The Pala d'Oro of San Marco in Venice in its Art Historical and Historical Contexts

by

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B A , Carleton University 1990

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History in Art

We accept this thesis as conforming
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ABSTRACT

The history of the Pala d'Oro, the enamel, gold and gem-studded altarpiece on the high altar of the church of San Marco in Venice, is long, complicated, and by no means certain. The Pala d'Oro's mid fourteenth-century inscription states that the altarpiece was commissioned in 1105 from Constantinople by Doge Ordelafo Falier, and that it was renovated in 1209 and again in 1345 by Doge Pietro Ziani and Doge Andrea Dandolo respectively. Only two other primary sources, John the Deacon's early eleventh-century Chronicon Venetum et Gradense and Andrea Dandolo's fourteenth-century Chronicon Venetum, mention either Falier's Pala d'Oro or its predecessor, an altar-frontal produced in Constantinople for Doge Pietro I Orseolo (976-978). Thus hampered by a lack of documentation about the work, scholars have based their studies of the altarpiece on the visual evidence provided by the stylistic analysis of the Pala d'Oro's constituent enamels. This method yields inconclusive results, however, and fails to provide a measure of the altarpiece's significance. The goal of this thesis is thus to explore two aspects of the Pala d'Oro's importance by examining the altarpiece in both its art historical and historical contexts.

The first chapter consists of a detailed description of the Pala d'Oro's eighty-three large enamels, and a consideration of the main theories and arguments presented to date by scholars studying the altarpiece. Examination of the primary and secondary sources concerning the Pala d'Oro's history suggests that the work's original composition survives in the lower section of the altarpiece. Pursuing this theory, the second chapter considers possible iconographic sources, both western

and eastern, and minor and monumental, for the selection and arrangement of the large enamels found on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro This iconographic study places the altarpiece in its art historical context and shows that the Pala d Oro, like early twelfth-century Venice, was neither wholly western, nor entirely Byzantine but a distinctly Venetian amalgamation of both traditions The third chapter place the altarpiece in its historical context by examining the cult of St Mark in Venice from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries The cult s political nature is revealed through an examination of the changes made to its legends, ceremonies and works of art between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries The original appearance of Doge Falier's Pala d'Oro and the additions made to it in 1209 and 1345 suggest that the altarpiece served to chart Venice s changing relationship with the Byzantine Empire during this period

Thus, contrary to one scholarly opinion which holds that the Pala d'Oro is merely a magnificent example of an amazing stylistic misunderstanding' this thesis places the altarpiece in its art historical and historical contexts, and finds it to be a remarkable document of the Venetians' view of their history from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures 1 through 79, and figure 83 are taken from Hans R Hahnloser, ed Il Tesoro di San Marco (Florence, 1965) I Figures 80, 81 and 82 are from Peter Lasko, Ars Sacra, 800-1200 (Harmondsworth, 1972) Figures 84 and 85 are taken from Otto Demus, The Mosaics of Norman Sicily (New York, 1950) Figure 86 is from Otto Demus, The Church of San Marco in Venice (Washington, 1960) Figures 87, 88 and 89, as well as figures 91 through 97, are taken from Otto Demus, The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice (Chicago and London, 1984), I Figure 90 is from Donald M Nicol, Byzantium and Venice. A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations (Cambridge 1988) Figures 98 through 103 are taken from Otto Demus The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice (Chicago and London, 1984), II

I would like to acknowledge the generous assistance that I received while researching and writing my thesis at the University of Victoria

First and foremost, my thanks go to my supervisor, Dr John Osborne for suggesting the topic of the Pala d Oro and for his close reading each chapter I am also grateful to my supervisory committee, Dr Nancy Micklewright Dr Michele Mulchahey, and Dr Lloyd Howard, for their corrections and insightful comments

I would like to thank the other members of the Department of History in Art with whom I have had many discussions relating to the Pala d'Oro and to the progress of my thesis, and my fellow graduate students, who listened patiently both to the ideas and problems that arose over the course of researching and writing this work

I thank the Faculty of Graduate Studies for the financial assistance which made it possible for me to attend the University of Victoria from 1991 to 1993

My deepest thanks go to my family, for their generous support and unwavering belief in my abilities, and to Ross Flower, whose love, encouragement and humour saw me through until the end

INTRODUCTION

The Pala d'Oro, the enamel, gold and gem-incrusted altarpiece which adorns the high altar of Venice s church of San Marco, has had a long and complicated history According to the inscription found on the work itself the altarpiece was commissioned in 1105 by Doge Ordelafo Falier and renovated in 1209 and again in 1345 under Doge Pietro Ziani and Doge Andrea Dandolo respectively Documentation concerning the Pala d'Oro is sparse, and, because of this, most twentieth-century scholars have focused on the style and provenance of the individual enamels with which the altarpiece is composed, in order to determine the Pala's original appearance and the nature of its thirteenth- and fourteenth-century renovations By limiting the scope of the study of the Pala d'Oro in this manner, scholars have not pursued other methods of investigation which reveal the altarpiece's artistic and historical significance The purpose of this thesis is thus to show how our understanding of the Pala d'Oro can be broadened by examining the altarpiece in its art historical and historical contexts To this end, the first chapter presents a description of the Pala d'Oro s constituent enamels and a consideration of the benefits and limitations of the scholarly arguments made about the altarpiece, the second chapter consists of an examination of western and eastern sources which may have influenced the appearance and arrangement of the altarpiece's enamels, and the third chapter places the Pala d'Oro in its historical context by examining it in terms of cult of St Mark in Venice By setting the altarpiece in both its art historical and historical contexts, the Pala d'Oro will be shown to be more than an apparently eclectic

conglomeration of artistic styles The altarpiece can be interpreted in fact, as a document which relates some of the artistic and historical aspects of Venice s relationship with Byzantium between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries

I Description of the Pala d'Oro and Overview of Scholarly Opinion on the Venetian Altarpiece

The history of the original assembly and subsequent reworking of Venice's Pala d Oro, the enamel, gold and gem-studded altarpiece on the high altar of the church of San Marco is complicated and by no means certain Evidence of the altarpiece's twelfth-century commission, as well as its renovations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is based on a few references in contemporary documents Art historians, although they do take these sources into consideration, prefer to rely on the visual evidence provided by the Pala d Oro itself, in the formation of their theories concerning the reconstruction of the altarpiece's original composition and its later alterations Scholarly opinion on the Pala d Oro is therefore based, for the most part, on the stylistic analysis of the altarpiece's individual enamels which represent a variety of holy figures and scenes As will be shown through a review of the arguments presented by the twentieth century's leading authorities on the Pala d'Oro, theories relying on stylistic analysis are both inconclusive and fraught with problems, because the altarpiece is composed, it appears, of enamels which were produced by different artists or workshops, and/or at different times and which may have been used originally in other contexts In order to get away from these uncertainties surrounding the Pala d'Oro, and to present a more meaningful interpretation of the Venetian altarpiece art historians have more recently started to examine other factors such as the work's iconography, purpose and context, to supplement the visual evidence supplied by the enamels This multi-faceted approach to the study of

the Pala d Oro has led some scholars to believe that the altarpiece's composition presents a coherent iconographical program, a position which stands in opposition to the opinions expressed by earlier scholars, who see the Pala d'Oro as mixture of styles and images which do not lend themselves to any logical interpretation Before proceeding to an overview of the scholarly theories on the Pala d'Oro, however a complete description of the constituent parts of the altarpiece should be presented

In its present configuration, the Pala d'Oro (fig 1) measures 3 34m by 2 12m, length by height,[1] and consists of two separately framed panels, which create one upper and one lower section to the altarpiece Both sections are set with numerous enamel plaques, surrounded by gems pearls, and gold filigree A large ovoid enamel of Christ in Majesty (fig 2) dominates the lower zone, both by its size and by its position at the centre of this section's composition The figure of Christ is identified by a Latin inscription, and shown seated on a gem-studded throne blessing with his right hand and holding the open Gospels with his left Christ's two golden hands stand out in low-relief from the surface of the enamel, having been superimposed over the figure's original hands Christ is dressed in a blue/grey tunic, which is covered, in part, by a dark blue pallium drapped over his left shoulder and tied in an elaborate knot across his knees and lap His sandaled feet rest on a gold cushion at the base of the throne Radiating out counter-clockwise from this enamel are four smaller medallions depicting the evangelists, Mark (fig 3), Matthew (fig 4), John (fig 5) and Luke (fig 6) All four figures are named by Latin inscriptions, and are shown seated before colourfully-patterned lecterns, Matthew and Luke in

the midst of writing, Mark turning the page of his Gospel, and John resting or waiting for further inspiration The open codices of all four evangelists show the Latin incipit, or opening words, of each author's respective Gospel [2] The evangelists are dressed, like Christ, in tunics and cloaks of various colours and patterns Their unshod feet rest on stools placed at the base of their chairs It is important to note that Mark, the patron saint of the church of San Marco has been set in the place of greatest honour, above and to the right of the hand with which Christ makes his blessing

Directly above the figure of Christ is an enamel symbolizing the theme of the Hetoimasia (fig 7), or the Throne of Judgement, which is prepared for the second coming of Christ at the end of time In this double-lobed plaque an empty throne is shown draped with a blue pallium and surmounted by a closed copy of the Gospels, a dove and a Greek Orthodox cross To either side of the Hetoimasia are two rectangular enamel plaques (figs 8 and 9), each depicting a tetramorph, placed closest to the empty throne, and an unnamed angel carrying a staff and making a profound inclination toward the empty throne A representation of the union of the attributes of the four evangelists in one winged figure each tetramorph has four wings covered with eyes, and features the heads of Ezekiel's Apocalyptic beasts those of the bull the lion and the eagle, which all face away from the human face at the centre of each angelic being Directly below the figure of Christ is a plaque depicting the Virgin in a standing orant position (fig 10), her arms raised by her sides in an attitude of prayer The figure is identified as the Mother of God by a Greek inscription [3] The Virgin is shown dressed in a blue/grey robe, red shoes, and a dark blue mantle or

maphorium, which covers her head and shoulders To the Virgin s left is a haloed female figure (fig 11), who is identified by a Greek inscription which translates as, 'Irene the most pious Empress [4] In keeping with Byzantine imperial costume tradition,[5] the Empress wears a crown, a jewelled necklace, richly-decorated robes and red shoes She carries a sceptre in her right hand and holds her open left hand in front of her, gesturing to the Virgin on her right To the Virgin's right is another haloed figure a male (fig 12) who is identified by a Latin inscription which translates as, 'Ordelafo Falier by the grace of God, Doge of Venice "[6] Doge Falier, like the Empress, wears a crown patterned clothing and carries a sceptre in his right hand, but his shoes are blue His left hand is raised in front of his body, palm outward in a gesture of prayer, speech, or acclamation The Doge's head, which is proportionately too small for the rest of his body, is the most striking feature of this enamel, and it is on this aspect of the portrait that scholarly attention has focused for some time The art historical significance of the size of Doge Falier s head will be examined later On either side of the Doge and the Empress are two rectangular inscription plaques, the contents and significance of which will, similarly be discussed shortly

The central part of the lower section of the Pala d Oro is composed of the thirteen enamel plaques thus listed Two lateral sections, each made up of three superimposed, arcaded rows of six figures, flank the central part of the lower section of the altarpiece The bottom row depicts Old Testament prophets identified by inscription and by prophecy, the latter shown written on an open scroll held by each of the figures With the free right hand each prophet either makes a

sign of speech or blessing, or points up across his body. The only exceptions are Moses and Elijah, who hold their scrolls with both hands. The prophets and their prophecies are from left to right. Isaiah (fig. 13), "A virgin shall conceive and bear a son" (Is. 7:14)[7], Nahum (fig. 14), "The sun arose and they flew away" (Nah. 3:17)[8], Jeremiah (fig. 15), "I have called my son out of Egypt" (Hosea, 11:1; Matt. 2:15)[9], Daniel (fig. 16), "When comes the Holy of Holies" (Zech., 14:5, Dan. 7:13)[10], Moses (fig. 17), "A prophet shall be raised up for you" (Deut. 18:15)[11], Ezekiel (fig. 18), "The door that you see shall be closed" (Eze., 44:1)[12], David (fig. 19), "Hear, o daughter, consider and incline (your ear)" (Psalms, 45:10)[13], Elijah (fig. 20), "The Lord lives, there will be no more rain on the earth" (Kings I, 17:1)[14], Zechariah (fig. 21), "Behold! The Lord will come and all the holy ones with him" (Zech., 14:15)[15], Habakkuk (fig. 22), "If it seems slow, wait for it" (Hab., 2:3)[16], Malachi (fig. 23), "Behold the days are coming, says the Lord" (Mal., 4:1)[17], and Solomon (fig. 24), "Wisdom has built her house" (Proverbs, 9:1)[18]. Nine of the prophets are shown similarly attired in robes and pallia that hang over the left shoulder, while the other three, Solomon, Daniel and David, are crowned and shown with brightly patterned cloaks which clasp at the right shoulder. All of the inscriptions and the prophecies are written in Latin except for those accompanying Solomon and David, whose inscriptions are in both Latin and Greek and whose prophecies are in Greek, and for those of Isaiah and Moses, whose inscriptions are also in Latin and Greek but whose prophecies are in Latin.

Above the prophets is a row of twelve apostles, who, like the prophets, all stand frontally, holding a codex in the left hand and

gesturing with the right Peter, Paul and Andrew are shown differently Peter holds a scroll in his left hand, while Paul and Andrew hold a codex in the left hand and a scroll in the right Only four of the twelve apostles are identified by Latin inscription Peter (fig 25) Paul (fig 26), Andrew (fig 27) and Simon (fig 28),[19] but all twelve of the figures are distinguished from one another by their facial features (figs 29 through 36) Eleven of the apostles are dressed in the same manner as the figure of Christ in Majesty and the four evangelists wearing robes and mantles which hang over the left shoulder The twelfth (fig 30) is different this apostle is dressed as a bishop, wearing an omophorion inscribed with crosses, and holding his codex in a veiled left hand

The top row features twelve archangels, all dressed in variously coloured tunics and mantles, and all carrying staffs Four of the archangels are identified by Greek inscription Michael (fig 37), Gabriel (fig 38) Uriel (fig 39) and Raphael (fig 40), all of whom are aligned with the Hetoimasia, turn toward it, and incline profoundly in reverence to it Michael is found on the left of the Prepared Throne of Judgement and Uriel is to his left, while Gabriel is to the right of the Hetoimasia, and Raphael is to his right Uriel and Raphael, thus slightly farther removed from the holy image, incline less deeply from the waist than do Michael and Gabriel The other eight archangels are identified in Greek as, simply, archangels[20] (figs 41 to 44), and they follow the pattern established by the first two pairs of figures in the top row Therefore all twelve archangels turn toward the Hetoimasia at the top of the central part of the lower section of the Pala d Oro, and

all incline progressively deeper, the closer they are to the Prepared Throne of Judgement

Thus most of the lower part of the San Marco altarpiece is composed of a central group of thirteen enamel plaques, flanked by two lateral sections made up of thirty-six individual enamels This whole arrangement is framed at the top and on both sides by small square enamels, which form two cycles, one featuring eleven scenes from the life of Christ, and the other ten scenes from the life of St Mark Six individual figures of Church deacons complete the set of twenty-seven plaques The scenes from the life of St Mark are presented down both sides of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, and each image is identified by a Latin titulus, or caption, written across the top of each enamel The cycle of St Mark shows, reading clockwise from bottom left Peter Hands the Episcopal Staff to Mark (fig 45), Mark Presents Hermagoras to Peter (fig 46), Mark Heals Anianus (fig 47), Mark Destroys a Heathen Idol (fig 48), Mark Baptises Hermagoras (fig 49)[21] Christ Appears to Mark in Prison (fig 50), Mark is Suspended by Ropes while Reading Mass (fig 51), Mark's Body is Taken from Its Tomb in Alexandria (fig 52), Mark's Body is Shipped to Venice (fig 53) and Mark s Body is Received in Venice (fig 54) The scenes taken from the life of Christ run across the top of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro Like the scenes from the life of St Mark, these eleven images are identified by Latin tituli, inscribed across the top of each enamel From left to right the scenes from the life of Christ are the Annunciation (fig 55), the Nativity (fig 56) the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (fig 57), the Baptism of Christ (fig 58), the Last Supper (fig 59) the Crucifixion (fig 60) the Anastasis, which is the Orthodox

equivalent of the western Harrowing of Hell (fig 61), the Women at the Tomb (fig 62), the Incredulity of Thomas (fig 63), the Ascension (fig 64) and the Pentecost (fig 65) Three individual figures of Church deacons, St Lawrence (fig 66), St Eleutherius (fig 67), and St Vincent (fig 68) are found from left to right preceding the scenes from the life of Christ, while St Peter of Alexandria (fig 69), St Stephen (fig 70), and St Fortunatus (fig 71), are aligned after them All six deacons are identified by Latin inscriptions, placed across the top of each enamel in the same manner as the tituli above the scenes from the life of St Mark and those from the life of Christ The six figures are all dressed in ecclesiastical vestments appropriate to their rank as Church deacons and each one is shown carrying a pyx and swinging a censer

The upper section of the Pala d Oro, measuring roughly one third the size of the lower panel, consists of another series of six large enamels featuring scenes from the life of Christ, which also represent six Feasts of the Orthodox Church These scenes are set beneath an arcade and are identified by Greek inscriptions placed near the top of each enamel Reading from left to right, the six Feasts are the Entry into Jerusalem (fig 72), the Anastasis (fig 73), the Crucifixion (fig 74), the Ascension (fig 75) the Pentecost (fig 76) and the Koimesis, or the Dormition of the Virgin (fig 77) In the centre of the upper section of the Pala d'Oro, between the scenes of the Crucifixion and the Ascension, is the figure of the Archangel Michael (fig 78) Like the his counterpart on the lower part of the Pala, this Archangel is identified by a Greek inscription The large enamel plaque of St Michael, trimmed to fit a quatrefoil frame, features a figure dressed

elaborately after the fashion of a Byzantine imperial guard and carrying a standard which originally read, Hagios Hagios, Hagios," which translates as, "Holy, Holy, Holy "[22] The Archangel is flanked by two seraphim angelic creatures whose faces are half hidden in the midst of their six wings St Michael grasps a chalice made from a single pearl with his right hand, which has been reworked in low-relief in the same manner as the hands on the large enamel of Christ in Majesty The Archangel s hand was originally held open across the front of his body in the same gesture of presentation that the Empress Irene makes with her left hand on the lower section of the Pala d Oro

The Pala d'Oro is thus composed, at present, of some eighty-three enamel plaques, representing individual holy figures, as well as various scenes from the lives of Christ and St Mark These large enamels are supplemented by several small enamel medallions, which are set onto the frames of the upper and lower sections of the altarpiece, and around the larger plaques of the upper section bringing the total number of enamels on the Pa.a d Oro to well over one hundred While the diversity of figures and scenes represented in the Pala d'Oro's enamels and their particular arrangement on the Venetian altarpiece, only hint at the complexity of the object's history, the circumstances surrounding the Pala's original assembly and later renovations are, in fact, presented briefly on the altarpiece itself The history of the Pala d'Oro is found in the two Latin inscription plaques (fig 79), which flank Doge Falier and the Empress Irene on the bottom of the lower section of the altarpiece The expanded Latin text of the inscription to the left of the figure of the Doge reads as follows

ANNO MILLENO CENTENO IVNGITO QVI(N)TO
TV(N)C ORDELAFV(S) FALEDRV(S) IN URBE DVCABAT
H(EC) NOVA FACTA FUIT GEMIS DITISSIMA PALA
Q(VE) RENOUATA FVIT TE PETRE DVCANTE ZIANI
ET PROCVRABAT TVNC ANGEL(VS) ACTA FALEDR(VS)
ANNO MILLENO BIS CENTENOQ(VE) NOUENA

The unabbreviated text of the second inscription to the right of the Empress is as follows

POST QVADRAGENO QVINTO POST MILLE TRECENTOS
DA[N DVL(VS) ANDREAS PR(E)CLAR(VS) HONORE DVCABAT
NOB(I)LIB(VS)Q(VE) UIRIS TVNC P(RO)CVRA(N)TIB(VS)
ALMA(M)
ECCL'ESI)A(M) MARCI UENERA(N)DA(M) IVRE BEATI
D(E) LAVREDANIS MARCO FRESCOQ(VE) Q(V)IRINO
TVNC UETVS HEC PALA GEMIS P(RE)CIOSA NOVATVR [23]

The inscriptions state that Doge Ordelafo Falier (1102-1118) ordered the Pala d'Oro to be newly-made and richly endowed with gems in the year 1105 This object was then renovated in 1209 by Doge Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) and by the Procurator Angelo Falier Finally, in 1345 Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354) and the two Procurators Marco Loredan and Francesco Querini had the Pala reworked again with the addition of precious gems It is believed that Andrea Dandolo either composed or commissioned the two inscriptions on the Pala in 1345, when the altarpiece's second renovation was complete [24] The information contained in the inscriptions does certainly agree with that provided by the Doge s own chronicles of the history of Venice A pala or paliotto is first mentioned in Andrea Dandolo's Chronicon Venetum in connection with the rule of Pietro I Orseolo (976-978) Dandolo states that Orseolo, "tabulam in ipsius Ecclesia Altare miro opere ex auro et argento Constantinopoli peragi iussit," [25] that is to say, that the Doge had a panel ("tabulam") of silver and gold made in Constantinople for use on the altar in the church of San Marco It appears that Dandolo took this fact from an early eleventh-century history entitled Chronicon

Venetum et Gradense by a Venetian writer named John the Deacon, whose passage about Doge Orseolo s commission reads 'in sancti Marci altare tabulam miro opere ex argento et auro Constantinopolim peragere iussit "[26] Dandolo thus repeats the earlier text closely, and remarks at a later point in his chronicles that Ordelafo Falier during the first years of his tenure as Doge, likewise had a golden panel decorated with gems and pearls made in Constantinople for use on the high altar in San Marco 'Sequenti anno Dux Tabulam auream gemmis et perlis mirifice Constantinopoli fabricatam pro uberiori reverentia Beatissimi Marci Evangelistae super eius Altari deposuit "[27] As to the later fate of Doge Falier s Pala d Oro, the Chronicon Venetum states that, 'Angelus faledro solus Procurator Ducalis Capellae tabulam Altaris Sancti Marci additis gemmis et perlis, Ducis iussi, reparavit '[28] or that during the time of Doge Pietro Ziani, the Procurator Angelo Falier was ordered by the Doge to repair the altar panel, adding gems and pearls to it As has been mentioned, the inscriptions themselves describe Andrea Dandolo's own involvement in the reworking of the Pala d Oro in 1345

John the Deacon's, Chronicon Venetum et Gradense, Andrea Dandolo s Chronicon Venetum, and the two brief inscriptions on the Pala d'Oro are the only surviving primary sources which discuss the origins of the altarpiece and its subsequent renovations Thus, contemporary art historians interpret San Marco's Pala d'Oro and reconstruct the altarpiece s earlier incarnations on the basis of these three sources, in addition to the visual evidence provided by the Pala's enamels themselves To a great extent scholars have collected this evidence through the stylistic analysis of the Pala d'Oro's individual enamels This type of analysis consists of a comparison of the characteristics of

each enamel on the Pala with those of the rest of the plaques on the altarpiece On the basis of the relative similarity or dissimilarity of those characteristics, the enamels are gathered into groups representing different styles After further comparisons are made with enamels from other dated objects, the groups of enamels on the Pala d Oro are thus assigned dates Stylistic analysis of the smallest enamel medallions, those which are set around the large plaques of the upper part of the Pala d Oro and on the frames of both the upper and lower sections of the altarpiece, dates the oldest amongst them to the tenth century [29] This dating has led some scholars to theorize that these enamel medallions were originally part of the first pala or paliotto ordered from Constantinople by Doge Orseolo Sergio Bettini, in his 1930's essay on Venice, the Pala d'Oro and Constantinople, states that,

> although it was simply said [in the early eleventh-century Chronicles of John the Deacon] that this was a marvellous work of art, without there being any particular mention of enamels one cannot rule out the hypothesis that a few of the small enamels which are set into the present altar-piece and which can be said to be close in style to late tenth-century Byzantine work, might have formed part of the altar-frontal of Pietro Orseolo [30]

W Fritz Volbach mentions that this theory concerning the origins of the small medallions on the Pala d'Oro is proposed in most studies of the Venetian altarpiece, but he counters with the fact that Doge Orseolo's tenth-century commission was likely a silver panel chased in gold similar to those found in Torcello or Caorle, because that is the manner in which the work is described in John the Deacon s history [31] Volbach believes that the small enamel medallions currently decorating the Pala d'Oro were taken from several different sources, such as icons, book-bindings or crosses [32] Otto Demus first agrees with Bettini stating that, some of the larger medallions set into the new arrangement of the

fourteenth century may be remnants of the Orseolo Pala [33] but he later changes his opinion on the subject and sides with Volbach, maintaining that no pala can be reconstructed from these small enamels [34] Volbach and Demus are representative of the authors of the more recent studies on the Pala d Oro, who believe that Doge Ordelafo Falier's panel was an entirely new work, commissioned in Constantinople to replace Doge Orseolo's panel, which likely did not have any enamels in its composition

The original function of Doge Falier's twelfth-century commission the enamels of which, all scholars agree, constitute the nucleus of the present Pala d'Oro, is another question which has been examined by art historians Bettini believes that Doge Falier's panel was an altar-frontal, also known as a paliotto or an antependium, and suggests that it only became an altarpiece, or pala, after Doge Pietro Ziani's renovations and additions of 1209 [35] Hans R Hahnloser, on the other hand, states that Doge Falier's work was originally placed on the altar as a pala [36] Demus questions Hahnloser s belief, pointing out that it stems from the literal reading of the passage in Andrea Dandolo's chronicles which describes Doge Falier's commission Dandolo wrote that Doge Falier's panel was placed on the high altar of the church of San Marco, Demus presumes, because it was used as an altarpiece during Dandolo's own lifetime, thus, the Venetian chronicler must have assumed that it had always functioned as such [37] Certainly, the arrangement of the enamels on the lower part of the Pala d Oro is similar to the compositions found on early western antependia, as Hahnloser remarks himself [38] Hahnloser compares the composition of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, which features the figure of Christ in Majesty

surrounded by the four evangelists, as well as the arrangement of figures in arcaded registers laterally to this central group, to that of the silver panel of Patriarch Pellegrino at Cividale cathedral, which dates to 1195-c 1204 (fig 83) [39] The similarity of the composition of both works supports the belief that Doge Falier s panel was in fact, originally an altar-frontal, and not an altarpiece A thorough comparison of the similarities between the Pala d Oro s composition and iconography and those of other medieval western antependia will be made in the second chapter of this thesis

The main focus of contemporary art historical studies about the Pala d'Oro is the original composition of, and the nature of the subsequent renovations to the Venetian altarpiece As has been shown Doge Andrea Dandolo's fourteenth-century chronicles, and his inscriptions on the Pala d'Oro itself, are tantalizingly brief concerning these matters The brevity of the Pala d'Oro's documentation, in addition to the stylistic analysis and dating of the large enamels of the lower section, have given rise to very different interpretations by art historians of the Pala's original composition and later reworkings Volbach's stylistic analysis of this group of enamels dates them all to the same period, the late eleventh or early twelfth century [40] Based on Volbach's findings Hahnloser proposes a rather complicated hypothesis, which holds that the lower section of the Pala d'Oro was formed in three stages [41] The elements found in the first stage of the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece include both lateral sections, composed of the three rows of figures, as well as the central part of the panel, consisting of the figure of Christ in Majesty, with the Hetoimasia above and the Virgin below In other

words, Hahnloser believes that the lower part of the present Pala d'Oro displays essentially the same arrangement as it did when originally composed According to Hahnloser s theory the figure of Christ was accompanied at first, not by the evangelists themselves, but by Ezekiel's four Apocalyptic creatures which represent the evangelists symbolically the eagle of John the bull of Luke, the angel of Matthew and the lion of Mark Hahnloser also believes that the Hetoimasia was originally flanked by a row of cherubim and seraphim and that the Virgin was accompanied by the Empress Irene and by her husband, the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) Because of his belief that a portrait of the Emperor Alexios I was included on this panel, Hahnloser theorizes that this first-stage work was presented to Doge Domenico Selvo (1070-1084) as a paliotto in either 1081, shortly after the Emperor came to the throne, or in 1082 as one of the many gifts given in gratitude by Alexios for the Venetian fleet's swift and successful defeat of a Norman attack in May 1081 on the Byzantine harbour and fortress of Durazzo [42] In Hahnloser's second stage of work on the Pala d Oro, which he dates prior to 1102, the imperial gift is altered by the placement of two tetramorphs and two unnamed angels near the Hetoimasia, and preceding the row of archangels, by the substitution of the symbols of the four evangelists with the figures of the evangelists themselves, around the enthroned Christ in Majesty, and by the addition of the twenty-seven square enamels, which depict scenes from the life of Christ and from the life of St Mark, as well as the figures of the six Church deacons Hahnloser feels that the altar-frontal the first stage of the Pala d'Oro, was thus made into an altarpiece by the addition of the enamels of the second stage The replacement in 1105 of the portrait of

the Emperor Alexios I with that of Ordelafo Falier (1101-1118), after his election as Doge of Venice, is Hahnloser s third stage in the history of the Pala d Oro s assembly

Hahnloser s division of most of the enamels on the lower section of the Pala d Oro into two stages of work which represent different workshops and periods of time is based as has been said on Volbach s identification of a difference of style between the two groups All Hahnloser s second-stage enamels are made in the so-called 'chevron style' with two alternating bands of colour running through the robes and pallia of figures, such as those of the four seated evangelists (figs 3-6) His first-stage enamels, by contrast feature a maze of thin gold lines over drapery surfaces of one solid colour as can be seen on the clothing of the enthroned Christ (fig 2) Hahnloser is not the first to notice this difference in style, nor the first to associate it with the passage of time and, thus, a new phase in the reworking of the Pala d'Oro Writing in the 1930 s Bettini associated the 'chevron style' enamels which he believes to have been added to the original Pala d'Oro only after the panel's arrival in Venice from Constantinople, with a Venetian school under the guidance of a Byzantine master [43] Unlike Bettini Hahnloser feels that his second-stage enamels were also made in Constantinople, despite the fact that they were only added to the Venetian altar-panel at a later point in time [44] Hahnloser supports his Byzantine attribution of the 'chevron style' with Bernhard Bischoff's epigraphic analysis of the Latin inscriptions on these enamels Since many of the letters in the Latin inscriptions take the form of similar-looking Letters from the Greek alphabet, Bischoff concludes that the inscriptions were likely written by a Greek hand

present form Margaret Frazer is the only art historian who adopts this position concerning the issue of the Pala d'Oro's original iconography She states clearly her belief that, 'the lower Pala is a single integrated program commissioned from Byzantium by Ordelafo Falier in 1105 '[51] According to Frazer, the Pala d Oro's anomalies can be explained not by complex theories based on the stylistic analysis of the altarpiece's enamels, but by the fact that the Pala s composition represents a neither exclusively Byzantine nor clearly Western but [rather] a peculiarly Venetian compromise of an impressive Byzantine program redesigned for Western use as an antependium for St Mark's altar "[52] Frazer's hypothesis about the significance of the composition of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro will be considered fully in the second chapter of this thesis

Aside from the question of the Pala d'Oro s original composition and the nature of its later renovations, the one aspect of the Venetian altarpiece that has received the most attention from art historians is the portrait of Doge Ordelafo Falier (fig 12) There is good reason for the scholarly interest in this particular enamel the Doge's head is proportionally too small for his body, he is dressed in the same manner as a member of the Byzantine imperial family, and the enamel itself is somewhat smaller than its companion on the Pala d'Oro, which features the Empress Irene These facts have provoked much discussion about the possible causes of these striking features Some scholars feel that the presence of these anomalies in Doge Falier's enamel indicates that the enamel originally portrayed, not the Doge of Venice, but the Emperor of Byzantium, husband to the Pala d'Oro s Empress Irene [53] However, three successive Byzantine emperors, Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), John II

Komnenos (1118-1143) and Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180), were married to wives named Irene Bettini believes that the portrait was originally that of the third Komnenian emperor, Manuel I (1143-1180), who was married to Berthe of Sulzbach, a western princess who had taken the name Irene upon becoming empress He hypothesizes that the portrait enamels of both Manuel I and Irene were originally produced for the templon, the eastern equivalent of the western choir screen, of the imperial couple s funerary chapel and mausoleum, located on the grounds of the Pantocrator monastery in Constantinople Bettini explains that the discrepancy in size between the two portrait enamels is a reflection of the fact that some nineteen years separate Irene's death in 1161, and the production of this enamel, from that produced for her husband Manuel upon his death in 1180 Thus, Bettini feels that the enamels must have been brought to Venice as a part of the booty taken from Constantinople during the Latin conquest of the imperial capital in 1204, because he believes that they were made roughly half a century after Doge Falier s commission in 1105 [54] Although this hypothesis accounts for Doge Falier's imperial style of dress, it fails to provide a reason for the presence of blue shoes, rather than the Byzantine emperor's traditional red ones, on the Doge s feet Volbach explains this feature by stating that the portrait of Ordelafo Falier was originally that of a Byzantine prince who was not yet emperor Volbach believes, as does Hahnloser, that the portrait of the Empress on the Pala d'Oro is in fact that of the wife of Alexios I Komnenos, because he dates the style of this enamel to the early twelfth century, but he does not accept that Doge Falier's portrait was originally that of the Emperor Alexios I [55] Volbach follows Juliana de Pomorisac-DeLuigi s theory,[56] which holds that there were four portraits

on the Pala d'Oro in 1105 that of the Empress Irene her husband the Emperor Alexios I, their son, who was to become the Emperor John II Komnenos in 1118, and Doge Falier [57] At some point during the documented renovation of the Pala in 1209 the portraits of Alexios and John were removed since as Demus remarks, 'after the conquest of Constantinople and the foundation of the colonial empire of the Levant it must have been impossible for the Venetians to suffer the images of the two Byzantine Emperors to remain on the Pala of the high altar of their state church "[58] The portrait of the Empress Irene was allowed to remain on the altarpiece because she was related to Theodora Dukas, wife of Doge Domenico Selvo (1071-1084) [59] Volbach proposes that the original portrait of Doge Falier must have been damaged at some point, necessitating the alteration of the enamel bearing the image of John II Komnenos Thus, Volbach's theory explains not only the small size of Doge Falier s enamel (Prince John would have been a youth after all), but also the fact that the Doge wears blue shoes rather than the emperor s red ones [60] Hahnloser finally rejects the notion that Doge Falier's portrait was produced through the reworking of another enamel, stressing that any alteration of the enamel's inscription is technically impossible [61] The Doge's portrait, as unusual as it seems, must therefore have been originally intended as that of Ordelafo Falier

