "hitherto unpublished"; "Our close-up of the Caorle head should be compared with that of the Dumbarton Oaks relief (pls. 17, 18)." See text, *supra*. Dimensions to be supplied subsequently.

**RAVENNA:** Basilica di Santa Maria in Porto di Ravenna ('entro città'), Orant ('Madonna Greca'), marble, traces of color, 116 x 60. The marble slab is in an excellent state of conservation (Rizzardi: "perfettamente conservata"). *Lit.:* See most recently the catalogue of the exhibition, *Deomene*, Museo Nazionale, Ravenna, 2001, no. 77 *et passim* (col. ill., p. 134), a cast exhibited. Other Ravenna publications: PIETRO SULFRINI, *Storia della Madonna Greca venerata nella chiesa di Porto*, Ravenna, 1887 (cult and 'Figli di Maria', pp. 44-47 *et passim*; BENINI, 1950, pp. 27-49 *et passim*; CLEMENTINA RIZZARDI, "Il rilievo marmoreo con l'immagine della cosiddetta Madonna Greca in Santa Maria in Porto di Ravenna", in: *Felix Ravenna*, CXIII-CXIV, 1977, pp. 289-310 (118 x 62; lit.); MARIO MAZZOTTI, *La chiesa di Santa Maria in Porto Fuori*, Ravenna, 1991 (ill. 3, 19); UMBERTO FOSCHI, *La Madonna di Porto*, Ravenna, 1994; ROBERTA BUDRESI, *I 'Santuari del Mare' a Ravenna*, Caesarea e Classe", in: *Il Carrobbio*, XXI, 1995, pp. 13-32; MARCELLO MORGANTE, *La Madonna Greca patrona di Ravenna*, Ascoli Piceno, 1998; *Omaggio a Nostra donna in sul lito Adriano: storia di una città, storia di una città; mostra celebrativa per il IX centenario della "Madonna Greca"*, catalogue ed. EUGENIO CERVO and MANUELA MAMBELLI, Ravenna, 2000 (exhb.: Chiesa di San Domenico), esp. pp. 5-19, 21ff. (Silvia Pasi) *et passim*; Ravenna romana, ed. MAURIZIO MAURO, Ravenna, 2001, frontispiece. Further lit.: FLEURY, pp. 83-85, 96, pl. 108; KONDAKOV, pp. 85-86, fig. 19; GABELENTZ, p. 132, 133; WULFF, II, p. 606, fig. 516; CHARLES BAYET, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, n.d., pp. 186-188; CHARLES DIEHL, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, Paris, 1926, 2, pp. 653f.; RICE, p. 144, note 1: "the style is slightly westernized"; DEMUS, p. 121 ("excellent example"); LANGE, p. 51, no. 5 (lit.); GRABAR, p. 123, no. 122, 12th c; CAVALLO, fig. 90, p. 164, cat. no. 38, p. 180 (11th c, 2nd half); BELTING, 1990, p. 226; *Mother*, p. 239 and note 30 (Loverdou-Tsigarida: Byz.); DORIGO, p. 515. The image was disseminated through painted copies (e.g., San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome ([www.saintpeterinchains.org.uk/rotas.htm](http://www.saintpeterinchains.org.uk/rotas.htm)); cf. BENINI, p. 28) and three-dimensional replicas. An excellent col. ill. in: *La Madonna a Mosca e a Roma*, texts by IEROMANACO ISAJIA *et al.*, Cinisello Balsamo, 1992, p. 158, fig. 76. See further: SERAFINO PASOLINI, *Relazione della Madonna Greca*, 1676; for the cult of the 'Madonna Greca' and the 'Figli di Maria': PRIMO UCCELLINI, *Dizionario storico di Ravenna*, Ravenna, 1855, pp. 284f. Fotos: Anderson 27604. The Madonna's garments are adorned with eleven metal crosses, said to be original ("si trovano in corrispondenza della fronte, delle spalle, dei polsi, delle ginocchia e degli orli ricadenti del mantello"). The nimbus is gilded ("due piccoli clipei dorati, con le lettere greche MP ΘΥ"). The 'Madonna Greca' of Ravenna is a very well-preserved example of the Byzantine Orant Virgin, comparable in quality to that of Santa Maria Mater Domini (Venice). The image possesses an extraordinarily long documented history.

**TORCELLO:** Museum, Fortuna (Kairos) relief, marble, figures are ca. 45 cm h. *Lit.:* ROBERT VON SCHNEIDER, *Das Kairos-Relief in Torcello*, Wien, 1896; RAFFAELE CATTANEO, *L'architettura in Italia dal secolo VI al Mille circa*, Venezia, 1888, pp. 286-287, fig. 166; ONGAGNIA, p. 144; VENTURI, I, pp. 522ff.; GABELENTZ, pp. 128-130 (lit.); WULFF, II, p. 607; GRABAR, no. 112; TIGLER, p. 35 (possibly Venetian manufacture).

**TRANI** (Bari): Santa Maria di Dioniso, Vergine Hodighitria (half-length), marble, 39 x 35.5 (Belting: 36 x 32), 1039 AD ca. *Lit.:* GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, part III, Paris, 1905, reprint 1969, pp. 252f, with an accurate engraving of the icon; KONDAKOV, p. 281, fig. 152; WULFF, II, p. 606; HASELOFF, p. 77; LANGE, p. 56, no. 10; HANS BELTING, *Byzantine Art among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXVIII, 1974, p. 23 and notes 77-78 (lit.); CAVALLO, pp. 262 and 268, no. 110 (lit.; fig. 177 at p. 236, col. [Farioli Campanati]); VOLBACH, *Sculture medioevali*, *cit.*, pp. 98, 99; PINA BELLID'ELIA, *Alle sorgenti del romanico*, Puglia XI secolo, 2nd ed., Bari, 1987 [1st ed. 1975], p. 71, no. 84 (P. Belli D'Elia and Teresa Garton). At the sides of the heads: 'IC XC' (left), 'MHP MΘ' (right). Around the frame, an inscription in Greek, containing the name of Turmarca Delterio, who lived in Trani in the first half of the eleventh century and is known from a document of 1039: K(Y)PIE BQIΘH TON ΔOYAO(N) COY ΔEATEPHON TO(Y)PMAPXH. Further bibliography (not consulted): GIOVANNI BELTRANI, *Due reliquie del bizantinismo in Puglia*, in: *Archivio storico per le Province napoletane*, VII, 1882, III, pp. 617-620 ('estratto'; Napoli, 1882, pp. 11-14); LOUIS BRÉHIER, *Nouvelles recherches sur l'histoire de la sculpture byzantine*, in: *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, IX, Paris, 1913, pp. 37-38; ANTONIO VINACCIA, *Architettura e scultura medioevale nelle Puglie*, Torino, 1915, pp. 92.

**VENICE: Campiello de' Ca' Angaran** (behind the church of San Pantaleone), between DD 3717 and DD 3718, Byzantine emperor, marble, dia. 100 cm (Rizzi). *Lit.:* GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, *Bas-relief du campo Angaran* (*Rivista bizantina*, Leipzig, 1893; cf. Fs. Schlumberger, Paris, 1924); GABELENTZ, pp. 128, 156 and note 4 (lit., Byz., 11th-12th c); SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, part I, Paris, 1896, reprint 1969, frontispiece and p. 141; WULFF, II, p. 607; HAYFORD PEIRCE and ROYALL TYLER, *A Marble Emperor-Roundel of the XIIIth Century*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 2, 1941, pp. 1-9, pls. 1-23, ill. *Dumbarton Emperor* (pls. 1, 18, 20) and *Angaran Roundel* (pls. 2 [1940], 3 [1928], 19, 21; p. 9: "We give herewith a list of books and papers in which the Campiello Angheran Emperor roundel carving is mentioned, or illustrated. We do not know of any serious attempt at analyzing or dating it, or any mention of the Dumbarton Oaks carving."); BETTINI, II, pp. 35, 38, 41; KURT WEITZMANN, in: *Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1943, 163f.: "provincial copies"; EUA, II, pl. 417; DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, p. 145; GRABAR, no. 150; VOLBACH, 1968, p. 205 and fig. 111, 12th c.; *Venezia e Bisanzio*, no. 51 (lit.); *Glory*, pp. 200f., no. 137 (Washington tondo, *Dumbarton Oaks* (37.23) [see *infra*]), dia. 90 cm, probably 12th c; most probably from the Certosa di Sant' Andrea, Venice: RIZZI, p.660, OAD 769, ill.; see RIZZI, pp. 512-513, no. DD 349, late 12th c; very extensive lit.). See further: GARY VIKAN, *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Washington, 1995, no. 40. In 2003, DORIGO (I, p. 515 and note 79, ill. at 514) questions received opinion, maintaining that the Angaran tondo is a Venetian imitation of the Washington work. While not an icon, it is a relief, related in form and use to the works treated here. Fotos: Soprintendenza. In 1905, MOLMENTI writes (pp. 52-52; ill.): "Dicesi che pure da Aciri, nel 1256, Lorenzo Tiepolo abbia recato quel medaglione di marmo, che ora vedasi sulla parete esterna di una casa in campiello Angaran, detto Zen, a San Pantaleone. V'è chi crede invece sia una delle spoglie della conquista di Costantinopoli (1204) questo bassorilievo, che rappresenta un imperatore bizantino della seconda metà dell'XI. Il VENTURI (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, v. II, p. 540, n. 1, Milano, 1902) la crede opera del secolo XII avanzato."

VENICE: **Museo Civico Correr** (formerly at the church or the convent of Santo Spirito in Isola, Isola di Santo Spirito, Venice), Crucifixion, marble, 140 x 85, Inv. Classe XXV, no. 709. Narrow raised border. *Lit.*: GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle, part I, Paris, 1896, p. 141, ill.; MOLMENTI, II, pp. 369, 384 (ill.): "impronta assolutamente orientale"; "proveniente dal convento di Santo Spirito"; GABELENTZ, pp. 153f., fig. 12 ("Wahrscheinlich ... eine original-byzantinische Arbeit des 12. Jhs. ... Es ist der byzantinische Typus der Kreuzigung im 12. Jahrhundert, den das Relief vertritt. Auf späteren byzantinischen Darstellungen desselben Gegenstandes ist die Personenzahl bedeutend vermehrt. Die Gruppe der Kreuzigung zeigt eine gewisse Verwandtschaft mit der auf der Pala d'Oro, die Haltung der Maria ist sogar übereinstimmend. Wahrscheinlich ist das Relief eine original-byzantinische Arbeit des 12. Jahrhunderts."); GIOVANNI MARIACHER, Appunti per un profilo della scultura gotica veneziana, in: Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, anno accademico 1950-51 [1952], vol. 109, Classe di Scienze morali e lettere, p. 231, fig. 4 ("forse del XII secolo"); "... appare ancora legato a quell'andamento esile e allungato delle figure, alla tecnica dello schiacciato caratteristica per tutto un gruppo di sculture bizantineggianti, che risalgono la maggior parte al secolo precedente, già studiata dal Toesca (*op. cit.* [= TOESCA], p. 801-895, n. 33)"; LANGE, pp. 105f., no. 38 (13th c); DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, p. 148. The relief is not presently exhibited; it was restored in 2001. Old negative: Correr, Archivio fotografico, inv. M 4760. Upper contour, with arched center, may result from a later modification, although similar forms are found in ivories of the same subject. Frame shape: cf. KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, 1985, pl. 54, no. 109, Moscow, Historical Museum, Virgin orans; SCHLUMBERGER, p. 89: "Ivoire byzantin de la coll. Martin Le Roy. La Crucifixion," 11th-12th c. The measurements are owed to Dr. Camillo Tonini (Museo Correr). Compare the Byzantine Crucifixion relief in Arta, Greece (LANGE, p. 121, no. 48, as late 12th-early 13th c). This is a little studied work of considerable interest, and, despite its damaged condition, would doubtless repay further study. The earlier interest in this work seem to have diminished greatly; it was not present in the exhibition *Venezia e Bisanzio* (1974).

VENICE: **San Francesco della Vigna** (formerly in the church of the Celestia, Venice), placed high on the interior façade, *Hodegetria*, marble, lifesize (180 h [ONDA] x ca. 100 [est.]). *Lit.*: 'not in Lange'; see: WLADAMIR TIMOFIEWITSCH, Girolamo Campagna, München, 1972, pp. 113, 120f., pl. 151; POLACCO, p. 80; ENNIO CONCINA, Venezia, le chiese e le arti, Udine, 1995, p. 90 (col. ill.: "veneto-bizantino", 13th c); DORIGO, p. 515 (12th c); SILVANO ONDA, La chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna, Guida artistica, Venezia: Parrocchia di San Francesco, 2004, p. 35 (fig. 22, col.; 1st half 14th c). According to tradition, this miraculous and sacred image was brought to Venice from the East in 1341 (CORNER, *Ecclesiae Venetae* ..., *infra*). A number of notices exist concerning the removal of this work to Venice. It is a little studied work of very considerable interest, restored in 1997 ("famiglia Zampini-Sgarbi"). Foto: Fiorentini. Onda, 2004: "Frattura trasversale nella parte inferiore." There are numerous 'perni' for attaching ex-votos or other devotional objects. Gilded are the upper arch, the nimbi, and the monograms of the Mother of God (letters are painted in red). The ground is 'blu verdastro' with gold stars. FLAMINIO CORNELIO (CORNER), *Ecclesiae Venetae Antiquis Monumentis*, 11, Venice 1749, pp. 230-234, gives notices for the 'translazione' of the image and for the cult of this miraculous icon in Venice; see also: [CLAUDIO DE GRANDIS], *Vite e memorie de' santi spettanti alle chiese della diocesi di Venezia*, 7 vols., Venezia, 1761-1763 (Opera d'un padre dell'oratorio di Venezia), vol. II, Celestia, p. 97-100.

VENICE: **San Giovanni in Bragora** (over the door to the Sacristy), Madonna (*Kryotissa*), marble, polychrome, 130 x 51 (Lange); on site: 60 wide. *Lit.*: GABELENTZ, pp. 135f. (Venetian, 13th c); WULFF, II, p. 135 (Venetian, 13th c.); LANGE, p. 81, cat. no. 25 (Byz.), ill. facing p.82; POLACCO, pp. 80f.; DORIGO, I, pp. 513 (ill., col., after restoration), 515, Venetian, 13th c. Restored in 1995 (Sopr.; World Monuments Fund, Minnesota Committee, as 12th-13th c).

VENICE: **San Giovanni Elemosinario**, Nativity, marble, formerly over exterior lateral portal, presently interior. *Lit.*: GABELENTZ, pp. 146-152, fig. 149; VENTURI, III, p. 204; OSKAR WULFF, Beschreibungen der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen, Königliche Museen, Berlin, 2nd ed., 3,2, Mittelalterliche Bildwerke, Berlin, 1911, p. 131; DEMUS, p. 174; RIZZI, p. 637 OAD 441 (ill.), with lit.; DORIGO, pp. 528-530 (color ill.). Widely variant datings and interpretations. The condition is very worn, to the extent that assessment is probably no longer possible.

VENICE: **Santi Giovanni e Paolo**, Annunciation ensemble (Maria, ca. 102 h; Angel, ca. 108 h [est. measurements]), marble *Lit.*: TOESCA, II, 2, p. 791, fig. 517; CRICHTON, p. 91; BETTINI, II, pp. 38, 41; LANGE, pp. 54-55, cat. 8 (lit.); RIZZI, pp. 232ff., nos. CS 406-CS 408 (lit.; "due bassorilievi, marmo greco e marmo verde antico [cornici]; cm 100 x 35 ca.; cm 140 x 70 [con cornici]; cornici posteriori, XIV o XV sec., con larga fascia marmorea"; *Fede*, p. 24; DORIGO, I, p. 515. The Virgin is much damaged (reassembled after 1877, when it fell from the façade); the Angel relief icon is a recognized, although little considered masterpiece of Byzantine art. Both reliefs are little studied.

VENICE: **Santi Giovanni e Paolo**, Daniel ("Daniele nella fossa dei leoni"), Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo (CS 390), façade ("contrafforte destro"), marble, cm 100 x 140 ca. (Rizzi). *Lit.*: VENTURI, II, p. 540; BETTINI, I, p. 43; see esp. RIZZI, pp. 232, 233 (ill.): "principio V sec., arte bizantina ... marmo greco ... rilievo incassato entro cornice a racemi avente sul lato superiore iscrizione. Il bordo esterno dentellato pure in marmo greco, è aggiunta del XIV o XV sec. Sc.: "(ΚΥΡΙΑ ΔΕΗΣΙΣ) ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΥ ΣΙΝΤΩ ΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ". *Conservazione*: molto cattiva per disgregamento e caduta di alcune parti quali le braccia di Daniele, la testa di Abacuc, un braccio del re", with extensive citation of literature (1749-1965). The earliest of the Byzantine reliefs in Venice; cf. RIZZI, pp. 228, 229 (ill.): Venice, Calle del Cafetier, CS 6481 (Santi Giovanni e Paolo), "Corpo di fabbrica annesso a Ca' Bragadin, tra le finestre: Bassorilievo (arte paleocristiana orientale, principio V sec. [?]). Marmo greco, cm. 70 x 150 ca. Daniele nella fossa dei leoni" (...). *Conservazione*: buona." (lit.).

VENICE: **Chiesa di San Giovanni Crisostomo**, cappella Bernabò, Maria orans, marble, 96.7 x 67, documented in the chapel since 1438/1439. *Lit.*: GABELENTZ, p. 132; GIULIO LORENZETTI, Venezia e la sua laguna, Venice 1926, p. 342; DEMUS, p. 125 note 20; SILVIO TRAMONTIN, San Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice 1968, p. 27, fig. VI; HUBALA, p. 291; BELTING-IHM, 1076, p. 65, note 18; GIOVANNI ZANIN, San Giovanni Crisostomo, Dolo (Venezia) 1978, fig. [23]; SARAH WILK, Tullio Lombardo, Diss., New York 1978, pp. 24, 85, 88, 106f.; ANNA MARIA ODENTHAL, San Giovanni Crisostomo, Diss., Bonn 1985, pp. 22f.; PINCUS (cit. note 6), p. 195 note 52; DAVIS, Convegno, 'Bottega dei Lombardo', Venezia, 2001, cit.; DORIGO, p. 515; BRISTOT, DAVIS, Convegno 'Tullio Lombardo', Fondazione Cini, Venezia, April 2006. See Appendix I, *supra*.

## SAN MARCO, EXTERIOR:

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, North façade, '**Volo di Alessandro Magno**', marble, 111 x 189 cm. *Lit.*: TIGLER, no. 65, pp. 69-72 (ill.), with extensive citation of lit.; see also: VENTURI, II, pp. 526f.; DEMUS, fig. 33; BECKWITH, p. 133; DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, p. 145; POLACCO, pp. 121 (ill.).

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **cappella dei Mascoli** (exterior), Orant, marble, 106 x 50. *Lit.*: FLEURY, p. 97, no. 1; SACCARDO, 272; ONGANIA, pl. 16 (24); KONDAKOV, p. 65, fig.2; WULFF, II, p. 606; 'not in Lange'. JULIER (p. 21, no 12) considers the present Orant a modern, 19th-c copy, as had GABELENTZ, 1903, p. 132 ("moderne Kopie"). GUIDO TIGLER, in: *Sculture esterne*, p. 37, no. 19, argues,



correctly, against this view ("stuccatura sulle mani è prova di sicura provenienza costantinopolitana"). In ONGANIA, tav. 16, no. 24 (1880s), the condition of the Orant does seem almost incredibly well preserved, in contrast to that of the two lateral angels (cf., however, DURAND, 1855, in TIGLER). If it were not the original, the Orans would nevertheless clearly reflect faithfully a Byzantine original once in Venice. *Lit.*: KONDAKOV, p. 65, fig. 2; WULFF, II, p. 606; BENINI, pp. 41, 43; DEMUS, p. 112, 125 and note 30 (19th c copy); M. BRANDENBURG, Ein frühchristliches Relief in Berlin, in: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung, LXXIX, 1972, pp. 123ff. For further literature and discussion, see: *Sculture esterne*, p. 37 (Tigler). Cf. the similar Orans in Berlin (LANGE, no. 3), and BELTING, 1990, p. 226. Fotos: ONGANIA, Dettagli, 24; Böhm 2477 N; Alinari 38987. See also: PASINI, *Guide*. The argument (JULIER) that the Mascoli Orant must be a modern replacement because she does not appear in an 18th-c engraving that depicts the exterior of the Mascoli Chapel ([ANTONIO ZATTA (?)] L'Augusta Ducale Basilica dell'Evangelista San Marco ... e adornate di varie tavole in rame disegnate da celebre architetto [Antonio Visentini] ..., Venezia: presso Antonio Zatta, 1761, tav. II, lower left; reprint: Venezia: Arsenal editrice, 1991 [reviewed by ETTORE VIO, in: *Ateneo veneto*, n.s. 29, 1991, pp. 419-421]; KHI negative 13414), is in no way binding. Visentini's *Bauaufnahmen* are not known for their 'photographic' accuracy (cf. JOHN MCANDREW, Antonio Visentini, Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Farnborough, 1974, pp. 9ff. *et passim*). Here the Mascoli Chapel façade appears in shadow, a distant set-back from the West façade of San Marco, which is the dominant subject of the engraving (cf. TIGLER, in: *Sculture esterne*). In this engraving other details are missing, e.g., the Orant *apud* Mascoli (Tav. VI).

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **North façade, Tyche** (Fortuna)/Vittoria, marble, 89,3 x 64 cm. *Lit.*: TIGLER, no. 16, 34-35 (ill.), with extensive citation of lit. (as 11th-12th c); POLACCO, pp. 68 (ill.), 79.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **North façade, Hetoimasia and Lambs** ("Etimasia", dodici agnelli adoranti il trono vuoto, con Bibbia e croce su cui è l' 'Angus Dei' ), marble, 71 x 189 cm. *Lit.*: TIGLER, no. 74, pp. 75, 76 (ill.); see further: DEMUS, p. 173 and fig. 60; POLACCO, p. 79 (ill.). Inscription: "+OI AGIOI O A / MNOC APOCTOLO[I]".