Although the identity of the male portrait on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro thus appears certain, there still remains the question of the Doge Falier's odd appearance on this enamel which is emphasized most strikingly by his disproportionately small head Both Hahnloser and Demus believe that the enamel originally featured Doge Falier with another head one presumably in proportion with the rest of his body

Hahnloser will only state that Ordelafo Falier s first head was replaced with a haloed one "perhaps during the last transposition of this plaque in the year 1345 [62] Demus, on the other hand, points out that the Doge's present head appears too small for the rest of his body precisely because of the halo surrounding it He proposes, therefore, that Doge Falier's portrait enamel was produced in Constantinople without the nimbus, and that the halo was added in Venice only after the Pala d Oro's arrival in 1105 He explains that although Ordelafo Falier is honoured by being shown in imperial court dress, the right to a haloed portrait was reserved for members of the ruling family in Byzantium, which means that it was very unlikely for the Doge of Venice to have been portrayed in this manner by Constantinopolitan artists [63] By contrast as Jozsef Deer points out in an article devoted to the problems posed by the appearance of Doge Falier's enamel on the Pala, it was very unusual for Venetians to depict their Doge in this manner, as well He maintains that portraits of the Doge were rare in medieval Venetian society, and that when they did occur the dynastic overtones of the position were downplayed in favour of the view of the Doge as the most important servant of the Venetian community [64] Despite this, Deer argues that the entire portrait is in its original state and that it was made in Venice around the year 1209 by enamelers whose task it was to replace the portrait of Alexios I Komnenos on the Pala d'Oro with one of Ordelafo Falier, the Doge responsible for the Pala's original commission [65] The poor quality of the enamel's workmanship, which is worse than even the poorest-quality enamels on the Pala d'Oro, betrays the fact that the Doge's portrait was made some time after the original production of the altarpiece, by an artist other than the one who had

made the Pala's enamels [66] Close examination of the Doge s imperial dress supports this conclusion, because it reveals that the artist responsible for the Doge's portrait was copying the costume on the Empress Irene - Deer states that Doge Falier appears to be wearing a chlamys and himation out of the Basilissa s, or the Empress wardrobe'[67] The reason for this Deer maintains is that the artist had no clear idea of what constituted the twelfth-century costume of a high offical, such as the Doge of Venice who was recognized within the Byzantine hierarchy, yet who was not a member of the ruling imperial family [68] Although many questions concerning the appearance of Doge Falier on the Pala d'Oro remain unanswered, it seems certain that, by the early thirteenth century, during the period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople, there was no objection in Venice to his portrait appearing on the high altar of San Marco with a halo, in some kind of Byzantine imperial dress and elevated to a place of prominence on the Virgin's right hand side

As has been shown by the preceding discussion, art historical studies of the Pala d Oro focus, for the most part, on various aspects of the original composition of the Venetian altarpiece This being the case, it is the lower section of the Pala, rather than the upper section, which is examined at length With regard to the upper section of the Venetian altarpiece, all scholars agree that its seven large enamels, representing six Feasts of the Orthodox Church and the Archangel Michael (figs 72-78), were brought to Venice after the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Venetian participants in the Fourth Crusade [69] The arrangement of this part of the Pala is therefore thought to have taken place in 1209 under Doge Pietro Ziani, despite the

fact that Andrea Dandolo's chronicles and the inscriptions on the Pala d Oro itself do not mention this specifically as noted earlier, Doge Ziani is said only to have ordered the renovation of the Pala, with the addition of gems and pearls Nevertheless, scholars believe that Doge Ziani's renovation was likely prompted by the great influx of booty from Constantinople during the early years of the Latin occupation of Byzantium s capital In support of this belief Bettini, Volbach and Hahnloser all cite the same story concerning the Patriarch of Constantinople s visit to Venice in 1438 It is said that the Patriarch Joseph, while on a tour of the church of San Marco, identified the six Feast enamels of the upper part of the Pala d'Oro as being from the marble templon of the Church of the Pantocrator in Constantinople [70] Demus feels that there is no merit to the Patriarch s identification of these enamels it is some feat he remarks, for the Patriarch to be so certain of the enamels' origins some 234 years after their departure from the Byzantine capital'[71] Demus adds that the six Feasts on the upper part of the Pala represent only half of an entire Feast cycle, and that the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem and the figure of the Archangel Michael differ from the other enamels in the group both in terms of size and quality, which suggests that these seven enamels originated from three different sources [72] On the other hand Demus does feel that the story of Patriarch Joseph lends weight to the belief that the six Feast scenes were a part of the booty taken from Constantinople in the early thirteenth century He explains that because it was popularly believed in Venice, at the time of the Patriarch's visit in 1438, that these enamels had originally been taken from the church of St Sophia in Constantinople, it seems likely that

these enamels did indeed originate from the imperial city itself even though their specific sources within the city cannot be determined [73] The significance of the Venetian appropriation and display of Byzantine works seized during the Latin conquest of Constantinople will be examined in the third chapter of this thesis

If Doge Ziani s thirteenth-century contribution to the Pala d Oro consists of the addition of the upper section to the altarpiece, and Doge Falier s twelfth-century panel is found in the Pala s lower section then Doge Andrea Dandolo's mid fourteenth-century renovation of the altarp_ece is responsible for its Gothic reframing, and the addition of gems to the whole composition [74] Dandolo's own inscription on the Pala d'Oro, which has already been cited, simply states that the Doge and the Procurators of San Marco reworked the altarpiece in 1345, adding precious gems to it As with the other aspects of the development of the Pala d'Oro, scholarly assessment of Dandolo's involvement in shaping the altarpiece has changed considerably over time Bettini, writing in the 1930's, felt that Dandolo was also responsible for incorporating enamels from earlier versions of the altarpiece, as well as Venetian enamels into the Pala of 1345, and for the re-arrangement of the whole so that the altarpiece's composition would be in harmony with its new Gothic frame [75] Frazer, studying the Pala d Oro some fifty years after Bettini, sees no reason for reading into the altarpiece s inscriptions details which are not there [76] Bettini's and Frazer s attitudes sum up, in fact, the old and the new art historical approaches to the study of San Marco's Pala d Oro From the perspective of Bettini s style-based approach to the Venetian altarpiece, the Pala d'Oro appears to be 'a magnificent example of an amazing stylistic misunderstanding, even if it

contains some of the most precious of all Byzantine enamels It is not a homogeneous work, and its lack of coherence in part reflects the vicissitudes of its assembly "[77] This statement stands in marked contrast with Frazer s view, already stated, that the composition of the entire lower section of the Pala d'Oro is arranged according to some coherent program which was specifically commissioned from Constantinople by Doge Ordelafo Falier in 1105 Frazer's approach is based on the compositional and iconographical features of the altarpiece rather than the style of its constituent enamels All of the other art historians whose work on the Pala d'Oro has been examined throughout this chapter, have methods of investigation that combine stylistic and iconographical analyses, balanced by the altarpiece's historical context Depending on the weight given to the place of stylistic analysis in this multi-faceted approach, scholars either view the composition of the Pala d'Oro as fragmented, like Volbach and Hahnloser, or as a more cohesive unit, like Demus As has been shown stylistic analysis is, at best, a tool for dating the enamels of the Pala d Oro, rather than a means of interpreting the Venetian altarpiece in any significant manner, which is the goal of this investigation The Pala d Oro is significant, in one way, because of the ideas expressed by its iconographical program According to Frazer, an understanding of the Pala d'Oro's program, and thus, the theological ideas expressed by it, can be achieved through an examination of the western and eastern aspects of the altarpiece, and the possible sources for its compositional arrangement and subject matter, a task to which the second chapter of this thesis now turns

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 W F Volbach, "Gli smalti della Pala d'oro", in Il Tesoro di San Marco, ed by H R Hahnloser (Florence 1965), I 3

2 Ibid , 15-16 Volbach presents the inscriptions as they appear on the enamels, expands any abbreviations, and translates them into Italian The English translation of Volbach's text is my own

3 Ibid , 10

4 Ibid , 8

5 Jozsef Deer "Die Pala d'Oro in Neuer Sicht", Byzantinische Zeitschrift 62 (1969) 321

6 Volbach, 6

7 Ibid , 21

8 Ibid , 22

9 Ibid , 23

10 Ibid , 22

11 Ibid

12 Ibid , 23

13 Ibid

14 Ibid 25

15 Ibid

16 Ibid

17 Ibid , 24

18 Ibid , 21

19 Ibid , 18

20 Ibid , 17

21 Otto Demus, "Zur Pala d'Oro", in Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft 16 (1967), 270 Demus corrects Volbach as to the identification of this scene

22 Volbach 39

23 H R Hahnloser, "Le orificerie della Pala d oro" in Il Tesoro di San Marco, ed by H R Hahnloser (Florence, 1965), I, 87

24 Demus 265

25 Andrea Dandolo, 'Chronicon Venetum , in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, ed by L A Muratori, revised ed by E Pastorello (Bologna, 1938), 12/1, 212

26 Iohannes Diaconi, "Chronicon Venetum et Gradense", in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, ed by G H Pertz (Hannover, 1846), VII, 26

27 Dandolo, 260

28 Ibid , 337

29 Charles Diehl, Manuel d'art byzantin (Paris 1926), 703 Diehl bases his analysis on the work by G Veludo, La Pala d Oro di San Marco (Venice, 1887) Volbach, 44 Volbach compares these small enamels with the crown of Leo VI (886-912), the icon of Cachouli at Tblisi featuring the portrait of Michael VII Dukas (1071-1078), and the lower part of the Pala d Oro itself, dated to the time of Ordelafo Falier (1102-1118)

30 Sergio Bettini, "Venice, the Pala d'Oro and Constantinople', reprinted in the exhibition catalogue The Treasury of San Marco Venice (Milan, 1984), 39

31 Volbach, 3

32 Ibid

33 Otto Demus The Church of San Marco in Venice (Washington, 1960), 23 n 78

34 Demus, 'Zur Pala d'Oro", 264

35 Bettini, 39

36 Hahnloser, 81

37 Demus, "Zur Pala d'Oro , 265

38 Hahnloser, 90

39 Ibid

40 Volbach, 3

41 Hahnloser, "Magistra Latinitas et Peritia Greca , in Festschrift fur Herbert von Einem zum 16 Februar 1965 (Berlin, 1965), 84-93

42 Donald M Nicol Byzantium and Venice, A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations (Cambridge, 1988), 57

43 Bettini 46

44 Hahnloser, Le orificerie", 81 n 1

45 B Bischoff, "Le iscrizioni latine", in Il Tesoro di San Marco, ed by H R Hahnloser (Florence, 1965), I, 78 For example Bischoff points out that the 'E' in 'MATHEUS on the enamel of the Evangelist Matthew strongly resembles the Greek letter theta

46 Demus "Zur Pala d'Oro", 270

47 Ibid , 271

48 Ibid , 269

49 Ibid

50 Ibid

51 Margaret English Frazer "The Pala d'Oro and the Cult of St Mark in Venice" in Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik 32/5 (1982) 274

52 Ibid

53 Volbach, 6, Bettini, 48

54 Bettını 52-54

55 Volbach, 8

56 Ibıd , 9 The arguments of de Pomorısac-DeLuıgı are cıted through Volbach because I was unable to consult her dıssertatıon, whıch was completed ın Zurıch ın 1956

57 Demus, The Church of San Marco, 24-25 Demus ıs summarızıng Dr Pomorısac-DeLuıgı s theory

58 Ibıd

59 Ibıd

60 Volbach 7

61 Hahnloser, "Magıstra Latınıtas' 93

62 Ibıd , 91

63 Demus, 'Zur Pala d'Oro", 267-268

64 Deer, 333

65 Ibıd 335

66 Ibıd , 326

67 Ibıd 330

68 Ibıd , 321 Deer notes that durıng the tıme of Ordelafo Falıer, the Doge of Venıce was gıven the Byzantıne tıtle of ımperıalıs protoseuaston by the Emperor Alexıos I Komnenos and therefore allowed to wear ımperıal regalıa on certaın occasıons

69 Bettını, 54, Volbach, 39-40 Hahnloser, Le orıfıcerıe 81 Demus, The Church of San Marco, 26-27, Demus, 'Zur Pala d'Oro", 272

70 Bettını, 42, Volbach, 3-4, Hahnloser, "Le orıfıcerıe 99

71 Demus, "Zur Pala d'Oro , 273

72 Ibıd 273-275

73 Ibid 272

74 Bettini, 42-44 Hahnloser "Le orificerie' 87

75 Bettini 44

76 Frazer, 273

77 Bettini, 39

II Western and Eastern Aspects of the Pala d Oro and Possible Sources for its Iconography and Composition

In the preceding chapter a detailed description was given of the constituent parts of the Pala d'Oro, the altarpiece which sits on the high altar of the church of San Marco, as well as an overview of scholarly opinion as to the history of the original production, assembly and reworking of this object during a period of time spanning the late eleventh-early twelfth century to the mid fourteenth century As was shown, the focus of research has shifted over the years from stylistic analysis of the altarpiece's constituent enamels to theories in which the overall composition of the Pala d'Oro's enamels, as well as the altarpiece s historical context, have been the most critical factors The examination of these theories demonstrated that stylistic analysis is inconclusive in determining the Pala d'Oro's original arrangement for two reasons first, because a discrepancy in style might indicate a difference in hands or workshops, and not necessarily a change in style over the course of time,[1] and second, because enamels produced in earlier periods for other purposes were added to the altarpiece during its renovations in 1209 and 1345 [2] As will be shown in this chapter, a close examination of the Pala d'Oro's composition and iconography, focusing on a discussion of both the western medieval and eastern Byzantine aspects of the altarpiece, will clarify the theological ideas inherent in the altarpiece's program, and thus will prove to be more fruitful than stylistic analysis alone in providing insight into the meaning of the Pala d'Oro

The Pala d'Oro is classified as a western, rather than eastern, medieval work of art because church furnishings of its type were unknown in Byzantium [3] The surfaces of church altars in the east were decorated with gold, silver enamels and precious gems,[4] but no works resembling western antependia have survived or are mentioned by Byzantine sources [5] This being the case, Hans Hahnloser[6] and Margaret Frazer[7] both believe that the Venetians looked to western Romanesque altar-frontals when specifying the details of the Pala d'Oro s composition to its manufacturers in Constantinople Only one known surviving Italian work predates the Pala d'Oro, and therefore can be cited as a possible model for the altarpiece the golden altar or Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, which dates to the mid ninth century (figs 80-82) It is important to note that both the Paliotto and the Pala d Oro perform similar functions in nearly identical situations each is used to decorate the high altar of a church whose main function is as a saint's shrine A comparison of the Pala d Oro's features with those of Milan's Paliotto will therefore serve to point out the extent to which the Venetian altarpiece follows in the western or, to be more precise, in the northern Italian, medieval tradition of altar-frontal decoration

The Paliotto, or altar-frontal of Sant'Ambrogio is despite its name, composed of more than one panel a panel made of beaten gold sits on the front of the work (fig 80), and beaten silver panels, partly gilt, cover the sides (fig 81) and the back (fig 82) All four panels are embellished by the addition of precious gems and small enamels Both the front and back panels are divided into three distinct zones, in a manner as pronounced as that found on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro Each lateral zone on the front panel features six scenes from

the life of Christ, presented in pairs in three superimposed rows Nine of these twelve scenes are original, including the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Marriage at Cana, Christ called by Jairus, the Expulsion of the Moneylenders from the Temple the Healing of the Blind Man of Siloe, the Transfiguration and the Crucifixion The remaining three scenes date to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries [8] Although four of the Paliotto s scenes the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple and the Crucifixion, portray the same subjects as those found in the scenes from the life of Christ on the lower part of the Pala d Oro, there are considerable differences between the two cycles The elements of the scenes on the lower section of the Pala are depicted against the flat golden background of the enamel, with the minimum detail necessary for the identification of the image, and the scenes are supplemented by inscriptions in order to confirm the visual identification The scenes on the Paliotto in Milan, on the other hand, include more detail in terms of figures, architectural background and landscape elements This difference is clearly shown in the scene of the Crucifixion On the lower section of the Pala d Oro, the Crucifixion (fig 60) features the slumping figure of the crucified Christ in the centre of the enamel, with the Virgin to his right, a grieving John the Evangelist to his left, and two weeping angels above either arm The cross is planted in a diminutive Golgotha, with the skull of Adam placed at the centre of the mound The same scene on the Paliotto shows not only the Virgin and John, but also Longinus about to pierce Christ's side, and Stephaton, offering him the vinegar-filled sponge Two Roman soldiers are placed at the base of the cross, in the

act of dividing up Christ's garments Thus the Crucifixion on the Paliotto in Milan is portrayed as an historical scene,[9] whereas the Crucifixion on the Pala d Oro is presented as an iconic symbol by comparison Although the scenes from the life of Christ found on the front of the Paliotto of Sant Ambrogio in Milan and on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro are dissimilar in terms of the images included and the manner of their depiction, both cycles fulfill the same function on both works which is to frame the central portion of the composition on each panel

The central zone on the front panel of the Paliotto in Milan and the centre of the lower part of the Pala d'Oro in Venice feature the same image, that of Christ in Majesty In Milan, Christ is shown enthroned in a mandorla at the centre of a jewelled cross or crux gemmata, with each of Ezekiel's four Apocalyptic creatures placed at the ends of the cross arms The figure of Christ is depicted surrounded by stars, holding a cross staff in his right hand, and the Gospels on his knee with the left In Venice, the figure of Christ (fig 2) is similarly enthroned within a medallion holding the Gospels open with his left hand but he raises his right hand in blessing, and he is seated against the flat gold backgroud of the enamel On the Pala d Oro, the four Apocalyptic creatures of the Milan Paliotto are replaced by the four evangelists, the figures which the beasts symbolize The twelve apostles are also present in the central zone on the front of the Paliotto, but they are found in the middle row of the lateral sections which flank the central part of the lower part of the Pala d'Oro In Milan, the apostles are shown standing in four groups of three, filling out the four corners of the central zone on the front panel Each

figure, its facial features undistinguished from those of its companions, turns toward the image of the enthroned Saviour By contrast, on the Pala d'Oro, the apostles' facial features clearly differentiate one individual from another and each figure stands frontally (figs 25-36) The twelve apostles create a horizontal axis across the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, with the enthroned Christ in its centre, but each apostle is placed beneath an arcade and thus isolated from the other figures Thus, as was the case with the scenes from the life of Christ, the central zone of the front panel the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio resembles the centre of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro only in a general sense They both feature two of the same types of figures, the enthroned Christ in Majesty and the four Apocalyptic creatures or their equivalents, the four evangelists, but these figures, as well as the series of twelve apostles are arranged into compositions which create a visual emphasis that is different in each work In the Paliotto, the apostles and the four beasts are visually subordinate to the geometrical regularity of the crux gemmata in the central zone, only the figure of the enthroned Christ in Majesty, occupying the centre of the panel in its own mandorla, is given prominence in this design In the Pala d'Oro, as in the Paliotto, the figure of the enthroned Christ is placed in the middle of the central part of the lower section, but, unlike the Paliotto, the verticality of this central part of the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece is balanced by the placement of three horizontal rows of individual figures, including the twelve apostles on either side of this central portion The central part of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro also features several enamels, such as the portrait of its donor, Doge

Ordelafo Falier (fig 12), and the two inscriptions detailing the altarpiece's history (fig 79), which are not found on the front panel of the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio In Milan, these important elements are featured on a silver gilt panel at the rear of the work

The rear panel of the Paliotto in Milan (fig 82) is divided into three nearly equal sections, in the same manner as the gold panel on its front The Latin niello inscription, which reveals the donor to be Angilbert archbishop of Milan from 826 to 859 [10] surrounds these three sections, such that the letters at the top and bottom of each vertical band are incorporated into the words in the horizontal bands above and below [11] In one of the four medallions making up the central zone of the rear panel, Archbishop Angilbert is portrayed in the midst of presenting the decorated altar to St Ambrose, who crowns him in return This stands in marked contrast to the portrait of the Doge on the Pala d Oro, which depicts Ordelafo Falier alone, standing frontally with his left hand raised in a gesture of prayer or greeting The central zone of the rear panel of the Paliotto, as on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, features a second portrait medallion Whereas in Venice, Doge Falier is accompanied by the portrait of the Byzantine Empress Irene (fig 11), the second portrait on the Paliotto in Milan is that of the artist responsible for the decoration of the altar, Wolvinius, who, like Angilbert is shown in the act of being crowned by St Ambrose Placed above the donor's and artist's medallions are two others featuring the Archangels Michael and Gabriel Their counterparts on the Pala d'Oro (figs 37 and 38) are found leading the series of twelve archangels which flank the Prepared throne of Judgement, at the top of the altarpiece's lower section The four medallions in the middle of the rear panel on

the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio decorate two small doors cut into this central zone,[12] which provide access to the top of the tomb housing the relics of Sts Ambrose, Gervase and Protase [13] Thus, the types of figures found in the central zone of the rear panel on the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio, the archangels and the panel's donors, are also represented on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, and both donor portraits on each work are similarly displayed in prominent positions in the lower part of the central zone of each panel

The two lateral zones on the rear panel of the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio feature twelve scenes from the life of St Ambrose, arranged in the same manner as the scenes from the life of Christ on the front panel and identified by Latin inscriptions The lower section of the Pala d Oro also has a hagiographical series, composed of ten scenes inscribed with Latin tituli (figs 45-54), which depict events from the life of St Mark These scenes on the Pala frame vertically the three horizontal rows of standing figures, and the central part of the lower section of the altarpiece, while the scenes from the life of St Ambrose flank only the central zone of the rear panel of the Paliotto in Milan It has been suggested that Wolvinius, the artist responsible for the golden altar s decoration, followed an illustrated text, namely Paulinus' Life of Saint Ambrose, in creating the twelve hagiographical scenes for the rear panel of the Paliotto [14] The same has been said concerning the scenes from the life of St Mark on the Pala, although there is some disagreement as to the nature of the source of the illustrations Frazer believes that, "a manuscript of the type called libellus may well have been employed" in the creation of the these scenes, libelli being, "texts of saints' lives, sometimes richly

illustrated compiled to honor the construction of a new church or the invention of relics of a patron saint [15] Otto Demus disagrees with Frazer, stating that

> certain misunderstandings, and generally speaking, a lack of exactitude in the rendering of the scenes make it clear that these specifications [for the scenes from the life of St Mark] were not sufficiently detailed [in the commission of Doge Falier's Pala d'Oro], there was certainly no detailed pictorial material accompanying them [16]

Demus' misunderstandings" include the depiction of Mark s tomb in a landscape rather than in a church in Alexandria (fig 52) and the unnecessary inclusion of a little figure underneath Mark s coffin in the scene of the reception of the Evangelist's relics in Venice (fig 54) It seems unlikely that an illustrated libellus recounting the the story of the translation of the relics of St Mark would err in these details, because the text of the Translatio Sancti Marci specifies the circumstances surrounding both scenes [17] It is possible that the Constantinopolitan artists responsible for the cycle of St Mark on the Pala d'Oro were modelling the scenes after an illustrated Bible however The Entombment of Christ, which is set in a landscape, may have served as the basis for the composition of the removal of St Mark's relics from his tomb in Alexandria, while the the use of the Death of the Virgin as a model for the reception scene may have resulted in the inclusion of the disruptive Jew underneath Mark s coffin Although a model for the scenes from the life of St Mark on the Pala d Oro remains to be found while the source of the scenes from the life of St Ambrose on the Paliotto seems fairly certain, the two hagiographical cycles indicate that mid ninth-century Milan and early twelfth-century Venice had each developed site-specific legends about their patron saints,

which were incorporated into the decoration of the high altar of each saint's church

The two silver side panels on the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio (fig 81) are decorated in the same manner a jewelled cross, similar to that found in the centre of the front panel is placed at the centre of a diamond-shaped area which is defined by a heavy border four saints or deacons stand between the arms of each cross and the busts of four saints identified by Latin inscription, appear in four medallions set into quarter-circles at each corner of each diamond-shaped area The eight triangular areas, thus created surrounding the centre of each side panel, are filled with an equal number of angels, shown flying, standing, or kneeling The Pala d'Oro also features a series of angels, or rather, of archangels but these twelve bowing figures form a horizontal row, flanking the Prepared Throne of Judgement near the top of the lower section of the altarpiece (figs 41-44) A more noteworthy comparison is to be made between the figures of the known saints in the medallions on the side panels in Milan and the figures of the six Church deacons which flank the scenes from the life of Christ at the top of the lower section of the altarpiece in Venice (figs 66-71) As is the case with the identified saints on the Paliotto, the six deacons on the Pala were chosen either because of their appeal as popular saints, or because of their association with the church's titular saint, as described in the local legends Thus, for example, the Paliotto portrays St Nazarius, whose mother was said to have been baptized by St Peter[18] and whose relics were found by St Ambrose,[19] and the Pala d'Oro features St Fortunatus (fig 71), companion to Hermagoras, the first bishop of Aquileia, who was believed to have been consecrated by

St Mark himself [20] The known saints on the side panels on the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio and the six deacons on the Pala d'Oro therefore appear to have been placed on these works as a means of honouring popular saints who were worshipped locally, and as a subtle reiteration of the local legends concerning each city's patron saint

As has been shown by the preceding comparison, the Paliotto of Sant Ambrogio in Milan and the Pala d'Oro of San Marco in Venice have several characteristics in common Each work includes a series of scenes from the life of Christ and a hagiographical cycle, featuring scenes from the life of each city's respective patron saint, each bears an inscription relating information about the creation of each work, and both feature several of the same figures, including Christ in Majesty, the four evangelists or their symbols the four Apocalyptic beasts portraits of the donors, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel images of saints related to the patron saints, a series of twelve apostles and a series of angels or archangels More important than these common individual elements, however is their similar arrangement on both the Paliotto and the Pala d'Oro In Milan and Venice, the image of the enthroned Christ in Majesty occupies the most prominent place in both compositions that is, the centre of the front panel of the Paliotto and the centre of the central part of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro He is surrounded in Milan, by the four Apocalyptic creatures and by twelve apostles, and in Venice, he is accompanied by the four evangelists, while the twelve apostles create a horizontal axis with this group at its centre The portraits of the donors and the figures of St Michael and St Gabriel occupy the second most prominent places on both works In Milan these figures, including the portrait of the

artist, Wolvinius, make up the central zone of the rear panel, whereas in Venice, the donor of the Pala d'Oro and the Byzartine Empress Irene are placed below the group including the figure of the enthroned Christ, while St Michael and St Gabriel are found above this same group, although they flank the central zone, and so are not a part of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro In both the Paliotto and the Pala d Oro, the scenes from the life of Christ, the hagiographical cycles and the images of saints related to the patron saint are placed peripherally to the individual figures In Milan, the cycles frame the central zones of the front and rear panels, just as in Venice, the cycles and saints frame the lower section of the Pala d'Oro Although the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio and the Pala d'Oro of San Marco do differ considerably from one another - the Pala d Oro is composed of many more individual figures than the Paliotto, and the details of the altarpiece's composition are quite different than those found on the altar in Milan - there are a sufficient number of similarities between the two works to suggest that, in its selection of individual elements and in their compositional arrangement, the Pala d'Oro is in keeping with a western, or, perhaps specifically, with a northern Italian medieval altar-decoration tradition Certainly, Archbishop Angilbert and Doge Falier appear to have had the same purpose in mind when commissioning the Paliotto in the mid ninth century and the Pala d'Oro at the beginning of the twelfth century the glorification of each patron saint and the city which held his relics, as well as the promotion of the local legends surrounding that saint The importance of the cult of St Mark to Venice, from that cult's inception in the city during the ninth

century to the time of Andrea Dandolo's tenure as Doge in the fourteenth century, will be examined at length in the third chapter of this thesis

The antependium commissioned by Abbot Desiderius (1058-1087) of the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino is the only other similar Italian work that is known to predate the Pala d'Oro Unlike the Paliotto in Milan and the Pala in Venice, the antependium from Monte Cassino no longer exists, having been surrendered to Frederick II in 1241 and likely melted down for its gold content because the western Emperor was in desperate need of funds [21] It is thus impossible to compare Desiderius altar-frontal with the Pala d'Oro in terms of subject matter and composition Although the details of its appearance are unknown, Hahnloser speculates that Desiderius' antependium may have served as a model for the altarpiece in San Marco,[22] due to the similarity of the circumstances under which both the Cassinese and Venetian works were commissioned The history of the creation of altar-frontal at Monte Cassino was well documented by Leo Marsicanus, a contemporary of Abbot Desiderius, the Benedictine abbey s bibliothecarius, and later cardinal bishop of Ostia [23] Leo's Chronica monasterii Casinensis,[24] which was written under Abbot Oderisius I (1087 - 1105), Desiderius s successor [25] reviews six centuries of Monte Cassino s history and celebrates amongst Desiderius' many achievements the abbey church's renovation The Abbot began to renovate Monte Cassino's church of St Benedict in 1066 and its transformation was finished in 1071, complete with new furnishings [26] The new basilica was dedicated by Pope Alexander II on October 1, 1071, in a ceremony attended by a number of eminent guests, including high-ranking clergy from Rome, south and central Italy, as well as all but one of the Norman princes from southern Italy [27] Leo s Narratio

celeberrime consecrationis et dedicationis ecclesiae Casinensis describes both the church's dedication and its new furnishings [28] About the _antependium_ on the main altar, he states that

> Ad supradictam igitur regiam urbem quendam de fratribus cum litteris ad imperatorem et auro triginta et sex librarum pondo transmittens, auream ibi in altaris facie tabulam cum gemmis ac smaltis valde speciosis patrari mandavit, quibus videlicet smaltis nonnullas quidem ex evangelio, fere autem omnes beati Benedicti miraculorum insigniri fecit historias [29]

This brief statement reveals that Abbot Desiderius _antependium_ was made of gold, and embellished with gems and enamels It featured scenes from the life of Christ, as well as a hagiographical cycle depicting scenes fron the life of St Benedict, the abbey church's titular saint In these respects, Desiderius' _antependium_ and Doge Falier's _Pala_ are the same The most significant statement implicit in Leo's account, is that the altar-frontal at Monte Cassino was commissioned from the imperial workshops in Constantinople by Abbot Desiderius, which shows that Byzantine enamelers were able to be hired to produce western _antependia_ Hahnloser believes that this also must have been the case with the _Pala d'Oro_, because the Empress Irene is depicted on it [30] Hahnloser proposes that the Constantinopolitan workshops responsible for the production of the altar-frontals must have followed programs based on western, rather than eastern sources, because they featured local saints and scenes from their lives For example, the _Pala d'Oro_ s series of six Church deacons includes local saints such as St Fortunatus, and the hagiographical cycle is made up of scenes that illustrate the pronounced local legend of the life of St Mark [31] He also points out that the scenes from the life of Christ found on the lower section of the altarpiece features three subjects, the Last

Supper, the Women at the Tomb and the Incredulity of Thomas which form, "a highly individual selection independent of the Byzantine canon of the Dodekaorton."[32] To Hahnloser, this suggests that the details of the Pala d'Oro's program were determined by the Venetians who ordered the altar-frontal, rather than by the Byzantine artists working on the commission. The choice and number of scenes from the life of Christ on Abbot Desiderius' antependium are not known, but it is written that Desiderius customized another New Testament cycle, that found on the iconostasis beam in the church of St Benedict, in order to suit western tastes. The Abbot supplemented ten panels depicting scenes from the life of Christ, which he received from Constantinople, with three more panels, made by his own artists at Monte Cassino, using the same materials and following the same style as their Byzantine models. Hahnloser speculates that this was done in order to create a symmetrical arrangement on the iconostasis beam.[33] Thus, although the subject matter and composition of San Marco's Pala d'Oro cannot be compared with those of Abbot Desiderius' antependium, because the Cassinese work no longer exists, Leo Marsicanus' brief description of the antependium and his account of the circumstances surrounding its commission show that both works were similar in that they both originally served the same function, they both were made of the same materials, and they both featured scenes from the life of Christ and hagiographical cycles. Most importantly, both works were ordered from imperial workshops in Constantinople, where they were produced following the donors' specifications, which were determined by the altar-frontals' destinations. Based on these facts, and despite the lack of visual

evidence, Desiderius commission of circa 1070 can thus be cited as a precedent, if not as a model, for Doge Falier s order in 1105