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **West façade, Demetrius**, marble, 166 x 99 cm. *Lit.*: TIGLER, no. 89, pp. 89-90 (ill.; lit.); DEMUS, fig. 40; LANGE, no. 28; see also: ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 6; FULIN-MOLMENTI, 1881, p. 55; VENTURI, II, pp. 527-529; DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, 146; BECKWITH, p. 133.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **West façade, St. George** ('San Giorgio a cavallo'), marble, 53 x 53 cm. *Lit.*: TIGLER, no. 102, pp. 101, 102 (ill.; lit.); LANGE, no. 45.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **West façade, Orant**, marble, 177 x 81. For discussion, literature, and summary of opinions, see TIGLER, in: *Sculture esterne*, pp. 87f., cat. no. 87 (12th c ?). See also: FLEURY, pl. 109, p. 97 (no. 4/5); ONGANIA, pl. 56 (n. 88); KONDAKOV, pp. 86f., fig. 20; WULFF, II, p. 606 ("Südfront"); BETTINI, 2, p. 27; BENINI, p. 40; DEMUS, p. 124-125, 131, 137, fig. 43 (mid-13th c; cf. the criticisms of TIGLER, and of DIEMER, *cit.*, note 15 *supra*); LANGE, p. 81 ("von einer Unruhe erfüllt, in ihrem Antlitz drückt sich eine Aktivität aus, die diese Form nur widerwillig zu ertragen scheint"). JULIER, 1979, pp. 31f., no. 70, reports, "Der Kopf wurde, wie einige Fotos der Procuratoria di San Marco ausweisen, 1970 abermals neu befestigt". Fotos: Grevembroch, fol. 17; ONGANIA, Dettagli 88; Böhm 3305 N.; Alinari 20680; "Die Fotos der Procuratoria di San Marco entstanden gelegentlich der Neubefestigung des Kopfes im April 1970" (JULIER). *Lit.*: Grevembroch, fol. 17; SACCARDO, 271; GABELENTZ, p. 132; TOESCA, I, 2, p. 895, note 33; DEMUS, *Reliefikonen* (1954), 97ff. (um 1260, venezianisch), 106, n. 16; DEMUS, 1960, 124f.; COCCHETTI PRATESI, III, 21, 29 (v. Commentari, XI, 1960, pp. 3-21, 202-219; XI, 1961, 12-30); *Mother*, p. 244 (style close to late Romanesque Mannerism of end of 13th c). Foto Alinari No. 20680 shows clearly that the head (whose modern appearance was strongly emphasized, *inter alia*, by Demus) is made in a separate and lighter piece of marble. A color foto corresponding to present appearance, in: San Marco, Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur, ed. ETTORE VIO, München, 2001, p. 36 (v. eds. in English and Italian). DEMUS, *Studies*, pp. 130 (following a model, "in einem heute nicht mehr in Venedig feststellbaren byzantinischen Original, das einem verbreiteten, hauptstädtischen Typus folgt und wohl auch as Beutestück der Impresa von 1204 aus Konstantinopel nach Venedig gelangte."); the Madonna of the West façade: "zarter Körper; Falten und Fältchen ... in letzter Linie unbyzantinisch. Es läßt die mathematische Präzision mittelbyzantinischer Zeichenkunst vermissen, ist bewegter, kurviger, schmiegsamer. ... Hang zum Zackenstil. ... Kopf: etwas Herausforderndes ... "); DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, p. 147 ("veneziano"; "opera del Maestro di Ercole").

#### SAN MARCO, INTERIOR:

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **Madonna del Bacio**, white marble, 69 x 54 (manual measurement). The haloes of the Madonna and of the Child are gilded (red underground), as is the wide raised border. *Lit.*: JACOB BURCKHARDT, *Il cicerone*, 1855, ed. Firenze, 1952, p. 632: "quasi del tutto consunta dai baci", reported to be considered a work from Constantinople; ZANOTTO, p. 79 ("Nel pilastro a destra venendo dal Tesoro – bassorilievo in marmo greco con la vergine – stile bisantino" [in note: "È fama essere venuto da Costantinopoli.]); FLEURY, p. 97, no. 12 ("très-vénérée"); ONGANIA, pl. 235 (M.4); SACCARDO, p. 271 ("a ridosso della prima pilastata a sinistra nella volta che immette al Tesoro"; "bizantino"; 11th c; "la più bella delle Madonne bizantine di San Marco"); ONGANIA-CECCHETTI, p. 126, no. 611 (1720): "Spese di Chiesa": "Rimettere marmi greci nella Cappella della beata Vergine della Scarpa" ... "Altri marmi alla Beata vergine del Bacio, et ala porta grande." (ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, busta 77 proc. 180, f. 2); PASINI, *Guide*, pp. 149f. ("un autre petit bas-relief, à peu carré, ... les nimbes sont dorés: c'est une sculpture italienne malgré ses mon.<sup>s</sup> grecs. On l'appelle la *Madonna del Baso* (du baiser); les dévots, montant pour cela sur deux marches, ont la pieuse habitude de baiser cette image, sur laquelle on voit réellement l'effet du frottement produit par plusieurs millions de baisers" [1888]); GABELENTZ, p. 137 ("lässt sich kaum noch beurteilen"); NIKODIM PAVLOVIĆ KONDAKOV, *Ikonoğrafija Bogomateri* [Russ.: Verbindung zwischen griechischen und russischen Heiligenbildern und der italienischen Malerei], Saint-Petersbourg, 1911, p. 71, fig. 60, p. 73 (text); ETTORE BRESSAN, *La Basilica di San Marco di Venezia*, Venezia, 1943, pl. XIV (Böhm), p. 56 ("La più popolare [delle Madonne] è la Madonna del Bacio, sulla navatina del tesoro, ormai consunta da molte generazioni"); BETTINI, II, p. 33 ("copia o imitazione, tratta da avorii costantinopolitani"); DEMUS, p. 121; HUBALA, p. 115 ("*Kußtafel*"; 12th c); BELTING, 1990, p. 226, fig. 119, 12th c. The broad, flat surround, or outer frame is fashioned in striped and flecked stone, white and dark (perhaps a variety of 'megalodonte'; cf. VIO *et al.*). The wooden ledge and inverted trapezoidal mensola beneath the icon constitute a single unit. The ledge presently bears two heavy cylindrical metal candle holders and four prickets. In comparison with the other relief icons in San Marco the gilding (nimbi and cornice) appears atypical (red tone; not matt, but with sheen). The two step arrangement at floor level (a first, true step, in addition to the 'zocolo' of the pier [with wood facing of the upper surface], which functions as a second step), renders the icon readily accessible to the faithful. Three lamps ('lumini'; 'cesendeli') are suspended from above on long, curved and bent metal rods. The irregularity of the wall revetment under the icon may result from repairs: the dark band of stone at bottom of the pier (above the socle) is interrupted. The shapes of the large slabs of the pier revetment at the left of and above the icon suggest that the revetment was planned to accommodate the icon; at the left, a narrow strip; below, less congruent. The rounded first step is in *rosso di Verona*. Fotos: Alinari 38685 (disfigured by retouching); Böhm 3176. The icon is mentioned in 1720 as the "Beata Vergine del Bacio" (ONGANIA-CECCHETTI, *supra*). See: VIO *et al.*, pp. 44-45 (col. ill., "Veduta dell'interno della basilica, acquarello su carta di Alberto Prosdoci, 1885-1887", showing the

illuminated 'Madonna del Bacio' in its devotional context, at the right; see also: IRENE FAVARETTO and MARIA DA VILLA URBANI, *Il Museo di San Marco, Venezia*, 2003, pp. 208-209, Fondo Ongania, no. 2, 176 x 243 cm; lit.). A not recent copy of the 'Madonna del Bacio' is found on a Venetian street tabernacle in the vicinity of the Basilica di San Marco; see: RIZZI, p. 667, San Marco, OM 10, Calle Fiuvera (al Ponte dei Ferali), San Marco n° 791 A\*: Madonna col Bambino (ill. in: CUMÀN-FABBIÀN, p. 105). The 'Madonna del Bacio' is one of the most neglected pieces among the relief icons; the only treatment of any extent is that of LANGE, 1964, p. 113, no. 40 ("spätbyzantinische Zeit", 13th c; ill.). Its relationship to painted icons has been observed (LANGE); cf., for example, Mount Athos: <http://www.culture.gr/2/21/218/218ab/e218ab10.html>, no. 2.10, Virgin Hodegetria, 13th c, last quarter, Vatopedi Monastery, wood, egg tempera, 57.5 x 43 cm; see exhb. cat.: Treasures of Mount Athos, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, 1997 (Greek ed.: Thesaurou tu Hagiu Orus, Museoio Byzantinu Politsmu, 1997), cat. no. 2.10. BELTING (*cit.*) has observed a connection with a relief icon fragment in Istanbul; see: NEZIH FIRATLI, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée archéologique d'Istanbul, Paris*, 1990, no. 133, Tête de Vierge, inv. no. 1096 19 x 11,5, traces of gold and color, marble; almond eyes, pupils, *maphorion* similar to the 'Madonna del Baccio'; indented cross [triangular indentations] over forehead; very slightly inclined head; 'mitella' scored with lines; XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles (v. Mendel, 483, pp. 167f.).

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, over the **Porta di San Clemente ('Candelabra Madonna')**, Orant, marble, ca. 157 x 80. *Lit.*: FLEURY, p. 97, no. 6 ("marbre rouge"); ONGANIA, pl. 240 (M.11); SACCARDO, p. 271 (11th c); PASINI, *Guide*, p. 97; GABELENTZ, p. 132; DEMUS, p. 124 ("a close approximation to, even a copy of the Madonna della Grazia"; "surely a Venetian work made expressly for its present place", 13th c); DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, pp. 146f. ("una tarda opera bizantina, che sarebbe databile all'XI secolo", or perhaps "una fedele copia veneziana del XII secolo"). The cornice is beveled on three sides, without frame at bottom; lateral break above; gilding (nimbus, *maphorion* borders, belt, frame) and traces of redish color, especially on background. She is the only Orant without a lamp ('lumino') hanging before her, but she is flanked by two *opus sectile* candelabra at either side. The *opus sectile* work over Porta di San Pietro closely corresponds to that over the Porta di San Clemente. Except for Demus' brief remarks, the relief is unstudied. It is difficult to observe, owing to its very high position and inadequate illumination. It must belong among the earliest Orants in the Basilica di San Marco. Some traits suggest a repaired work: the diagonal fracture; the deep, irregular holes of the missing 'crocette', suggesting violent removal; the holes for affixing (metal?) monograms of the Mother of God.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **'Deesis'**, marble, with gilding and traces of color, 111 x 177 (Lange) [photogrammetric: 120 x 192]. The literature is extensive; see, e.g., PAOLO MARIA PACIAUDI, *De culti S. Iohannis Baptistae, Roma*, 1755, p. 1 (engraving); MOSCHINI, I, p. 332 ("fattura di rozzi secoli, e che si dice qui trasportato da Aquileja"); CAPPELLETTI, III, p. 287; ZANOTTO, p. 81; FLEURY, p. 97; FULIN-MOLMENTI, 1881, p. 90; PASINI, *Guide*, pp. 97f. ("On dit, que le sculpteur de ce bas-relief, un chrétien ardent qui travaillait à Aquilée, ait été martyrisé sous Dioclétien; on lui avait commandé de sculpter Jupiter, Junon et Mercure, et lui au contraire il fit les saintes images qu'on a décrites."); WULFF, II, 606, fig. 514; BETTINI, II, pp. 38, 40 (ill.; "l'ingrandimento d'un avorio del gruppo di Romano"); DEMUS, pp. 122-123, fig. 32 (beginning of 11th c); LANGE, no. 7 (middle of 11th c); DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, pp. 145f.; BECKWITH, p. 133; GRABAR, p. 121, no. 117 (12th c, "but hypothetical"); POLACCO, p. 80; *Mother*, pp. 241, 245f., fig. 192 (col.); DORIGO, p. 218. Fotos: Alinari 13053; Marburg. The framing by the marble wall incrustation (clearly planned for this relief, most probably before ca. 1250) is exactly parallel to that of the 'Madonna della Grazia' on the opposite wall of the nave, in the same position; a 'floral' *opus sectile* motive above. There are two 'perni' with round hooks over center panel, formed as if to receive insertions. The Byzantine status of this work is almost unchallenged; Demus ascribes the reworking of the heads to the 13th c.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **'Madonna della Grazia'**, marble, ca 145 x 81 (Lange: 140 x 80). The flat ground of the relief is painted green; the Orant is gilded. In context of the church: BELTING, 1990, p. 226 and fig. 120. *Lit.*: CAPPELLETTI, III, p. 287; ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 100: "Bassorilievo: sotto la cupoletta del muro maestro, al basso: la Vergine delle Grazie – bassorilievo in marmo greco del secolo XIV; immagine tenuta in gran venerazione."; FLEURY, p. 97, no. 7 ("paraît en grande vénération, sous le titre de *Maria mater gratiae*"); 'not in Saccardo'; ONGANIA, not in 'Dettagli'; BOITO, ill. at p.138, fig. (h); PASINI, *Guide*, pp. 104f. ("byzantin ... nimbée et dorée"); GABELENTZ, p. 132; DEMUS, *Studies* (1954), p. 130; DEMUS, pp. 123, 124, 131, fig. 36 ("The relief is venerated as *Mater gratiae* or Madonna della Grazia."); LANGE, pp. 44-45, no. 2; DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, p. 146 ("tardo X secolo – primi dell'XI"); BELTING, 1990, p. 228 ("Importstück aus Byzanz"), p. 400; *Mother*, note 30 at p. 248 (Loverdou-T sigarida, 11th c, with later modifications; Byzantine origin barely recognizable); *Deomene*, p. 46 (Rizzardi); cf. SILVIA PASI, in: *Omaggio a Nostra donna in sul lito Adriano*, exhb. cat., ed. EUGENIO CERVO and MANUELA MAMBELLI, Ravenna, 2000, p. 13 ("soltanto desunto da un modello bizantino"); *Fede*, 2000, p. 24 (Fulvio Zulian: "opera costantinopolitana dell'XI secolo"); DORIGO, I, p. 218 ("lavoro di imitazione"). Fotos: Böhm 5012, 5013. The age of the appellation, 'Madonna della Grazia', is uncertain. In 1599, the Nicopeia Madonna was referred to as the "Madona de Gratia" (ONGAGNIA-CECCHETTI, doc. 825; doc. 894: "il quadro della Madona de Gratia fatta per mano de santo Luca" (1599); "per aver conzatto", "a Tomio Bonta grego depentor"); cf. *Fleury*, I, p. 331: Les litanies: "Mater divinae gratæ" (Eccl. 24-25); "Ave, gratia plena" (Luc. I, 28). 'Grazia': "dono gratuito, soprannaturale, conferito da Dio all'anima umana, in ordine alla vita eterna." Around the head of the Orant are hooks to support a crown. The schematic drawing published in Vio *et al.*, p. 60, is misleading to the extent that the *pavonazetto* panel surrounding the Orant relief does not end at the baldachin but extends to the upper cornice of the bay, as does the similar panel of the 'Deesis' at the opposite side of the nave, facing; which is framed in an identical fashion (*supra*). The offering box beneath the icon is faced with a 17th-c engraving on paper of the 'Riposo' ("App° Teodoro Viero Venezia"). The baldachin above is supported by three mensoles and very possibly postdates the initial installation, although it appears to be anticipated in the configuration of the stones comprising the wall revetment. Three lamps hang from it. Two gilt wrought-iron lamp (?) stands are fixed near floor level, at either side of the Madonna. They are capable of supporting a 'mensa'-like ledge. There is a 'floral' *opus sectile* motive above. On the floor beneath and before the icon is a moveable *prie-dieu*, with an offering box.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **apud cappella dei Mascoli**, Orant, light marble, 150 x 70 (photogrammetric); physical measurement: 70 wide. *Lit.*: ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 96 (14th c); FLEURY, p. 97, no. 9; ONGANIA, pl. 251 (N.1) [sometimes pl. 253 (N.3)]; SACCARDO, p. 271 (11th c); PASINI, *Guide*, p. 125 ("un bas-relief byzantin ... avec le nimbe doré"); GABELENTZ, p. 132; O. M. DALTON, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, fig. 426; KONDAKOV, p. 87, fig. 21; p. 88, fig. 22; DEMUS, pp. 124-125, fig. 37 (implicitly 13th c); BELTING-IHM, p. 66 (wrongly placed in the "Mascoli" Chapel in 1221); DORIGO, I, p. 218 ("lavoro di imitazione"). Although mentioned, except for Demus' treatment, this work is barely considered; it appears to belong to the history of Venetian Gothic sculpture; see BELTING, 1990, p. 226 ("gotische Umdeutung byzantischer Marmor Ikonen"); note, however, that the patronage of the 'Cappella della Madonna' or 'Cappella Nuova' by the Confraternità dei Mascoli begins only in 1615: MICHELANGELO MURARO, in: *Art Bulletin*, 1961, p. 264). Foto: Alinari 13057. The relief appears recently cleaned; it fits fairly well into the configuration of stone blocks comprising the wall revetment. The surround is in *rosso di Verona*.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **cappella Nicopeia, Madonna Enthroned**, marble, 100 x 62. Excellent color reproductions in: *Mother*, p. 247, pl. 194; p. 236, pl. 184 [there wrongly identified as the Madonna in the cappella Zeno, p. 243]. See also: MOSCHINI, 1815, I, pp. 353f.; ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 90 (13th c); ONGANIA, pl. 279 (P.2); SACCARDO, p. 271; PASINI, *Guide*, p. 132 ("on a redoré les petits desques correspondants"); GABELENTZ, p. 137 (11th-12th c?); KONDKOVA, pp. 289f., fig. 160; 'not in Lange'. This relief forms a pendant to the Byzantine relief icon of 'Cosmas and Damian', placed to the left of the altar of the celebrated and revered Madonna Nicopeia (painted icon,



11th c), at the same distance from the floor. 14th-c imitations or reflections: Mazzorbo, Santa Caterina, atrio; Frari, porta laterale (DORIGO, I, pp. 540f.). Foto: Böhm 8353. The marble is dark, but lighter at feet and bottom of legs. The surrounding band of stone is dark red. Both the 'Madonna and Child' and the two saints appear as integral parts of the pattern of the wall revetment. Haloes, throne, and monograms of Mother of God are gilded. This large Madonna and Child relief appears almost entirely unstudied. The relationship to the Madonna of the capella Zeno remains to be clarified.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **capella Nicopeia, two saints** (identified as Cosmas and Damian), marble, 146 x 94. *Lit.*: MOSCHINI, 1815, I, p. 356; ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 90; ONGANIA, pl. 279 (P.3); PASINI, *Guide*, p. 132; WULFF, II, p. 606; BETTINI, II, p. 27; DEMUS, pp. 122-123, fig. 34 (2nd ½ 12th c); LANGE, pp. 85-86, no. 27; DORIGO, p. 218. The inferior zone (saints in arcade) is white, superior zone is darker (cf. ill. in: VIO *et al.*, p. 72). Light red 'rosso di Verona' stone surround. The haloes gilded; also partially gilded are the arches, capitals, and upper borders. Little considered, the only significant, albeit brief discussion of this relief of two youthful saints is that of DEMUS, *cit.* (Comnenian period).

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **apud Altare del Santissimo Sacramento, Hodegetria**, darkened gray marble, 69 wide (proportions nearly exactly 3:1; thus ca. 207 high). *Lit.*: ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 31 (12th c); FLEURY, p. 97, no. 10; FULIN-MOLMENTI, 1881, p. 80 (12th c); ONGANIA, pl. 299 (U.6); SACCARDO, p. 271 (10th c); PASINI, *Guide*, p. 153 ("leur nimbes sont dorés"); GABELENTZ, pp. 134, 135 ("eine geringere Arbeit"); KONDAKOV, pp. 257f., fig. 139 (shows ex-votos); DEMUS, p. 189 note 194; BECKWITH, pl. 249 (there called wrongly "Madonna dello Schioppo"); cf. the metal icon in the Victoria & Albert Museum (from Torcello): *Glory*, pp. 495f., no. 331 (also a 'Pax', 16th c, in: L'arredo liturgico della basilica dei Santi Maria e Donato, ed. GIUSEPPE CAMILOTTO and GABRIELE MAZZUCCO, Padova, 1999, p. 6 and no. 1, ill.). Fotos: Böhm 5546, 5547. Gilded are the frame, haloes, borders of *maphorion*, belt, and rotulus. Traces of color. The dark contrasting surrounding band of stone has been repaired (pieced) in stone of another color in its two inferior corners (possibly closing perforations made for insertions). This large relief icon is almost unstudied. It marks a significant moment in the reception of Byzantine art in Venice. The monochrome painted icon of the Archangel Michael (see *supra*) faces this Madonna icon from the pier opposite (the "reliquary pier").

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **apud the Madonna dello Schioppo**, Orant, white marble (darker mottled ground, with traces of color), 127 x 48. *Lit.*: ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 98 (14th c style); ONGANIA, pl. 258, (N.11); 'not in Saccardo'; PASINI, *Guide*, p. 106 ("il doit être byzantin"); GABELENTZ, p. 132; DEMUS, p. 124. Except for Demus' very brief remarks, this work has received almost no comment. The Orant's hands are perforated. The relief appears to belong to the planning of the wall revetment. It has a stone surround in *rosso di Verona*.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **Madonna dello Schioppo, Hodegetria**, marble (dark grey-brown color), 175 x 71 (photogrammetric); physical measurement: 71 wide. *Lit.*: ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 98 (14th c style); ONGANIA, pl. 259 (N.12.13); 'not in Saccardo'; PASINI, *Guide*, p. 106f. ("le plus beau parmi les nombreux bas-reliefs dans S.<sup>1</sup> Marc"); GABELENTZ, p. 134; CRICHTON, p. 91; KONDAKOV, pp. 237f., fig. 117; TOESCA, I, 2, p.803, fig. 531; BETTINI, II, p. 33 ("copia o imitazione, tratta da avori costantinopolitani"); DEMUS, pp. 186, 188-189, fig. 107; JOHN POPE-HENNESSY, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London 1972, pp. 30, 203, pl. 68 (early 14th c [?]; shows the "influence of Palaeologan sculpture", as does the Virgin Aniketos of the Zeno Chapel); BELTING, 1990, p. 226; POLACCO, p. 81 (ill.); *Fede*, p. 24 (Zulian: "tardoduecentesca"); ANITA MOSKOVITS, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 237 and note 4, fig. 301 (early 14th c); DORIGO, pp. 218, 544. A glazed case (*vetrina*) containing ex-votos is hung beneath the relief. The ex-votos are in part of considerable age. Short metal rods with round, perforated terminations, possibly for the insertion of candles, are attached to the ground. The Madonna is found under a baldachin, which is supported on three mensoles. The surround is in red stone, with gilt double-denticulated moulding. The insertion of the relief in the pier revetment shows piecing at right side, suggesting its insertion into pre-existing context of wall revetment; there is also discrepant overlap above and below the inserted panel. The Madonna appears conceived on a different and larger scale than the other Madonna reliefs in San Marco. Her accentuated plasticity is also in contrast to the other, earlier icons in San Marco. Almost nothing is known about this relief, often held to be highly interesting and stylistically significant. The merits of the work may have been perhaps occasionally overestimated.

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **capella Zeno, Madonna and Child**, marble (*Theotokos Aniketos*: "H ANIKHTOΣ", The Invincible"), 120 x 85. The relief was seen and described by the pilgrim Jean de Tournay in 1487 (B. DE LA FONS-MELICOQ, "Voyage archéologique au XV siècle," in: *Annales archéologiques*, XXII, 1862, p. 134 (*cit.* in: DEMUS). *Lit.*: FRANCESCO SANSOVINO, *Venezia città nobilissima*, Venezia, 1581, p. 35 ("in marmo una Nostra Donna fatta alla greca"; "portata da Costantinopoli", ... "all'incontro vi è un'Angelo scolpito della medesima pietra"); FRANCESCO SANSOVINO-GIOVANNI STRINGA, *Venezia città nobilissima*, Venezia, 1604, Lib. I, cap. cxxii, p. 66r ("due tavole quadrate di finissimo porfido ... und sotto la Madonna, e l'altra sotto l'Angiolo predetto"); BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON, *Diarium italicum*, Paris, 1702, pp. 51f. (inscription: "id est, *Mater Dei invicta*"); GIOVANNI MESCHINELLI, *La Chiesa ducale di San Marco*, Venezia, 1753, I, pp. 69f.; Forestiero illuminato ... della città di Venezia, ed. Venezia, 1772, pp. 11-12; MOSCHINI, 1815, I, pp. 349f.; ERMOLAO PAOLETTI, *Il fiore di Venezia*, Venezia, 1839, II, p. 45; CAPPELLETTI, pp. 334-335; ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 87; FULIN-MOLMENTI, 1881, p. 94; ONGANIA, pl. 213 (I.5); SACCARDO, p. 271 (11th c; longer treatment); GABELENTZ, p. 136-137 (11th-12th c ?); GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, part III, Paris, 1905, reprint 1969, p. 688 (ill.); *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, IV, p. 329, no. 8706; KONDAKOV, pp. 380f., fig. 220; WULFF, II, p. 606, fig. 518; BETTINI, II, p. 26; DEMUS, pp. 121, 187-188, note 193; fig. 35; LANGE, pp. 109-110, no. 39; BECKWITH, p. 133, pl. 248; GRABAR, p. 123, no. 123, pl. 94, 13th c; Palaeologan (lit.); BELTING, 1990, pp. 224f., fig. 118 (13th c); large col. ill. in: *San Marco: Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur*, ed. ETTORRE VIO, München, 2001, p. 165, 12th c [note eds. in It. and Engl.]; *Mother*, 2000, p. 242 (Loverdou-T sigarida: p. 242, "excessive number of folds", "Palaiologan style"; 13th c; note that pls. 184 and 194, wrongly identified as the capella Zeno Madonna and Child, represent another relief); *Fede*, p. 24; DORIGO, 218. Fotos: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione E 6710; Böhm 8600, 8601. Owing in part to the presence of a long inscription, this relief has attracted much comment. A misunderstanding of the inscription led to the belief that the relief was made from the stone from which Moses miraculously drew water in the desert, and it was hence valued literally as a relic. The sometimes criticized folds of the drapery, while multiple, are varied in size, larger and smaller, and are well organized, with a dramatic, rapidly falling motive, which perhaps inspired imitation (see, e.g., the 'pala d'oro' at Torcello: MOLMENTI, I, p. 314, ill.). The suggested dependence of a somewhat similar relief of the same subject (Ancona, Museo Diocesano, sec. XII-XIII, Italian, 78 x 50) seems not impossible (*Splendori*, pp. 282-283, no. 114).

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **capella Zeno, Angel**, marble, measurements not determined. *Lit.*: SANSOVINO and SANSOVINO-STRINGA, see: 'Madonna Zeno', *supra*; GIOVANNI MESCHINELLO, *La chiesa ducale di San Marco*, Venezia, 1753, I, p. 70; ZANOTTO, 1856, p. 87; FULIN-MOLMENTI, 1881, p. 94; ONGANIA, pl. 364 (Z.42, no. 51); SACCARDO, p. 271 (11th c); GABELENTZ, p. 139, fig. 6 ("wohl venezianische Arbeit des 13. Jhs.", "nach einem frühbyzantinischen Typus"); TOESCA, I, 2, p.791; WULFF, *Nachtrag*, pp.183f., fig. 181 (Byz., early 6th c); BETTINI, II, p. 35; DEMUS, p. 174 and note 151 (imported; damaged and clumsily reworked (13th c); "early Byz. relief"; originally high quality); cf. *Sculpture esterne*, nos. 2 and 200 (TIGLER). The work suffers from serious surface corrosion, and the zone of the feet is restoration work. Since early in the last century the work has attracted relatively little attention (cf. BELTING, 1990, p. 226). Cf. the style of the Madonna Zeno. Fotos: Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione E 6712; Alinari 32408. The angel might appear to be Venetian, but, as

Demus has noted, it has been clumsily restored (probably in the 13th c).

VENICE: Basilica di San Marco, **cappella Zeno, Nativity**, marble. *Lit.*: GABELENTZ, pp. 147f. (cf. relief in Zara [Zadar], San Simone: GABELENTZ, p. 150, 151f.); DEMUS, pp. 109, 174 and note 152, fig. 61; DORIGO, pp. 528-530 (color ill.). Interpretations of this relief are highly divergent. Cf. San Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice.

VENICE: Sestiere di San Marco, no. 3806, **calle de la Mandola** [between Campo Manin and Campo Sant'Angelo], Archangel Michael, marble, ca. 80 x 55. *Lit.*: RIZZI, p. 133, SM 236 ("marmo greco, XII sec.", Byz., lit.); DORIGO, p. 515 ("originale tardocomneno del XII secolo").

VENICE: **Santa Maria Mater Domini** (left transept), Orant (Vergine 'Platytera'), greyish marble, h. 136; width 79/80 (physical measurement). Left and right of the Orant's head are holes for attaching plates with the monogram of the Mother of God (MP - ΘΕ), which, initially, may appear missing. *Lit.*: GABELENTZ, 1903, p. 134-135, fig. 4; GIUSEPPE BIANCHINI, *Santa Maria Mater Domini*, Venezia, 1893; MOLMENTI, 1905, pp. 369, 385 (ill.); KONDAKOV, pp. 109f., 111, fig. 40; PLANISCIG, p. 38, fig. 7 (probably 'veneto-bizantino'); WULFF, II, p. 606; Carlo CECHELLI, *Mater Christi*, Roma, 1948, I, p. 214; BENINI, pp. 42-43; DEMUS, pp. 121 and note 21, 125 and note 29 (Byz., "excellent example", with lit.), 125; LANGE, p. 52, no. 6 (136 x 76); DEMUS, *Bisanzio*, p. 146; GRABAR, 1976, p. 123 (Byz.); *Venezia e Bisanzio*, n. 32, 11th c (Italo Furlan; lit.); CAVALLO, p. 307, pl. 246 (full page, color ill., apparently after original), no. 180, p. 52, 136 x 76 (Farioli Campanati: Byzantine, "esecuzione calligrafica"; similar to Ravenna); GRABAR, 1976, p. 123 (Byz.); ADOLF WEISS, *Die Madonna Platytera*, Königstein in Taunus, 1985, p. 23, fig. 41; BELTING, 1990, p. 399; POLACCO, p. 80; ANNE MARKHAM SCHULZ, *Giammaria Mosca* called Padovano, 2 vols., University Park, Pennsylvania, 1998, I, pp. 46-47, II, fig. 21, as "Italo-Byzantine", 13th century; *Mother*, p. 241, 12th c (Loverdou-Tsigarida); *Deomene*, p. 219, n. 76 (full page ill., 'calco'), 12th c; DORIGO, pp. 513 (ill.), 515 (12th c; "una copia puntuale della stessa è murata all'interno dell'edificio situato in campo San Polo, n. 2175"), 529. Foto: Böhm. It is often unclear if published photographs reproduce the original or the polychrome cast belonging to the Museo Correr, Venice; original in: *Mother*, p. 242, fig. 189. Above the icon is attached an old 'titulus' with the words: "Mater Misericordiae"; two hanging lamps at the sides; candelabra below; two cabinets, one at each side. Despite the numerous mentions of this relief, it merits much more concentrated study than it has received. JOHN POPE-HENNESSY counted it among the "great Byzantine carvings in Venice" (*Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London, 1972, p.30), along with the 'Deesis' in San Marco. Prior to being moved to the interior of the church of Santa Maria Mater Domini, the relief icon occupied an exterior position (not to be confused with RIZZI, p. 456, OAD 604; now San Giacomo de l'Orio, Vergine annunciata, orante: formerly Santa Maria Mater Domini, 1250 ca., 86 x 33,5 x 30, pietra dura, scultore veneziana: *Fede*, pp. 47-47, ill., no. 1; ANTONIO NIERO, *Chiesa di San Giacomo dall'Orio*, Venezia, 1979, p. 80). See SILVIO TRAMONTIN, *Santa Maria Mater Domini*, Venezia, 1962, pp. 36f., 41 note 17, tav. II [with, however, chronological confusion]; G. SCARPA, p. 7 (*cit.* in: Tramontin). TRAMONTIN, p. 18, reports a testament of 1128 which mentions the "parrocchia di Santa Maria Mater Domini"; the name is relatively rare as the title of a church. It may be noted that the subject of the relief corresponds to the name of the church. TRAMONTIN, p. 37: "... di un artista veneto-bizantino del Duecento o forse anche di epoca più tardiva"; "L'immagine si trovava prima infissa nel muro esterno della chiesa; nel 1584 in seguito a un miracolo operato, fu trasferita dove oggi si trova [nella crociera, a sinistra]"; p. 36: "Alla Vergine del Rosario è dedicato il secondo altare a sinistra — opera di Antonio Buora — eseguito, per testamento di una nobildonna Diedo-Quirini, nel 1536 (*sic*), dalla scuola della B.V. (tav. VI)" (contract in PIETRO PAOLETTI, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venezia, 1993, text vol., part 2, p. 116, 25 August 1536 between the "scuola della beata Vergine della chiesa di Santa Maria Mater Domini e lo scultore Antonio Buora, residente nella stessa contrada, per la costruzione dell'altare ... [without mention of Diedo-Quirini]"; the testament provides: "Sia fabricata la cappella della chiesa di s. Maria Domini nella quale si trova l'immagine della beata Vergine la quale già in tredici o quattordici anni fece miracoli, essendo sopra il muro dei Pisani ... " (cited from A. VARDANEGA, op. cit., p. 11: "Il lascito era fatto alla scuola, che commissionò poi l'altare al Buora" — A. VARDANEGA, *Le chiese di Venezia dedicate alla Vergine — Santa Maria Mater Domini*, in: "Mater Dei", an. I, 1929, n.3, pp. 51-59, esp. p. 11 [cited from an 'estratto' with a distinct numeration of pages]). TRAMONTIN, 1962: p. 36: nella crociera a sinistra, sotto l'*Invenzione della croce*, capolavoro del Tintoretto ...; p. 37: "Una lapide (App. I) ricorda anche altri doni fatti alla chiesa dai Diedo-Quirini nel 1745 ..."; cf. p. 75. For the early history of the church, see further: FLAMINIO CORNELIO (CORNER), *Ecclesiae Venetae Antiquis Monumentis*, II, Venice 1749, p. 301 (the relief moved from exterior of Ca' Pisani to the interior of the church, ca. 1584 by Dieda Diedo Quirini [see her testament, 1597, in: ASVe, *Atti Giulio Zilioli*]). PAOLETTI, *cit.*, II, pp. 116, 257 (Cappella Beata Vergine), 116, doc. n. 108, 25 August 1536, *Conventio Scole beatæ Virginis ecclesie S. te marie matris Domini de Venetijs*: contract with Antonio di Giovanni Buora. FLAMINIO CORNER, *Eccl. ven., Decas secunda, et tertia (II-III)*, Venezia 1749, p. 301: "Ad Dominicæ Transfigurationis aram colitur sacra Dei paræ effigies, quæ olim ad parietem Pisanæ, seu alterius domus depicta, dum prodigijs clarescit circa annum Domini 1584. ut decentius asservaretur ad hanc sacrum ædem deducitur. Hæc ex testamento piæ matronæ Diedæ Diedo Quirinæ anno 1597. die secunda Novembris confecto: "Sii fabricata la Capella della Chiesa di S. Maria Mater Domini nella quale si trova l'Imagine della B. Vergine, la quale già in tredici, o quattordici anni fece miracoli, essendo sopra il muro di Cà Pisani, salvo il vero, nella quale mi trovo obligata per voto di spender Ducati cinquanta, se però non sarà da me stato adempito esso voto prima della mia morte". Further: FLAMINIO CORNER, *Eccl. Ven., Bd. 13-14 (=14, Supplementa ad Ecclesias Venetas ...)*, p. 177-178. See also: [CLAUDIO DE GRANDIS], *Vite e memorie de' santi spettanti alle chiese della diocesi di Venezia*, 7 vols., Venezia 1761-1763 (*Opera d'un padre dell'oratorio di Venezia*), vol. VI, *Santa Maria Mater Domini*, pp. 264-265 ("... una Immagine dipinta [*sic*] di Maria santissima, quale stando sopra il muro esterno della casa Pisani, e divenuta prodigiosa, fu trasferita nella medesima Chiesa circa l'anno 1584 per venerazione, e decenza della medesima.). The "Palla d'argento lavorata con eccellente basso rilievo secondo il gusto greco, il quale prezioso dono fu trasportato da Costantinopoli", mentioned by de Grandis, is no longer in the church. TRAMONTIN, p. 44 note 31, *Testament Diedo-Quirini*: "Sia fabricato la cappella ... nella quale si trova l'immagine ... (Vergine) già ... sopra il muro dei Pisani ..."; p. 53, n. 11: ai pie' dei pilastri dell'altare della Madonna si legge: "DE LA SCHOLA DI S. MARIA MATER DOMINI" — a piedi la data "MDXXVI" e la "M" coronata come si trovano sui pilastri notati a p. 24 n. 9." The somewhat contradictory accounts require clarification.

VENICE: **Abbazia della Misericordia**, Campo de l'Abbazia, next to CN 3550A, on the façade of the chapel to the right of the church façade, Orant ('Madonna Platytera'), marble; 130 x 90 ca. (RIZZI); estimated on site measurement: ca. 94 wide. A nearly three-quarter length figure; the design is a standard Byzantine one (cf. *Deomene*, nos. 94, 100; *Glory*, no. 134; *Mother*, pp. 232 [fig. 178], 241, 294 and fig. 191). *Lit.*: GABELENTZ, p. 134 (lit.); PLANISCIG, pp. 38f. and fig. 8 ("veneto-bizantino"); LORENZETTI, *cit.*, p. 393: "scultura trecentesca (?) di schema e forme bizantine"; DEMUS, p. 121; "Not in Lange"; BELTING-IHM, p. 66, 75, pl. 23a, 2nd half 13th c; CUMAN-FABBIAN, p. 37, CR 3551 ("veneto-bizantino del sec. XI, o inizio XII"), ill. at p. 42; RIZZI, p. 275, no. CN 190, 130 x 90, "MAT DNI / IKS [*sic*] XPS, arte veneziana", "forse rilavorata; arte veneziana, marmo greco, XIII sec.", ill., lit.; DORIGO, p. 515, first half 13th c ("scrittura latino-greca": "mat dni / Ihs Xps"), excellent col. ill., p. 513; p. 544. There are small holes in the form of a cross over each of the shoulders, wrists, and the first pleats of the *maphorion* at the sides. Belting-Ihm assumes this image represented the original "*Kultbild*" of the confraternity and was originally placed over the entrance to the Abbazia, although this remains undemonstrated and is entirely conjectural. DEMUS, p. 121 note 2, appears to suggest that the work is Byzantine, but the denticulated frame, typically Venetian, is integral to the relief. The condition is severely weathered, but the work is more interesting that it might first seem. Reworking, indeed resurfacing, may be responsible for the somewhat mechanical appearance of the surface. Under restoration in the Summer of 2001 (foto: May 2001); remains of discoloration and

incrustation below the hands; four large holes in the lateral borders have been filled (probably where a grate was affixed); cf. DORIGO, I, p. 513 (ill.). A ledge is above the relief. A grille formerly before the image has been removed. The image is somewhat plastic in character; the nimbus is intersected very slightly by the frame.

**VENICE:** **San Trovaso**, Canonica (beside Campanile), Campo San Trovaso, no. DD 1089A, St. Peter, marble, 135 x 70 (Rizzi; estimated on site measurement: ca. 62 wide); profiled border. *Lit.*: JAN (Giovanni) GREVEMBROCH, *Variae Venetae Curiosità sacre e profane opus* Jo. Grevenbroch, Venezia, Museo Civico Correr, ms. Gradenigo-Dolfin 65, I-III: *Curiosità*, II, 1760, f. LXXV (formerly on the exterior of the church of Santa Sofia; since 19th c at San Trovaso); HUGH A. DOUGLAS, *Venice on Foot*, London, 1907, p. 264; DEMUS, *cit.*, in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, IV, 1955, pp. 103, 118 ("wohl byzantinische Relief"), fig. 5; DEMUS, p. 121; LANGE, no. 16, probably made in South (?) Italy; NIERO, 1979, p. 41: "citazione del "capitelo" per intervento miracolosa avvenuto nel 1640"; Venti anni di restauri a Venezia, Palazzo Ducale, exhb. cat., ed. MARGHERITA ASSO, Venezia, 1987, p. 174 (ill.; restored 1982; "marmo pentelico"; "bizantino"); RIZZO, pp. 470f. (ill.), no. DD 130 ("arte veneziana", 13th c); DORIGO, p. 515 ("entro una nicchia presso la base del campanile di San Trovaso è conservata una buona interpretazione locale a bassorilievo di un San Pietro", "databile all'inoltrato Duecento"), ill., p. 514. *In situ* the relief is partially hidden behind an iron grate (RIZZI, p. 470, "grata", 1906 [?]). It was formerly on the exterior of the church of Santa Sofia, Venice (RIZZI, pp. 470-471, no. DD 130, p. 634, no. OAD 380, Santa Sofia, until after 1870-1871; *bibl.*: Levi, 1900, p. 53; Comune, 1905, p. 155; LORENZETTI, ed. 1956, p. 539 [12th-13th c]). See: ANTONIO NIERO, "Il capitello nella storia della religiosità popolare veneziana", in: *I capitelli e la società religiosa veneta* (Atti del convegno, Venezia, 17-19 marzo 1978), Vicenza, 1979, pp. 21-60, figs. I-IV ([www.istitutoperlricerchedistoriasocialeereligiosa.vi.it/convegni.html](http://www.istitutoperlricerchedistoriasocialeereligiosa.vi.it/convegni.html)), ed. A. LAZZARETTO ZANOLO and ERMENEGILDO REATO, Istituto per le Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa (Vicenza); cf. ANTONIO NIERO, "Il culto dei santi nell'arte popolare, in: *Santità a Venezia*, Comune, 1972, pp. 231-289, p. 248: "Nel 1640 Andrea Fontana procurava di erigere un capitello, dedicato a San Pietro apostolo, presso la Chiesa di Santa Sofia, quale devozione personale per essere scampato ad una aggressione notturna, su intercessione del Santo, prescrivendo che in futuro fosse illuminato ogni sera". The stylization of the St. Peter seems little related to the other Venetian works, and it appears to resemble eastern works. The present condition is compromised; fragmentary, detaching surface (September 2005).

**VIENNA:** Kunsthistorisches Museum, Virgin Orant (105 x 85) and St. Pantaleon (116 x 54); marble. Provenance: Catajo, Visconti, 1806 (in fact, from Venice, v. *infra*). *Lit.*: PLANISCIG, pp. 40-41, pl. X, at p. 42; LEO PLANISCIG, *Die Estensche Kunstsammlung*, I, Wien, 1919, nos. 16-7, pp. 9-10; LANGE, 1964, p. 78, no. 22 (Pantaleon), and p. 96, no. 31 (Orans, as Byzantine, 12th c, "anspruchlos"), denying a connection of the two reliefs); HERMANN FILLITZ, *Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe*, I. Teil, Mittelalter, Wien, 1964, no. 102, "Venezianische, um 1300". The Venetian and the old common provenance of these two reliefs has escaped the notice of Byzantine studies. Their former presence in proximity to the church of San Nicolò del Lido ("presso"), until the 18th c, was, however, established by Alberto Rizzi (RIZZI, pp. 658-659, no. OAD 761, as "rilievi byzantini del XII-XIII sec."; a drawing after both reliefs by Grevenbroch, ca. 1754, "sopra la muraglia di vecchia cadente casa, contigua" San Nicolò, Lido; lit.), formerly polychrome. The status of St. Pantaleon (flat border) is not clear; the Orant (profiled border), wider and of lesser quality, is possibly a later pendant.

**WASHINGTON:** Dumbarton Oaks (38.62), *Hagiosoritissa* (Virgin of Supplication), marble, 104 x 40. *Lit.*: LANGE, pp. 77-78, no. 21 (lit.); GARY VIKAN, *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Washington, 1995, no. 39 (lit.); *Glory*, pp. 44f., no. 11 (col. ill.); *Mother*, pp. 356f., no. 38 (col. ill.). A photograph in RIZZI (p. 660) shows this relief at Glienicke, clearly indicating a Veneto-Venetian provenance, most likely from the Certosa di Sant'Andrea; see also ZYGMUNT ŚWIECHOWSKI and ALBERTO RIZZI, *Romanische Reliefs von venezianischen Fassaden*, Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 26, 155ff., 160, no. 734 (the 'venezianischer Klosterhof' at Glienicke [Potsdam] with reliefs from Venice and lagoon, mostly from the island of the Certosa, acquired before ca. 1860, p. 18, pls. 54-55). See further: JOSEF DEÉR, "Die Siegel Kaiser Friedrichs I. Barbarossa und Heinrichs VI. in der Kunst und Politik ihrer Zeit", in: *Fs. Hans R. Hahnloser*, Basel-Stuttgart, 1961, pp. 52f., 93, fig. 10 (Dumbarton Oaks). See also: JÜRGEN JULIER, *Schloß Glienicke*, exhb. cat., Berlin, 1987.

*Not in Lange:*

**CAPUA:** Museo Provinciale Campano, Angel, stone, h. 114. *Lit.*: RAFFAELE CATTANEO, *L'architettura in Italia dal secolo VI al mille circa*, ricerche storico-critiche, Venezia: Ongania, 1888, p. 157 (ill. by a drawing): "Lo stesso Museo racchiude pure la meno barbara figura che ci resti fra i lavori dei greci in Italia nel secolo VIII. Rappresenta un angelo con aureola concava, con bastone nella destra e a piedi ignudi, vestito di tunica e di toga riccamente adorne di gemme e di perle. Le proporzioni non sono tozze, come nelle altre figure, ma vi è rigida la movenza, nullo il rilievo, le pieghe crudamente graffite; insomma è tuttavia un lavoro barbaro." Not in Lange. An image is present in Internet. See further: CAVALLO, pp. 218, 228 (fig. 153), 257 no. 86, "Capua (CE), icona marmorea raffigurante un angelo (dalla Ss. Carità dei Bianchi); m. 1,14 x 0,24 x 0,24. [153] Non compreso nello studio di R. Lange (...) quest'opera pur nelle risultanze stilistiche locali che ne irrigidiscono l'espressione, conserva ancora la dignità del prototipo. (...) TOZZI, *Sculture medioevali campane*. Marmi, cit., pp. 514s., fig. 10; VOLBACH, *Sculture medioevali*, cit., p. 79: XI sec.; G. DE FRANCOVICH, *Arte carolingia e arte ottoniana in Lombardia*, in *RJKG VII* (1942-1944), p. 114; BELTING, *Beobachtung*, cit., pp. 52, 53, tav. 39, 1; ROTILLI, in *Aggiornamenti*, cit. IV, tav. XLVI."

## APPENDIX III

### THE MADONNA ORANTE IN MESSINA

Messina, Museo Regionale, Inv. no. 20, or no. 285, marble, 181 x 108, sec. XII-XIII ("scultura bizantina e normanna-sveva").