Both the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan and Abbot Desiderius antependium from Monte Cassino thus serve to show that the types of individual figures and cycles on the Pala d'Oro in San Marco were also found on other western, specifically Italian, medieval, metal altar-frontals Although no Italian metal altar-frontals that are contemporary to the Pala d'Oro survive, it will be useful to look at a later example, in order to ascertain whether the arrangement of the figures on the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece is also in keeping with western practice The silver altarpiece of Patriarch Pellegrino II of Aquileia at Cividale cathedral (fig 83) is dated to 1195- circa 1204, or roughly a century later than Doge Falier's commission for San Marco Like the Pala d'Oro, Cividale s altarpiece was originally used as an altar-frontal,[34] and, as a brief comparison of the two will show, the arrangement of the figures is very similar in both Patriarch Pellegrino's panel is divided into three parts, and the visual emphasis is placed on the central zone as is the case in the the lower section of the Pala d Oro At Cividale, this central zone features one group of four figures, which are framed by a series of three arches The figures include an enthroned Virgin and Child in the centre, flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, who turn toward the sacred pair In the triangular spaces between the three arches are the four Apocalyptic creatures The central zone on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, by contrast, is composed of three superimposed groups of figures (fig 1), including, in the centre, the enthroned Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the four seated evangelists Despite

this multi-tiered organisation, the figure of Christ dominates the Pala d'Oro's central zone because of its large size as do the figures in the centre of the panel in Cividale The lateral zones which flank the central part of each work, are divided into three horizontal rows On the silver panel at Cividale, each row features four figures in frontal stances, the row on the lower left-hand side has five figures These individuals identified by Latin inscription include apostles in the top row, and various military and ecclesiastical saints in the middle and bottom rows On the Pala d'Oro six figures fill each row on either side of the central zone on the lower section of the altarpiece As was described in the first chapter, the top row is composed of archangels, who turn and bow toward the Prepared Throne of Judgement, the middle row features apostles, and the bottom row is made up of prophets All of the apostles and prophets on the Venetian altarpiece stand frontally Unlike the figures on the Pala d'Oro, those in the lateral rows on the silver panel at Cividale are not placed under arcades, and thus are not isolated from one another, as they are in the Venetian work Although the silver panel of Patriarch Pellegrino does not have a Christological or hagiographical cycle, as does the Pala d'Oro, its overall composition closely resembles that of the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece, both in its visual emphasis of the group at the centre of the panel, and in its division of the lateral figures into three horizontal rows The arrangement of both works is so similar, in fact, that Hahnloser hypothesizes that the original, early twelfth-century composition of the Pala d'Oro may have inspired the artist who created the silver panel for Cividale, nearly one hundred years later [35] What is certain is that the arrangement of the subject matter on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro

and on the silver panel at Cividale cathedral is typical of a particular type of altar-frontal, which was popular in the West throughout the second half of the Middle Ages [36] Thus, the lower section of the Pala d'Oro clearly resembles a western medieval antependium both in its choice of figures and narrative cycles, the same types of which are found on the mid ninth-century Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, and in the arrangement of those figures and cycles on the Venetian panel, which resembles that found on Patriarch Pellegrino s late twelfth-century silver panel in Cividale, and on other metal antependia of the Pala d'Oro s period

Despite this general resemblance to other medieval Italian, metal altar-frontals, a number of features on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro are particular to the Venetian altarpiece Its most striking characteristic is that three sacred images, the Hetoimasia or Prepared Throne of Judgement, the enthroned Christ in Majesty, and the orant Virgin, are represented, superimposed one above the other, in the centre of the Pala d Oro s lower section Of these three images, the figure of the enthroned Christ appears frequently on altar-frontals of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries [37] The figure of Christ in Majesty, when it is appears on a western altar-frontal, always occupies the centre of the panel's composition, and he is usually accompanied by the four symbols of the evangelists, as is the case on the front panel of the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio [38] The Virgin is also a popular figure on western antependia, appearing more and more frequently during the second half of the Middle Ages [39] When she is included in an antependium's composition, she is usually portrayed enthroned in the centre of the altar-frontal, with the Christ child in her lap, as she is

on the silver panel at Cividale cathedral It should be mentioned that the Virgin only begins to be shown in a standing position on western altarpieces produced toward the end of the Middle Ages [40] The Prepared Throne of Judgement does not seem to have been used on any western altar-frontal other than the Pala d Oro Thus the presence of the Hetoimasia and the depiction of the Virgin as in an orant position, rather than seated, are unusual occurences on the Pala d'Oro, and the whole arrangement of the Throne, Christ and the Virgin placed one above the other in the centre of the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece seems to follow no Italian or western medieval tradition of metal altar-frontal decoration

The choice of some of the figures, secondary to the three images in the centre of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, and the arrangement of all of the figures placed laterally to the central part of the lower section of the altarpiece, are also peculiar characteristics of the Venetian work The enthroned Christ is surrounded, as has already been mentioned, not by the symbols of the four evangelists, which were commonly associated with the figure of Christ in Majesty on western medieval altar-frontals, but by the seated evangelists themselves, a fairly uncommon occurence on antependia [41] The rows of individual figures flanking the central part of the lower section of the Pala d Oro distinguish themselves from similarly arranged figures on other western antependia of this type, in that those on the Venetian work are grouped together in a strict hierarchical manner with each row composed of only one type of figure On western medieval altar-frontals that have a multi-tiered organisation, such as the silver panel at Cividale cathedral, the figures in those tiers, be they saints,

martyrs, prophets, and so on, are interspersed with one another rather than separated according to type It is not so unusual to find a series of twelve apostles,[42] or a series of angels,[43] associated with the image of Christ in Majesty or with that of the enthroned Virgin and Child on a western medieval altar-frontal, but it is unique to find three separate rows of apostles, archangels and prophets all on the same work The appearance and placement of the donor portrait on the Pala d Oro s donor is also not in keeping with western medieval practice Doge Falier s remarkable dress has already been examined in the first chapter, but his pose and his proximity to the Virgin also require some comment The Doge stands frontally holding a sceptre in his right hand and raising his left in a gesture of prayer or speech This pose echoes that of the Empress Irene whose portrait like that of the Doge flanks the orant Virgin Donor portraits were not uncommon on western medieval altar-frontals,[44] but rarely did the donor appear as large as the sacred figures on an antependium, or stand erect in proximity to any one of them For example Archbishop Angilbert accompanies St Ambrose on the rear panel of the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio but he bows his head in respect before the saint The western Emperor Henry II (1002-1024) and his wife, the Empress Cunigund, are portrayed even more humbly on the golden altar-frontal which the imperial couple gave to the cathedral at Basel in the first quarter of the eleventh century [45] The tiny figures of the Emperor and Empress appear in the Byzantine act of proskynesis, on either side of Christ the Saviour of the World, who occupies the centre of the panel Thus, by comparison, Doge Falier s pose on the Pala d'Oro is unusual, not only in that it raises his status equal to that of his companion, the Byzantine Empress Irene, but also because it

places the Doge in the same sphere as one of the holiest figures, that of the Mother of God

Although the lower section of the Pala d Oro[46] follows the western tradition of altar-frontal decoration in a general sense the choice of some figures, and the nature of the depiction of all the figures, as well as their specific arrangement on the altarpiece are clearly derived from an iconographic system that does not stem from that tradition The source of these features, uncommon to western antependia, is to be found in Byzantine art, as is suggested by the fact that the Venetians looked to Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, when commissioning the altar-frontal for the high altar of San Marco It is to be expected, therefore, that this work, despite its predetermined use in a western church, should follow Byzantine artistic tradition to some extent The nature of the eastern influence on the appearance of the Pala d'Oro will presently be determined through an examination of the Byzantine iconographical tradition as it was expressed at the time of Doge Falier's 1105 commission, and by a comparison of that tradition with the iconography of the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece

As has been mentioned, metal antependia, which were fixed permanently to the front of altars in churches in the West, were unknown in Byzantium, but altars in Orthodox churches were decorated For example it is recorded that the emperor Justinian I (527- 565) had a kalumma, which was decorated on three sides, made for the altar of the Church of St Sophia in Constantinople [47] The first side featured Christ between St Peter and St Paul, the second side depicted Christ with the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora on either side, and the third

side represented the Virgin also flanked by the imperial couple [48] It is important to note that, as it is described, the third side of Justinian's sixth-century altar-decoration in St Sophia bears a strong resemblance to the arrangement of the Doge the Empress and the orant Virgin, as it appears on the altarpiece in San Marco A second, more mysterious description of the decoration of St Sophia's altar is included in a French manuscript, written at the end of the thirteenth or at the beginning of the fourteenth century,[49] which contains crusader Robert de Clari's first-hand account of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 [50] The Frenchman's curiosity about the capital of the Byzantine Empire led him to record the sights of the city as he found them Included in his description of the church of St Sophia is the following

> Li maistres auteus du moustier estoit si rikes que on ne le porroit mie esprisier, car le tavle, qui seur l'autel estoit, []ert d or et de pierres precieuses esquartelees et molues, tout jete ensanle, que uns rikes empereres fist faire, si avoit bien chele tavle quatorze pies de lonc [51]

Robert de Clari states that he saw a fourteen-foot-long panel, made of gold and precious gems, on top of the altar in the church This altarpiece, so it seemed to the cursader, had been made by the order of some 'rich emperor A comparison of the Pala d Oro with the object described in Clari's account would be useful in determining the extent of the Byzantine influence on the Venetian work, but the golden panel in St Sophia does not appear to have survived the conquest of Constantinople and there are no other descriptions of it Although the source of the Pala d'Oro's unusual figural and compositional features cannot be traced to contemporary minor arts in Constantinople, a parallel for the altarpiece's iconography is to be found in the

monumental decoration system in use in Byzantium during the time of Doge Falier s commission in 1105.[52]

This Middle Byzantine system, so called because its underlying principles coalesced in monumental architecture between the end of the ninth and the end of the eleventh centuries,[53] is described by Otto Demus in his book, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. He states that, at this time, the Byzantine church was viewed primarily as, 'an image of the Kosmos, symbolizing heaven, Paradise (or the Holy Land) and the terrestrial world in an ordered hierarchy, descending from the sphere of the cupolas, which represent heaven, to the earthly zone of the lower parts. [Therefore,] the higher a picture is placed in the architectural framework, the more sacred it is held to be.[54] Ideally suited to centrally-planned churches, which were dominant in Byzantium,[55] this monumental decoration system divides the interior spaces of the churches into three zones.[56] The first and most sacred zone, representing heaven, encompasses the church's domes, high vaults and the conch of the apse, the second zone, symbolizing Paradise or the Holy Land, includes the spaces directly underneath the domes and the upper parts of the vaults, and the third zone, corresponding to the terrestrial world, covers the lower vaults and the lower parts of the walls. Demus points out that only three images were used to fill the most sacred spaces of centrally-planned Byzantine churches, during the period in question: the Ascension, Pentecost, and the Glory of the Pantocrator.[57] Christ Pantocrator, being the most holy figure in the Byzantine hierarchy of sacred figures, is the image in the church s central dome.[58] These three scenes were favoured for the domes' hemispherical spaces, because each image lends itself to a circular arrangement. As Demus describes

it, 'Apostles, Angels and Prophets are placed like the spokes of a wheel round the medallion with the ascending Christ [in the scene of the Ascension] the Hetoimasia (prepared throne) [in the depiction of Pentecost], or the bust of the Pantocrator respectively in the centre [59] As has already been discussed, the Hetoimasia and the enthroned Christ in Majesty, which is the western equivalent of the Byzantine Christ Pantocrator are present on the central part of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro in San Marco and both of these images are shown in association with angels and apostles, respectively These figures flank, rather than surround, the Prepared Throne and Christ in Majesty, because the altarpiece is a flat surface, and not curved like that of the dome in a Byzantine church Four of the Apostles do surround Christ on the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece but they do so in their roles as the four evangelists This arrangement also occurs in the Byzantine monumental decoration system the evangelists appear in the curved areas underneath the Ascension or Pantocrator cupola, where they are shown alone, seated, and in the midst of writing their Gospels [60] On the Pala d'Oro, prophets, who are the third type of figure associated with the Byzantine system of cupola decoration as it is described by Demus, accompany the Virgin rather than the figure of Christ Prophets do appear in connection with the Virgin in the decoration of centrally-planned Byzantine churches, when the Virgin is dep_cted in the conch of the apse, which occured frequently,[61] prophets may be found on the lower wall surfaces in or near the main apse [62] Demus adds that, the type of orant Virgin which is displayed on the Pala d Oro, 'was relegated to the outlying provinces and, perhaps, to the Palace chapels, where the Orante was imbued with a

special meaning as the Protectress of the ruler "[63] The fact that the Empress Irene and Doge Falier are both present on the Pala d'Oro, coupled with the fact that San Marco was the palace church of the Doges of Venice,[64] suggests that the Virgin appears on the Venetian altarpiece in this same capacity As has been shown, certain images which are present on the Venetian altarpiece, such as the Hetoimasia and the orant Virgin, occur in the Middle Byzantine decoration system, as does the association of certain types of figures with particular images, like that of the apostles with the figure of Christ Pantocrator This system, as it was expressed during the time of Doge Falier's 1105 commission of the Pala d'Oro, must therefore be seen as the source of the Venetian altarpiece's iconography, much of which is not in keeping with the western tradition of antependium decoration However, as it is presented in Orthodox, centrally-planned churches, the Middle Byzantine system does not provide a model for the Pala d'Oro's arrangement of these images and figures The source of the Venetian altarpiece's composition is thus not to be found in the decoration of centrally-planned churches, but it is seen in the decoration of longitudinally-planned churches like that in the cathedral of Cefalu in Sicily [65] Even though Cefalu is a cathedral built for services in the western rite, the church's decorative program has been adapted from the Middle Byzantine system in order to fit into the cathedral's apse and presbytery [66] As will be shown, this arrangement of a Middle Byzantine program for a longitudinal church is of particular interest in the search for the source of the Pala d'Oro's composition

A foundation of the Norman King of Sicily, Roger II (1130-1154),[67] Cefalu s surviving mosaic decoration dates from the mid to late twelfth

century[68] and is located as has been mentioned in the apse and presbytery areas of the cathedral The apse decoration (fig 84), like the centre of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, is dominated by the figure of Christ Pantocrator in the conch, blessing with his right hand and holding an open book in his left At Cefalu, Christ is shown as a half-figure, rather than as an enthroned, full-length figure as on the Venetian altarpiece (fig 2) Beneath the figure of Christ at Cefalu are three rows of standing figures The Virgin stands in an orant position in the centre of the top row, in an arrangement which mirrors that of Christ and the Virgin on the Pala d'Oro (fig 1) In the cathedral in Sicily, the Virgin is flanked by four archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel, who are dressed as Byzantine imperial guards Each archangel carries a sphere surmounted by a cross in his left hand and a liturgical fan in his right The archangels incline their heads as they turn toward the figure of the Virgin By contrast, Doge Falier and the Empress Irene are the two figures in closest proximity to the Virgin on the Pala d'Oro, but Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel (figs 37,38, 39 and 40) do appear on the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece, named within the series of archangels who turn and incline toward the image of the Hetoimasia Twelve apostles fill the middle and bottom rows in the apse at Cefalu Peter, with a cross staff scroll and keys, and Paul stand closest to the centre of the middle row, they are accompanied by the four evangelists, Mark, Matthew, John and Luke who, like Paul carry gem-incrusted codices Andrew and Simon are in the centre of the bottom row, and they are shown with James, Philip, Bartholomew and Thomas All of the apostles in the bottom row hold scrolls, except for Andrew who carries a cross staff The twelve apostles on the Pala

d'Oro (figs 25-36) stand all in one row but as at Cefalu, some are singled out by their placement and/or attributes Peter (fig 25), who holds a scroll, and Paul (fig 26), who carries a scroll and a codex, are given prominence both by what they have in their hands, and by their location immediately to either side of the central part of the lower section of the altarpiece, next to Christ Pantocrator and the four seated evangelists The only other apostle to carry both a scroll and a codex is St Andrew (fig 27) The remaining nine apostles on the Venetian altarpiece all hold gem-incrusted codices (figs 28-36) The evangelists, although undistinguished within the horizontal row of apostles, are emphasized by means of their placement around the figure of the enthroned Christ in Majesty Peter, Paul Andrew, and the four evangelists are therefore the apostles given the most prominence at both Cefalu and on the Pala d Oro Thus, the apse decoration at Cefalu features the same figures, Christ Pantocrator, Virgin, archangels, and apostles, as are found on the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece, and, most importantly, some of these figures, Christ and the Virgin in particular are arranged in the same way on both works The appearance of hierarchically-arranged rows of apostles and archangels in Cefalu's apse and on the Pala d'Oro is also significant

Cefalu s presbytery walls, like those of the apse are divided into four registers of figures The two upper tiers feature Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, carrying scrolls inscribed with their prophecies, in the same fashion as the prophets who make up the lowest horizontal row of figures on the Pala d'Oro (figs 13-24) The two lower tiers of the cathedral s presbytery walls are filled with warrior saints, holy deacons, and Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church

Although the Venetian work does not have any large enamels depicting warrior saints or Fathers of the Church its series of Church deacons, which flanks the Christological cycle at the top of the lower section of the altarpiece includes all four of those present at Cefalu St Lawrence (fig 66), St Vincent (fig 68), St Peter of Alexandria (fig 69), and St Stephen (fig 70) Cefalu's presbytery vault (fig 85) is divided into four compartments, two of which feature one six-winged seraph and two angels, who carry liturgical fans and incline their head toward the apse, and two featuring one six-winged cherub This grouping of angelic beings with angels also occurs on the Pala d Oro Two such pairs of figures (figs 8 and 9) flank the Hetoimasia at the top of the central part of the altarpiece's lower section As with the figures in the cathedral s apse, it is important to note that some of the figures in Cefalu's presbytery, namely, the prophets and angels are also found, similarly divided into groups according to type, on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro

The hierarchical arrangement of Cefalu's program into rows of individual standing figures within the apse and presbytery of the longitudinal cathedral, although rare in the East, is a wholly Byzantine adaptation of the Middle Byzantine system Cefalu s apse decoration, with its Christ Pantocrator, its orant Virgin, archangels and twelve apostles, is derived, in fact, from the Ascension or Pantocrator dome of a centrally-planned Byzantine church [69] Otto Demus points out that, "th[is] type of apse decoration with the Pantocrator in the conch was already known at Byzantium, it was the early Byzantine type of the sixth century, modified and modernised by the influence of mid-Byzantine cupola programmes "[70] Similarly, the figures in Cefalu's presbytery are

taken directly from Byzantine presbytery programs,[71] which feature single figures on the walls and the Hetoimasia, adored by angels and angelic beings, in the vault. The similarities between the composition of Cefalu's apse and presbytery decoration and that of lower section of the Pala d Oro, coupled with the fact that Cefalu s program is a Byzantine adaptation of the monumental decoration system which was developed between the ninth and eleventh centuries for Orthodox centrally-planned churches, strongly suggests that the Constantinopolitan artists responsible for Doge Falier s Pala d Oro of 1105 used this Byzantine longitudinal church decoration system as a model for the altar-frontal's composition. The presence, in this Byzantine longitudinal decoration system, of the Hetoimasia in the presbytery vault, the figure of Christ Pantocrator in the conch of the apse, and the orant Virgin directly beneath Christ, accounts for the superimposition of these three images in the centre of the lower section of the Pala d Oro. The system also explains the presence of tetramorphs and unnamed angels around the Prepared Throne of Judgement at the top of the central part of the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece, as well as the hierarchically-arranged rows of figures to either side of the three images in the centre of the panel. This Byzantine source of the Pala d Oro's original composition raises the question of whether Doge Falier's 1105 commission specified that the altar-frontal depict a program taken from the Byzantine longitudinal system. As was shown in the first chapter, the primary sources pertaining to the Venetian altarpiece contain no such information, but the art historians who believe that the lower section of the present Pala d'Oro represents Doge Falier's commission, feel that the Venetians must have provided the

Byzantine artists working on the order with some description of the figures and scenes (such as those from the life of St Mark) to be included on the altar-frontal In fact, some indication that the Doge s early twelfth-century commission specified the theological program expressed by the arrangement of the large enamels of the lower section of the Venetian altarpiece is provided by the mosaics in the church for which the Pala d Oro was produced, San Marco in Venice

The history of the mosaics in San Marco like that of the Pala d'Oro itself, is a long one It is thought that the church's decoration was begun by Doge Domenico Selvo (1071-1084) and completed either by Selvo or by his successor, Doge Vitale Falier (1086-1096) [72] The various consecration dates given for San Marco - 1084-1085, 1093, 1102 and 1117 - might be some indication, as Otto Demus suggests in his study of the Venetian church's mosaics, of the progression of the decoration, and, thus, of the fact, "that the first decoration of the main apse was completed by 1084 [73] Doge Ordelafo Falier's Pala d'Oro of 1105 was therefore affixed to San Marco's high altar toward the end of the church s decoration, its commission in Constantinople having taken place after the mosaic program had been determined There is however, some question as to whether the mosaics in San Marco, as they appear today, follow the church s original eleventh-century program The course of San Marco s decoration was complicated by a series of natural disasters subsequent renovations to the church's mosaics, and by additions to the church's structure, all of which necessitated continuous work on the mosaics in San Marco from the twelfth century onwards [74] Despite this, Otto Demus maintains that a coherent program, possibly dating to the

twelfth century, is expressed in the decoration of the three domes, which lie along the church s east-west axis [75]

As is seen from the ground-plan of the church (fig 86) San Marco is a centrally-planned, cross-shaped church with five domes, one over each arm and one over the crossing These features indicate that the Venetian church is modelled after Orthodox centrally-planned churches for which the Middle Byzantine decoration system was developed [76] It has been suggested that San Marco's building, and even its mosaic decoration, are based specifically on the Emperor Justinian s mid sixth-century Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, but the Byzantine church no longer exists, and surviving descriptions of it are contradictory and incomplete [77] Certain aspects of San Marco's decoration, particularly the mosaics in the three domes along the church's east-west axis, are in keeping with the Middle Byzantine system, as it has already been described The east dome (fig 87), above San Marco's main altar, features a half-length figure of Christ Emmanuel in the medallion in the centre of the dome, the orant Virgin directly beneath the figure of Christ, and a series of thirteen prophets around the base of the dome, all of whom stand frontally and carry open scrolls on which their prophecies are written The symbols of the four evangelists are depicted in the pendentives which are the concave triangular areas below the dome The Ascension is the theme of the middle dome (fig 88) over the crossing of the arms of the church A full-length figure of Christ appears, seated on an arc and blessing with his right hand, in the dome's medallion, which is supported by four angels The Virgin stands directly below Christ, in a closed orant position, with her hands raised, palms outward, in front of her chest

She is flanked by two angels, who turn their heads and indicate the ascending Christ to the twelve apostles who ring the dome Sixteen personifications of the Virtues and Beatitudes fill the drum of the dome, alternating with the openings of the windows The four evangelists, seated and in the act of writing their Gospels are in the Ascension dome s pendentives The west dome (fig 89), which is over the congregational area of the church, depicts the scene of Pentecost The medallion in the centre of the dome features the Prepared Throne of Judgement, which is draped with a purple chlamys and upon which sit a codex and a dove Rays of light, representing the Holy Spirit, emanate from the Hetoimasia and alight on the heads of the twelve apostles, who sit enthroned around the base of the dome The sixteen nations of the world are indicated by the sixteen pairs of figures interspersed between the windows on the drum of the dome The west dome s pendentives are filled with four standing angels who carry liturgical fans Two of San Marco's three east-west domes, the Ascension and the Pentecost cupolas, are therefore in keeping with the Middle Byzantine system for the decoration of the uppermost zone of a centrally-planned church, although it should be noted that the allegorical figures around the base of the Ascension dome are a western intrusion [78] The third dome, the Emmanuel cupola with its orant Virgin and its series of prophets is more akin to Middle Byzantine apse decoration The Pala d'Oro and the mosaics in these three domes therefore share a common iconographical source in the Middle Byzantine system Thus, many of the images and figures on the Venetian altarpiece, such as the Hetoimasia, the orant Virgin, the series of prophets, and the seated evangelists, also appear in the domes' decoration More than this, there are certain details which

suggest that the artists who made the Pala d Oro in Constantinople knew of the program expressed by the decoration of the three east-west domes in San Marco Otto Demus proposes that, "the main sequence [of the decoration in San Marco's east-west axis has] to be read as a 'historical sequence, from the time of expectation [represented by the Emmanuel dome] to the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Incarnation [in the Ascension dome], the foundation and the life of the Church [in the Pentecost dome] and finally the Last Judgement [represented in the westernmost vault of San Marco] [79] As will now be shown the composition of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro can also be interpreted in this same manner

In San Marco's Emmanuel dome, the orant Virgin is placed directly below the figure of Christ in Majesty, and in line with thirteen prophets, whose prophecies refer to the Incarnation, and to the Last Judgement and the Redemption that is inherent in the message of the Incarnation This arrangement of figures is echoed in the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, where the orant Virgin stands below the enthroned Christ and is flanked by twelve scroll-bearing prophets Eight of the thirteen prophets in the east dome, Isaiah, David, Solomon, Malachi, Zechariah, Jeremiah, Daniel and Habakkuk are also found on the Venetian altarpiece, and of these, the prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel correspond exactly with those on the Pala d'Oro Isaiah 7 14, 'A virgin shall conceive and bear a son" and Daniel 7 13, 'When comes the Holy of Holies " Of the other eleven prophecies in the Emmanuel dome, eight are messianic, refering to the Incarnation (David, Psalms, 131 11, Solomon, Songs, 6 9 Malachi, 5 1, Zechariah 6 12, Jeremiah Baruch, 3 6, Obadiah, 21, Habakkuk 3 3, Haggai, 2 7), one points to the Resurrection

(Hosea, 6 2), and two relate to the Last Judgement (Zephaniah 2 3 and Jonah, 3 8) [80] The words of the prophets on the Pala d'Oro, like those of the prophets in the Emmanuel dome, refer not only to the Incarnation (Daniel, 7 13, Solomon, Proverbs, 9 1, David, Psalms 45 10, Isaiah, 7 14, Moses, Deuteronomy, 18 15, Jeremiah, Matthew, 2 15, Ezekiel 44 1 Elijah, Kings I 17 1) but also to the Resurrection (Nahum 3 17) and to the Last Judgement (Malachi, 4 1, Habakkuk, 2 3) Thus the arrangement of the Virgin and prophets on the Pala d Oro is seen to have a similar iconographic meaning as the mosaic composition in San Marco's Emmanuel dome, because the theme conveyed, that of the fundamental importance of the Incarnation in the eschatological message of Christianity, is the same in both cases The twelve apostles who make up the middle horizontal row of figures in the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, appear in the Ascension and Pentecost domes in San Marco According to Demus' reading of the program expressed in the church's east-west axis, the apostles are represented as witnesses to the life of Christ in the scene of the Ascension and as his successors in the foundation of the Church on earth in the Pentecost scene [81] The apostles on the Pala d'Oro, by virtue of their alignment with the figure of the enthroned Christ in Majesty, fulfill this same iconographic function on the altarpiece This interpretation of the presence of the apostles on the Pala d'Oro and in the comes of San Marco is emphasized by the placement of the four evangelists the authors of Christ s historical life, rather than their symbolic precursors, Ezekiel's beasts, around the figure of Christ on the altarpiece and in the pendentives of the church's Ascension cupola [82] The Hetoimasia, or the Prepared Throne of Judgement, from which the apostles receive the Holy

Spirit in San Marco s Pentecost dome is also present on the Pala d'Oro although it is accompanied on the altarpiece by a series of archangels, rather than the twelve apostles As has been mentioned, angels, archangels and tetramorphs are traditionally placed with the Prepared Throne of Judgement in the presbytery vault of Orthodox churches during the Middle Byzantine period, the whole image conveying the idea of the the Last Judgement [83] The Hetoimasia on the Pala d Oro should therefore be interpreted as a reference to the second coming of Christ at the end of time rather than as a symbol of the Trinity, which is how Demus views the throne in San Marco's Pentecost dome [84] Thus, the historical sequence present in the domes along San Marco's east-west axis is also found in the figural composition of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, the nature of the altarpiece's program being clearly evoked by the juxtaposition of sacred images with one another, and with the three hierarchically-arranged rows of figures

This method of interpretating compositions created by juxtaposed images, by means of combining the images' individual and combined meanings into one coherent message, is suggested by Andre Grabar In his book on the origins of Christian iconography, Grabar demonstrates that complex theological ideas can be expressed through the juxtaposition of separate images [85] Thus an image which displays prophets with the events that they foretell, "evokes both the prophecy and the profound significance of the historical event '[86] Similarly the figural composition of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro appears as an economical abstract restatement of the decorative program displayed in the east-west axis of San Marco, which presents a historical view of the Church from the time of the Old Testament

prophets who foretell the Incarnation, through to the fulfillment of their prophecies and the establishment of the Church on earth, and concluding with the Last Judgement Based on the similarity of the programs in the east-west domes of San Marco and on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, and given the fact that the mosaic decoration of the Venetian church was nearing completion at the time of Doge Falier s commission in 1105, it would appear, therefore, that the Byzantine artists responsible for making the early twelfth-century altar-frontal were requested to give the work a program which expressed the same theological ideas as those conveyed in San Marco If as it seems from the visual mistakes noted in connection with the Pala d'Oro's cycle of St Mark, Otto Demus is correct in his hypothesis that Doge Falier s commission was not accompanied by detailed pictorial material,[87] the Pala d'Oro's Constantinopolitan producers must have turned to the one source known to them, which conveyed the ideas requested by the Venetians and which lent itself most easily to reproduction in the form of a western antependium the Middle Byzantine decoration system developed for the apses of longitudinal churches According to Christa Belting-Ihm the types of figures - apostles, prophets, saints, and, especially that of the Virgin, who is proof of God s incarnation - seen in the apse decoration of Italian churches influenced by Byzantine iconography, like the cathedral of Cefalu in Sicily, appear together as witnesses to either the revelation of God in history or to the arrival of God in history, both of which are conveyed by the placement of Christ in Majesty above these figures [88] With the addition of the symbol of the Last Judgement, the image of the Hetoimasia in the presbytery vault, the theological ideas expressed in a typical Byzantire apsidal program

are therefore the same as those found in the the lower section of the Pala d'Oro in San Marco Thus, it is only logical that the Pala d Oro s Constantinopolitan producers should have looked to the Middle Byzantine monumental decoration system, when faced with the problem of expressing complex ideas that are treated in an apse decoration, on a western altar-frontal which sits on the altar in front of the apse

Over the course of this chapter the western and eastern sources for the Pala d Oro's iconography and composition have been examined and this examination has confirmed Margaret Frazer's belief, cited at the end of the previous chapter, that the Venetian altarpiece is neither western, nor eastern, but a particularly Venetian expression of both traditions The form of the lower section of the Pala d Oro is derived from the western tradition of altar decoration, and some of the altarpiece's figural and compositional features are found on other western, particularly Italian medieval metal altar-frontals, such as the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio and the altarpiece of Patriarch Pellegrino at Cividale Cathedral As was shown, the mid ninth-century Paliotto in Milan shares many of the same types of figures as the Pala d'Oro the enthroned Christ in Majesty, a series of twelve apostles, donor portraits angels or archangels, images of locally-worshipped saints, as well as a series of scenes from the life of Christ, and a hagiographical cycle, although the arrangement of these elements is different on each work The late twelfth-century altarpiece at Cividale with its centrally-placed image of the enthroned Virgin and Child and its multi-tiered arrangement of apostles and saints, is more similar to the Pala d Oro than the Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio in terms of composition Both the Paliotto and Cividale's altarpiece fail to account for the

particular details of the Pala d'Oro's iconography and composition, however. A Byzantine source for the Venetian altarpiece's anomalies is suggested by the fact that Doge Ordelafo Falier ordered the Pala d'Oro from Constantinople, the precedent for which was set by Abbot Desiderius' late eleventh-century commission of an antependium for the church of St Benedict at Monte Cassino from the imperial workshops in Byzantium's capital. Although no similar monument of the Byzantine minor arts survives, the iconography and composition of the Pala d'Oro compares well with the Byzantine monumental system of church decoration, which was developed between the ninth and eleventh centuries, and particularly the adaptation of that system which was used to decorate longitudinal churches like the mid twelfth-century cathedral of Cefalu in Sicily. The Middle Byzantine system accounts for the superimposition of three sacred images, the Hetoimasia, Christ in Majesty, and the orant Virgin, in the centre of the lower section of the Pala d'Oro, as well as the hierarchical arrangement of the rows of prophets, apostles and archangels flanking this central part of the lower section of the altarpiece. It can be no coincidence that the program thus described on the Venetian altarpiece is also found expressed in the east-west axis of San Marco in Venice, the church for which the Pala d'Oro was commissioned. Thus, the western aspects of the Pala d'Oro, the scenes from the life of Christ and the life of St Mark which frame the lower section of the altarpiece, the central placement of the enthroned Christ in Majesty, and the axial nature of the composition, combine with its eastern iconography, in order to produce a uniquely Venetian work that was, 'worthy of such a great Saint [as the Apostle and Evangelist Mark] and the magnificence of the State [of Venice],'[89] to quote Doge Andrea

Dandolo The importance of the Pala d'Oro to Venice and, particularly, to the doges of Venice, an indication of which is provided by the amount of thought time effort and money invested in it between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries by three of them, is the subject to which the third chapter of this thesis now turns

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 Hans R Hahnloser, "Magistra Latinitas et Peritia Greca, 90 Hahnloser believes that the individual differences within the same workshop may be responsible for the two styles, which are found side by side on the lower part of the Pala d'Oro

2 Ibid 91 and W F Volbach 39-40 Both Hahnloser and Volbach feel that this is the case with the six Feast enamels and the figure of the Archangel Michael with which the upper part of the Pala d'Oro is decorated Volbach dates all of these enamels to 1140-1150, but they are thought to have been added to the Venetian altarpiece only in 1209 It should also be noted that the tenth- century medallions which decorate the upper section of the Pala, as well as the frames surrounding the altarpiece's upper and lower sections, must have been added at some point after its arrival in Venice from Constantinople in 1105