The literature consists of many items, but the treatment of the Messina marble remains limited. *Lit.*: PLACIDO SAMPERI, *Iconologia della gloriosa Vergine Madre di Dio Maria*, Messina, 1644 and 1739, p. 176 (rediscovery: ca. 1599); reprint: Messina, 1991; GIUSEPPE BUONFIGLIO E COSTANZO, *Messina città nobilissima*, Venezia, 1606, Messina, 1738 (reprint, ed. P. Bruno: Messina, 1976); KONDAKOV, pp. 89, 91, fig. 25 ("K. ritiene il rilievo messinese lavoro siciliano; in esso lo schema bizantino sarebbe stato solo esteriormente seguito"; 14th-15th c); TOESCA, I, 2, p. 857; ENRICO MAUCERI, *Il Museo Nazionale di Messina*, Roma, 1929, pp. 19-20 (13th c); ENRICO MAUCERI, "La madonna orante e tarde opere bizantine nel museo di Messina", *Bollettino d'arte*, IX, 1929-1930, pp. 181-187 (marmo, 181 x 108), "dalle macerie (1908) della vecchia chiesa di San Francesco di Assisi, Messina", "un foro alla palma delle mani, ... altri due [fori] in direzione delle punte dei piedi e di altri piccoli presso l'orlo delle maniche, presso gli omeri, sul fronte del cappuccio e attorno al nimbo", "tra il secolo XII e XIII", "venerata nella chiesa di S. Francesco col nome di S. Maria dello Spasimo, a cominciare dai primi del Seicento", found around 1599 under the earth; BENINI, pp. 42, 43f.; LANGE, pp. 66-67, no. 15; fig. at p. 62 (middle or 2nd half of 12th c); GIUSEPPE AGNELLO, "Le sculture bizantino-normanne del Museo di Messina", in: *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia (serie III)*, Rendiconti, vol. XXXVIII, anno accademico 1965-1966 (1967), pp. 195-220; pp. 212-215, Orante di Messina, Inv. 20, cm. 181 x 108, sec. XII, bizantino o un maestro greco operante in Sicilia (fori sotto i piedi stuccati); GRABAR, p. 123 (Byzantine, XIIe siècle); GIUSEPPE CONSOLI, Messina, Museo Regionale, Bologna: Calderini, 1980, p. 72 (fig.), p. 75, no. 198 (sec. XII, cm. 105 x 77; this measurement is implausible); CAVALLO, p. 293, no. 153 (XII sec., "anche se lavorato in Sicilia, opera di uno scultore bizantino), color illus. at p. 279, fig. 215 (perforations under the feet filled in); FEDERICO ZERI and FRANCESCA CAMPAGNA CICALA, Messina, Museo Regionale, Palermo, 1992, pp. 50-51 (with illus., 105 x 77 cm; this measurement is contradicted by the proportions of the relief, ca. 1:1.7); *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. VIII, Roma, 1997, p. 228 (color photograph: Necci, Roma); *Glory*, pp. 450f., no. 291, mid- to late-12th c, full-page col. photograph; *Mother*, p. 248, note 30, mid-12th c (Loverdou-Tsigarda, as "with modifications"); *Deomene*, pp. 29 (Silvia Pasi), 40 (Andrea Paribeni), 47 (Clementina Rizzardi).

The Messina icon is a work of exceptional quality and interest, to be counted among the most beautiful of the Orant relief icons. It was included in the New York exhibition of 1997 (in the catalogue, with an entry not commensurate to the complexity and risks of a trans-Atlantic transport, but providing an excellent color ill., *Glory*, p. 451). Discovered buried near the main portal of the church of San Francesco di Assisi in Messina around 1599, the icon was displayed in the church (there known as the "Vergine dello Spasimo") until the earthquake of 1908, when, broken into seven fragments, it was brought to the museum in Messina. Restored before 1992 ("un recente restauro"), "appare adesso in tutta la delicatezza del modellato scolpito nel candido marmo, con un'elaborazione attenta della forma e con forte stilizzazione lineare delle pieghe" (1992). Its pre-earthquake condition must have been excellent, to judge from the undamaged parts. There is some unclarity as to whether this piece is Byzantine, or of Italian manufacture, as sometimes suggested. The latter view is owed primarily to Kondakov, whose opinion has been reported and repeated ritually in the literature. If it is meaningful to speak of a consensus, there seems to be a trend toward an assessment as 'Byzantine', although scholarship has often embraced mistaken interpretations with near unanimity. Due weight should be assigned to the changed appearance of the relief following the recent restoration, which postdates much of the modern literature, to the extraordinary quality of the work, to the fine white marble, and to the striking, often observed connections with the Orant from St. George Maganon. Lange observes that the "Reliefplatte weist auch unterhalb der Fußspitzen der Maria Bohrungen auf" (p. 67). These can be discerned in older photographs, but they were at some point in time filled (see photographs in: AGNELLO and CAVALLO), only to be re-opened later. The small holes (in part, four-point crosses with a center hole) of the *maphorion*, over the forehead and on the shoulders, and at the wrists, in the pupils and in the border of the nimbus are, in contrast, superficial. If, as assumed, water flowed from the Virgin's hands, it would also have emerged from beneath her feet, covering the lower surface of the icon in a film of water, and possibly falling in a layer over the bottom frame into a basin. This is the only Orant with underfoot perforations, but they are only a variation and enrichment of an existing theme. Compare the openings at the bottom of the Berlin Orans relief (LANGE, no. 3) and the numerous openings of an Orant in Athens (LANGE, no. 11). All these factors speak more for an eastern origin than for a western one, especially in as much as the Byzantine tradition of the Orant fountains left no trace in the West. Despite the close points of contact with the Istanbul Orant (LANGE, no. 1; e.g., the holes in the nimbus, the carving of arms, hands, and feet, almost free from the ground, and the specific motive of the jeweled ornamentation of the *suppedaneum*), the

Messina Orant manifests a number of individual qualities distinctly different from the Orant in Istanbul. This possibly indicates a somewhat larger production of such high quality marble Orants in the east than has been suspected. One little investigated point of entry is constituted by the two identical coats-of-arms carved at the two sides of the Virgin's feet, clearly a later western addition (KONDAKOV, XIV-XV c; MAUCERI, 1929/1930, p. 184, "forse del secolo XIV"). MAUCERI (p. 184) writes: "Lo storico messinese Sampieri, riferendosi all'opinione del gesuita padre Silvestro Petrasanta, autore di un volume di araldica dal titolo "Tesserae Gentilitiae" pensa ad una nobile famiglia di Francia, ma è un'ipotesi come un'altra, evidentemente campata in aria". The name of the Del Campo family has been suggested (Cat. mus., 1992, ZERI e CAMPAGNA CICALA, p. 51; cf. description of Del Campo arms in: BUONFIGLIO E COSTANZO, 1606, ed. 1738, p. 145: "Casa del Campo fa per arme tre aquile rosse volanti in campo rosso et argento"). In light of our Venetian perspective, the following considerations may be worth mentioning. The eagle is among the most frequent heraldic images, but the triple displayed eagles, all facing left, and placed on two levels, two above and one below, do recall certain Venetian *stemmi* in form and presentation; see, for example, RIZZI, pp. 297-298, CN 324 (1495); p. 193, CS 168. These resemblances would scarcely merit mention were it not for an additional circumstance. It has passed unnoticed in the literature that many years ago an early replica of the Messina Orant (not identified as such) was published, when it was owned by Count Canale Cama in Positano. The proportions of this rectangular icon are much broader than those of the icon in Messina, but the image follows the original exactly, and the Positano relief bears two *stemmi* in the same positions, one repeating the three eagles, and the other, at the left, showing a new coat-of-arms. It is noteworthy that in the copy the palms of the hands are also bored through, and thus are 'blindly' copied. The *stemma* at the left is composed of three elements; from top to bottom, (1) a horizontal row of three stars, (2) an undulant lateral strip, indicating mountains or water, and (3) a human arm. A very nearly identical constellation of heraldic elements recurs in a stone relief *stemma* of the fifteenth century found on the exterior of San Marco no. 5037 in the Marzarieta Due Aprile, near San Salvador (RIZZI, pp. 152-153, no. SM 352), with, from top to bottom, (1) three stars, (2) an arm, (3) a horizontal strip of water. Obviously these resemblances are only indications and may be fortuitous. But they do raise the question of whether the Messina Orant might have reached its destination via Venice, as has been suggested for the Orant in Santa Maria in Porto, Ravenna (PASI). A gilt-bronze tryptych, 14th c (?), in the Victoria & Albert Museum, with a possibly Venetian provenance, bears two later and identical coats-of-arms, said to be Venetian (*Faith/Power*, pp. 500-502, no. 304; VOLBACH, pl. 79).

For the Istanbul-Mangana Orans, see: EUA, II, 1958, tav. 415, text p. 659 (*ad vocem* 'Bizantino'; David Talbot Rice); DAVID TALBOT RICE, *The Art of Byzantium*, London, 1959, p. 323, no. 142 (ill.), Istanbul, Archeological Museum, no. 3914; 11th c, marble, 201 x 99; BECKWITH, p. 117 (12th c); VOLBACH, p. 205 and fig. 94a; NEZIH FIRATLI, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée archéologique d'Istanbul*, Paris, 1990, p. 179, no. 365, (Relief: Vierge Orante, Prov.: Istanbul, Gülhane. Citerne située sous les ruines d'une église entre le palais des Manges et le monastère de Saint-Georges. aq. 1923. ... «Le revers est seulement épannelé et recouvert d'un dépôt calcaire provenant du séjour prolongé dans la citerne»; 201 x 99. XI<sup>e</sup> siècle?); *Mother*, pp. 239, 240, fig. 187.

For the headless Maria Orans in Berlin, see most recently: München, 2004, exhb. cat., *Die Welt von Byzanz*, ed. LUDWIG WAMSER, München, 2004 (exhb. cat., Archäologische Staatssammlung-Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München), no. 201 (Arne Effenberger). For the Berlin Orans, paired with Michael: *Die Welt von Byzanz*, *cit.*, nos. 198-199 (Arne Effenberger).

## PLATES

1. Venice, Basilica di San Marco, interior (left aisle). After: LUIGI CHIRTANI, *L'arte attraverso ai secoli*, Milano: Fratelli Treves Editori, 1878: 'Interno di San Marco a Venezia (navata a sinistra)' drawn by 'Leopoldo Burlando' (Milano, 1841-1915). The baldachin and the 'cesendello' of the 'Madonna dello Schioppo' is seen at the left; the 'Capitello del Crocifisso', at the right. Chirtani was the pen-name of Luigi Archinti, a leading critic for the 'Corriere della sera' and art historian at the 'Regia Accademia di Brera'.
  
2. Basilica di San Marco and Palazzo Ducale, plan. After: HUBALA.
  
3. Basilica di San Marco, plan. After: CAVALLO. (1) Virgin Orant, cappella dei Mascoli (exterior); (2) Virgin Orant, West façade; (3) 'Madonna della Grazia' (tribuna di San Pietro); (4) Virgin Orant next to the 'Madonna dello Schioppo'; (5) 'Madonna dello Schioppo'; (6) Virgin Orant next to the cappella dei Mascoli (interior); (7) two saints (often identified as Cosmas and Damian), cappella della Beata Vergine Nicopeia; (8) Madonna and Child Enthroned, cappella della Beata Vergine Nicopeia; (9) Madonna and Child near the Altare del Santissimo Sacramento (facing the 'pilastro del ritrovamento di San Marco'); (10) Reliquary Relief, Andito Foscari; (11) 'Madonna del Bacio', tribuna della 'Madonna del Bacio'; (12) 'Deesis', tribuna di San Clemente; (13) 'Candelabra Madonna', tribuna di San Clemente; (14) Madonna and Child, cappella Zeno; (15) Angel, cappella Zeno.
  
4. Basilica di San Marco, South façade facing toward the Piazzetta di San Marco, elevation. After: VIO. Between the two large window arcades of the second level is found a miraculous mosaic image of the half-length Virgin Orant (1). It is described at length by Giovanni Stringa in an early description of a 'Byzantine' icon in the Venetian guide literature. Francesco Sansovino/Giovanni Stringa, *Venetia città nobilissima*, Venezia, 1604, pp. 13b-14a: "*Di una miracolosa Imagine in mosaico, che si vede nel detto lato sinistro. Cap. XIX.: Ne traslasciarò di dire, ritrovarsi in questo lato sopra il corridore tra un volto, e l'altro una miracolosa Imagine molto antica di Maria Vergine, fatta in mosaico, alla quale vengono da diverse devote persone fatti molti voti, portate cere; & specialmente da quelle, c'havendo qualche figliuolo, ò fratello, che con qualche nave, od altro navilio fuori in lontani paesi se ne sia gito, e non habbia in capo di molto tempo mai alcun' avviso dato dello stato suo, desiderano sapere s'egli vivo, ò morto si trova: il che lo vengono a sapere (...) molto facilmente: imperoche portando una candela, sia piccola, ò grande, & appiciandola a cielo aperto innanti questa benedetta Imagine con pura fede, & con divoto cuore, se il figliuolo, ò il fratello, ò il marito, ò qual si voglia altra persona, di cui saper si desidera se è viva, ò morta, si trova per caso esser viva, la detta candela se ne stà viva, nè muore mai; ancora che facesse gran vento, ò nevicasse, piovesse, e tempestasse: ma se quella tal persona fosse morta, la candela tosto si smorza, & muore; se ben il cielo fosse sereno, & tranquillo. In oltre, avanti questa Imagine si accendono due torci di cera negra da i fratelli della schuola di S. Fantino ogni volta che viene per suoi demeriti dalla giustizia a morte condannato (...). Hor'innanti questa Santa Imagine vi stà del continuo giorno, e notte una lampada accesa, & viene salutata insieme con S. Marco, & col Prencipe da molti navigli con tiri di artigliara, quando arrivano in questa porto salvamento.*" (...) pp. 14a-b: "*Perche si tenga accesa la detta lampada. Cap. XX: Et accendono detta lampada non solo per honorevolezza; e per riverenza di detta Imagine, ma ancora per un certo obbligo tale: imperoche trovandosi un certo huomo da bene assai ricco, di natione Dalmatino, una notte in viaggio per venire da Chioggia a Venetia, & essendo assalito da un fastidioso temporale, accompagnato da una oscurità grandissima, in modo, che il naviglio, ò barca, nella quale egli era, non sapeva, dove ella si foße, onde per conseguenza tutti quei, che si trovavano in lei, dubitando di certo naufragio, vista dal predetto la sopradetta lampada accesa, che anco avanti un tale accidente tenevasi appiccata, subito avvertì il Patrone, che doveße verso il lume, ch'ella rendeva tenersi, dirizzando il camino alla sua volia: il che facendo il Patrone, venne a schifar in questo modo il pericolo predetto di manifesto naufragio, per il che giunto a Venetia il sopradetto huomo da bene, venne a visitar la detta Imagine con molto sua divotione, ringratiandola di un tanto beneficio, e per memoria di un tal fatto volle in sua vita ogn'anno offerir alcune bote d'oglio; acciò del continuo si tenga essa lampada accesa, e dopo morte lasciò, che i suoi heredi facessero la medesima offerta, la quale da alcuni anni in quà è stata in tanti danari tramutata, & così continuerà per sempre.*"
  
5. Basilica di San Marco, exterior, 1761, detail: exterior of the cappella dei Mascoli (left, in shadow); West façade (right, illuminated). After: *L'augusta ducale Basilica dell'Evangelista San Marco*, Venezia 1761; reprint: Venezia: Arsenale Editrice, 1991 (Antonio Visentini). The Orant Virgin of the exterior of the cappella dei Mascoli does not register in the arch between two angels in the second level. The intensity of documentation in this shadowed zone is diminished.
  
6. Basilica di San Marco, wall of north aisle of nave. After: VIO. At left: the 'Madonna della Grazia'; the *pavonazetto* panel bordered by *rosso di Verona* extends, in fact, above the baldachin.
  
7. Basilica di San Marco, the 'Madonna della Grazia' and the surrounding marble incrustation of the wall. After: VIO.

8. Basilica di San Marco, wall of north aisle of nave. Drawn by Ettore Pedon, 1885-1887, Venezia, Archivio della Procuratia di San Marco. After: DEMUS, *Mosaics*. Left: the 'Madonna della Grazia'; right: the 'capitello del Crocifisso'.
9. Basilica di San Marco, the 'Madonna della Grazie'. After: VIO. The pattern of the marble wall incrustation corresponds to that found in the Basilica.
10. Basilica di San Marco, the Virgin Orant at the right of the cappella dei Mascoli and the surrounding marble incrustation of the wall, partly obscured by a column at the right. After: VIO.
11. Basilica di San Marco, the Virgin of the 'Deesis' (I) and the Virgin Orant at the right of the cappella dei Mascoli (II). After: LEOPOLDO CICOGNARA, *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia sino al secolo di Napoleone*, vol. I, Venezia, 1813. Cicognara's *Storia della scultura* provides an early graphic documentation of Italian sculpture, notable for its comprehensive scope and comparable to Séroux d'Agincourt's encyclopedic *Histoire de l'art par les monuments* (1823).
12. Basilica di San Marco, view of the cappella della Beata Vergine Nicopeia. After: PASINI ("Altare dove conservasi la Madonna di San Marco"). The 'veduta' of the cappella della Nicopeia is, in part, based on a detail of Visentini's "Spaccato di fronte dentro la Chiesa dell'Evangelista S. Marco" (1761, v. pl. 5 *supra*). The draughtsmen-engravers who collaborated on Ferdinando Ongania's publication of the Basilica di San Marco were Raffaele Cattaneo, Umberto Ongania, Antonio Ganella, among others. This engraving is the work of one of the 'senic' engravers, possibly Ganella.
13. Basilica di San Marco, view of the cappella della Beata Vergine Nicopeia. Ettore Pedon, 1885-1887. After: DEMUS, *Mosaics*.
14. Basilica di San Marco, relief icon of two male saints in the cappella della Beata Vergine Nicopeia (left) and the surrounding marble wall incrustation. After: VIO.
15. Basilica di San Marco, Enthroned Virgin and Child in the cappella della Beata Vergine Nicopeia (right) and the surrounding marble wall incrustation. After: VIO.
16. Basilica di San Marco, wall of south aisle of nave. After: VIO. At right: the 'Deesis'; at the left is visible the entrance to the Tesoro and (in profile) the ledge beneath the 'Madonna del Bacio'.
17. Basilica di San Marco, the 'Deesis' and the surrounding marble wall incrustation. After: VIO. The paneling behind the 'Deesis' corresponds exactly to the width of the icon, which is assembled from three parts.
18. Basilica di San Marco, the interior façade of the nave. After: VIO. The Orant Virgin is paired with the cross in *opus sectile*.
19. Basilica di San Marco, the interior wall of the nave (south aisle). The Orant Virgin with candelabra in *opus sectile*. After: VIO.
20. Basilica di San Marco, the 'Madonna dello Schioppo' and the surrounding wall incrustation. After: VIO.
21. Basilica di San Marco, plan (detail): south asile, Battistero, and Tesoro. (1) 'Madonna del Bacio'; (2) entrance to Tesoro. After: BOITO.
22. Basilica di San Marco, the 'Madonna del Bacio' (outline).
23. Basilica di San Marco, the 'Madonna and Child' next to the Altare del Santissimo Sacramento, detail (outline).
24. Serres, Metropolis. Outline drawing of a fragment of a relief icon of the half-figure Theotokos found at Serres in 1960. After: LANGE.
25. Basilica di San Marco, Virgin Orant of the West façade. After: CHARLES ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *La Sainte Vierge*, 2 vols., Paris, 1878. Rohault de Fleury's drawings carefully document the state of conservation of the sculptures he draws. Here the total erosion of the Virgin's face is documented, as in other instances, using the convention of carefully drawn, closely spaced parallel vertical lines.



26. Reliquary relief on the rear external wall of the Tesoro, in the 'andito Foscari' leading to the Palazzo Ducale. After: PASINI.
27. Basilica di San Marco, Tesoro, Reliquary of the Precious Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ. After: FLAMINIO CORNARO, *Ecclesiae venetae antiquis monumentis*, Venezia, 1749, vol. XIII, 1.
28. Title page of: Mons.<sup>r</sup> AGOSTINO MOLIN, *Dell'antica immagine di Maria Santissima che si conserva nella Basilica di San Marco*, Venezia: Tipografia Zerletti Editrice, 1821: "Ex Jasp. huj. magnit.": Cameo with the Virgin Blachernitissa, h. 4.5 cm, inscribed MP/ΘY, Byzantine. The illustrated gem, not commented by Molin, was possibly in Venice in 1821. An identical "bloodstone" gem of the same size ("huj. magnit.") was acquired by the Victoria & Albert Museum in London in 1982 (Inv. A.4-1982); Byzantine (Constantinople?), late 12th century. Ill. in: *Glory*, cat. no. 134.
29. Basilica di San Marco, the 'Madonna Nicopeia'. After: AGOSTINO MOLIN, *Dell'antica immagine di Maria Santissima che si conserva nella Basilica di San Marco*, Venezia, 1821. The painted image is the principal icon and protectress of Venice.
30. Basilica di San Marco, North façade, Hetoimasias and Lambs (" 'Etimasia', dodici agnelli adoranti il trono vuoto, con Bibbia e croce su cui è l' 'Angus Dei' "). After: GIAMPIETRO SECCHI, *La cattedra Alessandrina di San Marco Evangelista e martire*, Venezia, 1852.
31. Basilica di San Marco, North façade, 'The Ascent of Alexander'. After: CHARLES BAYET, *L'art byzantin*, Paris [1883].
32. Venice, Campiello de' Ca' Angaran, Byzantine emperor. After: GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, part III, Paris, 1896.
33. Torcello, Museum, Fortuna (Kairos) relief. After: RAFFAELE CATTANEO, *L'architettura in Italia dal secolo VI al Mille circa*, Venezia, 1888.
34. Ravenna, Basilica di Santa Maria in Porto, 'Madonna Greca'. After: CHARLES BAYET, *L'art byzantin*, Paris [1883].
35. Positano, collection of Count Canale Cama (1950), Virgin Orant, copy of the Messina Orans. After: ALIETO BENINI, *La basilica rinascimentale di Santa Maria in Porto e i suoi cimeli*, Ravenna, 1950.
36. Ancona, Santa Maria della Piazza, Virgin Orant. After: [www.geogra.it/attivita/stereofotogrammetria.htm](http://www.geogra.it/attivita/stereofotogrammetria.htm) (photogrammetric survey made by GEOGRÀ, via Indipendenza 106, 46028 Sermide (MN); responsible party: Giuseppe Boselli).
37. Trani (Bari), Santa Maria di Dioniso, Vergine Hodigitria (half-length). After: GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, part III, Paris, 1905. The wide stone border bears a Greek inscription containing the name of Turmarca Delterio, who lived in Trani in the first half of the eleventh century and is known from a document of 1039.
38. Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano, Angel. After: RAFFAELE CATTANEO, *L'architettura in Italia dal secolo VI al Mille circa*, Venezia, 1888. The drawing includes a measurement.
39. Cairo, Coptic stele, Orant. After: FERNAND CABROL - HENRI LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, ad vocem 'Orant, Orante'*, Paris, 1935 ("Stèle copte du musée du Caire, VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Orante portant l'orarium brodé."). The relief closely resembles the *Grabstele* in Berlin on which small 'hand' crosses are positioned just above the raised hands of a standing, full-length Orans (see note 95 *supra*).
40. Berlin, Museum, Virgin Orant. After: FERNAND CABROL - HENRI LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, ad vocem 'Orant, Orante'*, Paris, 1935 ("Orante provenant de Sala-Monastir, au musée de Berlin").
41. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, stone paten center. After: CLAUDE DU MOLINET, *Le Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de S.<sup>te</sup> Geneviève*, première partie, Paris: De Zallier, 1692. The piece was known as early as 1678.



#### POSTSCRIPT:

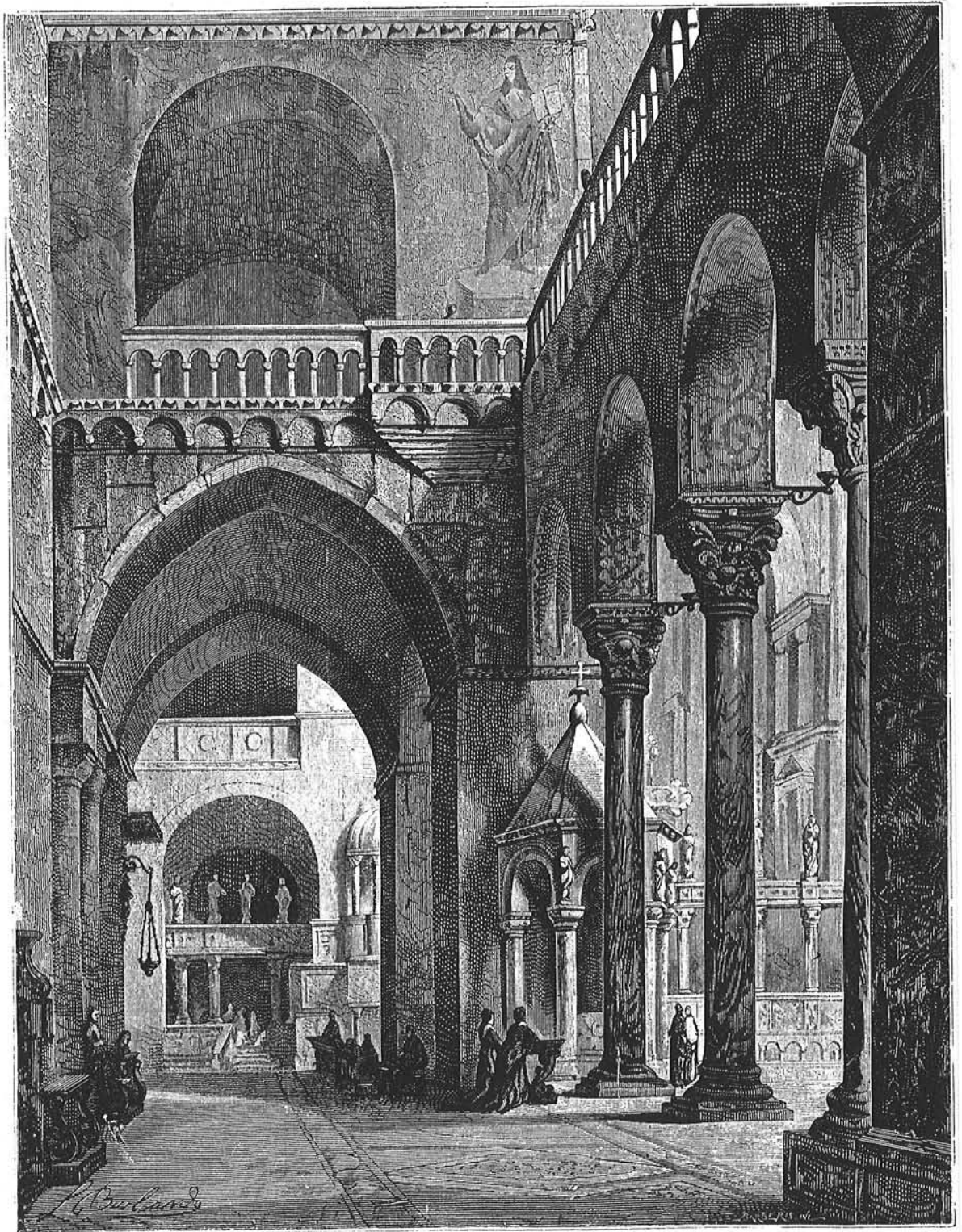
An abbreviated version of the present text, with photographic illustrations, is presented in the *Festschrift* for Joachim Poeschke (*Studien zur italienischen Skulptur*, Münster: Rhema Verlag, 2006), under the title, "Venetian and Byzantine Relief Icons in the Basilica di San Marco: Form, Placement, Function, Reception"). I am indebted to the editors of this volume, without whose invitation this material would have doubtless remained buried in folders. A revised version of a much longer initial text is presented here. Additional works, especially ones found outside Venice are discussed, and the 'Handlist of Venetian and Adriatic Works' includes more entries, often considerably expanded. Appendix I and Appendix III are new.

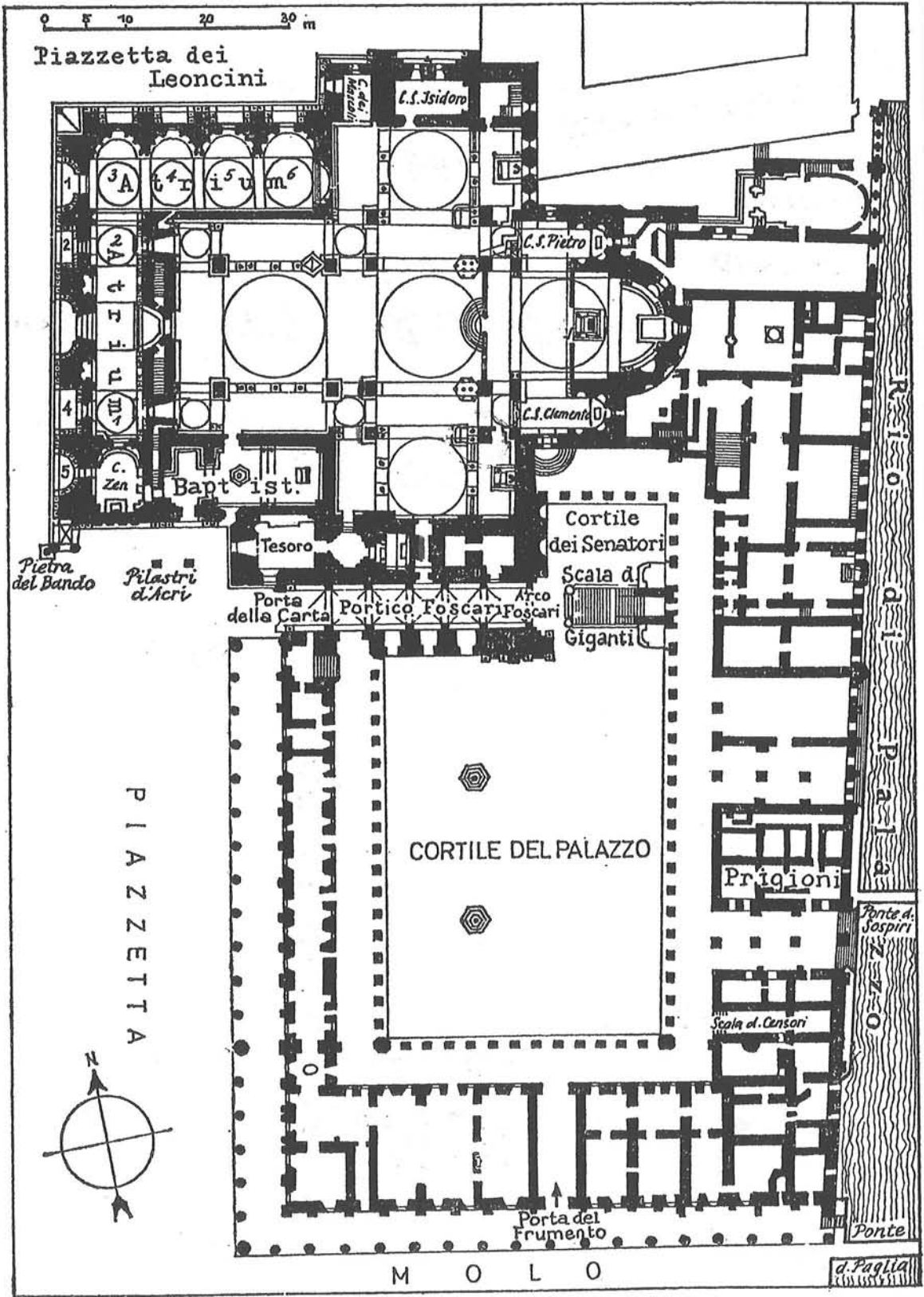
The investigation on which this essay is based originated in an attempt to survey the presence of Byzantine works of sculpture in and around Venice and to understand the significance of these works in the context of Byzantine art and its aftermath in Italy. This interest was occasioned by an attempt to assess a Byzantinizing relief of the Virgin Orant found in the chapel of the Commissaria Bernabò in the Venetian church of San Giovanni Crisostomo, documented as early as 1438 and an image central to the chapel's history. Seeking to find a study which comprehensively treated the Byzantine relief icons of Venice or even a general survey of the relevant material, I discovered that this study remained to be written and that many works remained to be adequately discussed. The most useful treatment of the material is still that found in the often very brief remarks of Otto Demus in his 1960 monograph, *The Church of San Marco in Venice*. Reinhold Lange's *Die byzantinische Reliefikone* (1964) omits, without comment, very many of the Venetian pieces as not relevant to his topic. More recently, Guido Tigler has discussed in detail the relief icons found on the exterior façades of the Basilica di San Marco in *Sculture esterne* (1995), and the reader is referred to this work for these reliefs.

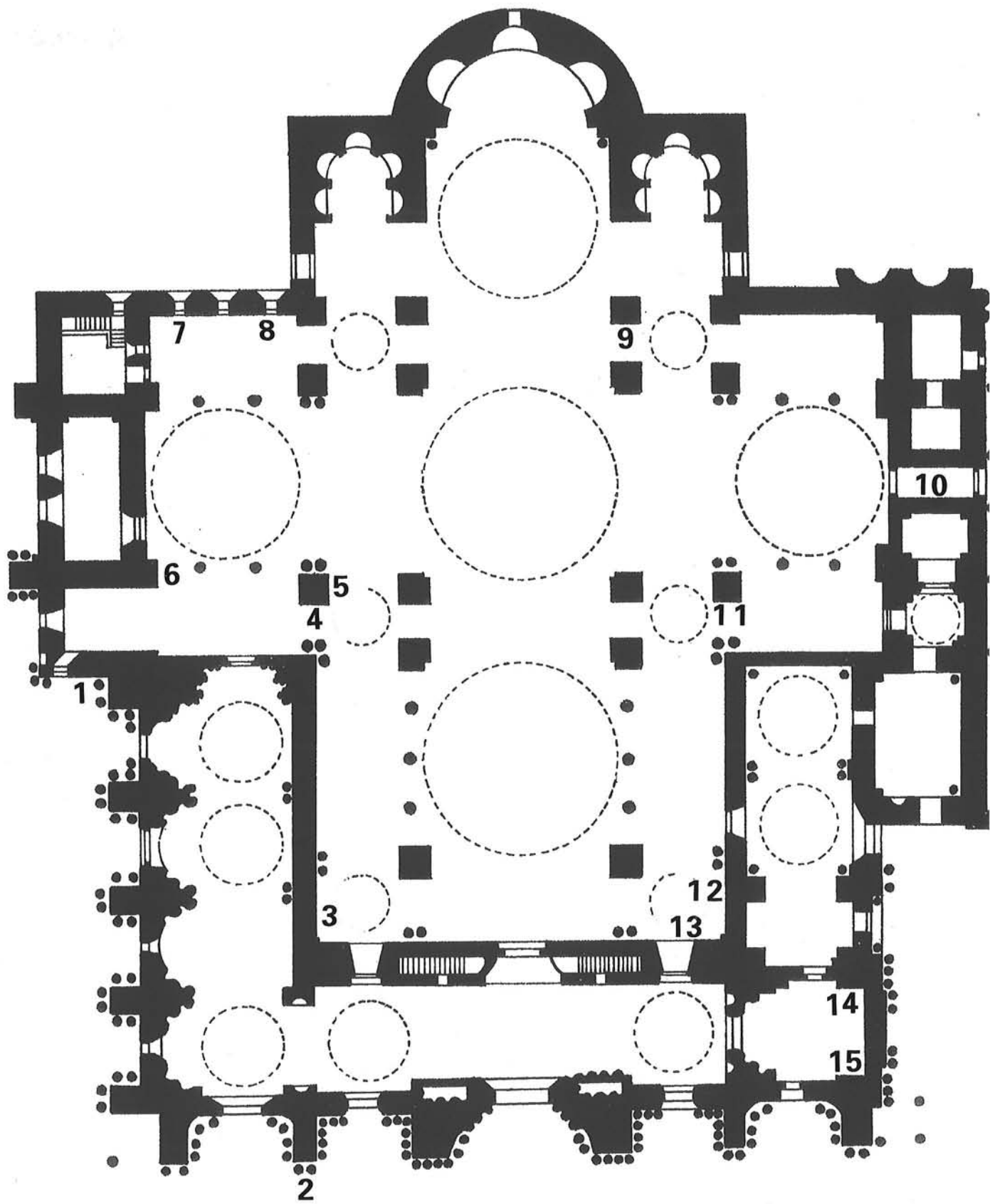
The present essay does not attempt a definitive or even a comprehensive treatment of Byzantine and Byzantinizing relief icons in Italy. It is conceived as a kind of extended 'working paper' and cannot claim to be much more than an outline of the existing material, which attempts to assemble the disparate and dispersed literature and references and point to some of the interesting questions that might be asked of this generally 'understudied' material. The Venetian works, in particular, merit consideration in a wider geographic perspective and in the context of Byzantine Italy and Byzantine art in general. The 'handlist', in particular, intends to show how much research remains to be done and to provide a preliminary instrument of reference for future study, which hopefully will treat the question, "Made in Byzantium?", with greater circumspection and openness. The text may be copied in any medium, and it is available at the copyright address. For further illustrations the reader is referred to the *Festschrift Joachim Poeschke* and to the many illustrations cited in the 'handlist'.