3 As was mentioned in the previous chapter, it is likely that the lower section of the Pala d'Oro originally served as an antependium The term antependium (literally, that which hangs in front) was first used to describe the cloth with which the altar in a Christian church was covered The term was later applied to the decorated panels affixed to the frort of those altars, thus, these panels are also called altar-frontals It is thought that altar-frontals of silver and/or gold were first produced after Christianity's adoption as the Roman Empire's official religion in the fourth century, and mention of metal antependia is made in the sixth-century edition of the Liber Pontificalis, a compilation of the biographies of Rome s bishops from St Peter on Metal antependia are listed in other western sources - chronicles and church inventories - from the ninth century on Based on the cursory descriptions made of them in these sources, it appears that most metal altar-frontals featured Christ in Majesty accompanied by the twelve apostles, after the middle of the eighth century, this iconography was expanded to include scenes from the life of the saint to whom the altar was dedicated It is believed that decorating every altar in a Christian church was the norm after the ninth century, even though the earliest regulation concerning this practice appeared only at the beginning of the eleventh century This being the case, it is possible that hundreds of metal antependia were once in existence in the West, their donors ranging in station from popes and emperors, to bishops and members of the aristocracy Production of silver and/or gold altar-frontals peaked during the thirteenth century, however when less costly painted altarpieces began replacing the metal antependia Of their original number, only a few dozen metal altar-frontals survive to this day A very few remain in the context for which they were created (the ninth-century Paltiotto of Sant'Ambrogio is one) many others were converted into altarpieces when the fashion changed in altar-decoration (San Marco's Pala d Oro, for example), the majority were melted down for their gold, silver and gems (as was the eleventh-century antependium of Abbot Desiderius at Monte Cassino) For descriptions of early metal antependia in the Liber Pontificalis, see The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis), translated and introduction by Raymond Davis (Liverpool, 1989) 48, 50, 52, 59 and 72 For a discussion of later metal altar-frontals, see Joseph Braun, Der Christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Munich 1924), II, 90ff For the historical development of metal antependia, see Jacques Bousquet, "Des Antependiums aux retables, le probleme du decor des autels et de son emplacement," Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa 13 (1982) 201-232, especially 201-210

4 Braun 50 and Robert de Cları La Conquête de Constantınople, ed by Phılıppe Lauer (Paris, 1924) 84-85 Braun describes the Emperor Justinian's sixth-century altar decoration for the church of St Sophia ın Constantınople while Robert de Cları provides a French crusader's early thirteenth-century account of a gold and gem-incrusted panel which he saw on top of the altar ın that same church

5 Hans R Hahnloser "Le oreficerıe della Pala d'oro" ın Il Tesoro dı San Marco, ed by H R Hahnloser (Florence 1965) I, 90

6 Ibıd

7 Margaret Frazer, 274

8 Peter Lasko, Ars Sacra, 800-1200 (Harmondsworth, 1972), 51

9 George Bishop Tatum, "The Palıotto of Sant Ambrogıo at Mılan", Art Bulletın 26 (1944), 40

10 Lasko, 50

11 Tatum, 26 n 15 The orıgınal text of the ınscrıptıon reads as follows

Æmıcat alma forıs rutıloque decore venust(a)
Arca metallorum gemmıs quae compta corusca(t)
Thesauro tamen haec cuncto potıore metall(o)
Ossıbus ınterıus pollet donata sacratı(s)
(Æ)gregıus cuod praesul opus sub honore beat(ı)
Inclıtus Ambrosıı templo recubantıs ın ısto
Optulıt Angılbertus ovans, Dominoque decavı(t)
Tempore quo nıtıdae servabat culmına sedıs
(A)spıce, summe pater, famulo mıserere benign(o),
(T)e mıserante Deus donum sublıme reporte(t)

Tatum explaıns that, "the letters ın parentheses are those whıch are so placed ın the ınscrıptıon that they are made to serve sımultaneously ın several words Thus the fınal 'a of venusta ıs also the ıntıtıal letter of both Arca and 'Aspıce' '

12 Braun, 5, 9, and 560 The two doors on the back of the Palıotto ındıcate that the altar ın Mılan ıs of the confessıo type popular ın Italy at thıs tıme

13 Lasko, 50

14 Tatum, 34

15 Frazer, 275

16 Otto Demus, The Mosaıcs of San Marco ın Venıce (Chıcago 1984) I, 59

17 See chapter III, 105-108 for the circumstances surrounding these scenes as they are presented in the Translatio Sancti Marci

18 Otto Demus, The Church of San Marco in Venice (Washington 1960), 31

19 Tatum, 30 n 40

20 Demus, The Church of San Marco, 30-31

21 Herbert Bloch Monte Cassino and the Middle Ages (Cambridge, MA, 1986), I, 71

22 Hahnloser, Le orificerie", 96

23 Herbert Bloch, 'The New Fascination with Ancient Rome" in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 616-617

24 Die Chronik von Montecassino (Chronica monasterii Casinensis) , ed by H Hoffmann, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 34 (1980)

25 Bloch, 'The New Fascination", 617

26 Herbert Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 3 (1946), 194

27 Ibid , 194-195

28 Chronica monasterii Casinensis, iii 32 403-405

29 Ibid , 722

30 Hahnloser, Magistra latinitas" 80

31 Ibid

32 Ibid

33 Ibid , 83

34 Hahnloser, "Le orificerie' , 90

35 Ibid

36 Braun 124

37 Ibid , 126

38 Ibid

39 Ibid , 127

40 Ibid

41 Ibid , 128

42 Ibid , 484

43 Ibid , 482

44 Ibid , 130

45 Lasko, 129-130, plate number 130

46 It should also be mentioned that the composition of the upper part of the Pala d'Oro, which features six scenes from the life of Christ (figs 72-77), divided into two groups of three by the standing figure of the Archangel Michael (fig 78), is not derived from western medieval antependia, but clearly from the Byzantine templon An Orthodox church s templon, the precursor of the iconostasis, served to separate the sanctuary from the main body of the building The architrave that ran along the top of the templon was often decorated with a number of holy figures and images, including the Deesis, an image composed of Christ, flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel and the Dodekaorton, the twelve Feasts of the Church representing scenes from the life of Christ As has already been stated, the upper section of the Pala d'Oro features only the last six of the twelve Feast scenes the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis, or the Harrowing of Hell the Ascension, Pentecost and the Koimesis, or the Dormition of the Virgin, and for some unknown reason the scene of the Anastasis precedes that of the Crucifixion on the upper part of the Venetian altarpiece This transposition may have come about during one of the many cosmetic restorations to the Pala d'Oro over the years, or it may be that the Venetians inserted the six scenes onto the altarpiece in that sequence, as Hahnloser proposes, in order that the Crucifixion be closest to the centre, and thus the magnitude of Christ s sacrifice be emphasized The large enamels, with which the upper part of the Pala d'Oro is composed, are thought to have been added to the altarpiece during its renovation in 1209, as has already been mentioned Since four of the six scenes from the life of Christ and the figure of St Michael are duplicated, in fact on the lower section of the altarpiece the upper part of the Pala d'Oro should therefore be seen as a complement to Doge Falier s original commision of 1105, rather than as a part of the original composition For a full discussion of the Byzantine origins of the enamels on the Pala d'Oro's upper section, see Hahnloser 'Le orificerie", 94-101, especially 94-97 For a description of the Byzantine templon, and a reconstruction of the one used in the first church built for the

Pantocrator monastery in Constantinople in the early twelfth century, see Ann Wharton Epstein, "The Middle Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier Templon or Iconostasis?", Journal of the British Archaeological Association 134 (1981), 1-28, especially 1-10

47 Braun, 50, 125-126

48 Ibid

49 Robert de Clari, iii

50 Ibid viii

51 Ibid , 84-85

52 This is suggested by Margaret Frazer, 274 Frazer states that a monumental decorative program from the Byzantine tradition may have been the source for the Pala d'Oro's composition, and compares certain features of the Venetian altarpiece with similar ones found in contemporary domed churches in Italy and Greece to this end Although I agree with Frazer as to Byzantine origin of the source of the Pala d'Oro's composition, I will show that the altarpiece's iconography and arrangement more closely resemble the decorative programs in longitudinal, rather than domed, churches Furthermore, while Frazer cites the mosaics in the church of San Marco only as proof that Doge Falier was acquainted with the latest fashion in monumental decoration from Constantinople, I hope to show that the Pala d'Oro and the mosaics in the three domes along San Marco's east-west axis express the same theological idea

53 Otto Demus, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, third edition (London, 1964), 3

54 Ibid , 15

55 Ibid , 16

56 Ibid

57 Ibid

58 Ibid , 20

59 Ibid , 17

60 Ibid , 26

61 Ibid , 21

62 Ibid , 26

63 Ibid 21

64 Demus The Mosaics of San Marco, I 231

65 Otto Demus The Mosaics of Norman Sicily (New York, 1950), 6 Demus describes the cathedral of Cefalu as, "a straightforward Romanesque basilica with a transept, partly vaulted and partly covered with an open woodwork roof "

66 Demus, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, 63 Demus states that the Middle Byzantine system was adapted for use in Italian churches during the twelfth century

67 Demus The Mosaics of Norman Sicily, 3

68 Ibid , 14-16

69 Ibid , 220

70 Ibid

71 Ibid , 203-204

72 Demus The Mosaics of San Marco, I, 2

73 Ibid

74 Demus The Church of San Marco, 206-207

75 Demus, The Mosaics of San Marco, I, 231

76 Richard Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, fourth edition (Harmondsworth, 1986), 405

77 Richard Krautheimer, "A Note on Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople", in Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art (New York and London, 1969) 197 Krautheimer notes three written sources which describe the church Procopius, writing in the sixth century describes the basic features of the church's plan, Constantine of Rhodes and Nikolaos Mesarites both elaborate on the interior decoration of the church, as it was in the tenth and twelfth centuries respectively Both of these descriptions are incomplete and unspecific about the placement of the images and scenes that constitute the decorative program at Holy Apostles, and are therefore unhelpful except in a very general sense, in a comparison with the decoration of San Marco in Venice See also, Emile Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l eglise des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople' and commentary, in Revue des Etudes Grecques 9 (1896), 32-103, especially 99, and Nicolas Malickij "Remarques sur la date des mosaiques de

l'eglise des Saints-Apôtres a Constantinople decrites par Mesarites" in Byzantion 3 (1926) 123-151 especially 128 ff

78 Demus, The Mosaics of San Marco, I, 175

79 Ibid , 256

80 Ibid , 161

81 Ibid, 256

82 Ibid

83 Ibid 152

84 Ibid

85 Andre Grabar Christian Iconography, a Study of its Origins (Princeton 1968) 135

86 Ibid , 133

87 Demus, The Mosaics of San Marco, I, 59

88 Christa Belting-Ihm, "Theophanic Images of Divine Majesty in Early Medieval Italian Church Decoration', in Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, ed by William Tronzo (Bologna, 1989), I, 48

89 Hahnloser, "Le orificerie', 87 n 18

III The Cult of Saint Mark in Venice

The previous chapter's examination of the composition and iconography of the lower section of the Pala d Oro in Venice's church of San Marco placed the altarpiece in its art historical context by demonstrating that the Pala's appearance is due to a particularly Venetian amalgamation of artistic sources taken, in various measures, from the western medieval and eastern Middle Byzantine traditions Although this icononographical approach to the study of the Pala d'Oro has yielded more significant results than previously achieved through the stylistic analysis of the altarpiece's constituent enamels, knowledge of the Pala d Oro's early twelfth-century iconographical program corstitutes only one aspect of the altarpiece's entire meaning Any study of the Pala d'Oro's significance would be incomplete without an understanding of the altarpiece's historical context, since this provides a measure of the Pala's importance to the people for whom it was created, and subsequently reworked, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries In this regard, it is essential to remember that the altarpiece was made for San Marco's high altar, below which rested the relics of the Evangelist Mark The Pala d'Oro's 1105 commission by Doge Ordelafo Falier, and its subsequent renovations in 1209 and 1345 under Doge Pietro Ziani and Doge Andrea Dandolo respectively, should therefore be examined in the context of Venice's cult of St Mark As will be shown, this cult was of political concern to the citizens of Venice from the moment the Evangelist s relics arrived in the city in 828/29 From the ninth century on, St Mark, as the highly-placed patron of both the state and its doges, assured Venice's autonomy by providing

its rulers with a divine basis for their secular authority Having thus become an integral part of the Venetian civic identity, the cult of St Mark through its legends, ceremonies and works of art, reflected the political changes which took place in Venice between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries It will be shown that the Pala d'Oro, as one of the works created for the cult of St Mark in Venice served to document one important aspect of the state's political history during this period Venice s changing relationship with Byzantium

Before proceeding to an examination of the cult's impact on the political history of Venice during the ninth century, it is necessary to investigate why the Venetians chose St Mark in particular to be their state patron The origins of this cult are found in a legend, created at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, in order to bolster the apostolic claims of the church at Aquileia, a town located inland from the northern tip of the Adriatic Sea (fig 90) [1] The earliest surviving account of the legend was written in the second half of the eighth century by Paul the Deacon, a Lombard historian from this region The pertinent passage in his De ordine episcoporum Mittensium, which lists the European sees founded by the disciples of St Peter reads as follows

> Marcum vero qui praecipuus inter eius discipulos habebatur Aquileiam destinavit, quibus cum Hermagoram suum comitem Marcus prafecisset, ad beatum Petrum reversus ab eo nihilominus Alexandriam missus est [2]

This passage states that St Mark, a distinguished disciple, set out for Aquileia and led its community with his companion Hermagoras, but that the Evangelist was called back to St Peter, who then sent Mark to Alexandria Mark's foundation of the church at Aquileia is not

supported by sources written prior to eighth century, however The New Testament Acts of the Apostles mentions Mark, who is sometimes called John or John Mark, only a few times Mark is said to have accompanied Barnabas and Paul on their missions in Cyprus and Pamphylia [Acts 13 5,13 13 and Paul attests to Mark's abilities as a preacher in his second letter to Timothy [II Timothy 4 11], but the New Testament is silent about both Mark s presence in Aquileia and his mission to Alexandria The first source to mention Mark s stay in Egypt is Eusebius of Caesarea's fourth-century work, the Historia Ecclesiastica [3] This definitive early church history simply states that St Mark, "was the first [apostle] to be sent to preach in Egypt the Gospel [based on the teachings of St Peter] which he had also put into writing, and was the first to establish churches in Alexandria itself "[4] When Aquileia first presented its claim of apostolic foundation in the sixth century it was initially rejected by Rome because it lacked corroborating documentary support [5] The Aquileian church persisted, however, and the papacy finally accepted its claim during the seventh century, by the eighth century, the bishop of Aquileia was given the distinguished title of patriarch [6] The legend of St Mark's mission to Acuileia thus not only succeeded in turning the Aquileian see irto one of the medieval world's few patriarchates, but gave Aquileia precedence over the patriarchate of Alexandria by virtue of its prior establishment by St Mark [7] Aquileia's elevation of status during the seventh century made its church the envy of the other sees in the northern Adriatic region, and it was not long before a dispute arose between Aquileia and the neighbouring island of Grado (fig 90) The seeds of this dispute were sown in 569 when Aquileia, then a part of the Byzantine province of

Venetia, was invaded and occupied by the Lombards and the city s inhabitants escaped their foreign assailants by fleeing to the province's offshore islands Aquileia's bishop Paulinus, settled in Grado with his church s treasures, including the relics of St Hermagoras until it was safe to go back to the mainland [8] Despite Paulinus' return to Aquileia later that same year, the church at Grado maintained that he had legitimately, and permanently transfered the episcopate from Aquileia to Grado, because he had brought the relics of St Hermagoras with him from the mainland to the island [9] Aquileia took offence at Grado's claim, and so began their battle for the ecclesiastical supremacy of the region, which was to last well into the twelfth century [10] From the seventh century on, Aquileia and Grado each elected their own bishops the Aquileian bishop representing Lombard interests on the mainland, the bishop of Grado representing papal interests on the offshore islands, and both claiming the right to the title of patriarch after the eighth century [11] The dispute between Aquileia and Grado came to a head in 827 at the synod of Mantua, where Patriarch Maxentius of Aquileia argued persuasively that the sixth-century transfer of the mainland see to the island of Grado had only been a temporary measure, and that Grado was in fact, merely a parish of Aquileia The patriarch of Grado was not present at the synod and his representative a deacon named Tiberius, made no attempt to contradict Maxentius' assertions Given these circumstances it is not surprising that the synod's decision favoured Aquileia [12] Otto Demus states that "Mantia was, theoretically, an unmitigated defeat for Grado," but that Aquileia's victory was to prove short-lived [13] Venice, Grado's ally in the dispute, acquired the relics of St Mark in 828 or

829, and this event effectively undermined the ecclesiastical authority won by Aquileia at Mantua, for, as Patrick Geary observes in his book on relic-theft in the Middle Ages "the benefits of this acquisition [of the Evangelist's relics by Venice] only began by allowing a claim of superiority by the church possessing the body of a near-Apostle over one merely founded by him [14] The other advantages which Venice gained by its acquisition and possession of the Evangelist's body will be discussed shortly Thus, Venice's selection of St Mark as state patron stems from the sixth- or seventh-century legend of St Mark's mission to Aquileia, by which the bishops of Aquileia had hoped to raise the power and status of their see, but the legend's success to this end served only to initiate a bitter, long-lasting conflict with Grado, which, in turn, spurred the Venetians' acquisition of the Evangelist's relics in the ninth century and the establishment of the cult of St Mark in Venice

Events beyond the Venetians' control dictated their choice of patron saint, and prompted their acquisition of St Mark's relics from Alexandria, but their motive for keeping the Evangelist's body in their possession after its arrival in Venice is found in the history of the state's struggle for autonomy The first inhabitants of Venice were refugees from the Byzantine province of Venetia who, like the citizens of Grado, had fled the mainland in the seventh century in order to escape the Lombards The force of the Lombard invasion was such that, by the end of the seventh century, the first permanent settlements on the islands of the Venetian lagoon were the only part of the province of Venetia to remain under Byzantine rule [15] Venetia was officially administered from the mainland at Heraclea (fig 90) by a ducatus, a

military officer subordinate to the exarch of Ravenna, the Byzantine emperor's representative in Italy but the tribunes members of the Venetian landowning aristocracy, effectively governed the province at the local level [16] The Venetians desire for greater independence from their Byzantine masters first expressed itself in 727, in the form of a power struggle between the Venetian tribunes and Byzantine officials, which arose as a result of the Emperor Leo III's imposition of his iconoclast policies on all parts of the Byzantine Empire Leo III's prohibition of the veneration of religious images so angered and distressed Byzantium s Italian citizens that a violent insurrection broke out in the Empire's western possessions When the Venetians revolted and murdered their dux, Paulicius, the local tribunes and clergy took advantage of this situation by quickly replacing Paulicius with a native Venetian, Orso, or Ursus, of Heraclea Although the Italian revolt was brought to an end by the exarch of Ravenna and his army, Leo III, "tactfully conceded a measure of local autonomy," to the province of Venetia by recognizing Ursus as the first native governor of Venice, and granting him the title of hypatos or consul [17] For some time after this, the office of the doge of Venice was held alternately by a Byzantine official and a native Venetian, but the election of Ursus in 727 marked the beginning of the Venetians' progress toward self-rule

The next major step in Venice's emancipation from Byzantium took place in the first decade of the ninth century, when the Franks, under the leadership of Charlemagne s son, Pepin, attempted to wrest control of Venetia away from the Byzantine Empire The Franks had won possession of the Lombard kingdom in northern Italy in the late eighth century, and were now seeking to incorporate Venice into the Carolingian

Empire Doge Obelerio (802-811) complied with the Franks in their offensive against his own city, but the Venetians resisted the attacks for six months, not wanting to exchange their lenient and distant, Byzantine masters for more oppressive Carolingian ones Pepin eventually succeeded in destroying Heraclea, Malamocco and other Venetian settlements, but the arrival of the Byzantine fleet in 810 forced him to withdraw his troops from the area [18] The Venetians' struggle for independence was affected by the Franks attacks in two ways First, the devastation that was the immediate aftermath of the fighting forced the Venetians to abandon their early settlements, and to concentrate their population on the islands of the Rialto (fig 90) Donald Nicol states that the monumental task of rebuilding their society and its institutions anew "purged them [the Venetian people] of their past and inspired them with a fresh sense of unity and independence "[19] Second, Pepin's offensive against Venice led to a treaty in 812, the first between the Byzantine Emperor and his western counterpart which clarified the status of the province of Venetia the islands in the Venetian lagoon were to remain Byzantine possessions and the province s inhabitants were to pay tribute to the Franks in recognition of Pepin's victory but the Venetians, as citizens of the Byzantine Empire, were guaranteed protection from their enemies on the Italian mainland, and the freedom to pursue their livelihood, maritime trade, unhindered by foreign interference According to Nicol, the agreement between Charlemagne and Michael I Rangabe (811-813) allowed the Venetians "to evolve in their own style with the minimum of dependence on either of the great powers that might have hemmed them in "[20] On the other hand, Otto Demus observes that this experience with the Franks taught the

Venetians that, as the inhabitants of a Byzantine possession situated in an area under the control of western sovereigns it was to their advantage to adopt a foreign policy in which they played East against West in pursuit of Venetian interests [21] Thus prior to the arrival of the relics of St Mark in Venice, the citizens of Venice had already clearly demonstrated their desire for autonomous rule and were beginning to form a cohesive society, one which was ruled from the Rialto by its native doges, and yet still protected from Carolingian domination by the Byzantine Empire It is at this point in the city s history that Venice acquired the relics of St Mark from Alexandria, and as will be shown, the establishment of the cult of St Mark was Venice's third and most decisive, step toward independence

It has already been suggested that Venice s decision to acquire the relics of St Mark from Alexandria in 828/829 may have been spurred by the ecclesiastical implications of the synod of Mantua, but once the relics were in the possession of Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio (827-829), the Venetians were quick to realize that ownership of the Evangelist s body brought with it political and social advantages as well The independence of the Venetian church was the first benefit to come from Venice's possession of the relics of St Mark After the synod of Mantua s ruling in favour of Carolingian Aquileia in 827, the Venetians may have hastened to obtain the Evangelist s body from Alexandria because they, like the citizens of Grado did not want to be subject to the control of Aquileia's 'Frankish bishop [22] As has already been noted, possession of the relics of St Mark made the Venetian church superior to the church in Aquileia, and, thus, Venice's acquisition of the Evangelist's body was, as Patrick Geary states, 'the

most effective method of neutralizing this synodal decree [23] Having successfully undermined the ecclesiastical authority won by Aquileia at Mantua, the Venetians did not send the body of St Mark on to the patriarch of Grado, however Otto Demus observes that the Venetians' continued possession of the Evangelist's body was only the first reflection of "the long-term policy of Venice to keep a firm hold over the patriarch [of Grado] and perhaps, to force him sooner or later to follow the relics of the Patron Saint to Rialto [24] Thus Venice's acquisition and possession of the relics of St Mark not only guaranteed the independence of the Venetian church by making it superior to the church in Aquileia but also concentrated the region's ecclesiastical power in the hands of the doges of Venice by shifting the religious centre of the northern Adriatic away from Aquileia and Grado to the seat of the Venetian government on the Rialto [25] The implications of this fact for the political relationship between Venice and the Carolingian Empire are clear by thwarting Aquileia's bid for ecclesiastical dominance of the region, Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio checked any ambition the western emperor may have had about controlling Venice through the city's church

By comparison, the challenge presented by the acquisition of the relics of St Mark to Byzantine authority in Venice is more subtle, having to do with the the Evangelist's replacement of Venice s first patron saint, the Byzantine warrior St Theodore Stratelates as the titular saint of city and the doges of Venice Demus notes that upon the arrival of the Evangelist's body in 828/829, 'the Greek Saint was, as it were, elbowed out by the new national patron " and this in the literal, as well as the figurative sense of the phrase, since the first

ducal chapel dedicated to St Mark was wedged in between the ducal palace and the former palace chapel of St Theodore [25] When the church of San Marco was rebuilt in the late eleventh century, the chapel of St Theodore disappeared altogether ridding Venice of all memory of the city s first patron saint [27] Although St Theodore s gradual slide into oblivion is understandable given the relative importance of St Mark, it is important to note that, in the process, one important link between Venice and Byzantium was permanently severed when the Venetians ceased to be protected by a Greek saint and became the subjects of the first apostle to evangelize the northern Adriatic - a true Italian patron saint [28]

At its most fundamental level, the arrival of the Evangelist's relics in the Rialto was proof, in the minds of the city's inhabitants, that God and St Mark had assured a glorious destiny for their city According to Patrick Geary, it was commonly accepted during the Middle Ages in the West that a saint's relics possessed supernatural abilities, because they were the earthly remains of a miracle-worker, and that, as a consequence, a saint was able to favour one community over another by allowing his or her relics to be brought to, or to remain in that community's possession [29] The Venetians' successful translation of the relics of St Mark from Alexandria to Venice was therefore accepted as a sign, not only of the Evangelist s desire to remain in Venice, but also of St Mark's blessing the Venetians' motive in selecting him as their new patron saint To the Venetians, the arrival of the relics of St Mark therefore meant that the Evangelist himself had come to Venice, with his power to aid and intercede on behalf of the city's inhabitants, and became, by means of his presence in the Rialto, a tangible piece of

evidence for the independence of the Venetian islands [30] Thus, the arrival of the relics of St Mark in the Rialto affected ninth-century Venice on three levels first the relics not only guaranteed the ecclesiastical independence of the Venetian church, but made it the most powerful diocese in the northern Adriatic, second the ecclesiastical independence of the Venetian church, coupled with the replacement of St Theodore with St Mark as the patron saint of Venice negated any attempts made by the Carolingian and Byzantine Empires to gain political control of the city through the Venetian church, and third, the successful translation of the Evangelist's relics to Venice from Alexandria was proof in the minds of the Venetians themselves, of St Mark's blessing the city's steps toward autonomous rule

Venice's ecclesiastical and political independence was therefore dependent upon its possession of the relics of St Mark, and the Venetians' justification of their right to do so followed shortly after the arriva_ of Evangelist's body in the Rialto, in the form of a legend recounting the translation of St Mark's relics from Alexandria to Venice Based on his thorough study of this first, specifically Venetian legend about St Mark, Nelson McCleary hypothesizes that the earliest written account of the Translatio Sancti Marci dates from the second half of the eleventh century, or more than two hundred years after the event is said to have taken place [31] The Bollandist Baudouin de Gaiffier's discovery of a tenth-century version of the legend in a manuscript in Orleans France, some twenty years after McCleary s study shows, however, that the story of the translation of St Mark's relics was already circulating in standard form during the tenth century [32] Consequently, it seems probable that the legend existed in some

preliminary form in the ninth century, closer to the time of the translation s recorded date of 828/829

According to McCleary's study, which is based on eleventh- and twelfth-century Italian manuscripts, the text of the Translatio Sancti Marci begins with a brief history of the Aquileian patriarchate, including the legend of St Mark s evangelization of the northern Adriatic and his foundation of the church at Aquileia, as well as an account of the transfer of the Aquileian see to the island of Grado [33] This preamble is followed by the story of the translation itself, which begins when ten Venetian merchant ships are blown off course and come to rest in the port of Alexandria in Egypt, in contravention of Byzantine imperial and Venetian ducal decrees forbidding commerce with the Muslims While waiting out the storm, two of the Venetian merchants, Bonus, a tribune from Malamocco, and Rusticus of Torcello visit and worship at the church in which the relics of St Mark are kept, and, while doing so, they make the acquaintance of two of the church's custodians, a monk named Stauricius and a priest called Theodorus

Aware that the rulers of Alexandria were destroying the Christian shrines in the city for their marble columns and tablets the two Venetian merchants propose to Stauricius and Theodorus that St Mark's body be taken to Venice in order to protect it from harm The two Greeks are shocked by the Venetians' suggestion, and remind Bonus and Rusticus that St Mark had been the first apostle to Egypt and that the Evangelist had suffered his martyrdom in Alexandria The Venetians reply with the following rationalization

> Si de predicatione eius tractandum est scimus quia primum aquilegiam civitatem Ytaliae duxit ad fidem quae sita est in provincia illa quae ex antiquo venecia nuncupatur, de qua nos orti sumus Ergo nos sumus primogeniti filii eius, qui primi ab eo per evangelium geniti sumus Unde et credi potest ut filios suos quos alios acquisituros relinquerat, multa post tempora visitare veluti mortuus videre gaudeat Et forsitan ut speramus ideo nos dominus huc velut invitos adduxit, ut nobis eundem nostrum sanctissimum patrem restituat Nam certe ad aliam regionem ire voluimus [34]

Thus the two Venetian merchants make use of the Aquileian legend about St Mark's mission to the northern Adriatic to argue that they are his 'first-born sons' that the translation of his relics from Alexandria to Venice would therefore constitute their justified return to the region where the Evangelist had first preached his gospel, and finally, that God's purpose in bringing the Venetians to Alexandria must be to restore to Venice the city's most holy patron

After further secretive discussions, during which time one of the church's other custodians is arrested and beaten by the Muslims for withholding one of the church's marble tablets from them, Stauricius and Theodorus agree that the relics should be transferred to Venice That night, Bonus, Rusticus Stauricius and Theodorus remove the body of St Mark from its shroud and its tomb, and replace it with the body of St Claudia A fragrant odour emanates from the Evangelist's relics and fills the city, arousing the suspicions of Alexandria s inhabitants When they arrive at the church to investigate the source of the smell, they find St Claudia's body beneath the shroud and, believing it to be that of St Mark, return to their homes reassured that the Evangelist's relics have not been disturbed The Venetians then devise an ingenious plan in order to pass the Evangelist's body by the Muslim port authorities Familiar with the Muslims abhorrence of pork, Bonus and Rusticus hide the relics in a basket beneath pieces of the meat, so

that, when the port authorities see the pork, they shout, 'Canzir! Canzir!' or, 'Porc! Pork!' and draw away from the basket without investigating its contents. Having thus duped the citizens of Alexandria twice in one night, Bonus, Rusticus and Stauricius set sail for Venice, leaving Theodorus behind.

After a fast crossing, during which St Mark performs various miracles, the Venetians stop at the island of Umag for fear that the doge of Venice will punish them for having been to Egypt illegally. Bonus and Rusticus send a message to Giustiniano Partecipazio, stating that they will turn over the Evangelist's relics to the doge if he pardons them for this transgression. Doge Partecipazio is elated by the news of the arrival of the body of St Mark from Alexandria, and promises not only to pardon the two merchants, but to reward them for their brave and cunning deed. The relics are then brought to the ducal palace on the Rialto, accompanied by a procession including the doge, Bishop Ursus of Venice, and the Venetians themselves. When the relics are carried into the doge's residence, they become unbearably heavy, and must be set down in a room in the corner of the palace. Awed by their power, Doge Partecipazio vows to erect a church in honour of St Mark, but dies before this can be done. The Translatio Sancti Marci ends with Giovanni Partecipazio's (829-836) construction of the first basilica of San Marco in Venice, fulfilling Giustiano Partecipazio's promise, and the institution of the feast of the translation of the relics of St Mark into the Venetian liturgical calendar.[35]

Although the Translatio Sancti Marci's colourful narrative contains an historical reference to the strained relationship between Christians and Muslims in ninth-century Alexandria, only two pieces of

documentary evidence exist to support the date and the authenticity of the events described in the legend The first is the will of Giustiniano Partecipazio the doge believed to be responsible for Venice's acquisition of the relics of St Mark It states, in part 'De corpus vero beati Mar[ci Felicita]ti, uxor mee [volo], ut hedificet basilicam ad suum honoren infra territorio sancti Zacharie [36] Thus, upon his death in 829, Doge Partecipazio requested that his wife Felicita build a church in honour of the Evangelist Mark in the parish of St Zacharias According to Silvio Tramontin this phrase from Doge Partecipazio s will suggests that the body of St Mark was present in Venice in 829 but that it had only recently arrived in the city because a church to house the relics has yet to be built [37] The second piece of evidence is the testimony of a French monk named Bernado, who traveled to the Holy Land in the mid ninth century Bernado purposefully returned home through Egypt in order to see the Evangelist s relics in the old monastery of St Mark in Alexandria, but was unable to do so because they were no longer there Questioning their absence, Bernado was told that they had been taken from the monastery's church and shipped to Venice "Venientes vero Veneti, navigio tulerunt furtim, corpus a custodibus eius et deportaverunt ad insulam [38] Bernado s account thus confirms that the body of St Mark was no longer in Egypt in the 850's but his testimony concerning the circumstances surrounding the translation is suspect, since it survives only in codices which date from the late tenth century [39] It is possible, therefore, that the monk's account was influenced by the Venetian version of the event, or that it is a forgery Thus, neither Bernado's testimony, nor the will of Doge Partecipazio, substantiates the events described in the

Translatio Sancti Marci, but the question of the legend's authenticity does not affect its purpose As indicated by the Venetian merchants' argument, quoted earlier from the text of the Translatio Sancti Marci, the Venetian claim to the Evangelist s body is based primarily on the Aquileian legend about St Mark's evangelization of the northern Adriatic, but the Translatio Sancti Marci presents Venice as the only city in the region with a divine right to the relics Thus, Bonus and Rusticus state that it was God's will that brought the Venetians to Alexandria, and the many miracles which St Mark performs while crossing from Alexandria to Venice attest to the Evangelist's pleasure at having his body rest on the Rialto In turn, the people of Venice show themselves to be worthy of the favour bestowed upon them by God and St Mark by honouring the Evangelist with a procession upon his arrival in Venice, and, later, with the construction of a chuch to house his relics Thus, although there is some evidence to suggest that the Translatio Sancti Marci is based upon the historical events surrounding the translation of the relics of St Mark from Alexandria to Venice, the legend s significance lies, not in its being an authentic account of this most important event in the history of Venice, but rather in its threefold justification of the Venetians acquisition and possession of the Evangelist's body

Being the first Marcian legend created in Venice the story of the translation of the relics of St Mark is depicted on two of the earliest works of art created for the cult of St Mark in Venice, the Pala d'Oro and the vault mosaics of San Marco's Cappella di San Clemente, the choir chapel located to the south of the church's sanctuary (fig 86) The lower section of the present Pala d'Oro, which Doge Ordelafo Falier

(1101-1118) commissioned from Constantinople in 1105, is thought to be roughly twenty to fifty years older than the vault mosaics in the Cappella di San Clemente,[40] but, as a comparison of the translation legend's treatment on each object will show, the choir chapel's mosaics represent the earliest Venetian interpretation of the legend extant The Cappella di San Clemente's vault mosaics depict the legend of the translation of St Mark's relics from Alexandria to Venice in seven scenes Mark s Body is Taken from Its Tomb in Alexandria (fig 91) Mark's Relics are Carried in a Basket by Bonus and Rusticus (fig 92) the Basket Containing the Relics and the Venetian Ship are Examined by Muslims (fig 93), the Ship Departs from Alexandria (fig 94), the Venetian Ship is Saved from Shipwreck Through the Intervention of St Mark (fig 95), the Venetian Ship Arrives in Venice (fig 96), and Mark s Relics are Received by the Doge, the Clergy, and the People of Venice (fig 97) The Pala d'Oro's enamel version of the legend, with which the altar-piece's hagiographical cycle concludes, is presented in only three scenes St Mark's Body is Removed from Its Tomb (fig 52), the Relics are Shipped to Venice (fig 53), and St Mark s Body is Received in Venice (fig 54) Thus, both the enamels on the Pala d'Oro and the vault mosaics in the Cappella di San Clemente convey the essence of the legend's narrative, but the choir chapel's mosaic cycle emphasizes certain aspects of the story which are overlooked in the Pala d Oro s much shorter enamel cycle Otto Demus notes that, in the Cappella di San Clemente, "the inspection of the basket containing the relics and of the ship in the port of Alexandria has been elaborated and every opportunity seized for the representation of ships there are four of them, one of which is redundant, and another, to say the least,

unnecessary "[41] Demus offers no explanation for the prominence given the relic-filled basket and the Venetian ship in the choir chapel s vault mosaics, but it is plausible that the Venetians chose to emphasize those parts of the legend in which the Venetian character is displayed to advantage Thus the depiction of the basket containing the relics of St Mark (fig 92), and the elaboration of the scene in which it is inspected (fig 93) refer to the ruse by which Bonus and Rusticus smuggled the Evangelist s relics out of Alexandria and so emphasize the intelligence and cunning of the Venetian merchants Similarly the abundance of ships in the mosaic cycle (figs 93-96) may be interpreted as a reference to the source of Venice's growing commercial success, maritime trade, and thus stress the Venetians' mastery of the sea These aspects of the story are not present on the Pala d'Oro, but as will be shown from a comparison of the altarpiece's three translation enamels with the equivalent scenes in the vault of the Cappella di San Clemente, the Pala's lack of references to the Venetian character of the legend cannot be explained solely on the basis of the brevity of the altarpiece's translation cycle

On both the Pala d'Oro and in the vault of the Cappella di San Clemente, the translation story opens with the depiction of the removal of St Mark's body from its tomb in Alexandria On the altarpiece (fig 52), this scene is set in a landscape, despite the fact that the legend states that the Evangelist's tomb is located in a church In the choir chapel s mosaic (fig 91), on the other hand, the placement of a cross on the turret, which sits atop the middle of the mosaic s architectural frame, specifies that a church interior is the setting of this scene Furthermore, Theodorus, Stauricius, Bonus and Rusticus the four

individuals whom the Translatio Sancti Marci lists as the participants in the removal of St Mark's relics are present in the choir chapel's mosaic, where they are identified by Latin inscriptions, but two of the four figures are absent on the Pala d'Oro's enamel and the two figures who are present are not identified This lack of attention to the details of the legend continues in the second enamel of the altarpiece s translation cycle, which depicts the transportation of St Mark s relics from Alexandria to Venice (fig 53) In this scene the Venetian merchants' ship is correctly shown as the means by which the Evangelist's body is brought to Venice, but the four figures found on board the ship are unidentified, and the saint s relics are absent, leaving the titulus of the enamel, "HIC DEFERTUR CORPUS SCI MARCI ' to identify the subject of the scene It has already been mentioned that the mosaic cycle in the Cappella di San Clemente contains four scenes which depict some moment in the shipment of the Evangelist's body, but the mosaic in which the Venetian ship is saved from shipwreck through the intervention of St Mark (fig 95) is the scene which most closely resembles the Pala d'Oro's enamel, because it portrays the merchants' ship during its crossing from Alexandria to Venice In this mosaic, Bonus Rusticus and Stauricius are distinguished from a fourth individual, who helps to work the sails of the ship by their facial features and dress, which are consistant throughout the mosaic cycle St Mark is present in the form of an apparition, warning the sleeping monk of the imminent danger to the ship with the words inscribed below the mosaic "TELLVS ADEST NAVTE DIC VELVM PONITE CAVTE [42] Thus, whereas the second enamel of the Pala d'Oro's translation cycle depicts an unspecified moment in the transportation of St Mark's relics from

Alexandria to Venice the equivalent scene in the Cappella di San Clemente presents a detailed depiction of one of the miracles described in the text of the Translatio Sancti Marci [43] The third and last enamel in the Pala d'Oro's hagiographical cycle depicts the reception of the relics of St Mark in Venice (fig 54), as does the concluding scene of the choir chapel's mosaic cycle (fig 97) On the altarpiece the reception is shown as a procession a group of clergymen, led by a haloed bishop carrying a patriarchal cross, precedes the coffin containing the relics of St Mark, while a band of soldiers, some of whom carry staffs and standards, follow it The procession is headed toward a church, shown rising above the heads of the clergy on the right-hand side of the enamel Although the enamel does portray a particular moment in the legend of the translation, Otto Demus observes that the emphasis on the role of the clergy in the scene is consistent with the Byzantine treatment of the theme of the translation of relics [44] It should be noted that the absence of the figure of the doge of Venice from the procession also points to the enamel's non-Venetian origin Clergymen also dominate the scene of the reception of the relics of St Mark in the vault of the Cappella di San Clemente, but their prominence is balanced to a certain extent by the presence of the doge and the people of Venice, who are identified by the inscription accompanying the mosaic "PONTIFICES CLERVS POPVLVS DVX MENTE SERENVS I LAVDIBUS ATQVE CHORIS EXCIPIVNT DVLCE CANORIS "[45] Demus notes that despite the inscription's reference to bishops and clergy, the mosaic features only bishops seven in all, occupying the middle and left-hand side of the scene [46] The people of Venice, on the other hand, are represented by a compact group of five overlapping figures at the

mosaic s extreme right The doge of Venice distinguished from the scene's other secular participants by the crown on his head, is placed in front and to the left of the small group of Venetians who are led by the doge's sword-bearer and next to the highest ranking ecclesiastic in the mosaic [47] The rigid, frontal presentation of all the figures taking part in the reception, coupled with the surprising omission of the body of St Mark, which is the subject of the scene suggests that this mosaic in the vault of the Cappella di San Clemente unlike the equivalent scene on the Pala d'Oro, is less a depiction of the legend's narrative conclusion, and more a portrait of the supreme powers of the Venetian church and state [48] Thus, the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in Venice treated the early twelfth-century depiction of the story of the translation of the relics of St Mark in the vault of San Marco's Cappella d_ San Clemente as an opportunity, unavailable on the Byzantine-made Pala d'Oro, to display an image of themselves as state representatives whose right to rule was based on their possession of the body of the Evangelist Mark As this comparison has shown, the legend is presented less accurately, and in considerably less detail, on the altarpiece's enamels than in the vault mosaics of the choir chapel This finding supports Demus' belief, mentioned above that the Byzantine artists responsible for this part of the Pala d'Oro's hagiographical cycle used a generic hagiographical source rather than a specifically Marcian or Venetian one, when developing their compositions for the altarpiece s three translation enamels More importantly, the emphasis on the particularly Venetian aspects of the legend in the mosaic cycle in the Cappella di San Clemente - the references to the cunning and intelligence of the Venetian merchants, to their mastery of the sea and

to the divine basis of the supreme powers of the Venetian church and state - shows that, by the twelfth century, the cult of St Mark in Venice had become so inextricably linked with the state that the works of art created in Venice for the cult during this time were the means by which contemporary Venetian society promoted its view of itself

As patron saint of Venice, St Mark was important to all Venetians, but, as indicated by the prominence of the doge in the Cappella di San Clemente's reception mosaic the Evangelist held a particular significance for the secular head of the Venetian state Indeed, from the moment Giustiniano Partecipazio accepted the Evangelist's body in 829, the cult of St Mark was a political concern of the doges of Venice As Edward Muir observes, the fact that the secular rather than the ecclesiast_cal head of state took possession of the relics of St Mark "forged the permanent spiritual union between the doges and the Saint "[49] That urion first manifested itself in 836, when the doge, as the official custodian of the Evangelist's body, constructed the first church of San Marco to serve primarily as the private ducal chapel [50] From the ninth century on, the doge of Venice, as patronus et verus gubernator ecclesiae et cappellae Sancti Marci, or patron and governor of the church and chapel of San Marco, nominated and invested that church's clergy, including its highest ecclesiastic, the primicerius, and was the most distinguished participant in the ceremonies which took place in San Marco, marking the feasts of the Evangelist's cult in the Venetian liturgical calendar [51] One ceremony in particular that of the doge's investiture, expresses the nature of the mystical bond between St Mark and the doge of Venice most clearly The earliest complete account of a ducal investiture was written by the cleric Domenicus Tinus

in 1071, and describes the procedure followed a year earlier in the election of Domenico Selvo According to Tinus, the Venetians gathered for the election in the fields near the monastery of San Nicolo on the Lido, and selected their new doge by repeatedly shouting Selvo's name Thus acclaimed by the people of Venice Selvo was carried on the shoulders of several noblemen to a boat, which took the new doge from the Lido to the Rialto During the crossing, the Te deum, the Kyrie eleison and the laudes, or the doge's liturgical acclamation were sung in honour of the newly-elected head of state At the shore of the Rialto, Selvo was met by the clergy of San Marco, who then led the doge to the church barefoot, as a symbol of his humility Once through San Marco s main entrance, the doge prostrated himself on the ground, thanking God and St Mark for the honour about to be bestowed upon him Selvo was then brought before the church's high altar where he received the symbol of his investiture, the baculus or ducal sceptre, from the primicerius After the religious service, Selvo threw coins to the throng assembled in the Piazza San Marco as he was carried to the ducal palace on a wooden litter, and the Venetians sang the Te deum, the Kyrie eleison, and the laudes once again The investiture ceremony ended at the ducal palace, where the people of Venice swore an oath of allegiance to their new doge [52]

Many elements of the eleventh-century investiture ceremony as described by Tinus, such as the doge s elevation on the shoulders of Venetian noblemen and his distribution of coins to the crowd after the religious service are derived from Byzantine imperial and military practices [53] The baculus, the symbol of the power of the doge's office, is also a remnant of Venice's Byzantine heritage In spite of Venice's

gradual alienation from Byzantium after the ninth century, the doges of Venice eagerly accepted all of the merely honorary titles awarded them by the emperors of Byzantium Thus, as hypatos, or consul, and protospatharios, or first sword-bearer, to name only two of the many titles given the Venetian head of state, the doge of Venice had the right to hold the baculus, as well as the sella, or throne and the spatha, or sword, as the symbols of his office in perpetuity [54] It is important to note however, that by the late eleventh century the doge of Venice received the baculus, not from any secular authority, but from the primicerius of San Marco, indicating that the Venetian head of state was symbolically invested with the powers of his office by St Mark himself [55] Peyer observes that the mystical bond thus created between the doge and St Mark was similar in nature to those which were developing at that time between the rulers of France and Spain and their respective patron saints, St Denis and St James [56] Gina Fasoli on the other hand, believes that the link between Venice and St Mark more closely resembled that which existed between the Catholic Church and St Peter [57] Nevertheless the union that was formed between the secular head of the Venetian state and his patron saint during the ducal investiture ceremony elevated the status of the doge of Venice to a par with that of other western princes, including the pope in Rome, and thus assured Venice s continued ecclesiastical and political autonomy

By the end of the eleventh century the cult of St Mark had supplied Venice with the ideological basis for its independence by defining the office of the secular head of state in terms of a mystical union between the Evangelist and the doge, but, in doing so, the power of the Venetian church and state was concentrated in only one person

the doge The threat of autocratic rule presented by the growth of the doge's personal power from the ninth to the end of the eleventh century prompted the Venetian aristocracy to make changes to the office of the doge during the twelfth century, and, once again, the ducal investiture ceremony was the means by which the, now more limited, powers of the doge were defined The ceremony began as it had in the late eleventh century, with the election of the doge, but, by the thirteenth century this responsibility had been taken away from the popular assembly and given to Venice's Great Council, the largest organ of the state s government The forty-one members of the doge's election committee, who had been chosen for this duty by the Great Council from Venice's noblest and most powerful families, sat in one of San Marco's large pulpits, while their eldest member stood and informed the people of Venice assembled in the church, of the name of the man whom the committee had selected to be Venice's new doge [58] The crowd approved of the choice by shouting, 'sia, sia " The newly-elected doge was then stripped of his old clothes, as a sign of his change in status, and brought before the high altar in San Marco, where he swore an oath to protect the ecclesiastical honour of St Mark, as well as property of San Marco Statum et honorem ecclesie sancti Marci bona fide, et sine fraude conservare "[59] Thereupon the primicerius of San Marco handed the doge the vexillum Sancti Marci, a gilded banner emblazoned with a winged lion, the symbol of St Mark, as a symbol of his office, saying, Consignamus serenitati vestre vexillum Sancti Marci in signum veri et perpetui ducatus" [60] Once the religious ceremony was over, the doge distributed gold coins to the crowd in the Piazza San Marco while on his way to the ducal palace At the steps of the palace, the doge heard his

laudes sung by the curates of San Marco and took another oath, the promissione ducale, before addressing the people of Venice as their new head of state [61] Thus, from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, the structure of the ducal election and investiture ceremony remained essentially the same, even though several changes and additions had been made to the process during the twelfth century

Apart from the replacement of the popular assembly with a committee of forty-one electors, the earliest and most significant change to the ducal investiture ceremony took place in 1129 during the investiture of Doge Pietro Polani, when the traditional symbol of ducal authority, the baculus, was replaced with the vexillum Sancti Marci [62] The banner of St Mark had first been presented to Doge Pietro II Orseolo (991-1008) by Bishop Dominicus prior to the Venetians' assault on the coastal cities of Dalmatia in the year 1000, and had been used as a battle standard by the Venetian fleet thereafter [63] By replacing the ducal sceptre with the flag of St Mark, the Venetian aristocracy was substituting the symbol of the doge s personal authority with one which reflected the power of the state as a whole [64] This symbolic transfer of power from the office of the doge to the state of Venice became a constitutional reality in 1148 with the introduction of the promissione ducale [65] The promissione ducale, an oath read by each newly-elected doge from the steps of the ducal palace at the end of the investiture ceremony, was created by the Great Council as a public declaration of the legal limitations of the office of the head of state [66] As Edward Muir concludes, "the theoretical position of the dogeship was thereby established thenceforth the doges would be princes without formal

powers and lords without legal vassals they would be elected for life and have no dynastic rights, in short, they became in law nothing more than the primus inter pares, but remained in public bearing and dignity (and usually in actual influence) much like a princeps "[67] The doge, thus stripped of any real political power by the middle of the twelfth century, poured his energies into the one sphere of civic life which was allowed to remain under his control the cult of St Mark The secular head of the Venetian state continued to act as chief administrator of the church of San Marco, nominating the primicerius and chosing its chaplains, and his participation in the feasts and ceremonies of the Evangelist's cult grew in inverse proportion to the loss of his political power [68] Thus over the course of the twelfth century, as the Venetian aristocracy eroded the doge's personal power, the doge ceased to be Venice's ruler in any meaningful sense of the word, that function having been taken over by other organs of the Venetian government, and became only the state s figure-head

Just as the cult of St Mark was used to secure Venice's political and eccles_astical independence during the ninth century, so the changes which altered the form of the Venetian government during the twelfth century were sanctioned in terms of the state cult The transfer of power from the doge to Venice's aristocratic oligarchy was marked in the thirteenth century by the creation of two new Marcian legends, the praedestinatio and the apparitio The earliest written account of the praedestinatio is found at the beginning of Martin da Canal's hymn to St Mark, which is included in the Venetian chronicler's work of 1275, Les Estoires de Venise

> O precieus saint Marc Evangelistes,
> quant vos, biau Sire, de Aulee partistes,
> en la barche car Sire, vos vos meistes
> e propre leu en Venise preistes
>
> Quant a Saint Piere alastes en orison,
> li angele Dieu vos dist en vision
> - Ici posera ton cors et sera ta maison,
> li freres vos prioa por grant devocion -[69]

Thus according to da Canal, St Mark witnesses a vision as he is returning to Rome by sea at the end of his mission to Aquileia While his boat is moored to an island in the Venetian lagoon (the island which would, in fact, later become Venice), an angel of God appears to him and announces that his body will rest on this very island, in a church built in his honour by the island's future inhabitants, who will pray with great devotion to the Evangelist Like the legend of the translation of St Mark s relics from Alexandria to Venice, the praedestinatio was invented as further justification of Venice's possession of St Mark's body By presenting the translation of the Evangelist's relics as an event ordained by God during St Mark s own lifetime, the praedestinatio supplied the Venetians with indisputable proof of their divine right to their patron saint s relics It is significant that when Doge Andrea Dandolo included this legend in his mid fourteenth-century history of Venice, he chose to elaborate upon da Canal's description of Venice's future inhabitants, rather than the legend's narrative

> Post vero passionem tuam circumvicinarum Regionum devoti et fideles Populi, Infidelium crebras persecutiones declinare volentes, hic mirificam Urbem fabricabunt et corpus tuum denique habere merebuntur quod summa veneratione colent tuisque meritis et precibus plurima beneficia consecuturi sunt [70]

Thus, in Dandolo s chronicle, the Venetians are a devoted and faithful people, who are worthy of possessing the Evangelist's body, and who will receive God's grace for their merits and their prayers through St Mark s

intercession Dandolo's emphasis on the nature of the Venetian character marks a change in the purpose of the praedestinatio from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century whereas Martin da Canal's version of the legend supplies the Venetians with further proof of their divine right to the relics of St Mark, Andrea Dandolo's account of the praedestinatio is used to promote the idea that St Mark is the patron saint of all Venetians, because their collective devotion to Evangelist merits them that honour

The Venetians' devotion to St Mark is also the focus of a second legend invented during the thirteenth century, that of the apparitio, where the depth and sincerity of the Venetians' faith in the Evangelist is tested by the loss of his relics As was the case with the legend of the praedestinatio, the earliest reference to the apparitio is found in Martin da Canal's late thirteenth-century chronicle, Les Estoires de Venise

> Quant monsignor saint Marc fu aportes de Alisandre en Venise, il fu mis en l'iglise, non pas a la seue de tos, mes en un leu mult priveement Et lors avint que ciaus que savoient li leus ou il estoit mis, morurent sans ce que il le feissent a savoir as autres si en furent Veneciens mult dolans et prierent li patriarche et li evesque que conseil lor donassent de savoir ou li cors de monsignor saint Marc reposoit Et lors fist monsignor li patriarche trestos jeuner trois jors pein et eive, et apres firent la procession et endementiers que monsignor li patriarche chantoit la messe, issi une piere hors || de la coulone ou monsignor saint Marc reposoit et lors virent Veneciens li precieus cors dou Vangeliste Et monsignor li dus Rainer Gen renovella cele henorable feste ensi con je vos ai contes sa en ariere [71]

Thus, according to da Canal, the Evangelist's relics were lost some time after their arrival in Venice, because the few people who knew of their location within the church of San Marco died without disclosing the secret The Venetians, greatly distressed by this most unpropitious turn of events ask the patriarch of Grado and the bishop of Venice what

can be done in order to find the relics. The patriarch recommends that all the citizens of Venice fast for three days, after which they were to make a procession to the church of San Marco. This is done, and, as the patriarch is singing mass at San Marco's high altar, one of the church's columns gives way, exposing the casket containing the relics of the saint. Martin da Canal ends his account of the *apparitio* by stating that the feast commemmorating this miracle, celebrated annually on 25 June, was renewed in the mid thirteenth century by Doge Ranieri Zeno (1253-1268). Otto Demus suggests that, "as there is no mention of this festival before Ranieri Zeno, and as this Doge is known to have ardently furthered faith in ancient miracles, it is possible that the festival of the *apparitio* was not 'renewed' but newly created about the middle of the thirteenth century and that the formation of the entire legend had taken place only a short time before this..."[72] Although the miracle described in the *apparitio* was likely a thirteenth-century fabrication, the legend acquired the aspect of truth when Andrea Dandolo provided the story with an historical context in his fourteenth-century chronicle of Venice. In Dandolo's account of the legend, the relics of St Mark were lost in 976, when Doge Pietro IV Candiano (959-976) and his son Vitale Candiano, bishop of Torcello and patriarch of Grado, were murdered by the people of Venice, and the centre of the city, including the ducal palace and the church of San Marco, was set on fire. The Evangelist's body remained hidden until the completion of the building of the third, and present, church of San Marco in 1094, during the rule of Doge Vitale Falier (1084-1096). Dandolo ends his version of the *apparitio* by stating that the Venetians displayed the Evangelist's relics in San Marco for a period of five months before interring them in the church's

crypt on 8 October 1094.[73] It is important to note that, aside from Dandolo's addition of an historical context to the legend, both Dandolo and da Canal describe the miraculous finding of the St Mark's relics in much the same way: when the Evangelist's relics are misplaced, St Mark will allow his body to be found only after the Venetians have proven the depth and sincerity of their collective devotion to their patron saint. Thus, the purpose of the apparitio remained unchanged from its invention in the mid thirteenth century, to its addition to the standard history of Venice in the mid fourteenth century. The legend of the apparitio was created, like the praedestinatio, as additional proof of Venice's divine right to the relics of St Mark, but, unlike the praedestinatio, the purpose of the apparitio, which Peyer terms the 'state miracle' of Venice,[74] was always to show that that right was based upon a sacred contract between the Evangelist and the entire Venetian community. This stands in marked contrast to the legend of the translation of St Mark's body from Alexandria to Venice, in which the Evangelist's relics are clearly presented as the possession of the doge, having been given to him by the Venetian merchants, Bonus and Rusticus, in exchange for a ducal pardon. Thus, the praedestinatio and the apparitio denote a fundamental change in the cult of St Mark, one which reflects the decline of ducal authority over the course of the twelfth century, and the growth of the power of the Venetian community as a whole thereafter.

The change in the form of Venetian government, from autocratic to oligarchic, thus sanctioned in terms of the cult of St Mark by the invention of two new legends which stress the bond between the Evangelist and the Venetian community as a whole, also affected the manner in which two of Venice's three Marcian legends were treated

visually during the thirteenth century The legend of the translation of St Mark's relics from Alexandria to Venice which was first depicted early in the twelfth century in the enamels of the Pala d'Oro and in the vault mosaics of San Marco's Cappella di San Clemente, is represented a third time, in the mid thirteenth century, in the mosaics above four of San Marco s five doorways facing the Piazza San Marco [75] Only one scene from the original cycle that above the Porta Sant Alipio at the northern end of the church's façade (fig 98), survives intact, the other mosaics having been remade during the seventeenth eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries [76] The original compositions of these altered scenes can be ascertained, however from Gentile Bellini's 1496 painting, Procession in the Piazza San Marco (fig 99) which features the façade of San Marco in the background Based on enlargements of this section of Bellini's work, and G B Stringa's 1604 record of the inscriptions which accompanied the mosaics above the church's portals, Otto Demus hypothesizes that the façade cycle was originally composed of thirteen scenes which makes the mid thirteenth-century depiction of the translation legend almost twice as large as the mid twelfth-century cycle in the Cappella di San Clemente, and more than four times as large as the Pala d Oro's treatment of the legend [77] Two of the original mosaics portray the Venetian community participating in arrival of St Mark's relics in the Rialto, and so are of interest to this investigation of cult art as an indicator of political change within medieval Venetian society

The Reception of the Relics by the Doge, the Clergy, and the People of Venice (fig 100), is represented in the lunette above the doorway to the immediate left of the San Marco's main entrance in

Bellini's painting, and the Deposition of the Relics of St Mark is the thirteenth-century mosaic which survives in the Porta Sant'Alipio (fig 98) The reception of St Mark s relics in Venice, which concludes the legend of the translation on both the Pala d Oro and in the vault of the Cappella di San Clemente is therefore only the penultimate scene in San Marco s thirteenth-century façade cycle Stringa's record of the inscription above the portal lists the figures in the scene

> Corpore suscepto gaudent modulamine recto
> Et Ducis, et Cleri, populi precessio meri
> Ad Theatrum cantuque pausuque ferunt sibi sanctum
> Currentes latum veneratur honore locatum [78]

Thus, according to Stringa, the original façade mosaic featured the doge, the clergy and the people of Venice, or, in other words, the same figures as those found in the Cappella di San Clemente's mid twelfth-century version of this scene (fig 97) The composition of the thirteenth-century mosaic more closely resembles that found on the Pala d'Oro (fig 54), however, because both works depict the reception of the Evangelist's relics as a procession in which the clergy precede the coffin containing the body of St Mark, while the people of Venice follow it In Bellini's painting it is impossible to discern whether the doge accompanies the clergy or the people of Venice in this scene but Stringa's record of this mosaic's inscription confirms that the doge of Venice was indeed a participant in the procession Nevertheless, despite this attention to the Venetian details of the translation legend, the mid thirteenth-century representation of the reception of the relics of St Mark in Venice on the façade of San Marco is, like the same scene on the Pala d'Oro, merely a depiction of the story s narrative

The mosaic in the Porta Sant'Alipio (fig 98), on the other hand, has little to do with the narrative of the legend - depicting, in fact, a moment which takes place some time after the translation of the Evangelist s relics from Alexandria to Venice - but its composition does resemble the last scene of the translation cycle in the vault of the Cappella di San Clemente in one way The subject of the mosaic in the Porta Sant Alipio is the solemn collocatio, or deposition of the Evangelist s relics and yet as in the reception mosaic in the vault of the Cappella di San Clemente, the presence or absence of the body of St Mark seems of little concern to many of the figures participating in the event Set in front of San Marco, the deposition scene captures the moment when the coffin containing the body of St Mark is carried through the church's main entrance on the shoulders of two young bishops The well-dressed citizens of Venice, most of whom appear to be members of the Venetian aristocracy, witness the event, grouped together in front of San Marco [79] Some of these figures look and gesture toward the relics as they enter the church, but several of them turn away, as if engrossed in discussion with the people around them The mosaic in the Porta Sant Alipio thus not only depicts the deposition of the relics of St Mark, but also portrays the many Venetian nobles participating in the event, and this indicates that this scene at the end of San Marco s thirteenth-century façade cycle is less an addition to the narrative of the translation legend, and more an updated version of the state portrait found in the Cappella di San Clemente This being the case, it is important to note that the doge and clergy of Venice, who are shown most prominently in the choir chapel's twelfth-century reception mosaic, are eclipsed in the thirteenth-century façade mosaic by the other

citizens of Venice In the Cappella di San Clemente the Venetian clergy is represented by seven bishops while only two are shown in the Porta Sant Alipio, and the doge who is set apart from the small group of Venetians and on equal footing with the region's highest ecclesiastic in the choir chapel mosaic here stands to the right of San Marco s main entrance in the very midst of the people of Venice, distinguished from the other noblemen in the scene only by the scroll in his left hand and the hat on his head (fig 101) Thus, two mosaics in the expanded thirteenth-century translation cycle on San Marco s façade feature the Venetian communtity participating in the establishment of the cult of St Mark The first, which depicts the procession after the arrival of the saint's relics, appears to be a straightforward treatment of the legend's narrative, while the second is a contemporary portrait of the Venetians themselves In the deposition mosaic in the Porta Sant'Alipic, the doge of Venice appears therefore, not as the state's autocratic ruler, but as primus inter pares of the Venetian aristocracy, in keeping with the changes made to the Venetian goverment over the course of the twelfth century

The Venetian community, including the doge clergy, and noble citizens, is represented a second time during the thirteenth century in two large mosaics depicting the legend of the apparitio on the west wall of San Marco's south transept [80] The first mosaic shows the Venetians at prayer in the church of San Marco (fig 102), capturing the moment prior to the miraculous rediscovery of the relics of St Mark The patriarch of Grado, dressed in full episcopal regalia, stands with his back to the congregation at the church's high altar, at the right-hand side of the scene Three rows of clergymen, distinguished from the

secular members of the assembly by their tonsured heads, kneel in a fenced area in front of the altar Standing behind the clergymen, and outside of the fenced area, is the doge of Venice, who is identified by the Latin inscription 'DUX,' written above his head Accompanying the doge is a small group of men whom Otto Demus identifies as the doge's advisors, or members of the government [81] The rest of the congregration, representing the people of Venice, stands at the left-hand side of the scene, well back from San Marco s high altar The doge, his advisors, and the people of Venice all bow or kneel, with their hands uplifted, while praying in the direction of the church's altar The second apparitio mosaic depicts the miracle itself (fig 103) the casket containing the relics of St Mark is revealed within the shaft of one of San Marco's columns Four groups of figures, staggered along the length of the church, witness the miracle The patriarch cf Grado and the Venetian clergy form a tight knot next to the column, while the doge and his advisors stand behind the clergymen A third group of unidentified men, standing a short distance behind the doge's group, precedes the fourth and largest group of figures, shown entering San Marco through a door at the left-hand side of the scene This last group is composed of men, women and children, some of whom are well-dressed, and thus appear to represent members of the Venetian nobility The figures in these last two groups turn and gesture to one another and so are less transfixed than the members of the Venetian clergy and government by the miracle taking place at the scene s far right The inscription accompanying the apparitio mosaics sums up the subject depicted in the two scenes 'P[=per] TRIDUT[=triduum] PLEBS IEIUNAT DNM[=dominum] QUE PRECANTUR PETRA PATET SCM[=sanctum] MOX

COLLIGIT ET COLLOCANT[UR] "[82] Although the inscription refers collectively to the figures participating in the miracle as the plebs, or people of Venice, the various levels of Venetian society, including the clergy, the doge and government, the nobility as well as the non-noble citizens of Venice, are clearly differentiated by order of rank in both mosaics It is important to note that the doge of Venice, who is depicted in the vault of the Cappella di San Clemente as the equal of the patriarch of Grado, is here shown in third rank, behind both the patriarch of Grado and the Venetian clergy The doge is placed ahead of the other secular citizens of Venice in both mosaics, but his inclusion within the group of government advisors has necessitated the inclusion of the inscription, "DUX," above his head, in order to clarify his status The doge is set apart from all the other Venetians witnessing the miracle of the apparitio in another, more significant way, however In the scene where the Venetian community prays for the discovery of the relics of St Mark (fig 102), the doge inclines his head and raises his hands in the same manner as the patriarch, who stands in front of San Marco's high altar and immediately in front of the doge, and again, in the scene depicting the miracle of the apparitio (fig 103), the doge stands like the patriarch a short distance in front of him, with his arms raised and face lifted toward heaven either in wonder or in thanks to God Thus, in both mosaics, the doge s pose echoes that of the patriarch of Grado, and, because of this, the secular head of the Venetian state appears as, "a sacred person, a kind of civic cleric who perform[s] rituals on behalf of the commune [of Venice] "[83] The mosaics of the apparitio, like the deposition mosaic in the Porta Sant Alipio, thus clearly depict the nature of the office of the doge of Venice in

the mid thirteenth century no longer set apart from the other citizens of Venice, as in the twelfth-century reception mosaic in the Cappella di San Clemente, the doge is now shown as primus inter pares of the Venetian aristocracy, and as the government figure-head whose energies are focused on the cult of St Mark rather than on more pressing matters of state

Having established that the legends and works of art created for the cult of St Mark in Venice between the ninth and thirteenth centuries reflected and promoted Venetian society's changing view of itself, the question of interpreting the Pala d'Oro in its historical context remains Earlier it was noted that there was nothing specifically Venetian about the composition of the Pala d Oro when the work arrived in Venice in 1105, because it had been made to order by Byzantine artists in Constantinople, and a comparison of the Pala d'Oro's treatment of the legend of the translation of St Mark's relics with that found in the vault of San Marco's Cappella di San Clemente supported this conclusion Once in Venice however the Pala d'Oro was altered on two occasions, both of which are recorded on the altarpiece s inscription plaques (fig 79), and it is the nature of these alterations which provides insight into the Pala d'Oro's significance to the people of Venice between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries As will be shown, the Pala d'Oro is unique amongst the works created for the cult of St Mark in Venice during this period, because it reflects, not the changes made to the form of the state s government but the nature of Venice's changing relationship with Byzantium

When Doge Ordelafo Falier commissioned the Pala d'Oro from Constantinople at the beginning of the twelfth century, Venice and