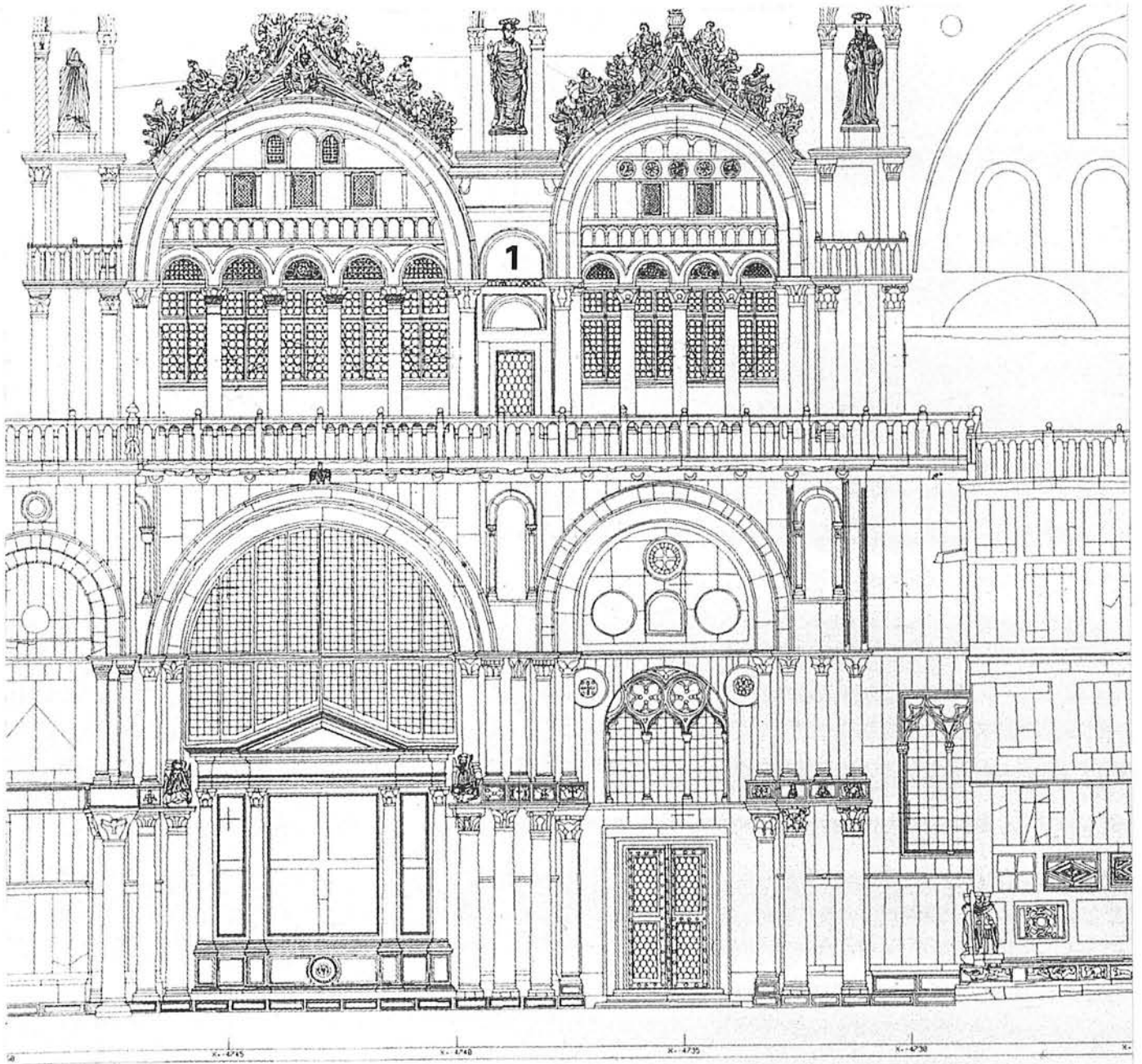
München, 29 December 2005



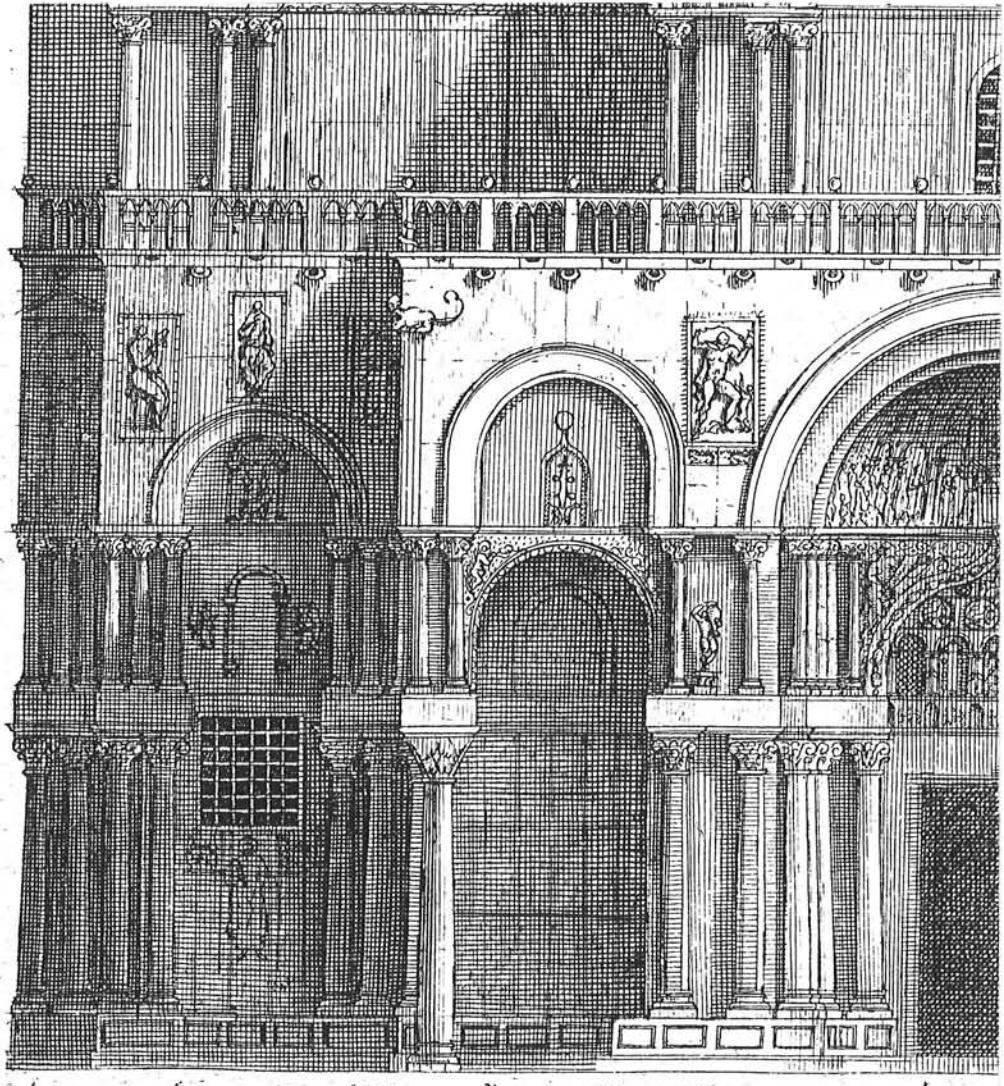




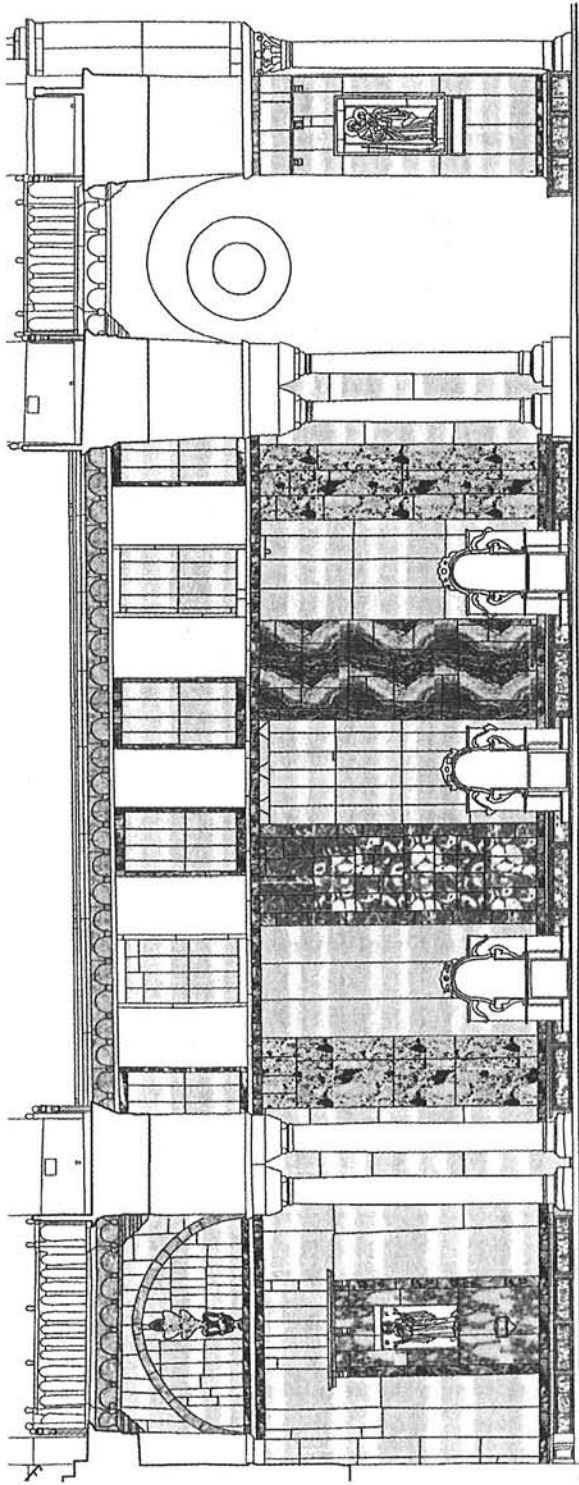


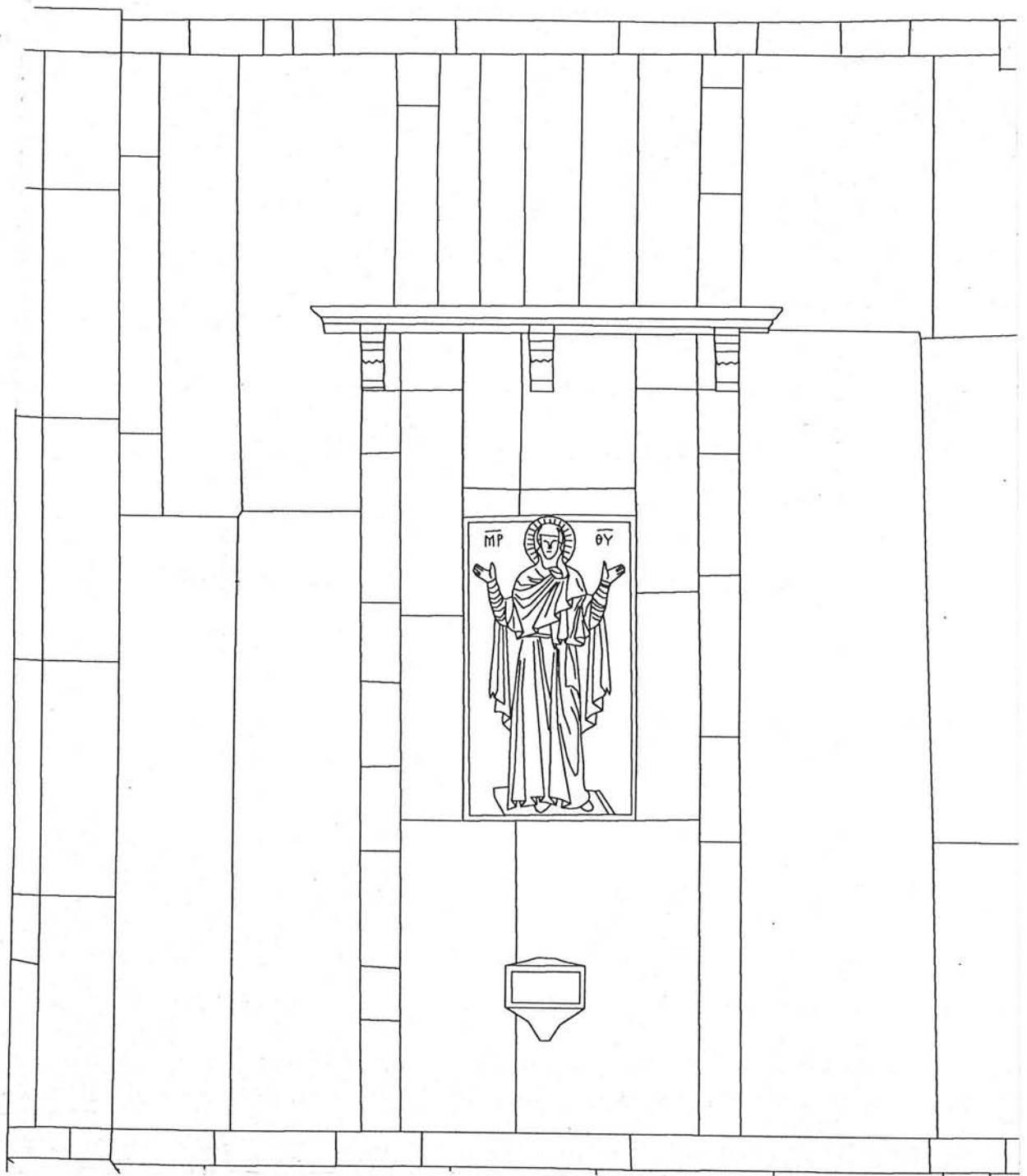


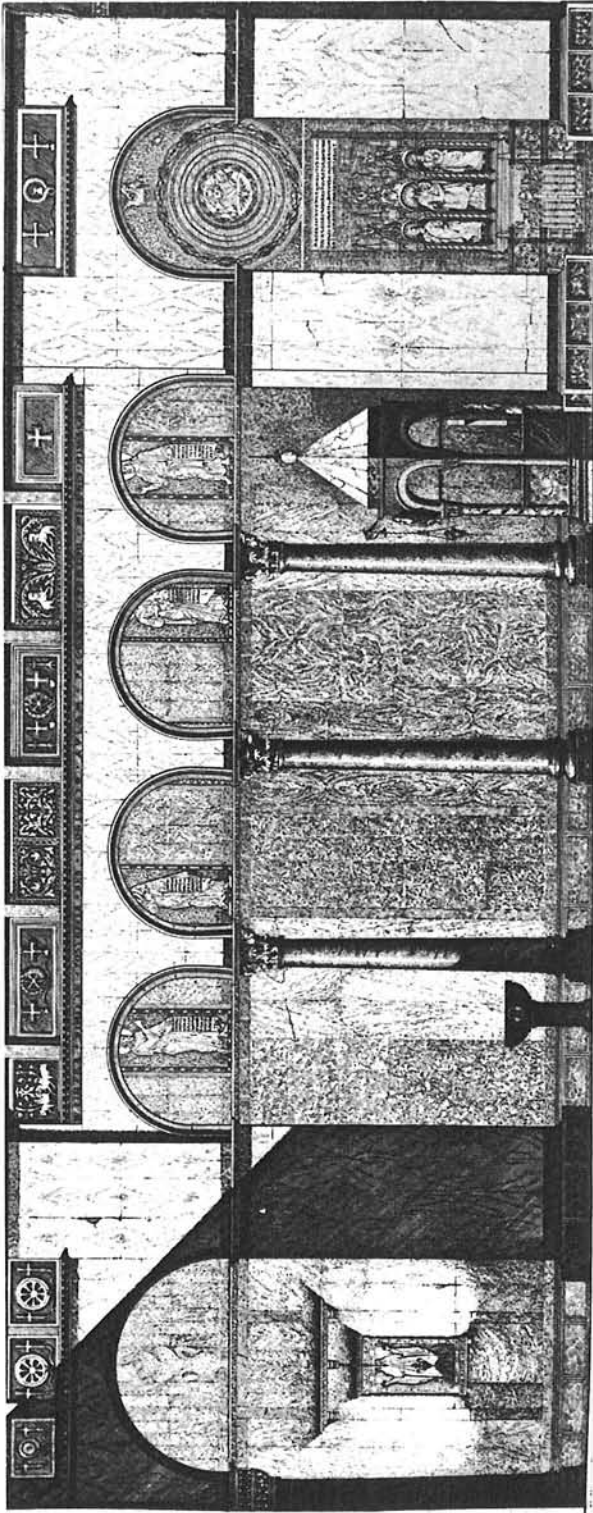


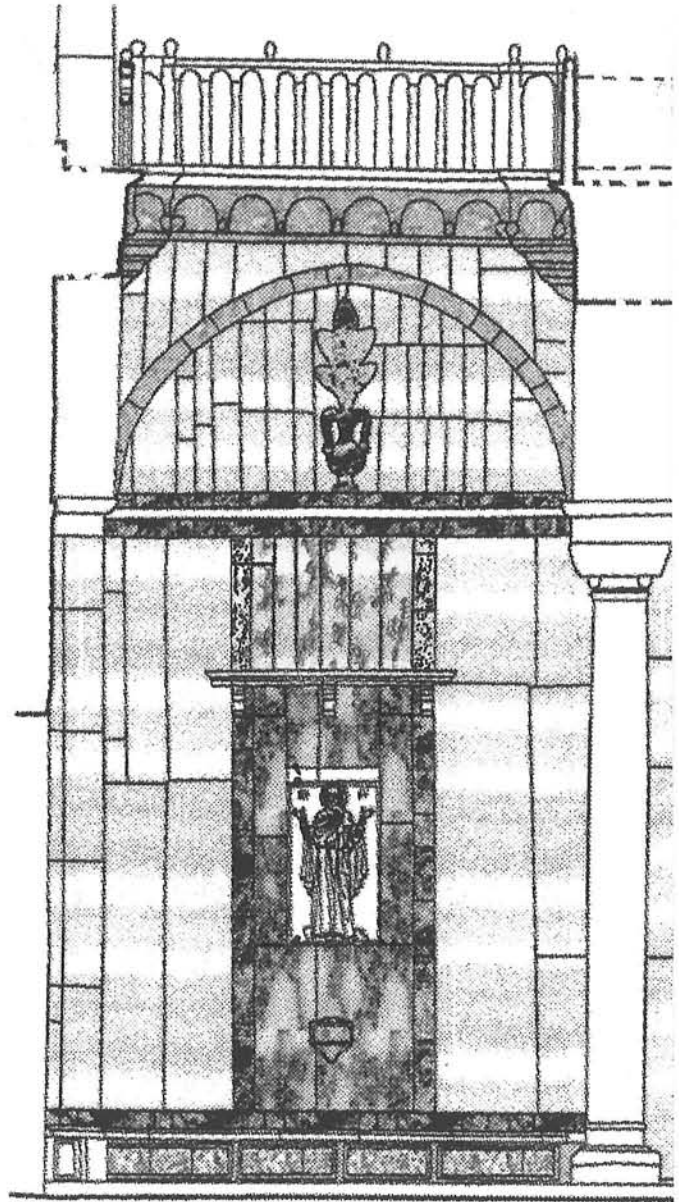


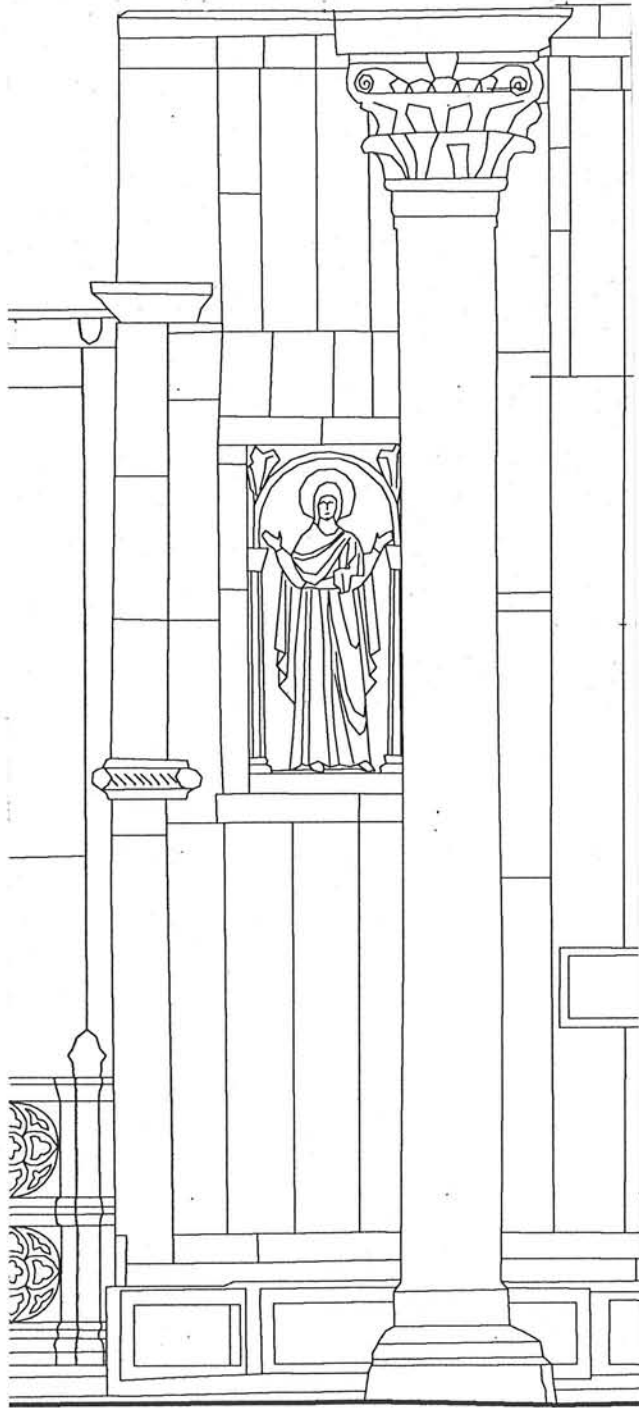








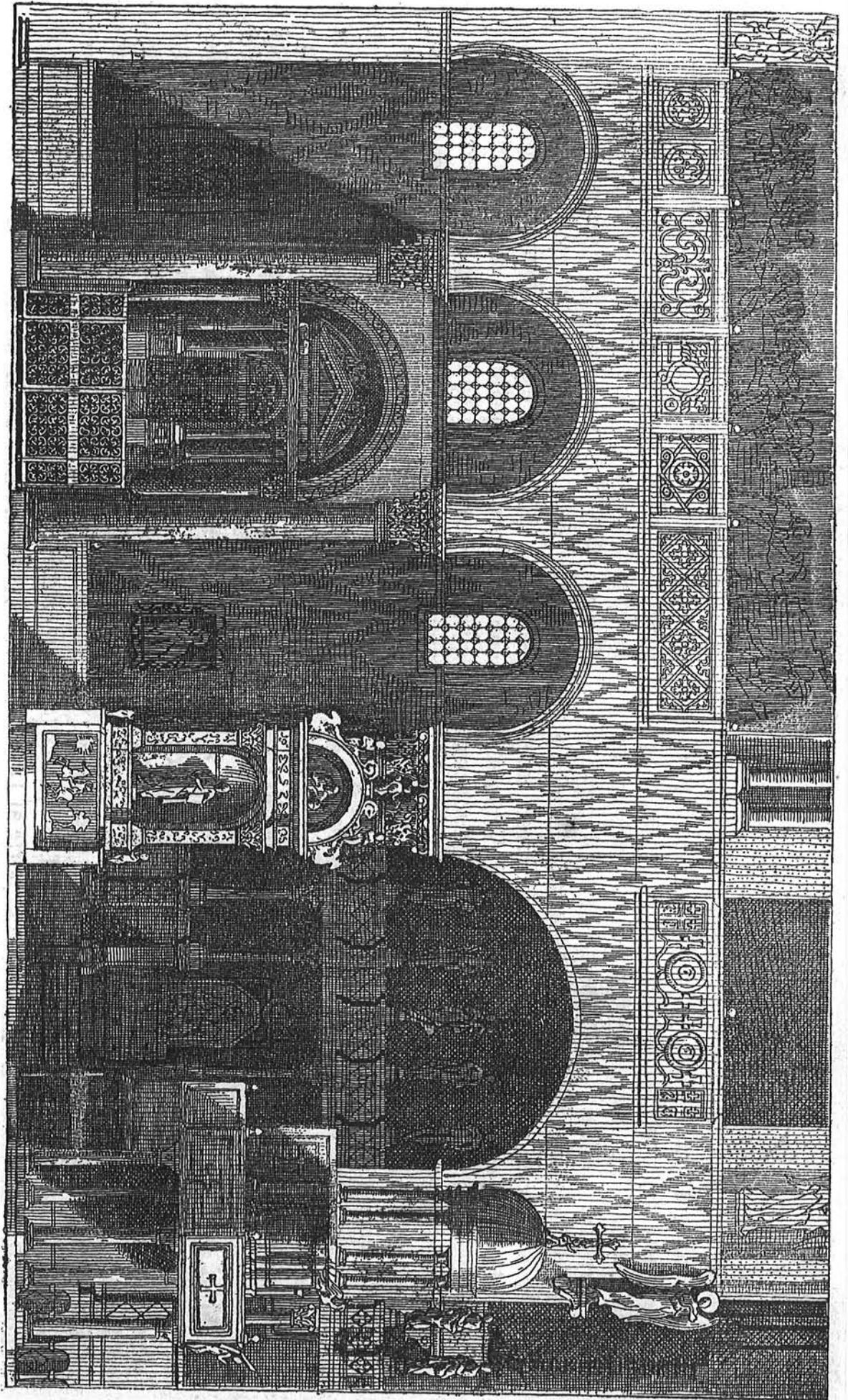




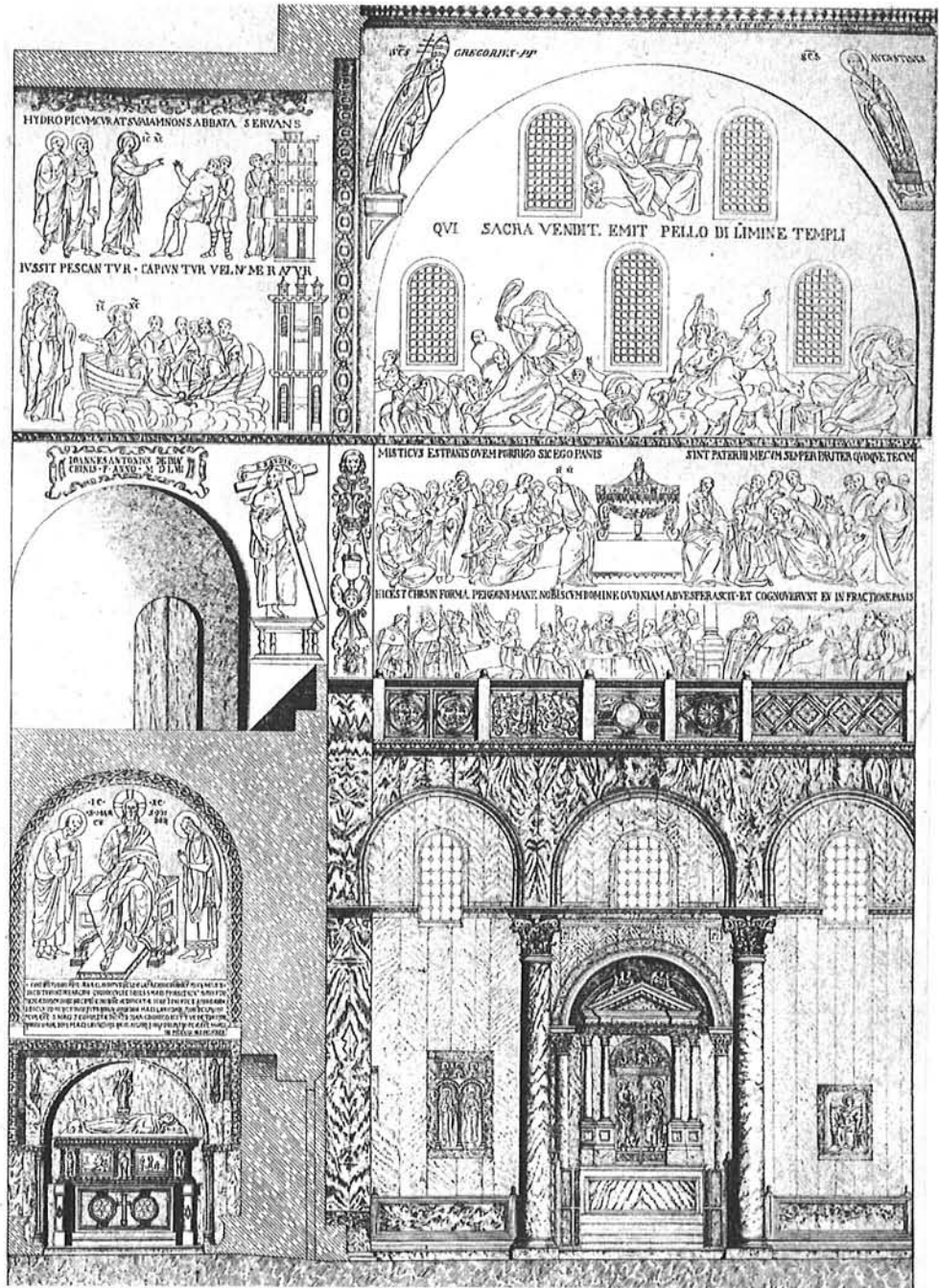
*Nell'interno della Chiesa  
di S. Marco in Venezia*