Byzantium shared an unequal, but mutually convenient, partnership - one in which, as Donald M Nicol states, 'the senior partner and giver of good things was Byzantium "[84] The emperor of Byzantium, Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), had little choice but to enter into such an alliance with Venice at the end of the eleventh century since his Empire was being weakened by internal political turmoil, and by military defeat at the hands of the Turks in the East and the Normans in Italy [85] Unable to defend Byzantium s ports on the Adriatic from Norman attack in the 1080's, Alexios was forced to rely on Venice's naval power, under the command of Doge Domenico Selvo (1070-1084), to neutralize the threat In 1082, the emperor repaid the Venetians for their loyal service to Byzantium, and assured himself of their continuing support, by issuing an imperial chrysobull which granted the Venetians considerable trade privileges and tax exemptions within the Empire As Nicol observes, Alexios' chrysobull was not only, 'the most comprehensive and detailed charter of privileges hitherto granted to Venice by a Byzantine Emperor[, it] was also the most consequential, for it became the corner-stone of the Venetian colonial empire in the eastern Mediterranean the prototype of a series of imperial chrysobulls for Venice in the next one hundred years '[86] The phrasing of the document makes it quite clear, however, that Alexios considered Venice to be subject to the Empire, rather than Byzantium's independent ally in the West Nevertheless, at this point in their history, the Venetians were eager to play the role of junior partner in their relationship with Byzantium for two reasons the Byzantine Empire was the source of Venice's luxury trade goods, upon which the state's growing mercantile economy was based, and it was also a source of security, since the

Byzantium's nominal sovereignty over Venice continued to assure the state's protection from the expansionist policies of the western emperors [87] The Byzantine origin and iconographical program of Doge Falier's Pala d'Oro can thus be interpreted as a reflection of the Venetian desire to be identified with the wealth and traditions of the eastern Empire, while the presence of the portrait of the Empress Irene on the altar-piece is a clear indication of the superior, yet benevolent attitude which the rulers of Byzantium assumed in relation to Venice at the beginning of the twelfth century

Byzantium's dominance in its partnership with Venice was lost over the course of the twelfth century, as the hostility between the two grew apace with Venetian profits Venice's relationship with Byzantium first became strained in 1118, when the emperor John II Komnenos (1118-1143) refused to renew Alexios' chrysobull of 1082 [88] John's capitulation and renewal of Venetian privileges within the Byzantine empire in 1126 resolved this issue, but under John s successor, Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180), the relationship between Venice and Byzantium worsened considerably A decade into Manuel's reign, Doge Domenico Morosini (1148-1155) broke Venice's traditional pattern of allegiance with Byzantium by negotiating treaties with William I, the Norman king in southern Italy and Sicily, and Frederick I Barbarossa, the western emperor, independently of the Byzantine emperor, in return Manuel showed his displeasure by offering trade concessions within Byzantium to Pisa and Genoa, Venice's commercial rivals in Italy In 1170 Manuel further provoked the Venetians by granting the Pisans and the Genoese trading rights and mercantile quarters in Constantinople Incensed by the Byzantine emperor's apparent betrayal of his relationship with

Venice, the Venetian merchants living and trading in the Byzantine capital destroyed the newly-established Genoese quarter in Constantinople. Manuel retaliated on 12 March 1171 by freezing all Venetian assets in Constantinople and incarcerating all the Venetians in the Empire.[89] Unable to do business within the Byzantine Empire, the Venetians looked to the West and began trading within the Holy Roman Empire, waiting for the chance to exact vengeance on the Byzantine emperor.[90] That chance came at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Venetians agreed to supply the Frankish leaders of the Fourth Crusade with an armada, and Doge Enrico Dandolo (1195-1205) saw the opportunity to turn the venture to Venice's gain. Unable to pay for the Venetian ships in their armada, the crusaders decided to divert their crusade to Constantinople, but their plan to restore the deposed Emperor Isaac II (1185-1195) and his son Alexios IV Angelos to the Byzantine throne in exchange for money, provisions, and men, ended with the Latin occupation of Byzantium in 1204. For their part in this undertaking, the Venetians were given up to three-quarters of the booty taken in Constantinople, three-eighths of the city itself, and the right to appoint the patriarch of Constantinople, and were promised a share in three-quarters of the territory won by the crusaders throughout the rest of the Empire as well as various islands in the Aegean Sea.[91] Thus, between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, the balance of power in the relationship between Venice and Byzantium was reversed such that Venice now had the upper hand, and when Enrico Dandolo's successor, Doge Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) had the Pala d'Oro renovated in 1209, the additions and alterations made to the altarpiece reflected the Venetians' triumph over their former masters

As was mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis, it is believed that the upper section of the present Pala d'Oro, which is composed of seven large enamels featuring six Feasts of the Orthodox Church and one image of the Archangel Michael, was added to the altarpiece at this time. It is important to note that four of the six scenes from the life of Christ portrayed in the upper section of the Pala d'Oro - the Anastasis (fig 73), the Crucifixion (fig 74), the Ascension (fig 75), the Pentecost (fig 76) - are also present on the lower section of the altarpiece (figs. 60, 61, 64 and 65). The large enamel featuring St Michael (fig 78) also duplicates, albeit on a grander scale, the one which occurs within the series of twelve archangels on the lower section of the Pala (fig 37). Thus, five of the seven enamels in the upper section of the altarpiece are superfluous to the Pala d'Oro's composition, and some other explanation should be sought to explain their presence on the work. The key to understanding the significance of these seven enamels lies in the fact that they are believed to have been brought to Venice as a part of the booty seized from the churches of Constantinople during the Latin occupation of the Byzantine capital. As Marilyn Perry remarks, the decision to embellish Venice's state church, San Marco, with notable prizes taken from Constantinople during this period, such as the four monumental bronze horses (which are shown above the main entrance to San Marco in the Porta Sant'Alipio's Deposition mosaic) and the porphyry statue of the four tetrarchs, was based, "on their ... suitability as war trophies symbolizing the recently conquered wealth of the eastern Mediterranean."[92] Thus, the presence of the seven large enamels on the upper section of the Pala d'Oro should be read, not in terms of their

artistic value within the altarpiece's composition, but in light of their historical worth as symbols of the Venetians appropriation of the wealth of the Byzantine Empire at the beginning of the thirteenth century

The alterations made in 1209 to one of the enamels on the lower section of the Pala d'Oro can also be seen as another indication of Venice's desire to present itself as the successor to the Byzantine Empire As was discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, the donor portrait of Doge Ordelafo Falier (fig 12) on the lower section of the altarpiece has many distinctive features which distinguish it from the other enamels on the Pala d'Oro The enamel's quality is much worse than that of any of the other plaques on the altarpiece, which suggests that the Doge's portrait was made at some point after the completion of the rest of the Pala d Oro in 1105, and since Doge Falier's costume and insignia appear to be modelled after that worn and carried by the Empress Irene (fig 11), it seems likely that the portrait was made in Venice and inserted onto the Pala only after the panel's arrival in the city Falier's unorthodox placement next the Virgin (fig 10), as a pendant to the Empress, is additional proof of the enamel's non-Byzantine origin The most unusual feature of Doge Falier's portrait on the Pala d'Oro is, however, the disproportionately small size of his head The belief that Falier's original head was removed after the enamel's completion, and substituted with one which included a nimbus was mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis Regarding this substitution, Hugo Buchtal reiterates Otto Demus' observation that, "the nimbus was a distinction reserved for the Basileus [the Byzantine emperor] and his family and was not conferred on foreign rulers,"[93] and

concludes that this alteration to Doge Falier's portrait was probably made in 1209 at the zenith of Venice's power, in order that, "the doge could be made to appear as the emperor's equal, at least to the Venetians - a position to which, needless to say, he had no claim whatever in actual fact "[94] The Pala d'Oro's portrait of Ordelafo Falier thus stands in marked contrast to the three other ducal portraits created in Venice during the thirteenth century, in the Porta Sant Alipio (fig 98) and in both of San Marco's apparitio mosaics (figs 102 and 103) Whereas the doge of Venice is presented as the primus inter pares of the Venetian aristocracy in the mosaics of the state church which depict the Venetian community as a whole, he is presented as the Byzantine emperor's equal on the Pala d'Oro The additions and alterations made to the Pala d'Oro by Doge Pietro Ziani in 1209, including the creation of an upper section for the altar-piece with enamels taken as booty taken from the churches of Constantinople in 1204, and the addition of a nimbus to the head of the Pala s donor, Ordelafo Falier thus provides the most compelling evidence in support of the argument that the Venetians thought of the altarpiece as a graphic illustration of Venice's changing relationship with Byzantium

Despite the end of the Latin occupation of Byzantium in 1261, Venice continued to dominate in its relationship with the eastern Empire well into the fourteenth century This was due to the fact that the fifty-seven year existence of the Latin Empire in the East had allowed the Venetians to gain control of the Adriatic and to establish a powerful commercial empire in the eastern Mediterranean.[95] One of the results of Venice's monopoly of the trade in luxury goods was that the city became itself a centre for the production of the minor arts, and

one which came to replace centres in Byzantium after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. Angeliki Laiou states that "the substitution of the Venetian for the Byzantine dominance in the Byzantine Empire is paralleled by the substitution of Venetian-made objects for Byzantine ones."[96] In 1345, when gems and pearls were added to the Pala d'Oro and its Romanesque frame was replaced with one in the Gothic style, Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354) did not look to Byzantium as had his predecessors Ordelafo Falier and Pietro Ziani, but relied on Venetian goldsmiths to complete the Pala's renovation. Workshops in Constantinople would, in any case, no longer have been able to supply Venice with the goods it desired. Byzantium had been so impoverished by its western occupiers during the thirteenth century and by the internal political turmoil which followed during the fourteenth century that the empress Anne of Savoy, mother and regent of the young emperor John V Palaiologos, was forced to pawn the Byzantine crown jewels to Venice in 1343 in order to finance her battle against John Cantacuzenos, a friend and advisor to the late emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328-1341) and now the pretender to the imperial throne.[97] Having established its commercial empire in the eastern Mediterranean and contributed to the decline of the Byzantine Empire, Venice had therefore achieved, by the middle of the fourteenth century, that which is suggested by Doge Ziani's 1209 renovations to the Pala d'Oro, and that to which Ordelafo Falier aspired with the commission of his altar-frontal from Constantinople in 1105: the wealth and power of the state's former master. It can be no coincidence that Andrea Dandolo made the Pala d'Oro's renovation one of his first priorities after his election as doge of Venice in 1343, since, as is seen from his chronicle of history

of Venice, he believed that the city's destiny had been shaped from the time of its foundation by the favourable intercession of St Mark Dandolo's embellishment of the altarpiece marking the spot where the Evangelist's body rested in the state church is thus not only a sign of the growth of Venice as a major centre for the production of the minor arts and an indication of the decline of the Byzantine Empire in general, but also a testament to the crucial role played by the cult of St Mark in shaping the Venetians' outlook on their own society and on their place in the medieval world

Over the course of this chapter it has been shown that the cult of St Mark in Venice was an integral part of the city's history from the ninth century onward, influencing Venetian society and reflecting the political changes which took place within that society over the course of the Middle Ages The cult's political nature was determined prior to its inception in Venice, however Venice s acquisition of the Evangelist's relics from Alexandria in 828/29 was based upon the legend of St Mark's evangelization of the northern Adriatic, which was invented in Aquileia at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century in order to bolster the Aquileian church's claim to apostolic foundation, and prompted by the ecclesiastical dispute which arose between Aquileia and Grado subsequent to that claim s acceptance by Rome in the eighth century Once the relics were in Venice, the city s inhabitants, and the doge in particular, were quick to realize that the body of St Mark would provide them with the ideological basis for Venice's ecclesiastical and political automony, a goal which the Venetians had set for themselves when their city was still a province of the Byzantine Empire The Venetians' independence was therefore

dependent on their continued possession of the Evangelist s relics, and justification of their right to do so was expressed through the cult of St Mark itself As one of the works created for that cult the Pala d'Oro reflected one particular aspect of Venetian history the nature of Venice s changing relationship with Byzantium between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries As was shown, the Byzantine origin and iconographical program of Doge Ordelafo Falier's Pala provides an indication of the unequal partnership which existed between Venice and Byzantium at the end of the eleventh century, Pietro Ziani s creation of an upper section of the altar-piece with enamels taken as booty from the churches of Constantinople during the Latin occupation of Byzantium, and the addition of a nimbus to the head of Ordelafo Falier on the Pala d'Oro's lower section, are likewise a reflection of the Venetians dominance of their relationship with Byzantium at the beginning of the thirteenth century and Andrea Dandolo's renovation of the Pala d'Oro marks Venice's final achievement of the wealth and power of its former master a centure later Thus, by examining the Pala d'Oro in its historical context, that is, in terms of the cult of St Mark in Venice, it has been shown that the doges involved in the altar-piece's commission and renovations used the work to chart the changing nature of Venice's relationship with Byzantium between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, and, as such, the Pala d Oro is a remarkable document of the contemporary Venetian view of history during this period

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Silvio Tramontin, Realta e leggenca nei racconti Marciani veneti,' Studi Veneziani 12 (1970) 39-40

2 Silvio Tramontin, "San Marco, Culto dei santi a Venezia (Venice, 1965), 48

3 Ibid , 45

4 Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, translated by Kirsopp Lake (London and Cambridge, MA, 1953), I, 145

5 Tramontin, "San Marco," 48

6 Otto Demus The Church of San Marco in Venice (Washington, 1960), 32

7 Ibid , 31

8 Donald M Nicol, Byzantium and Venice, a Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations (Cambridge, 1988), 7-8

9 Demus, 33

10 Ibid , 37 In 1180, Grado was recognized as the only legitimate successor of old Aquileia and its first bishops, St Mark and St Hermagoras, while Aquileia was given ecclesiastical control of the bishoprics of Istria

11 Nicol, 8

12 Roberto Cessi, Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al mille (Venice, 1991), I, no 50, 83-90, for the text of the synod of Mantua

13 Demus, 34

14 Patrick J Geary, Furta Sacra, Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages (Princeton, 1978), 110

15 Demus, 19 Nicol, 4-5

16 Nicol, 9

17 Ibid , 10

18 Ibid , 16f

19 Ibid , 17

20 Ibid , 19

21 Demus, 20

22 Ibid , 34

23 Geary, 110

24 Demus, 41

25 Nelson McCleary, "Note storiche et archeologiche sul testo della 'Translatio Sancti Marci' ", Memorie storiche forogiuliese 27-29 (1931-1933), 224

26 Demus, 21

27 Ibid

28 Geary, 111

29 Ibid , 38

30 Hans Conrad Peyer, Stadt und Stadtpatron im Mittelalterlichen Italien (Zurich 1955), 10

31 McCleary, 232

32 Geary, 114

33 McCleary, 235-236

34 Ibid , 252-253

35 Ibid , 248-264

36 Cessi, Documenti, no 53, 98

37 Tramontin, "Realta e leggenda nei racconti Marciani veneti," 49

38 Ibid , 52 n 43 Tramontin's source for Bernado's trip to Alexandria is the Recueil de voyage et memoires, ed by the Societe de Geographie de France (Paris, 1839), IV, 787 Antonio Niero also discusses Bernado's testimony in his article Questioni agiografiche su San Marco, Studi Veneziani 12 (1970), 20, where he cites a passage similar to Tramontin's quote "Venetii navigio tulerunt furtim corpus a custode eius et deportaverunt ad suam insulam ' Niero s source is T Tobler and A Molinier, Itineria hierosolymitana Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae (Geneva, 1879), I, 311

39 Niero, 20

40 Otto Demus, The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice (Chicago and London 1984) I 83

41 Ibid , 66

42 Ibid , 67

43 McCleary, 258-259 The text of the Translatio Sancti Marci, corresponding to this scene in San Marco's choir chapel, reads "Deinde cum nocte quadam tempestas adesset, navesque ille cursu velocissimo ducerentur, ac naute nescirent <quo pergerent> propter tenebras noctis, uenit beatus marcus in sompnis dominico monacho, dicens Surge et dic hominibus istis veneticis ut citius vela deponant ne patiantur naufragium quia terra non longe est Quod cum monachus surgens dixisset, illico velis depositis, cum iam aurore instaret crepusculum, (et) ecce apparuit insula quedam stroalia nomine, quam beatissimus marcus adesse predixerat "

44 Demus, The Mosaics of San Marco, I, 69

45 Ibid , 68

46 Ibid

47 Ibid , 69 Demus believes that the ecclesiastic likely represents the patriarch of Grado, rather than the bishop of Venice

48 Ibid , 70

49 Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice (Princeton, 1981), 83

50 Demus, The Church of San Marco, 12

51 Ibid, 44-45, regarding the role of the doge as lay administrator of San Marco By the thirteenth century, the doge participated in four feasts celebrating the cult of St Mark in Venice the translation of the relics of St Mark from Alexandria to Venice, on 31 January, St Mark's day, on 25 April, the miracle of the apparition of St Mark's relics, on 25 June, and the deposition of relics in San Marco, on 8 October See Silvio Tramontin, "Il 'kalendarium veneziano," Culto dei santi a Venezia (Venice, 1965) 290 295-296, 303 and 316 For a description of the doge's role in the ceremonies of St Mark s day, see Muir 84-85 For the doge s role in the processions prior to and the receptions following the religious ceremonies, see Martin da Canal, Les Estoires de Venise, ed by Alberto Limentani (Florence, 1972), 246

52 Peyer, 64-65 Peyer's account of Domenicus Tinus text is based upon G Gallicciolì, Delle memorie Venete antiche profane ed ecclesiastiche libri tre (Venice, 1795), VI, 124ff

53 Muir, 253

54 Peyer, 63

55 Gina Fasoli, "Nascita di un mito' Studi in onore di Gioacchino Volpe (Florence, 1958), I, 457

56 Peyer, 12-13

57 Fasoli, 452

58 Muir, 279 The decision to abandon the popular assembly in favour of an electoral committee was made in 1172, following the overthrow of Doge Vitale II Michiel (1155-1172) The committee originally consisted of eleven members, but, six years later, their number was increased to forty One more member was added in the mid thirteenth century to prevent a tie

59 Peyer, 67

60 Ibid The text from which Peyer draws these quotes dates only from the sixteenth century, but Peyer feels that the source for the text may well date from the twelfth century

61 Ibid , 65-66 Peyer bases his account of the revised investiture ceremony on a description made by the Venetian chronicler, Martin da Canal, in his late thirteenth-century work, Les Estoires de Venise

62 Muir 253

63 Ibid , 117

64 Fasoli 459

65 Charles Diehl, La Republique de Venise (Paris, 1985), 92

66 Peyer, 65 and Muir, 253

67 Muir, 253-254

68 Muir 261 and Fasoli 459

69 Martin da Canal, 340

70 Andrea Dandolo, "Chronicon Venetum", in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, ed by L A Muratori, revised ed by E Pastorello (Bologna, 1938), 12/1, 14

71 Martin da Canal, 218

72 Demus, The Church of San Marco, 14

73 Dandolo, 251-252 The deposition of St Mark's relics in the crypt of San Marco is an historical event which took place on 8 October 1094 It was first recorded in an account of the translation of the relics of St Nicholas, written by a monk of San Nicolo in Lido shortly after the deposition of St Mark's body, see McCleary 263 n 3 The date of the deposition of the Evangelist's body in the crypt of San Marco is also recorded in an inscription on the lead casket containing the relics, which was discovered in 1811, and confirmed by several coins found within the casket Minted to commemorate the event, the coins are inscribed with the name of the western emperor, Henry IV, an image of a lion (the symbol of St Mark), and the following words "Anno incarnacione ihesu christi millesimo nonagesimo quarto die octavo inchoante mense octobris tempore vitalis Faletri ducis See Demus, The Church of San Marco, 12 n 40 and Tramontin 'San Marco," 58

74 Peyer, 14

75 Otto Demus, The Mosaics of San Marco, II, 205

76 Ibid , 192

77 Ibid , 193

78 Ibid , 201

79 Ibid , 203

80 Ibid , 30

81 Ibid , 28

82 Ibid , 27

83 Muir 262

84 Nicol, 67

85 Ibid , 52-53

86 Ibid , 60

87 Demus, The Church of San Marco, 23 and Nicol, 51

88 Demus, The Church of San Marco, 25

89 Nicol, 93ff

90 Demus, The Church of San Marco, 25

91 Nicol, 128ff

92 Marilyn Perry, "Saint Mark's Trophies Legend, Superstition and Archaeology in Renaissance Venice" Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 40 (1977), 28

93 Hugo Buchtal, Historia Troiana, Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration (London, 1971), 55

94 Ibid , 56

95 Nicol, 178

96 Angeliki E Laiou, 'Venice as a Centre of Trade and of Artistic Production in the Thirteenth Century,' Il Medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo (Bologna 1979), II 22

97 Nicol, 259

CONCLUSION

As this thesis has shown the importance of Venice's Pala d'Oro in the church of San Marco is derived both from its artistic merits, and from its value as an historical document Scholarly opinion about the significance of the altarpiece has varied corsiderably over the course of the twentieth century, from the 1930's, when Sergio Bettini concluded that the Pala is 'a magnificent example of an amazirg stylistic misunderstanding', to the 1980's, when Margaret Frazer argued that the Pala d'Oro expresses a coherent theological program which reflects a Venetian blend of both western and eastern iconographical sources In pursuing Frazer's iconographical, as opposed to the traditional stylistic approach to the study of the Pala d'Oro, it has been shown that the altarpiece's composition is indeed a mixture of western and eastern sources, both minor and monumental in scale Furthermore that composition conveys a theological message similar to that which is found in the three domes which lie along the east-west axis in the church of San Marco, indicating that the Pala d'Oro's unusual appearance was the result of Venetian demand and Byzantine adaptation, and not the consequence of chance Similarly, the changes made to the Pala d'Oro after its arrival in Venice in 1105 were shown to be reflections of the altarpiece s histcrical context As one of the works created for the cult of St Mark, the people of Venice viewed the Pala d'Oro in the same light as the saint s relics as proof of the state's glorious destiny, assured by the Evangelist's protection and intercession The alterations and additions to the altarpiece during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were made not only to horour the patron saint of

Venice, but to mark the fulfillment of the state's destiny as successor to the wealth and power of the Byzantine Empire. Thus, the altarpiece's enamels are proof of Venice's artistic and historical legacy from Byzantium, and of the state's political and economic rivalry with that Empire. The Pala d'Oro, as an object that bears witness to the stages of the state's quest for independence from Byzantium, is thus an invaluable document in the history of Venice from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.

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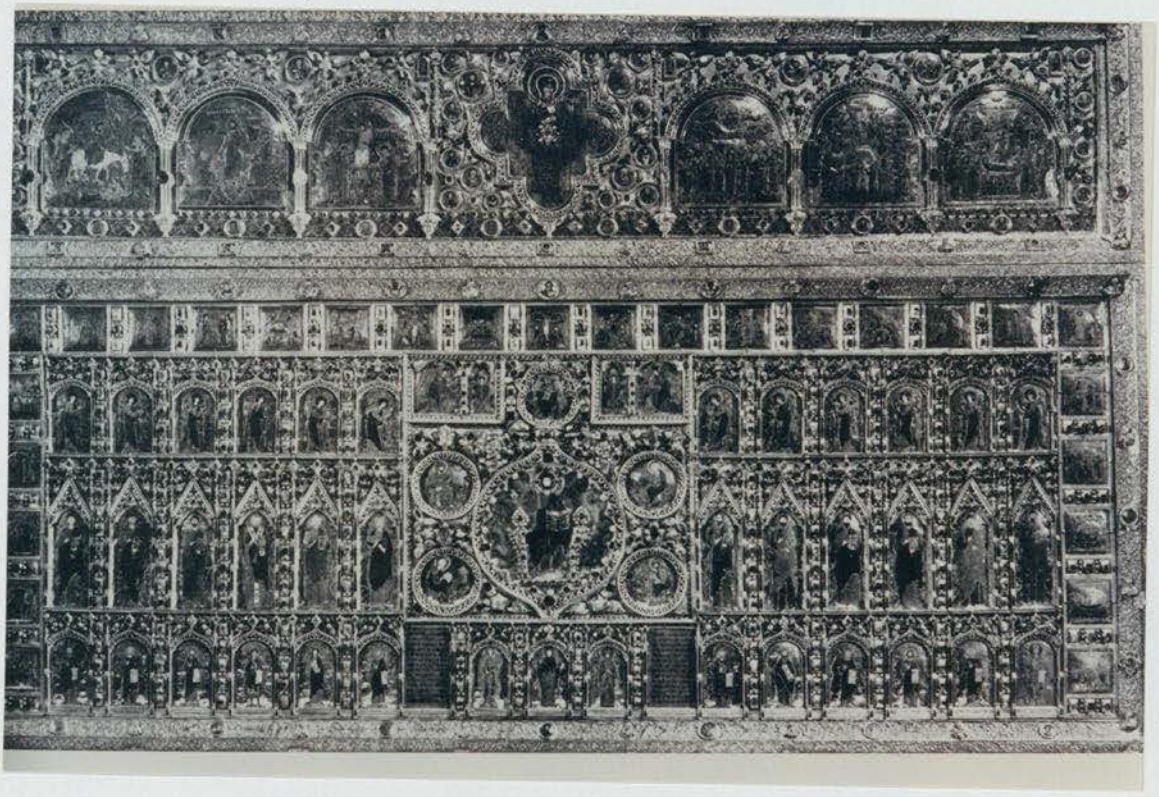
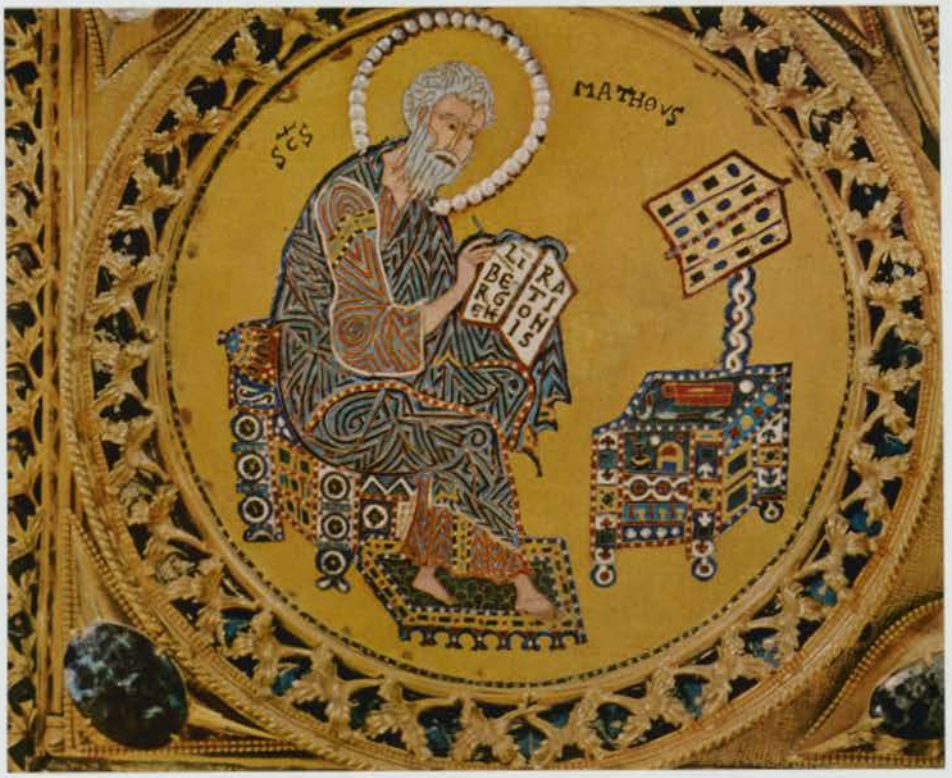


1. The Pala d'Oro, San Marco, Venice.

2. Pala d'Oro: Christ Pantocrator.

3. Pala d'Oro: Evangelist Mark.



4. Pala d'Oro: Evangelist Matthew.

5. Pala d'Oro: Evangelist John.

6. Pala d'Oro: Evangelist Luke.

7. Pala d'Oro: Hetoimasia, or
Prepared Throne of Judgement.

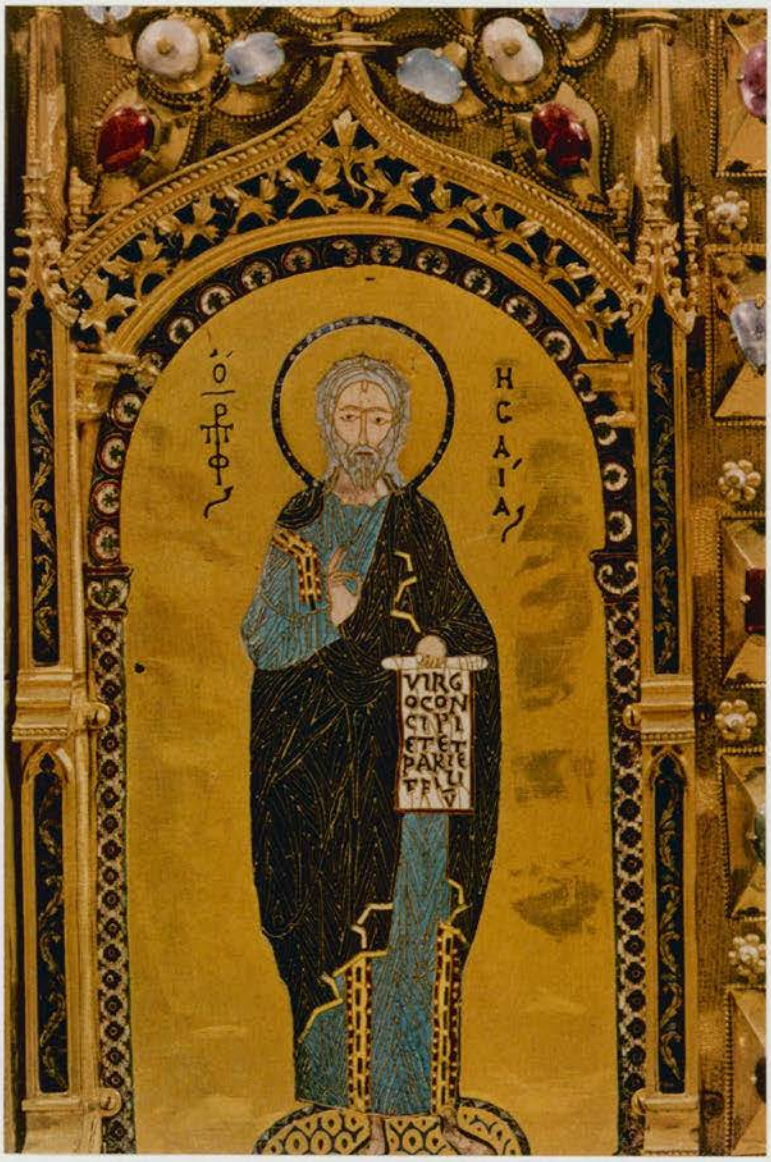
8. Pala d'Oro: tetramorph and angel, left of Hetoimasia.

9. Pala d'Oro: tetramorph and angel, right of Hetoimasia.

10. Pala d'Oro: orant Virgin.

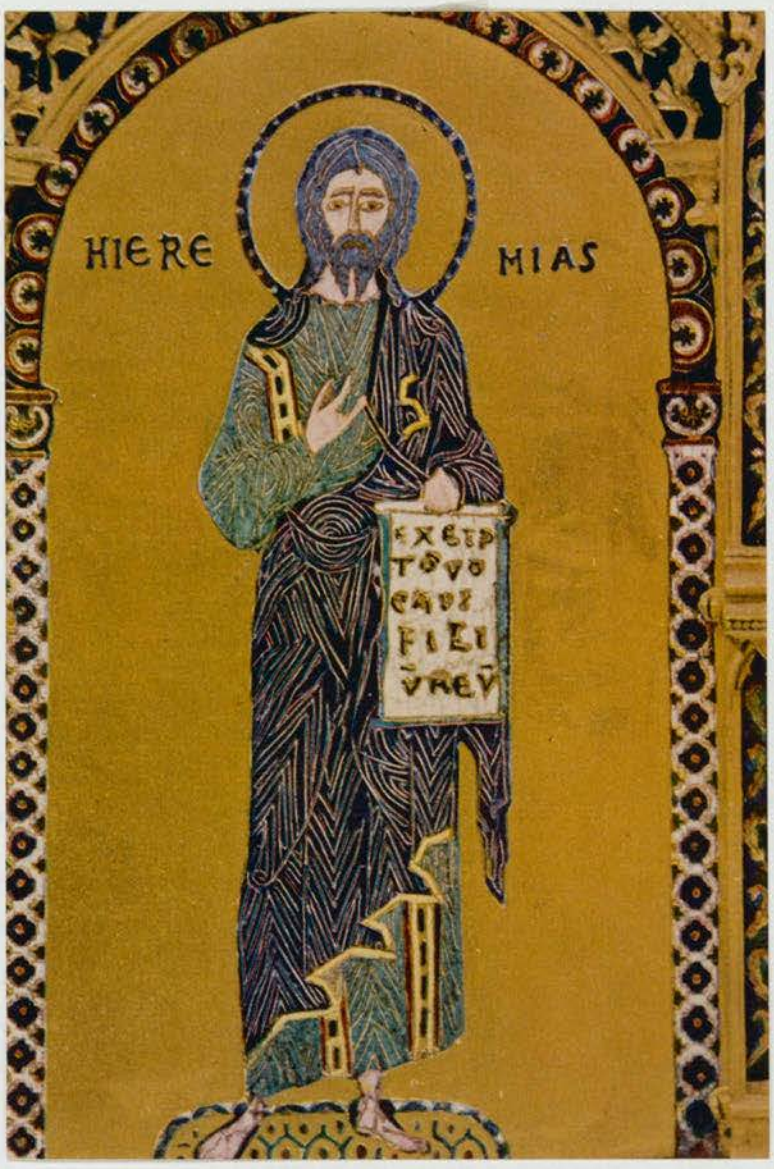
11. Pala d'Oro: Empress Irene.

12. Pala d'Oro: Doge Ordelafo Falier.

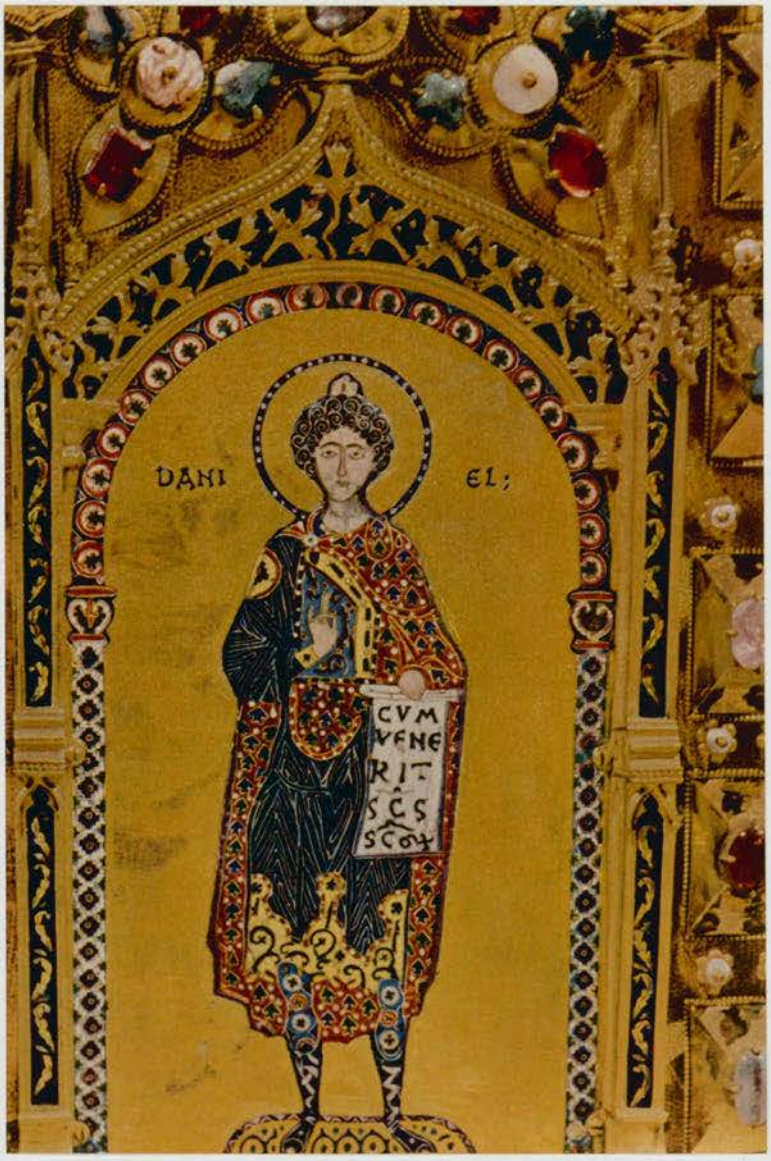


13. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Isaiah.

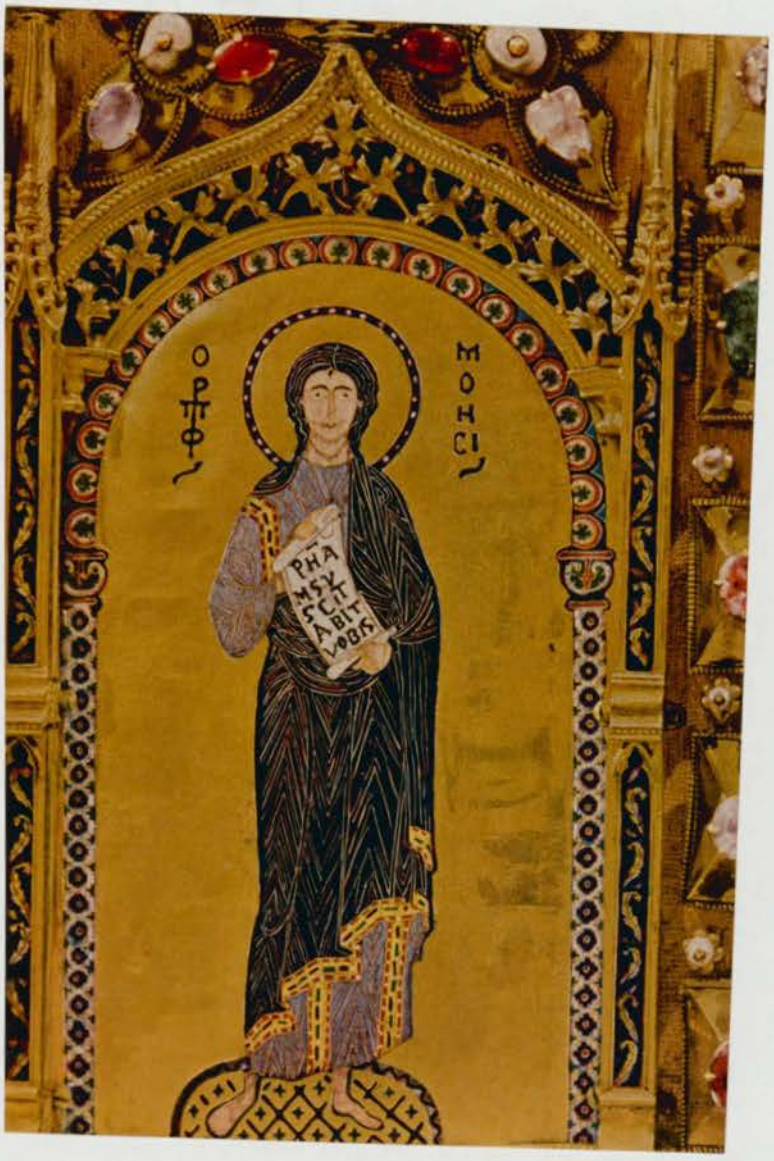
14. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Nahum.



15. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Jeremiah.



16. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Daniel.



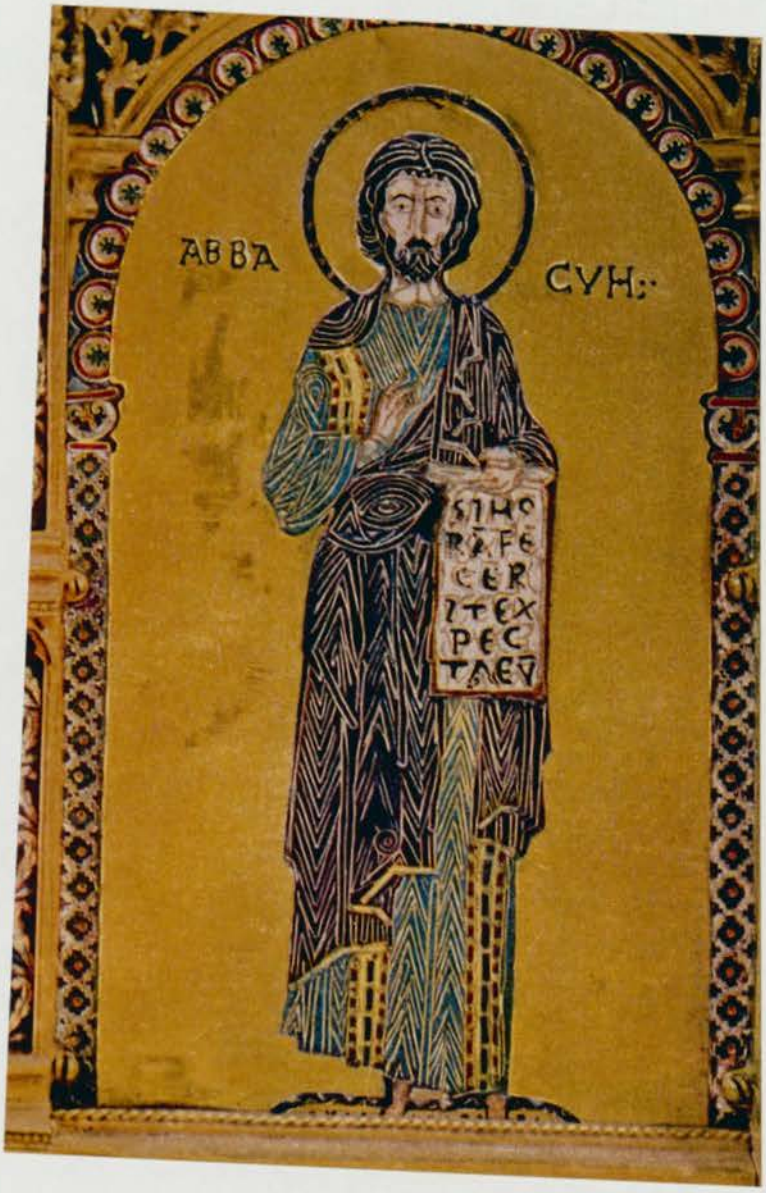
17. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Moses.

18.Pala d'Oro: Prophet Ezekiel.

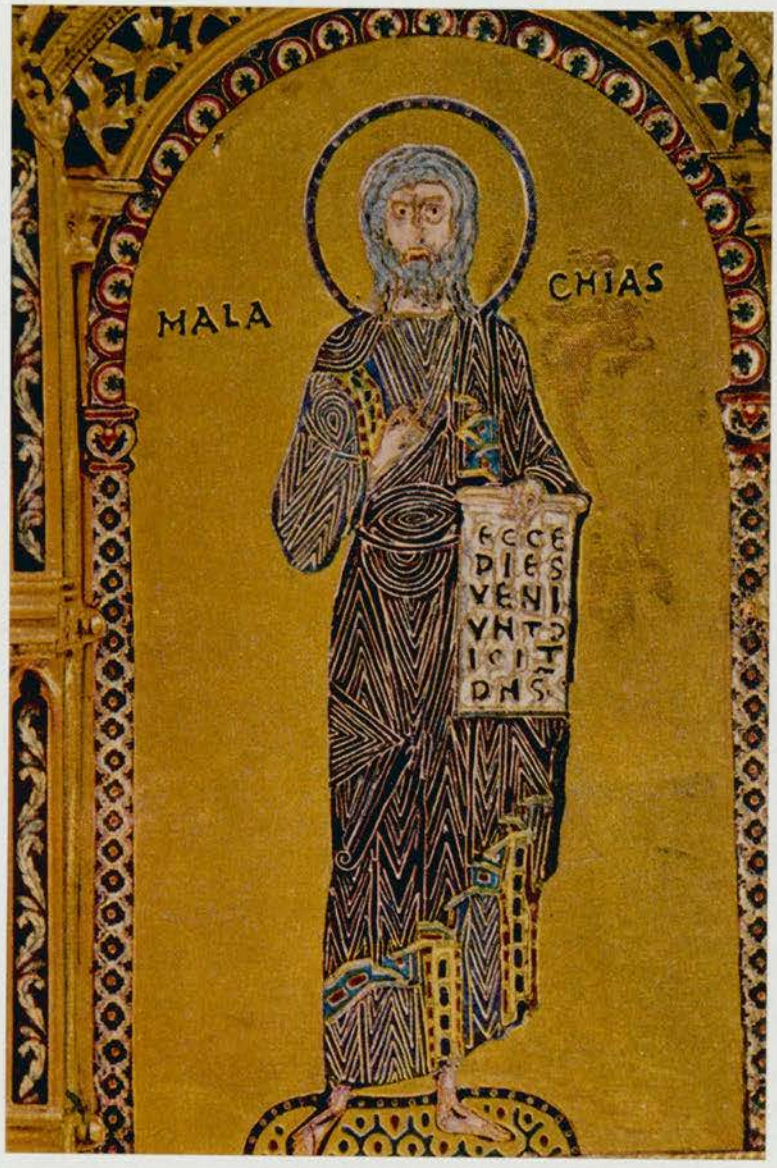
19. Pala d'Oro: Prophet David.

20. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Elijah.

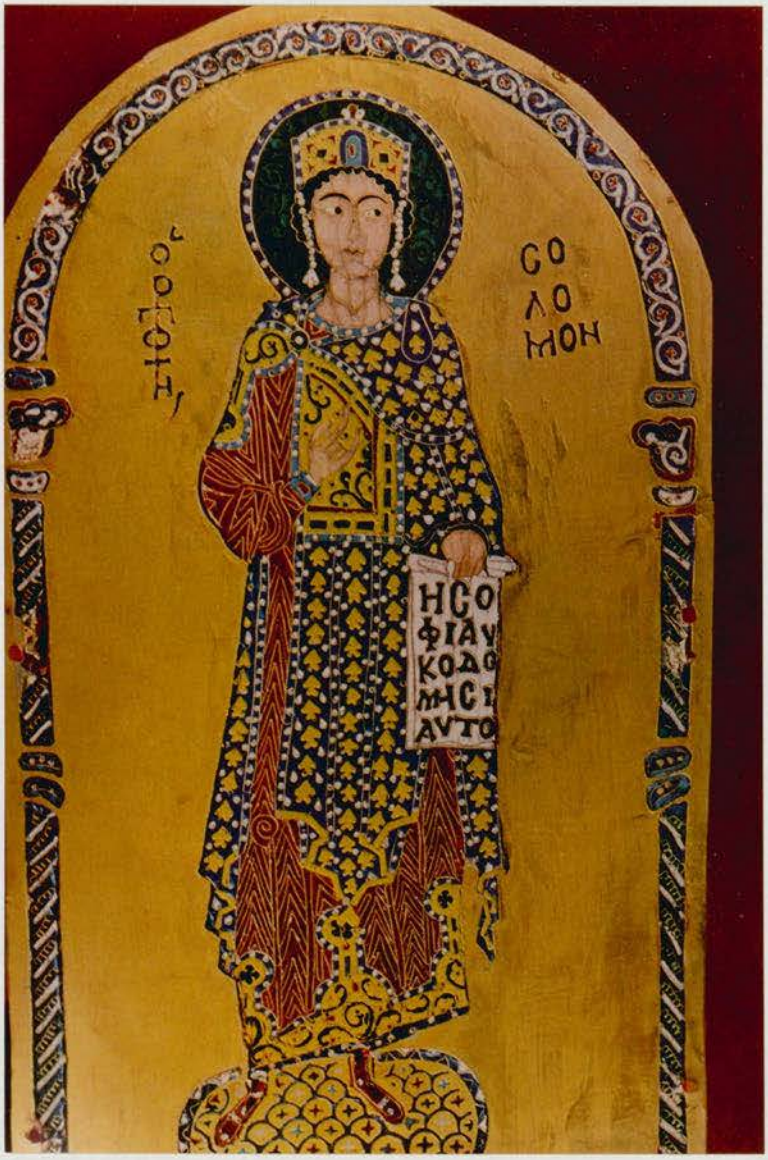
21. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Zechariah.



22. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Habakkuk.



23. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Malachi.



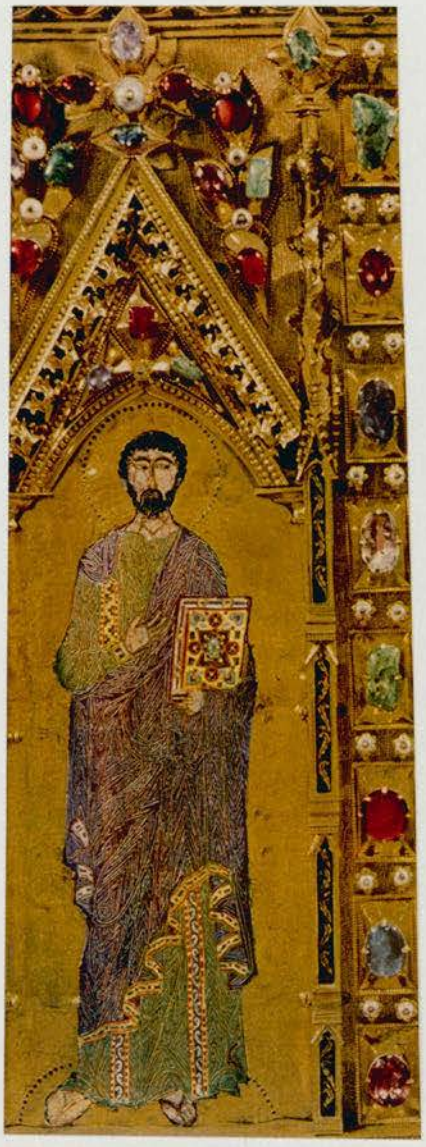
24. Pala d'Oro: Prophet Solomon.

25. Pala d'Oro: Apostle Peter.

26. Pala d'Oro: Apostle Paul.

27. Pala d'Oro: Apostle Andrew.

28. Pala d'Oro: Apostle Simon.

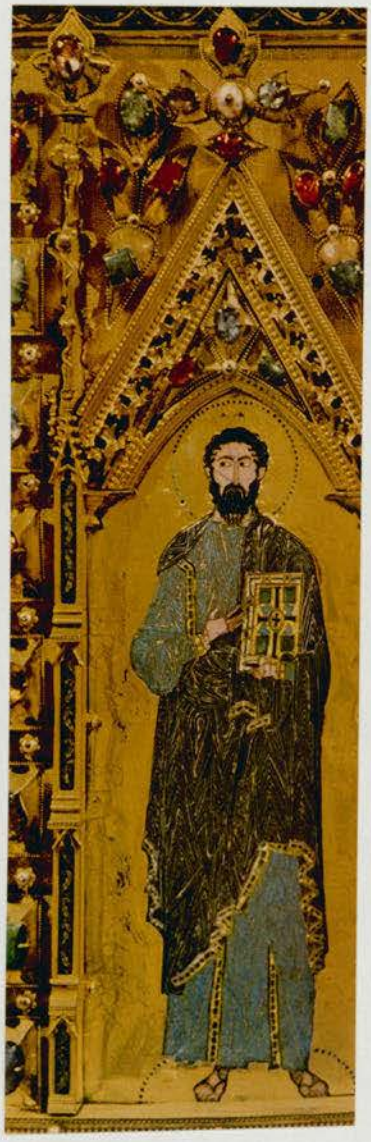


Right: 29. Pala d'Oro: unnamed Apostle.

Left: 30. Pala d'Oro: unnamed Apostle.

Right: 33. Pala d'Oro: unnamed Apostle.

Left: 34. Pala d'Oro: unnamed Apostle.

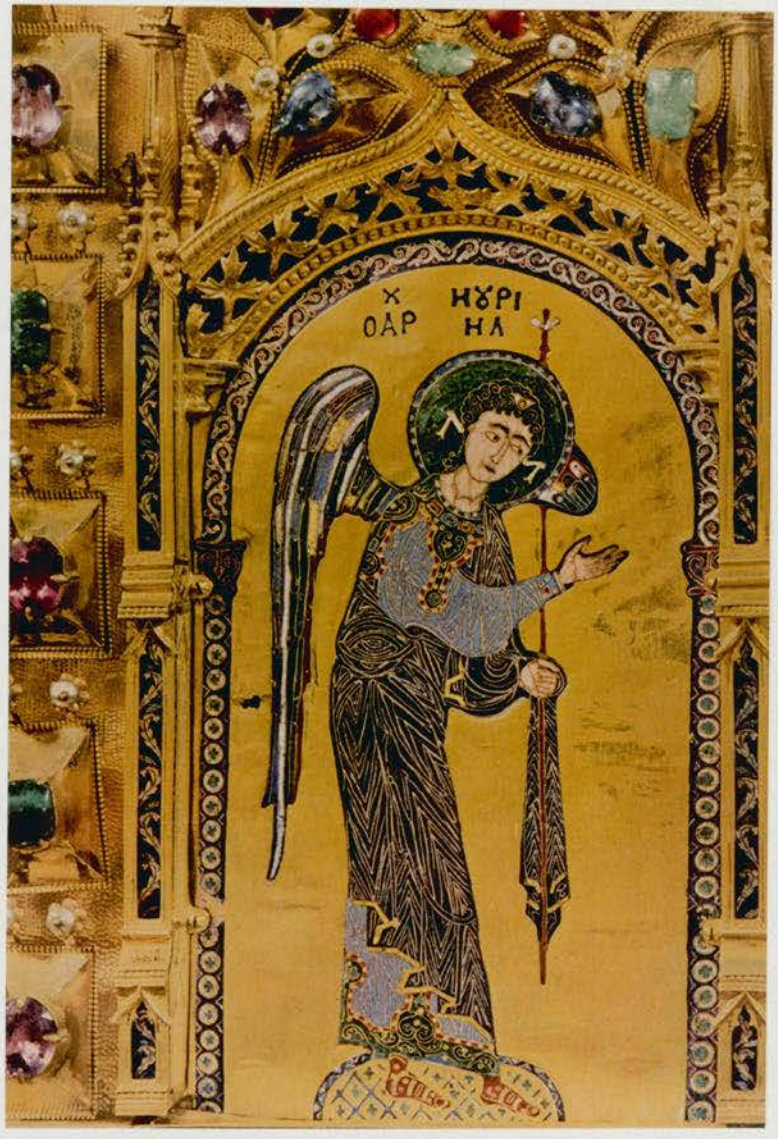


Right: 35. Pala d'Oro: unnamed Apostle.

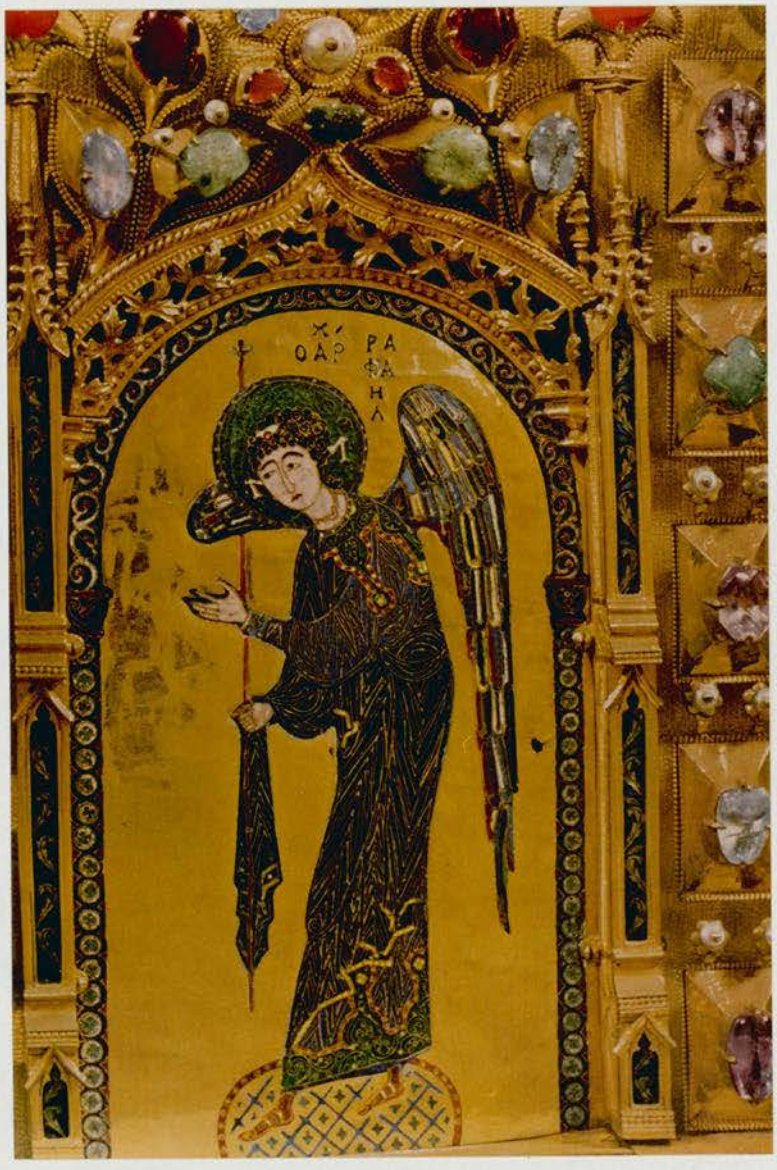
Left: 36. Pala d'Oro: unnamed Apostle.

37. Pala d'Oro: Archangel Michael.

38. Pala d'Oro: Archangel Gabriel.



39. Pala d'Oro: Archangel Uriel.



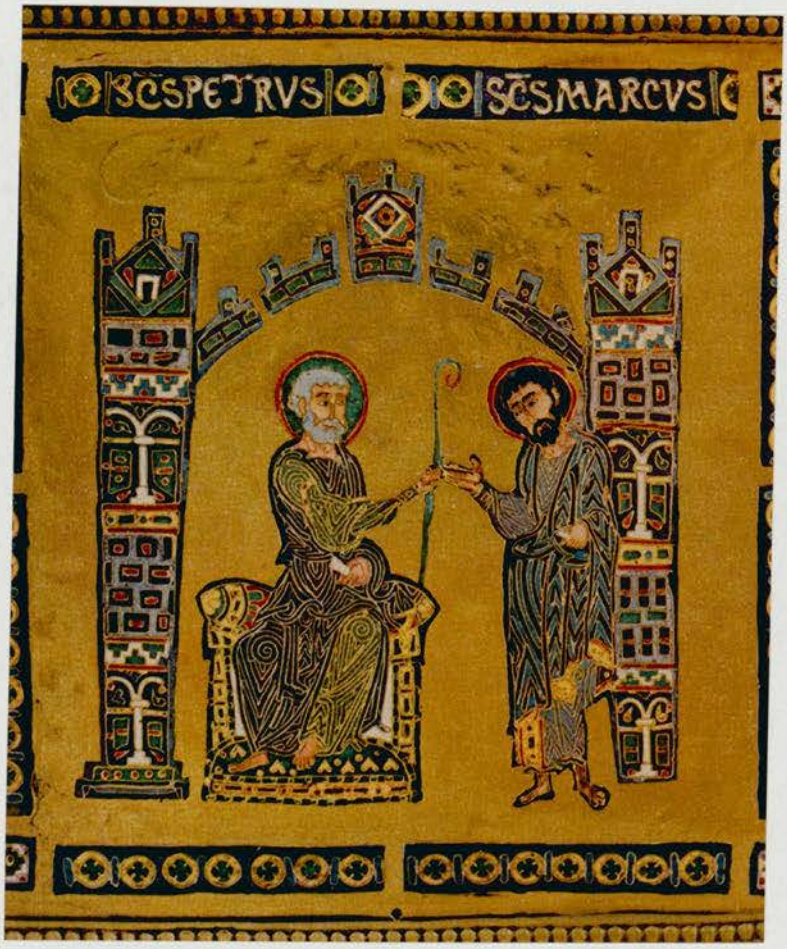
40. Pala d'Oro: Archangel Raphael.

41. Pala d'Oro: pair of unnamed angels.

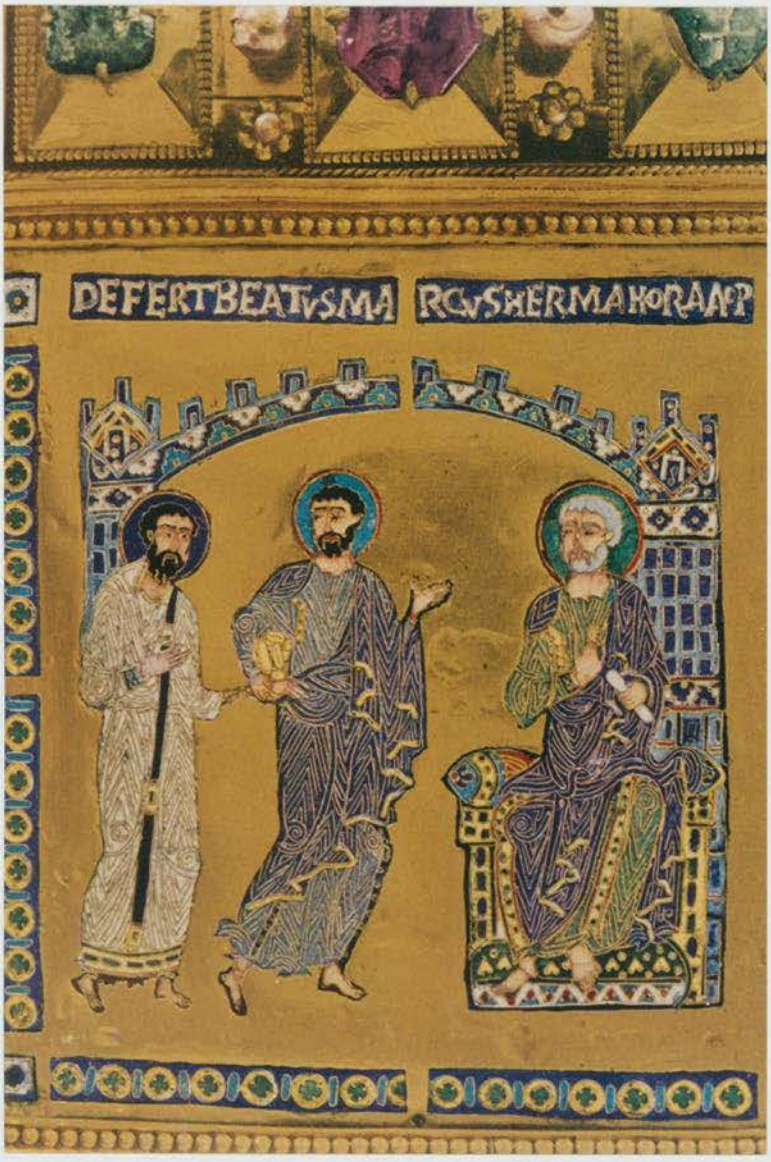
42. Pala d'Oro: pair of unnamed angels.

43. Pala d'Oro: pair of unnamed angels.

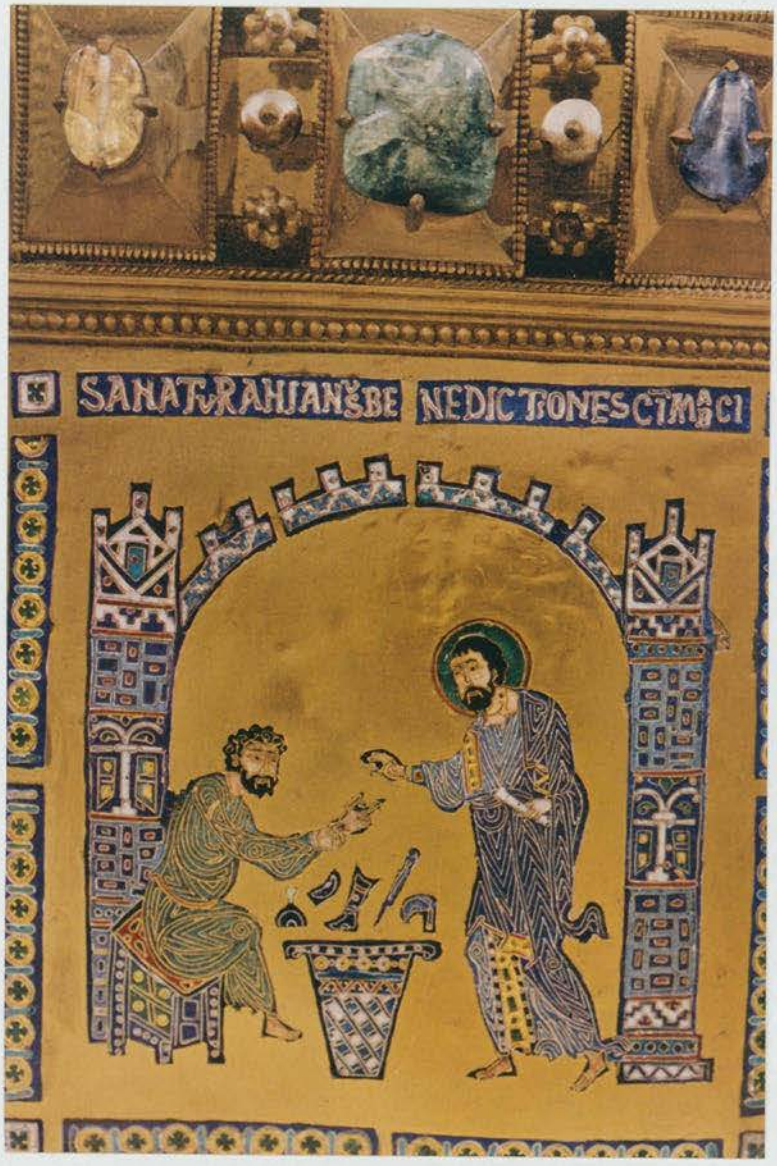
44. Pala d'Oro: pair of unnamed angels.



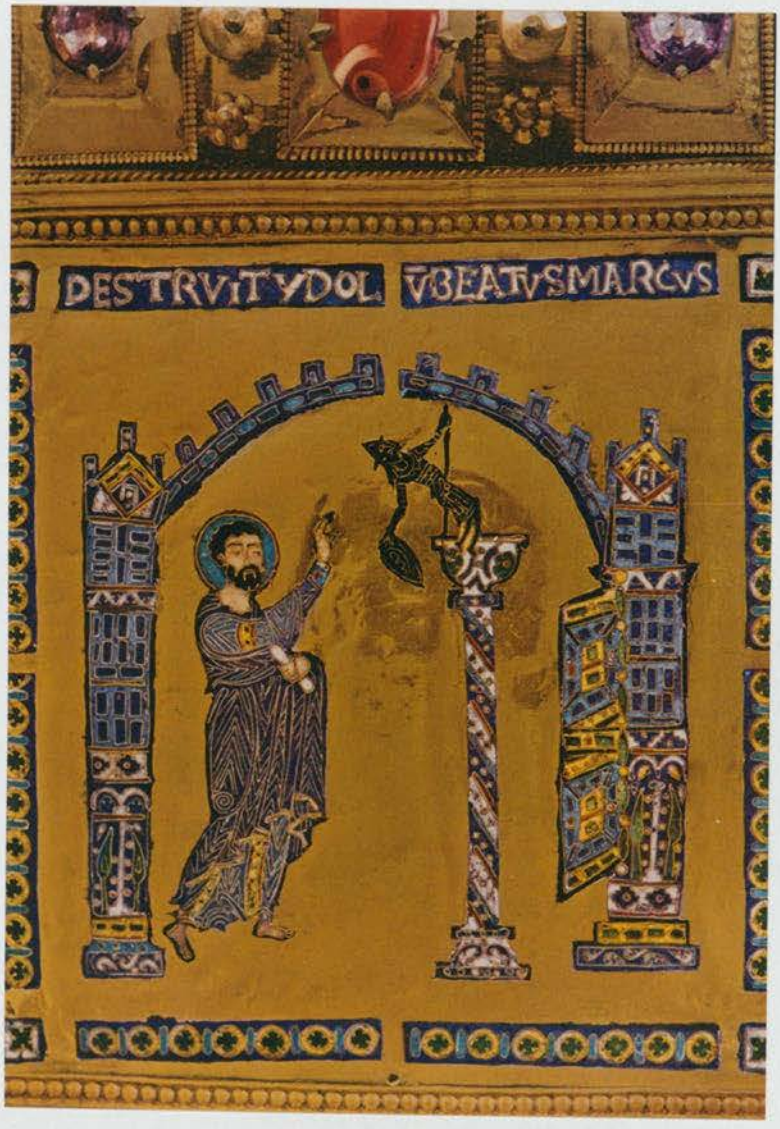
45. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Peter Hands the Episcopal Staff to Mark.