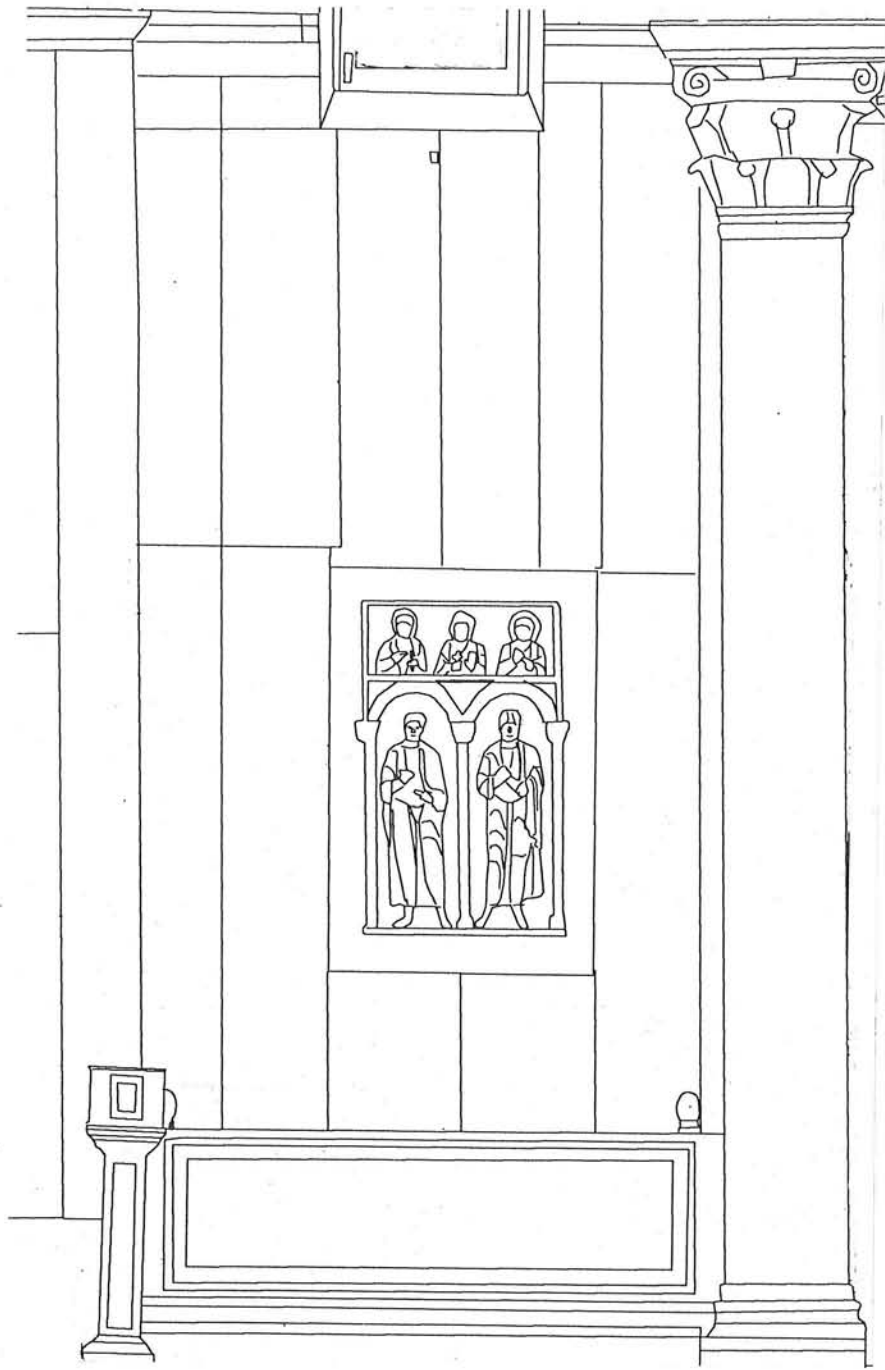


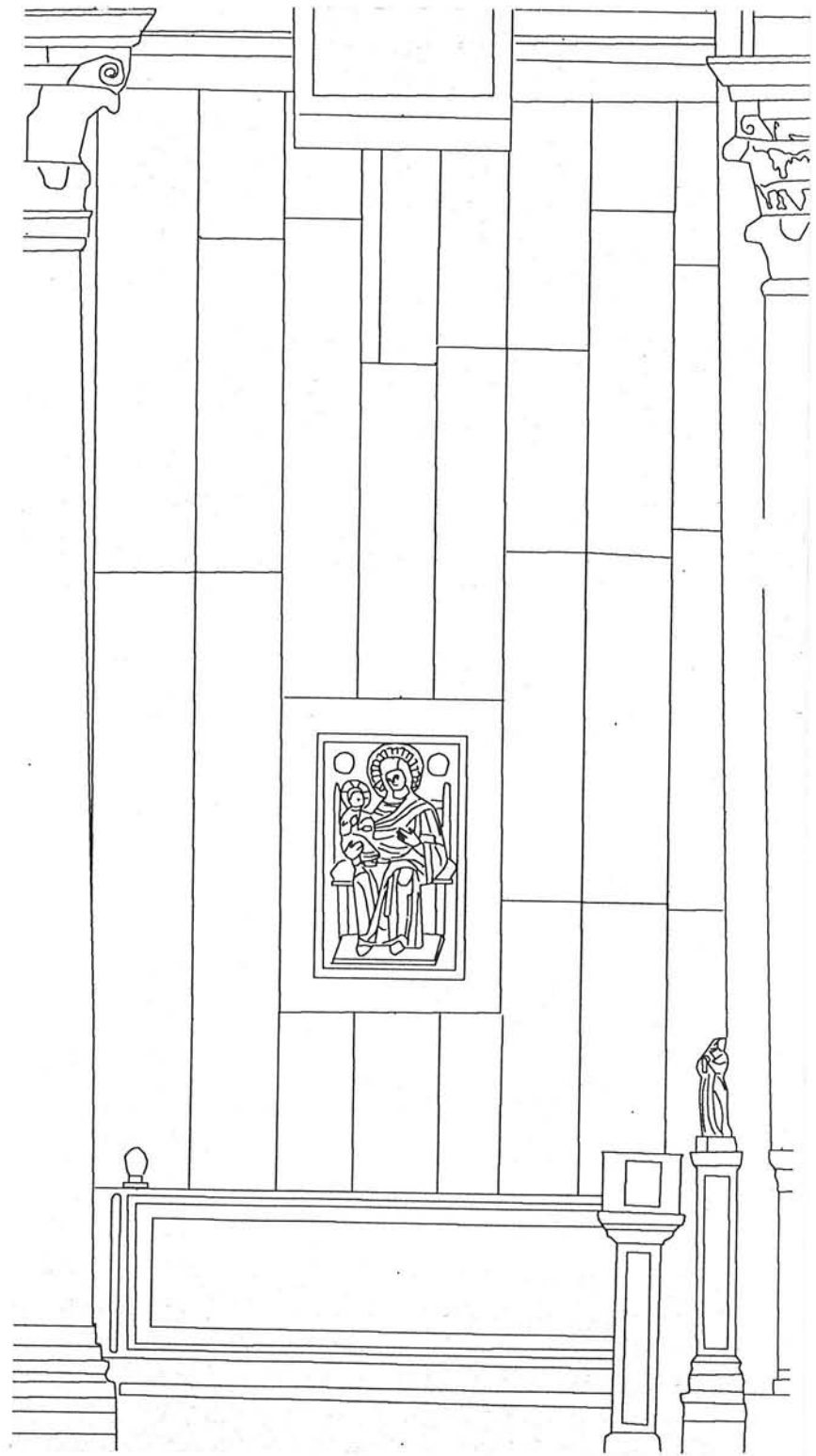


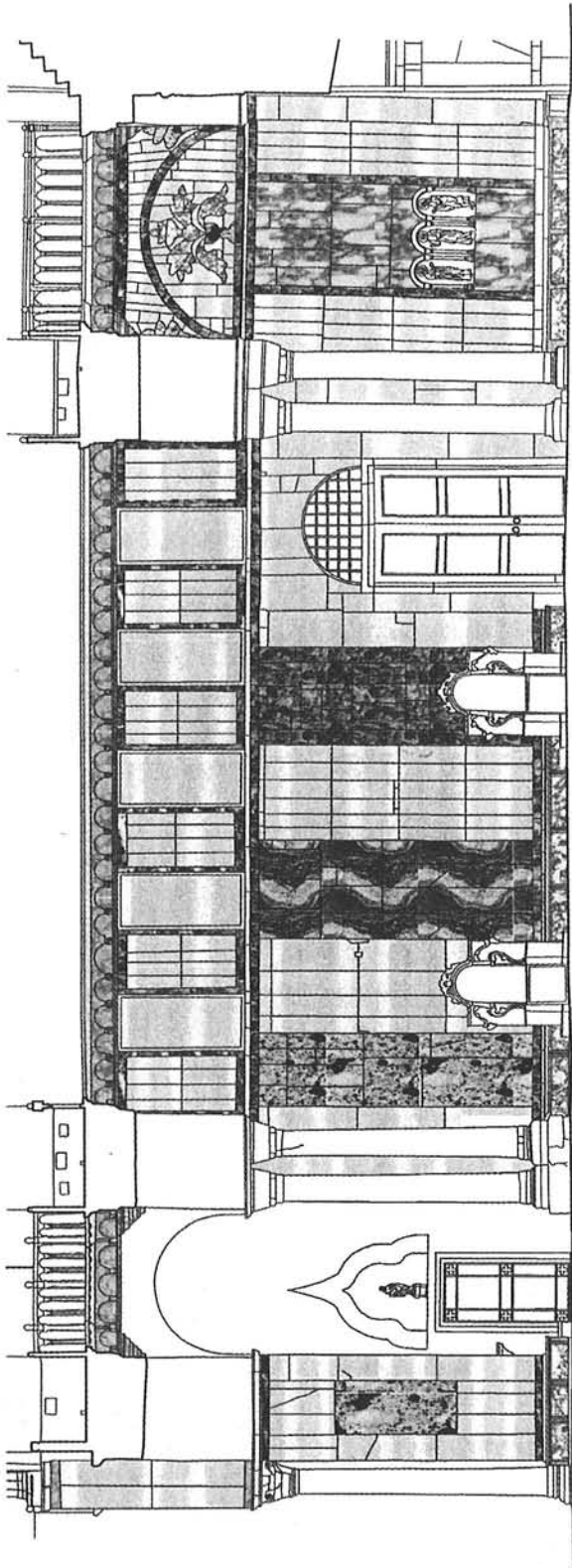




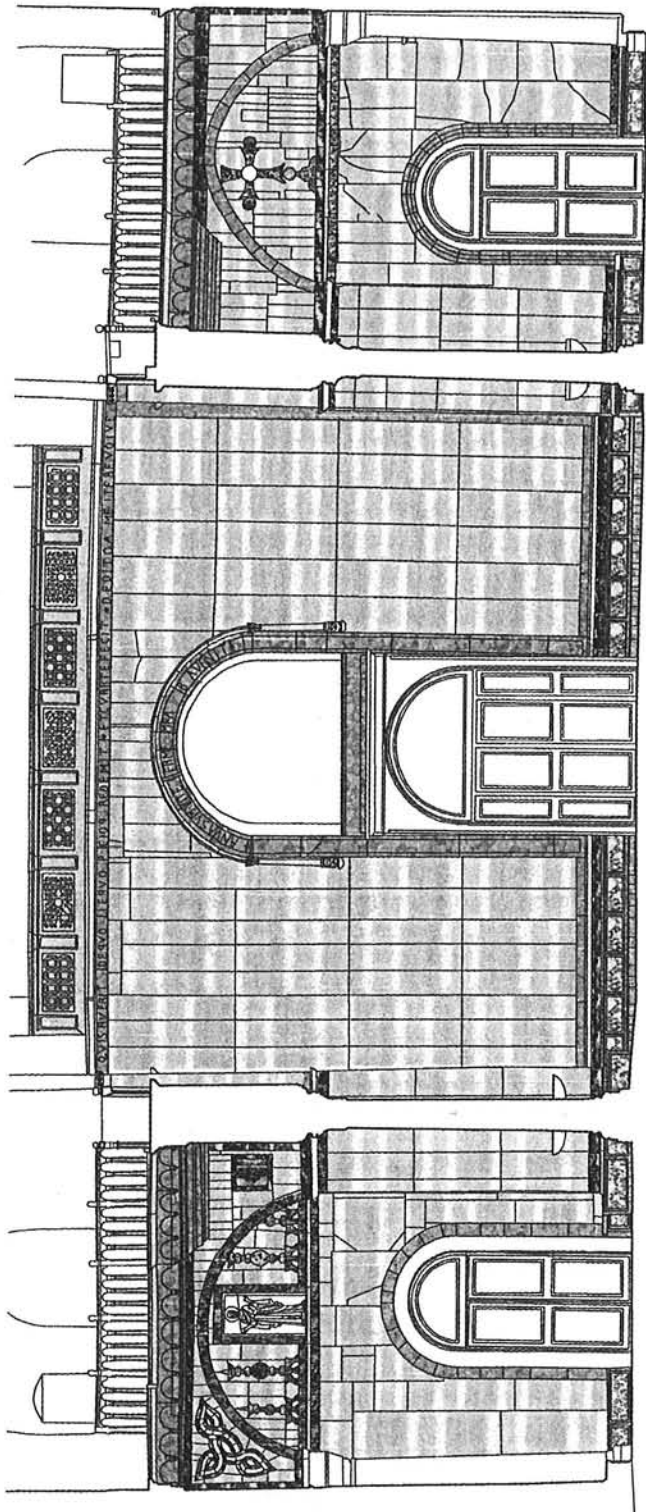


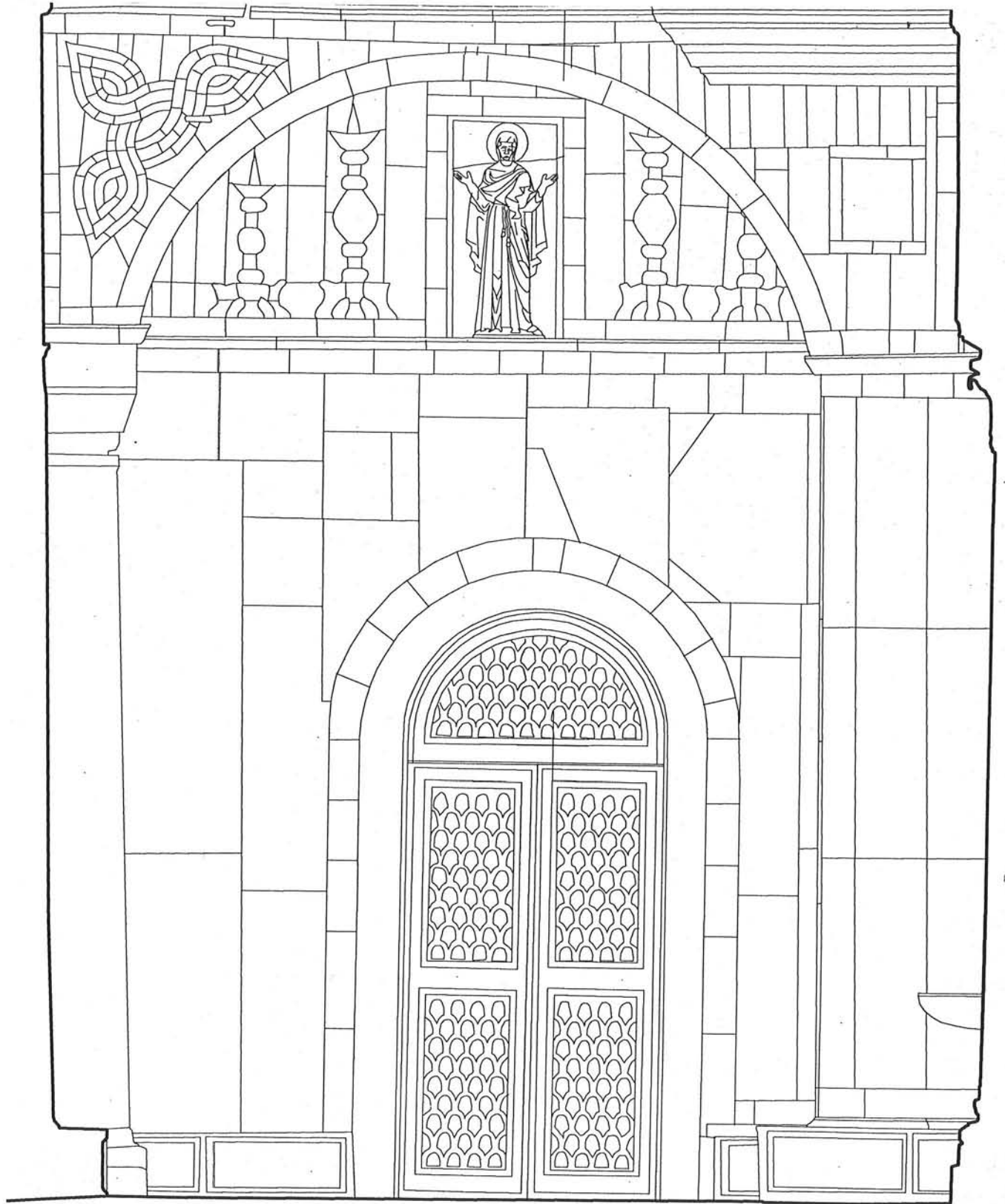




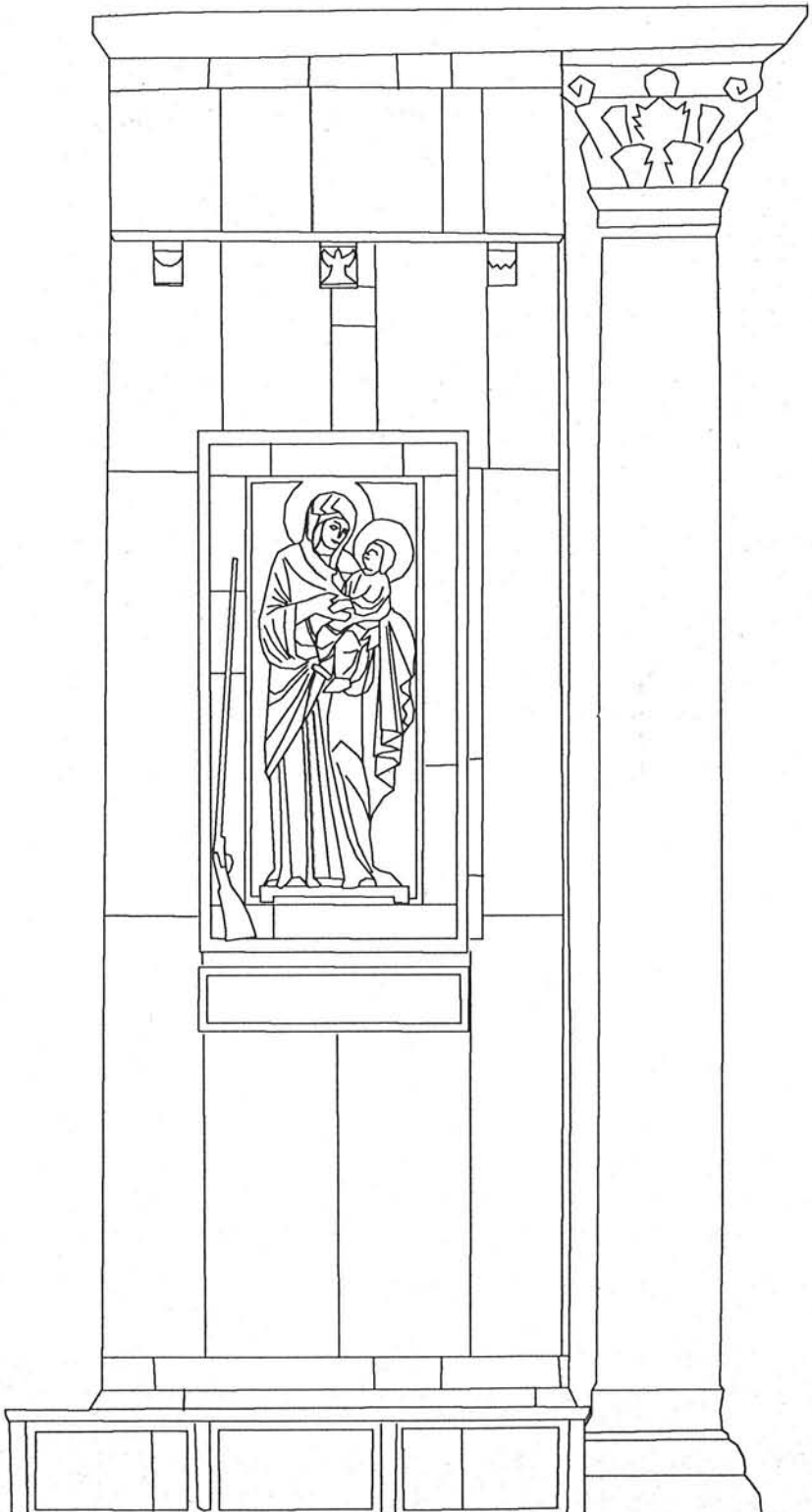


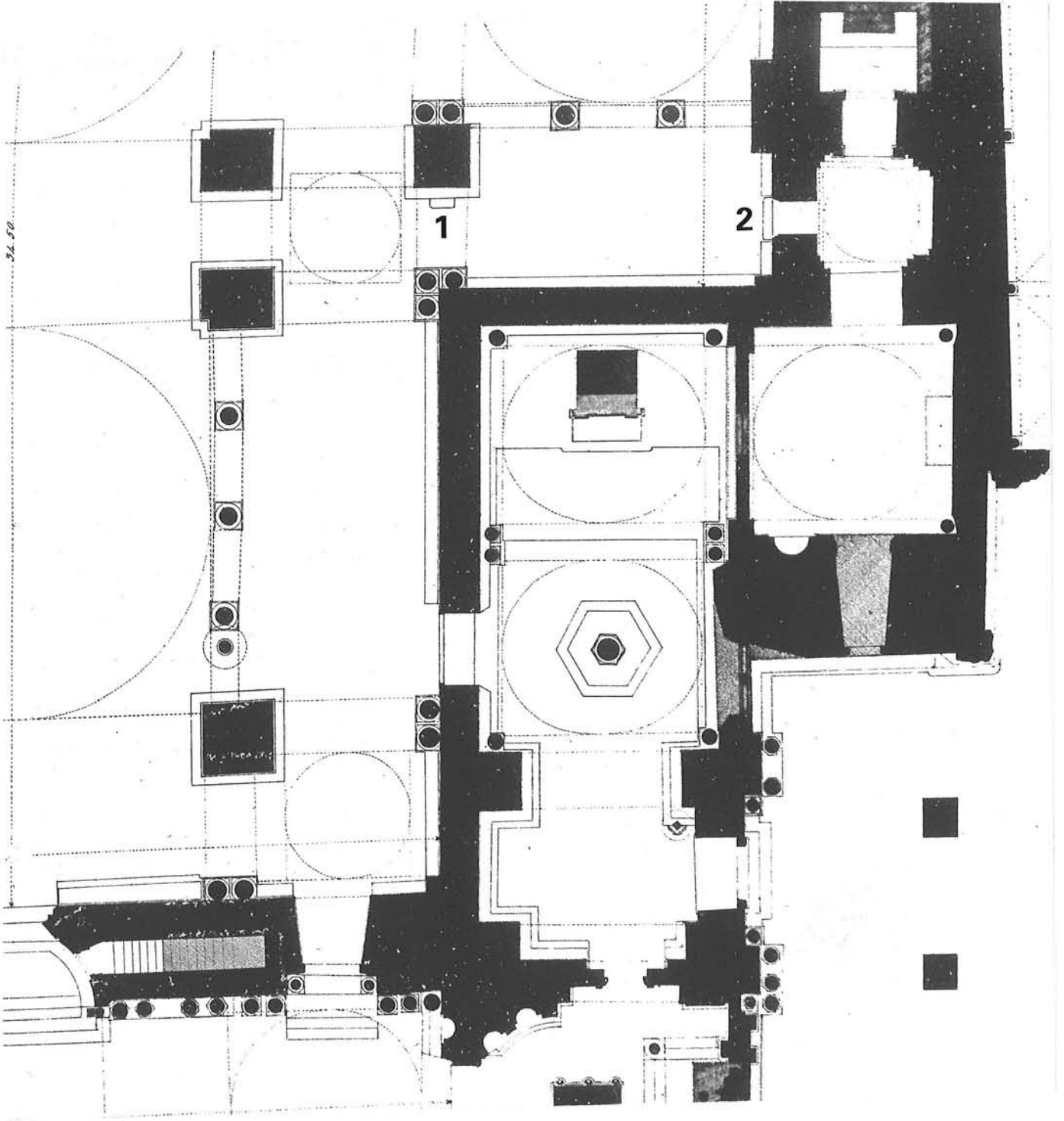




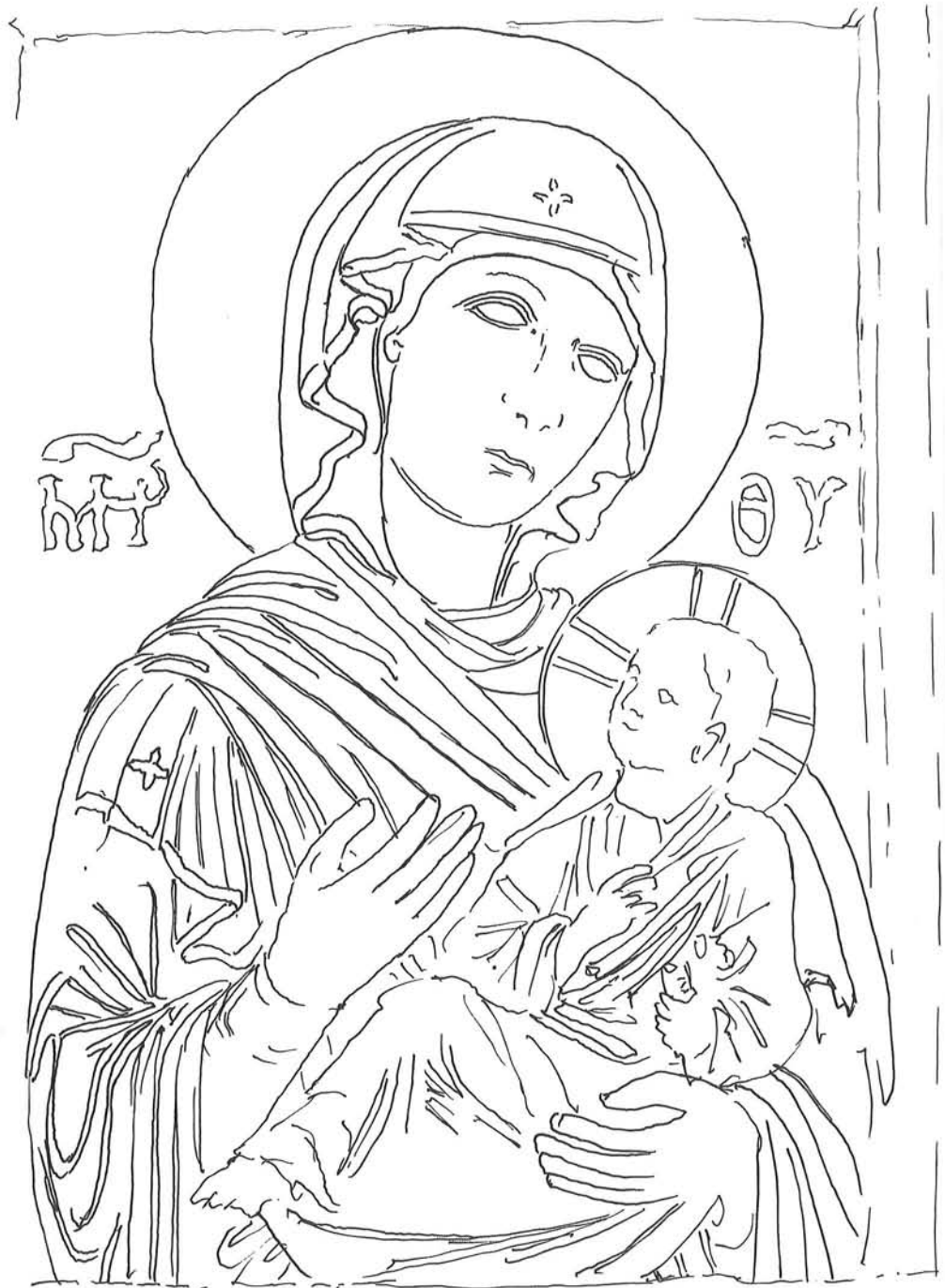








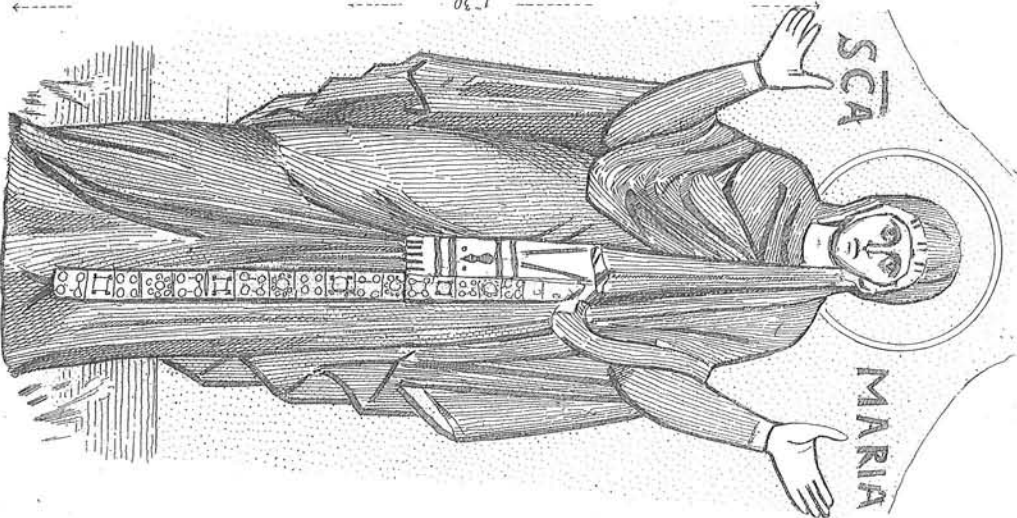




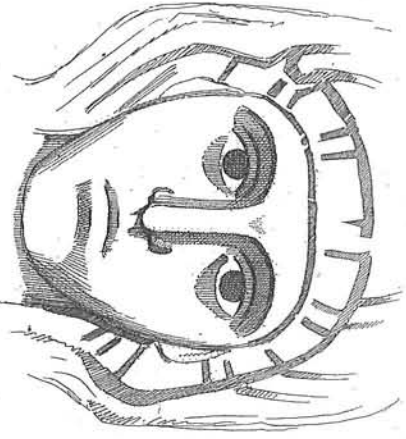


Serrai, Metropolis

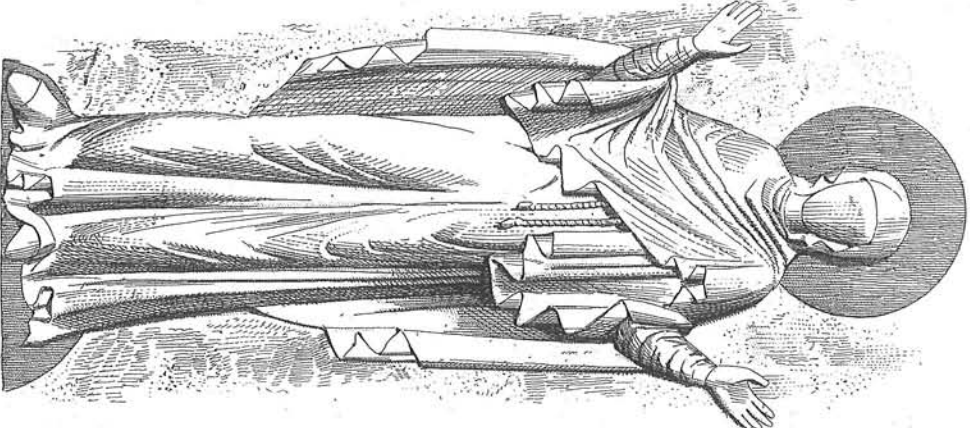
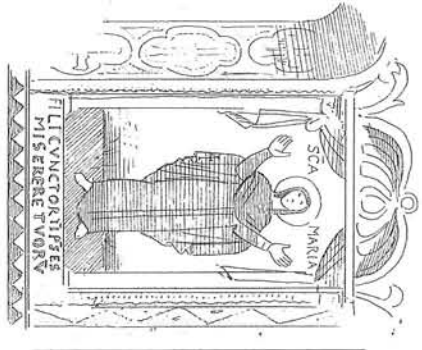
Ancienne estampe



*Mohorik de Lemny*



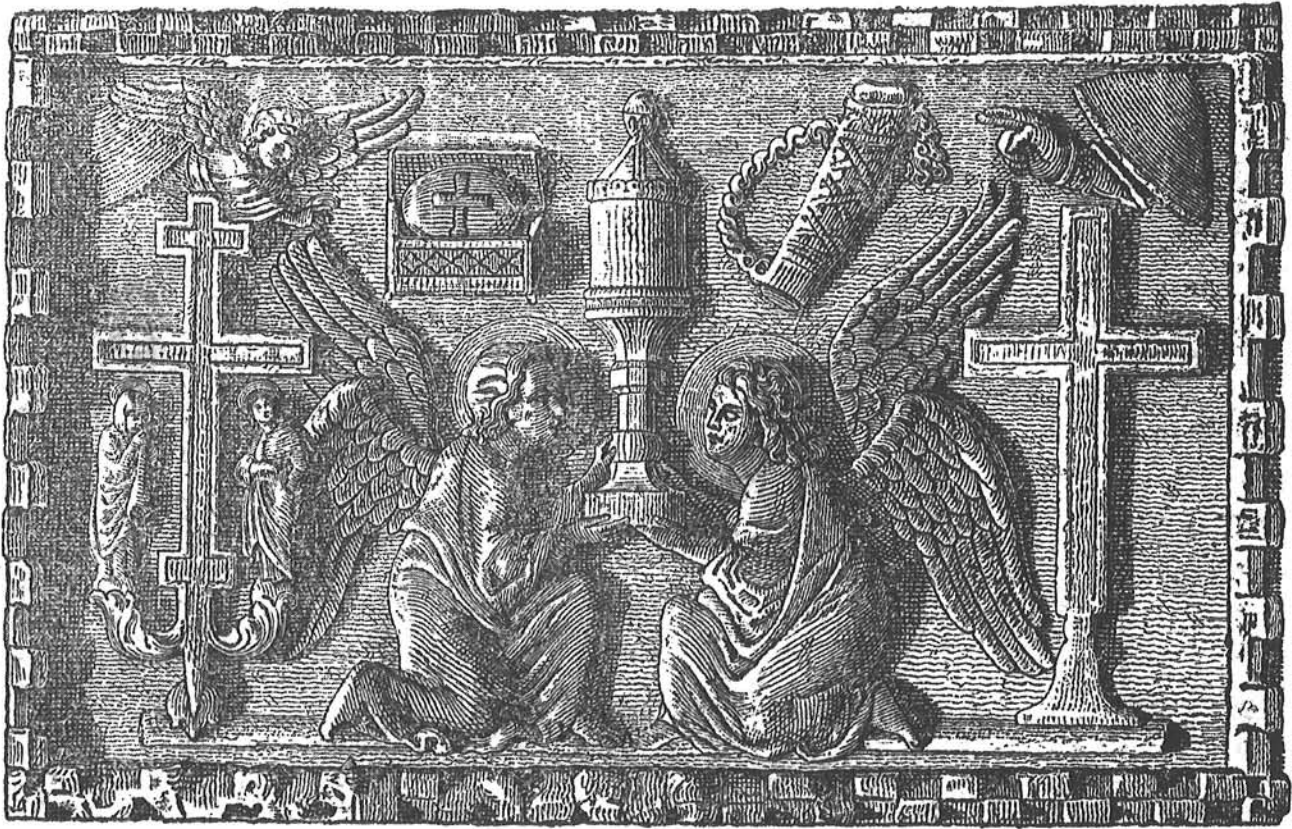
DÉTAIL



DOSTRE de RAVENNE — — S<sup>te</sup> MARC de VENISE

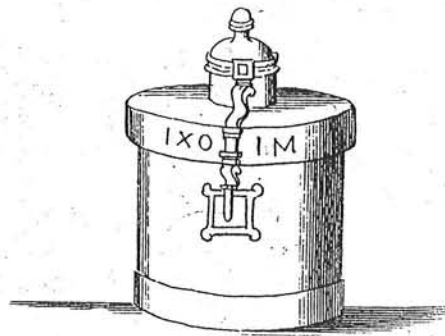
*Imprimerie des Freres Eddes.*

*Estades imp. Paris*





Tom. X \* \* pag. 151.



DELL' ANTICA IMMAGINE  
DI  
MARIA SANTISSIMA

CHE SI CONSERVA NELLA BASILICA DI S. MARCO  
IN VENEZIA.

DISSERTAZIONE  
DI MONS.<sup>r</sup> AGOSTINO MOLIN

CANONICO TEOLOGO DELLA PATRIARCALE E LETTORE DI SACRA SCRITTURA  
NEL SEMINARIO DELLA STESSA CITTA.

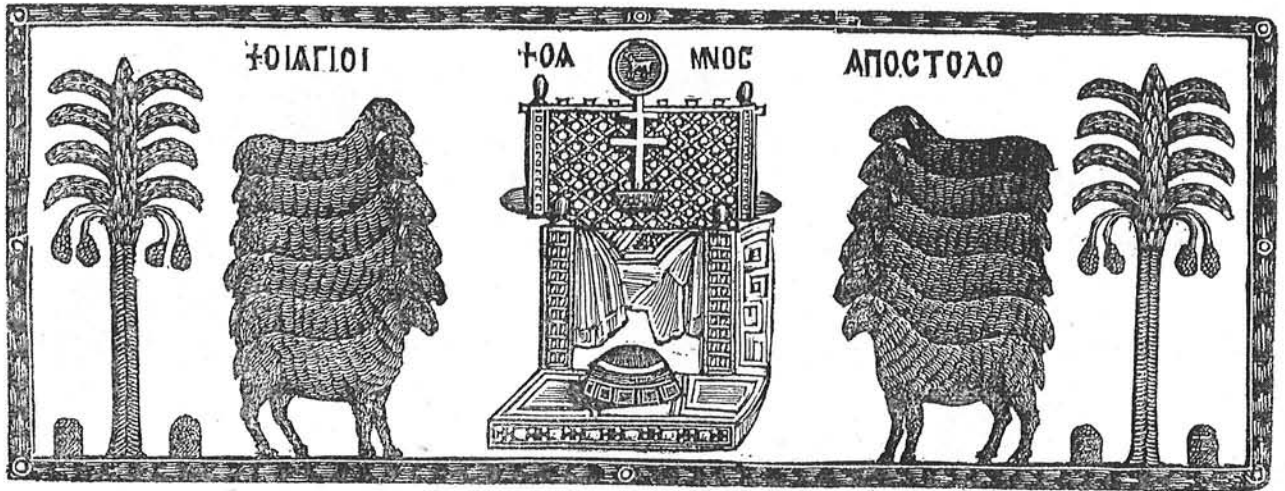


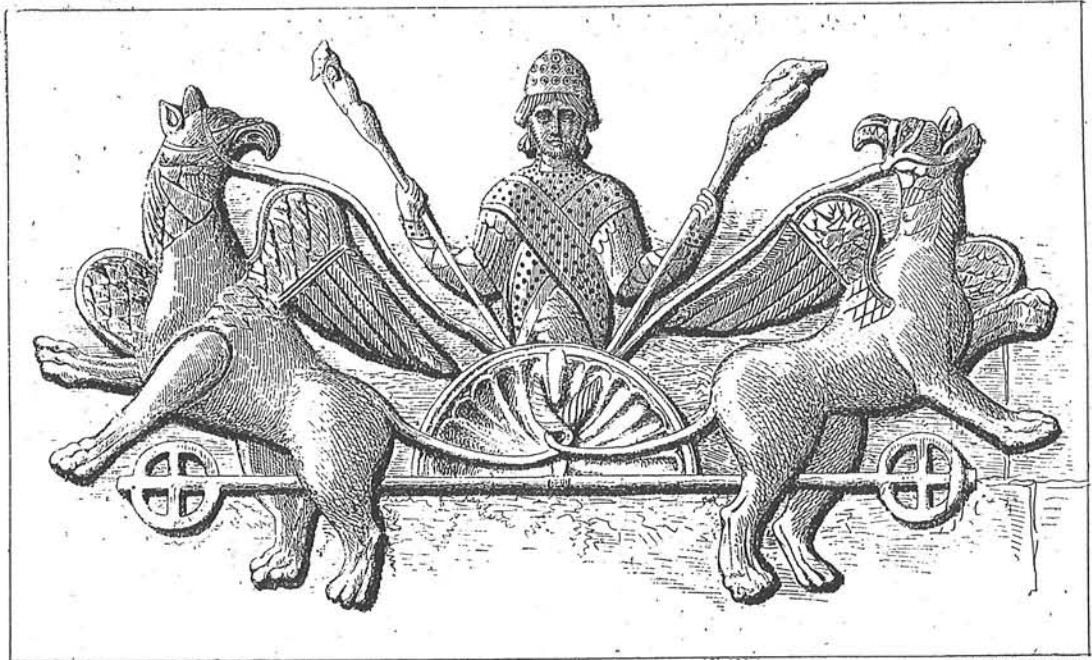
IN VENEZIA  
TIPOGRAFIA ZERLETTI EDITRICE  
MDCCCXXI.



*Centimetri tre*







*Engraver par Ed. Eckstein.*

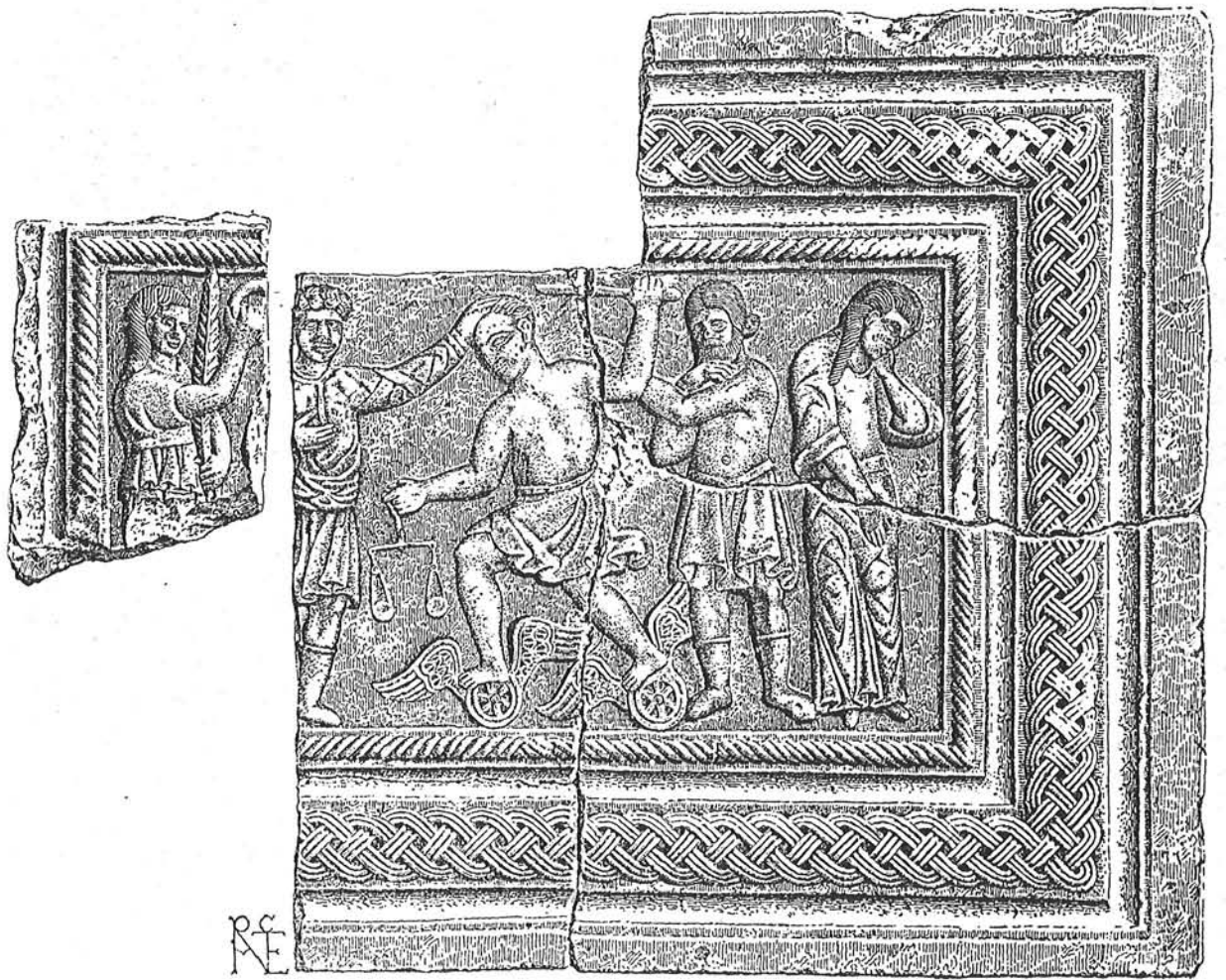
*un dessin de V. de Ségur.*

*Graver par L. Goussier.*

FIG. 61. — ASCENSION D'ALEXANDRE.

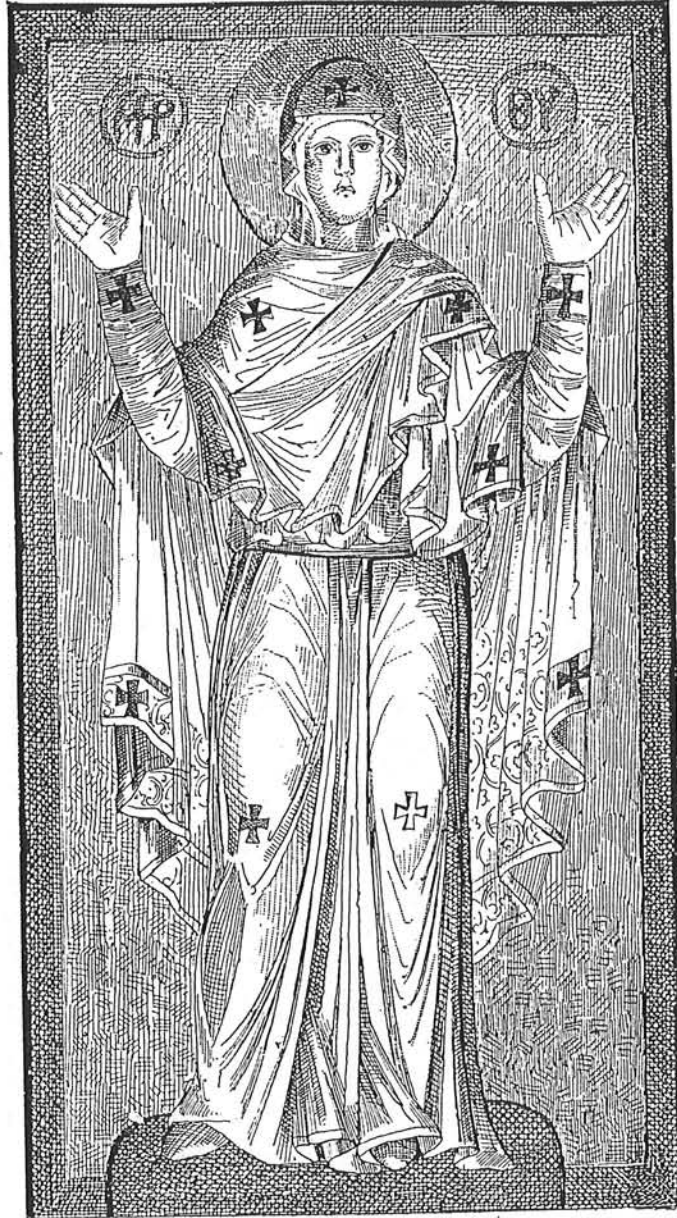
Bas-relief à Saint-Marc de Venise. (D'après les *Annales archéologiques* de Didron.)





Pluteo del Duomo di Torcello — a. 1008





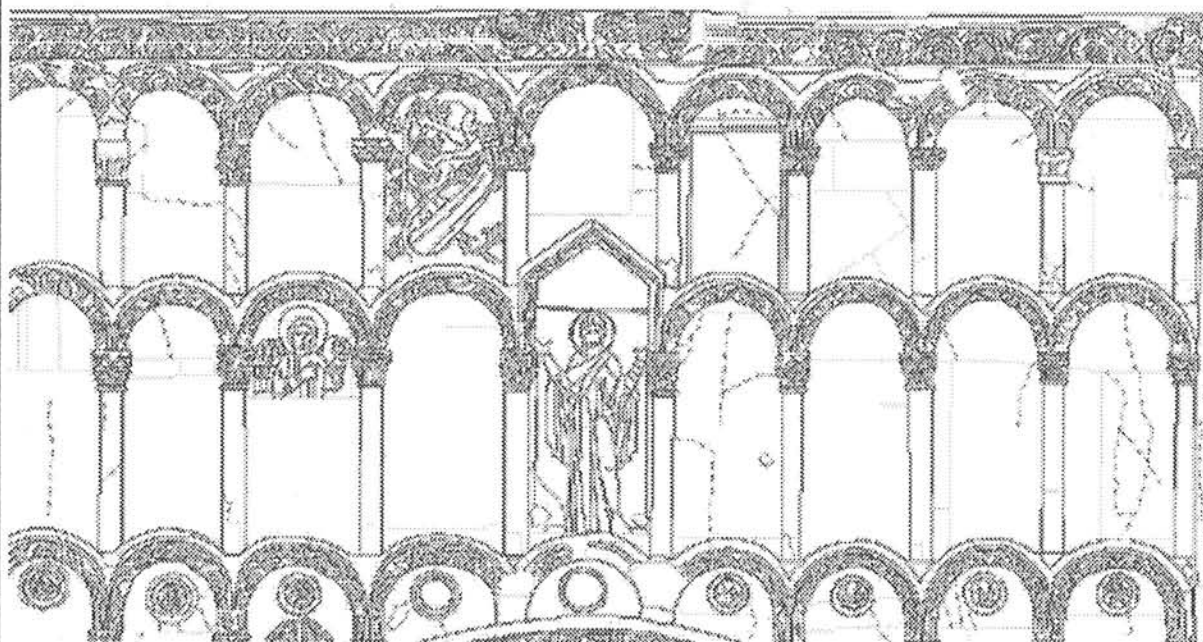
*L. J. 11.5.11.15. ed.*

FIG. 60. — MADONE ORANTE.  
Bas-relief à Santa-Maria in Porto. (Ravenna.)



Orante di Positano

+++ DETTAGLIO : STEREOFOTOGRAMMETRIA +++



Chiesa di S. Maria della Piazza [Ancona] Particolare facciata



*BAS-RELIEF BYZANTIN de marbre portant l'effigie de la Panagia et le nom de Deltérios turmarque en 1039, conservé aujourd'hui encore dans une église de Trani. —*



Bassorilievo nel Museo  
di Capua — sec. VIII.



9110. — Stèle copte du musée du Caire, vi<sup>e</sup> siècle.  
Orante portant l'*orarium* brodé.  
D'après W. Neuss, *Der Kunst der Altenchristen*,  
1926.





9089. — Orante provenant de Sala-Monastir,  
au musée de Berlin.  
D'après O. Wulff, *Altchristl. byzant. Kunst*,



I.



II



VII.



## CONTENTS

3- 22: Byzantine Relief Icons in Venice and along the Adriatic Coast

23-26: Appendix I: The Orant Madonna of the Cappella Bernabò

27-35: Appendix II: Handlist

36-37: Appendix III: The Madonna Orante in Messina

38-40: List of Plates

41: Postscript

Plates 1-41

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