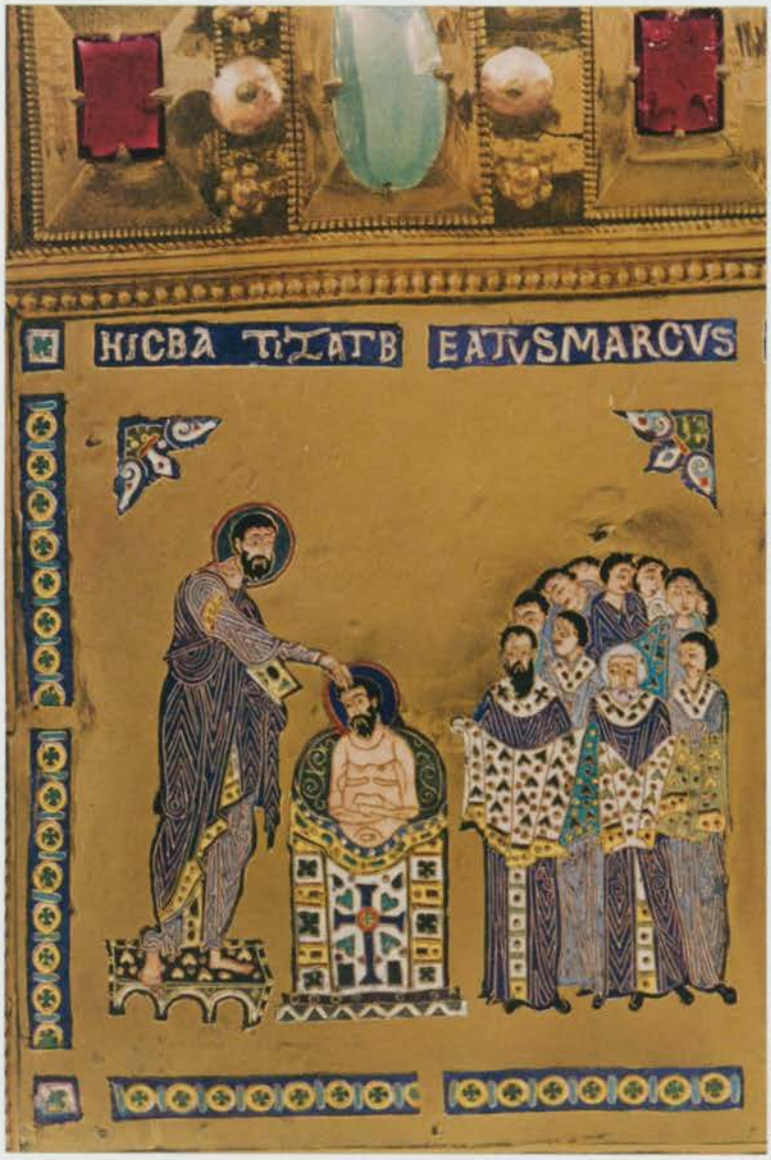
46. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Mark Presents Hermagoras to Peter.



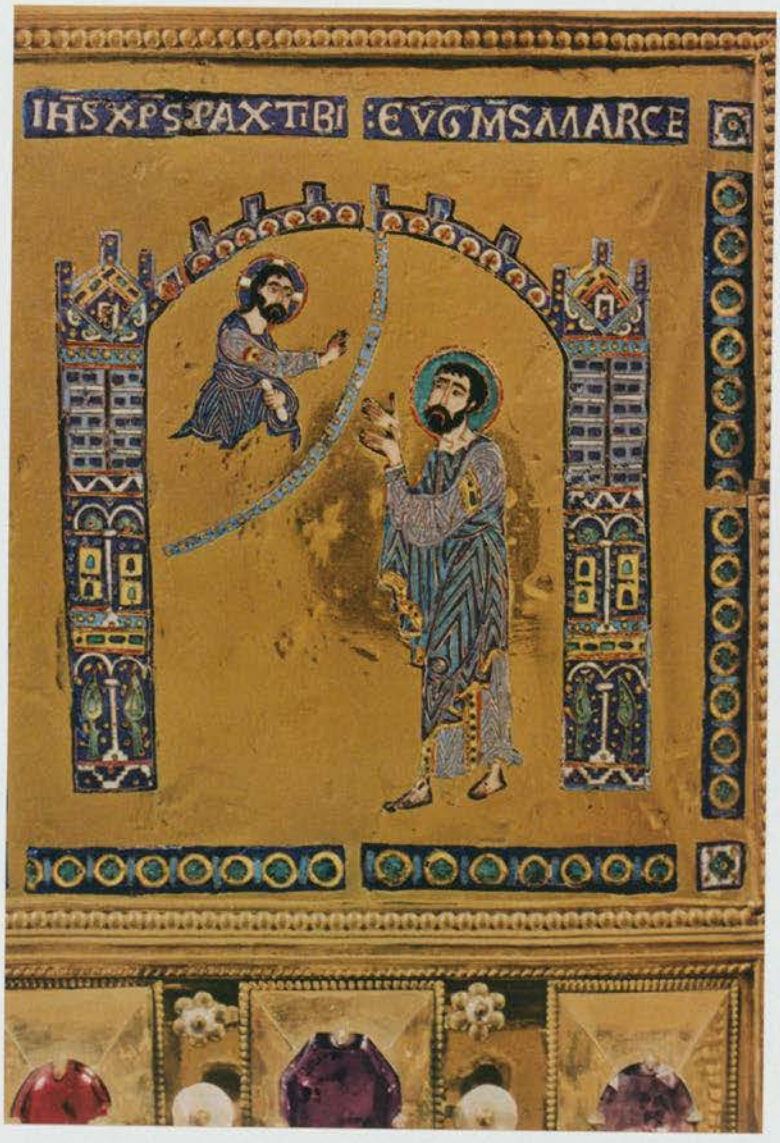
47. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Mark Heals Anianus.



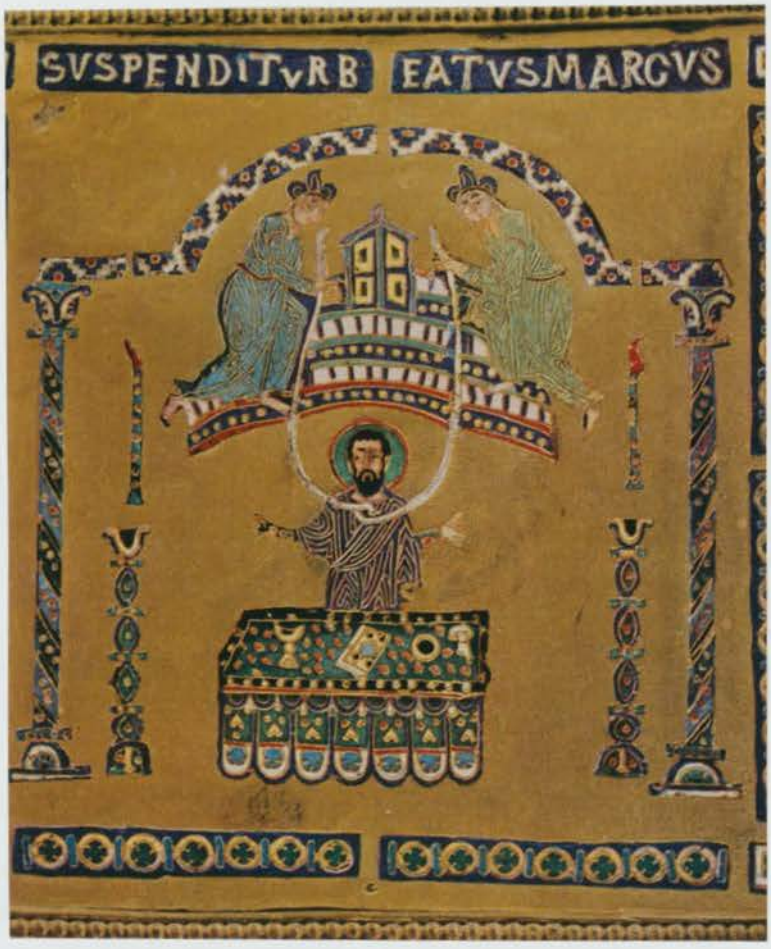
48. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Mark Destroys a Heathen Idol.



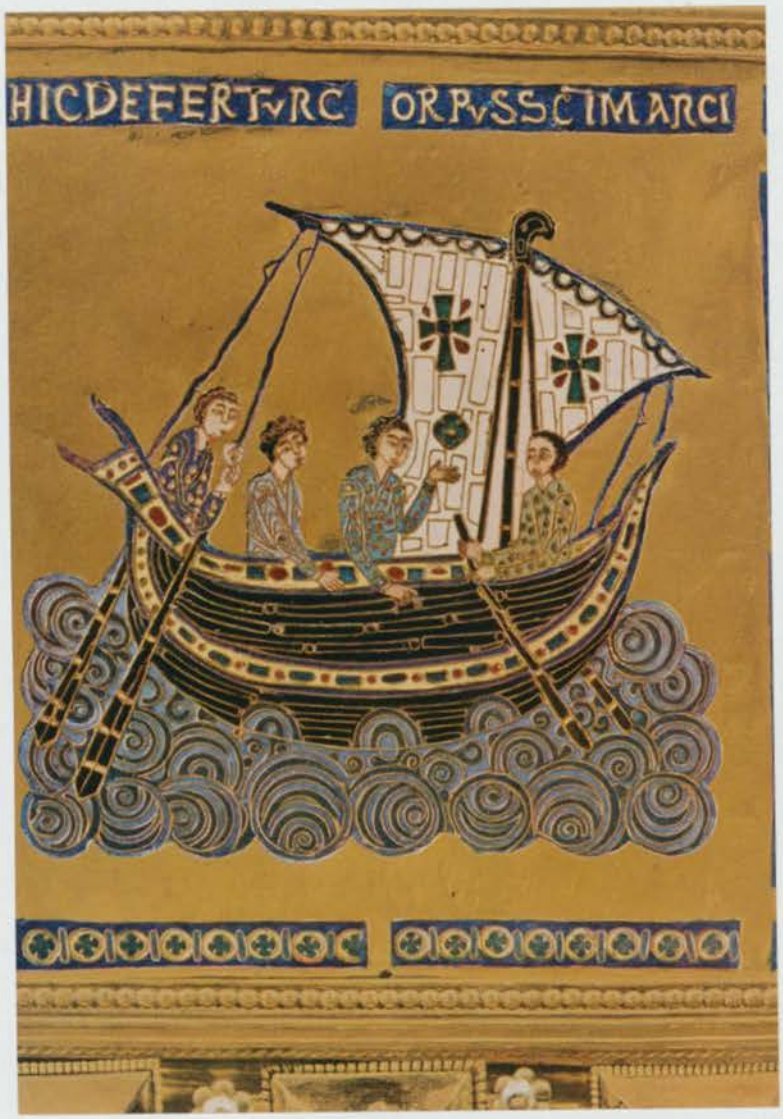
49. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Mark Baptises Hermagoras.



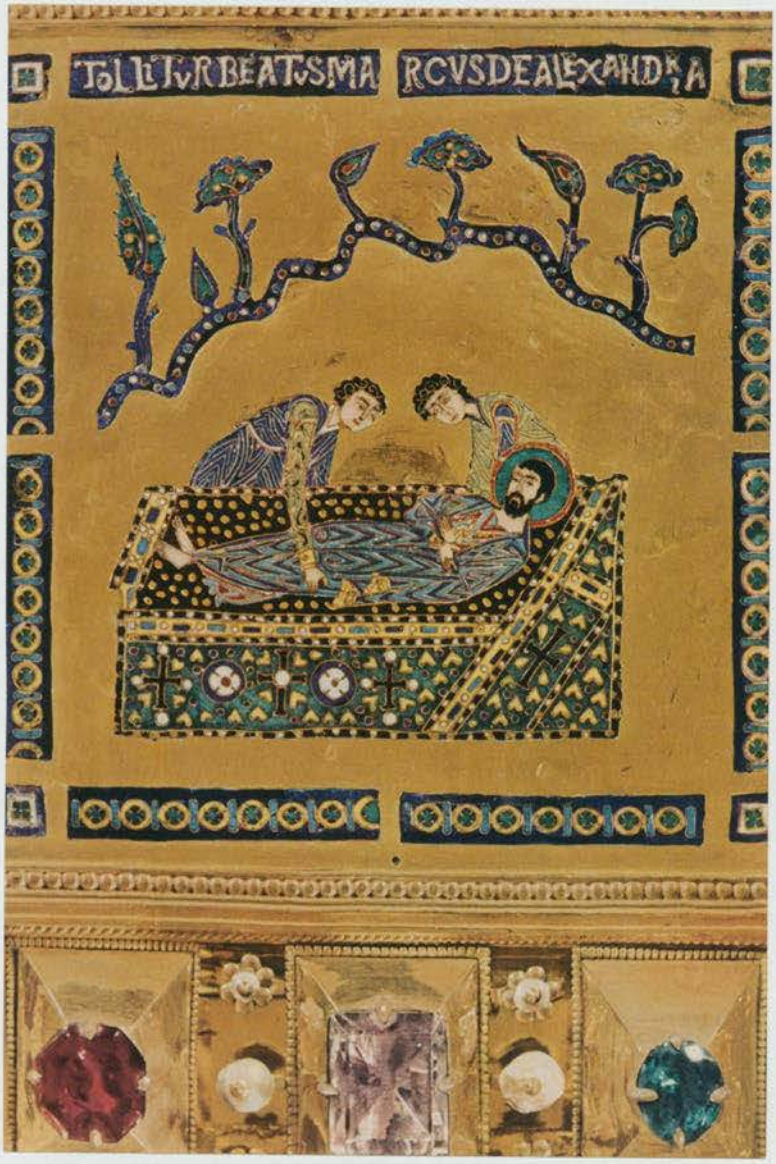
50. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Christ Appears to Mark in Prison.



51. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Mark is Suspended by Ropes while Reading Mass.



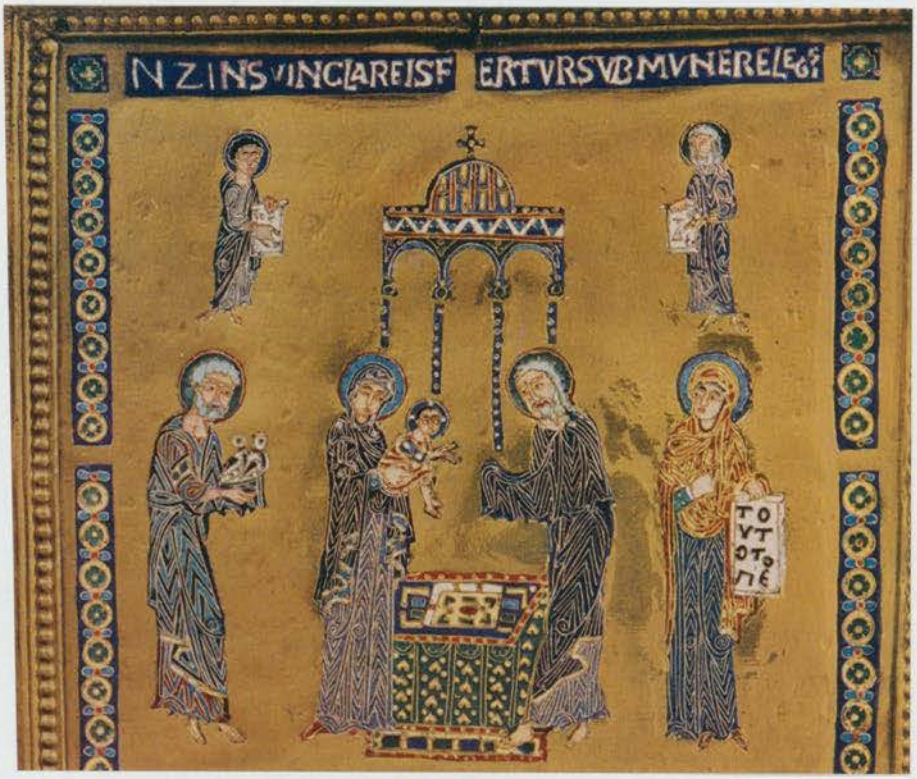
53. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Mark's Body is Shipped to Venice.



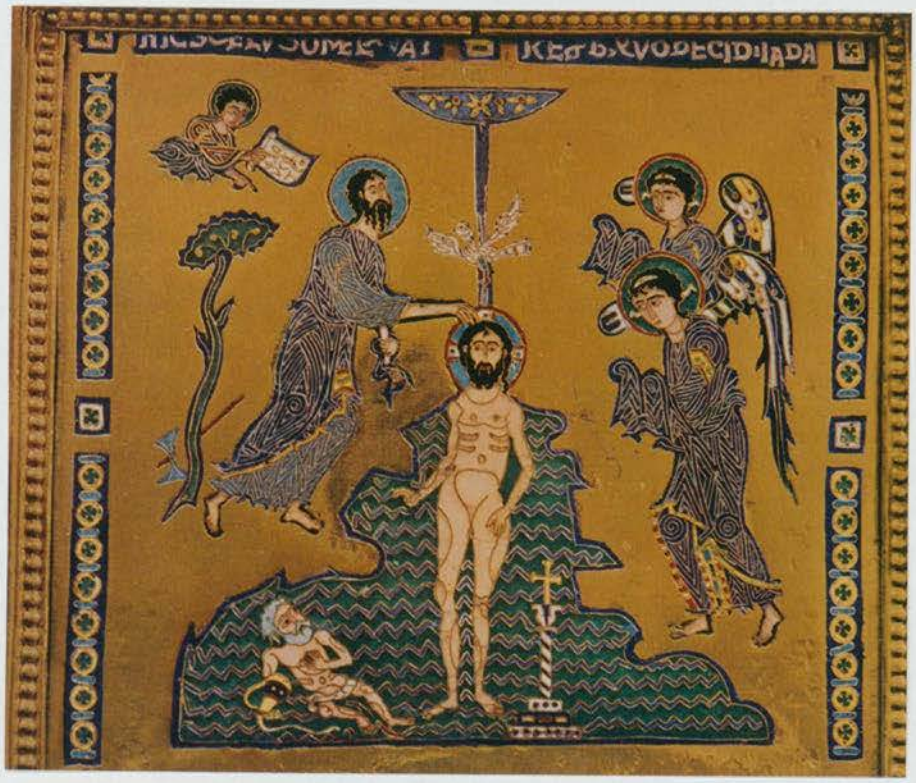
54. Pala d'Oro: Life of St.Mark, Mark's Body is Received in Venice.

55. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Annunciation.

56. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Nativity.

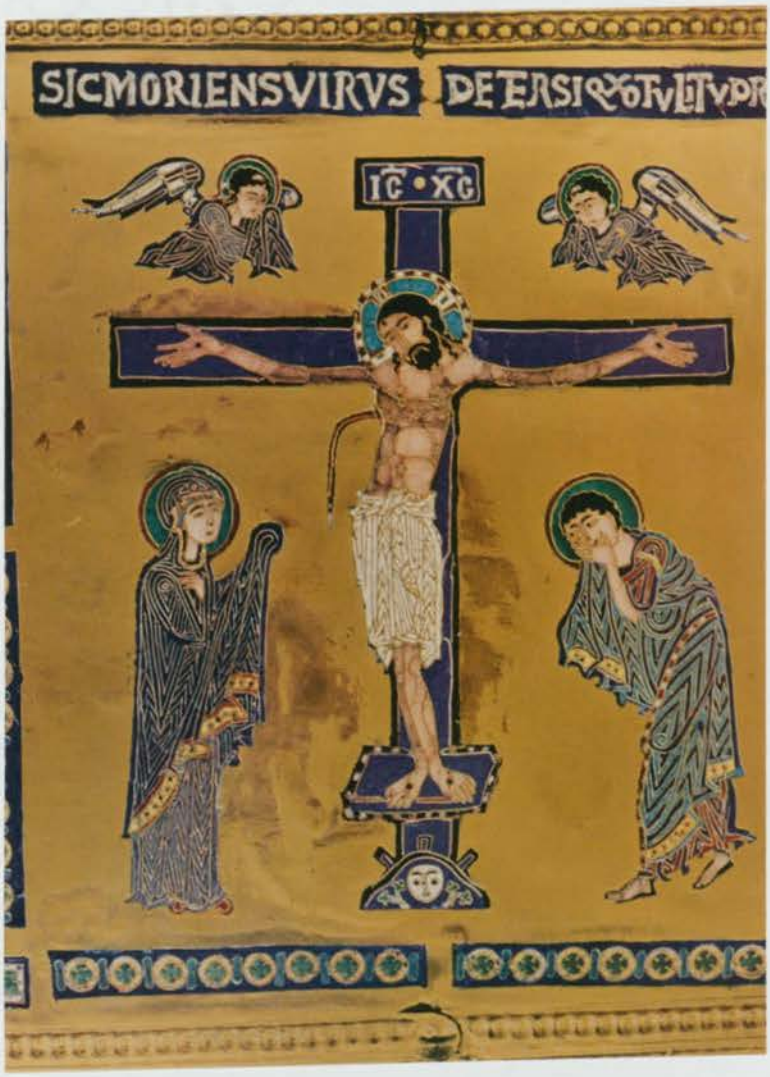


57. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Presentation of Christ in the Temple.

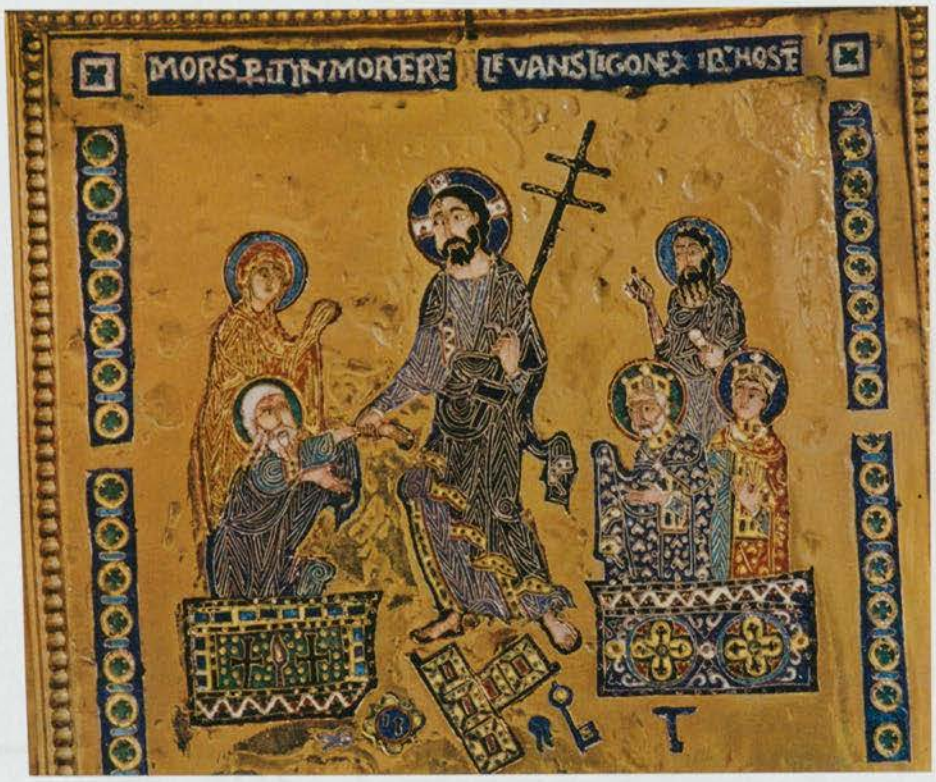


58. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Baptism of Christ.

59. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Last Supper.

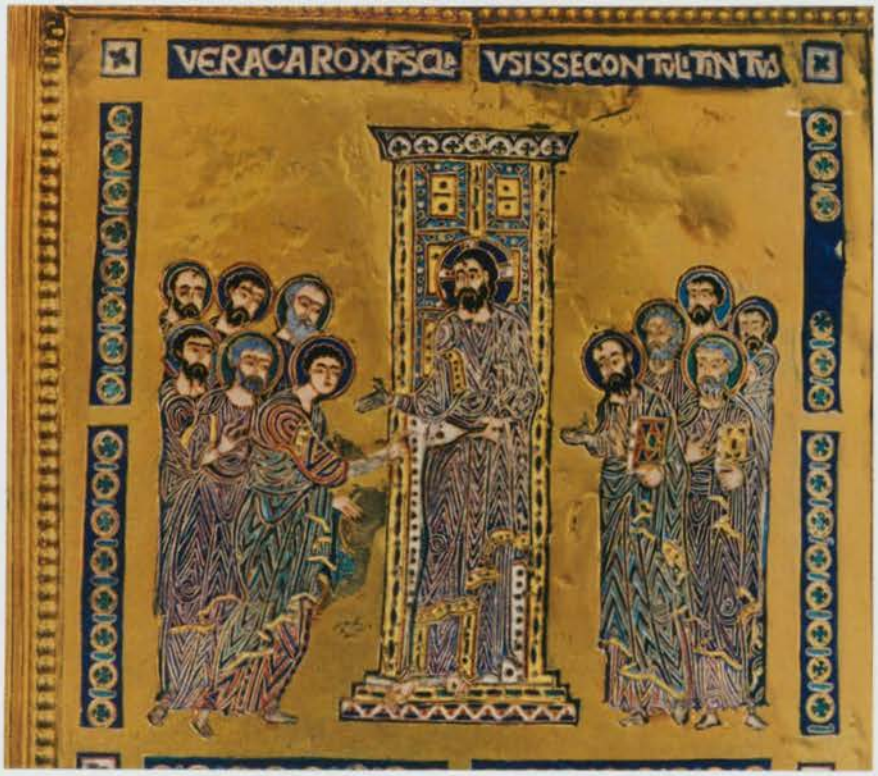


60. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Crucifixion.



61. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Anastasis or, Harrowing of Hell.

62. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Women at the Tomb.

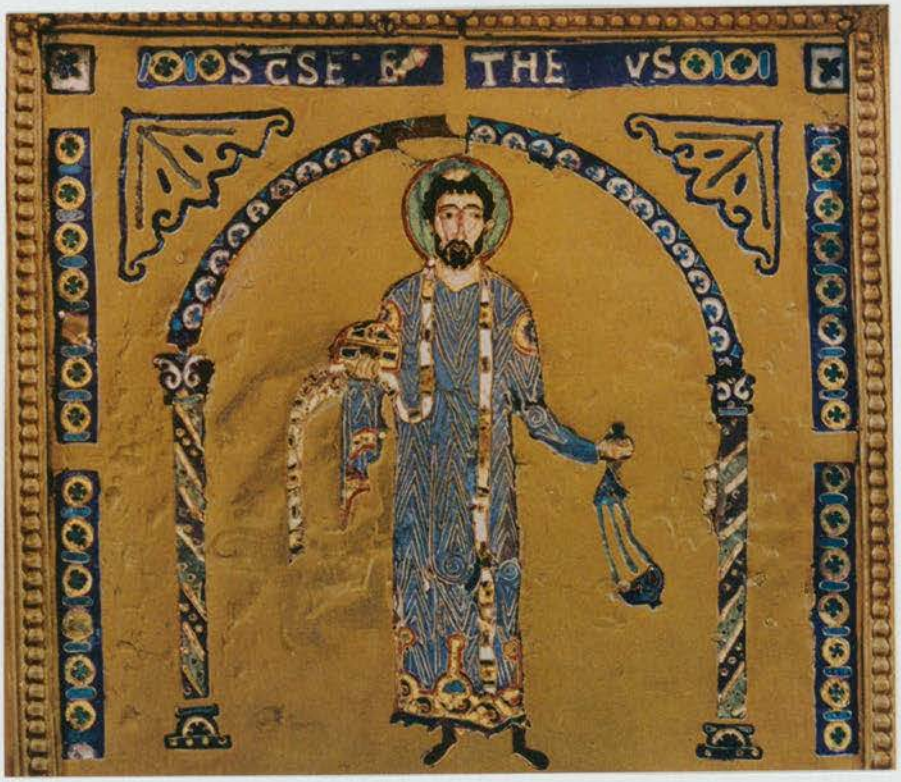


63. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Incredulity of Thomas.

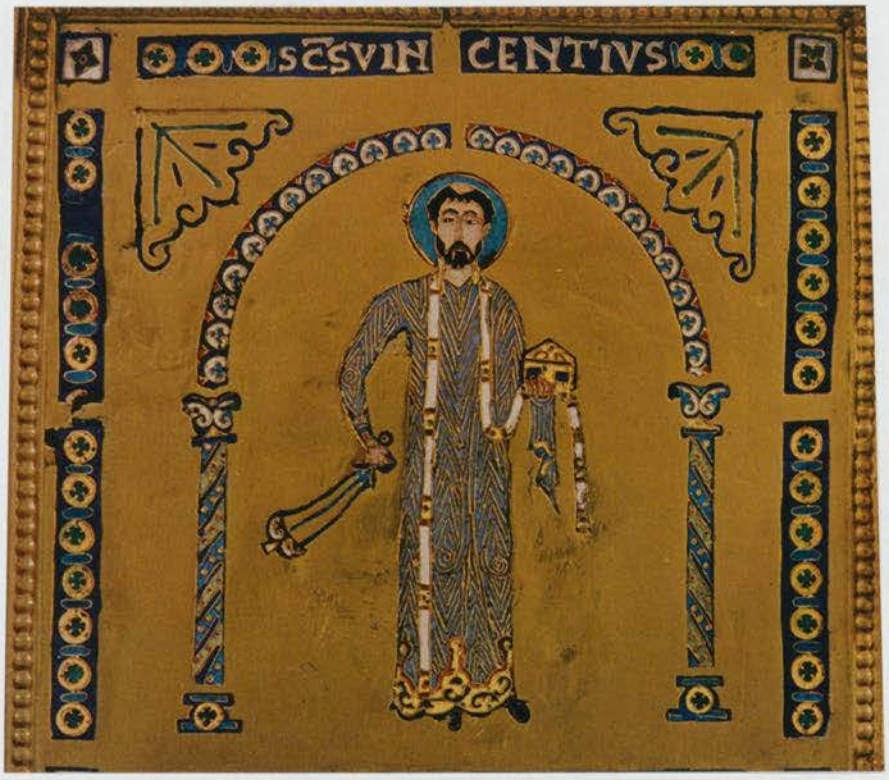
64. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Ascension.

65. Pala d'Oro: Life of Christ, Pentecost.

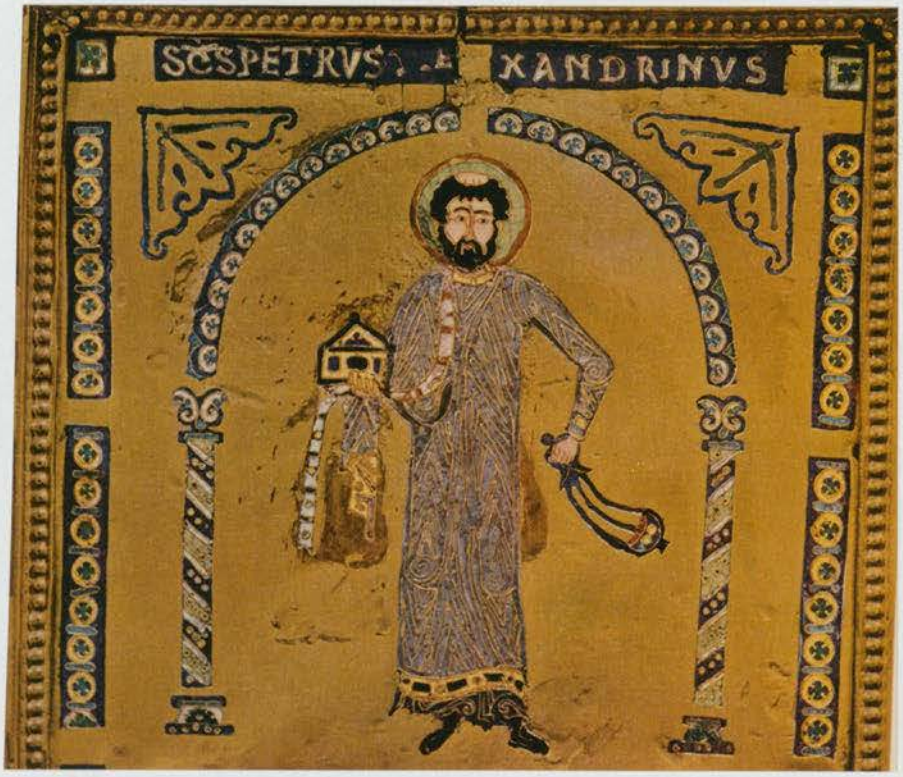
66. Pala d'Oro: St.Lawrence.



67. Pala d'Oro: St.Eleutherius.

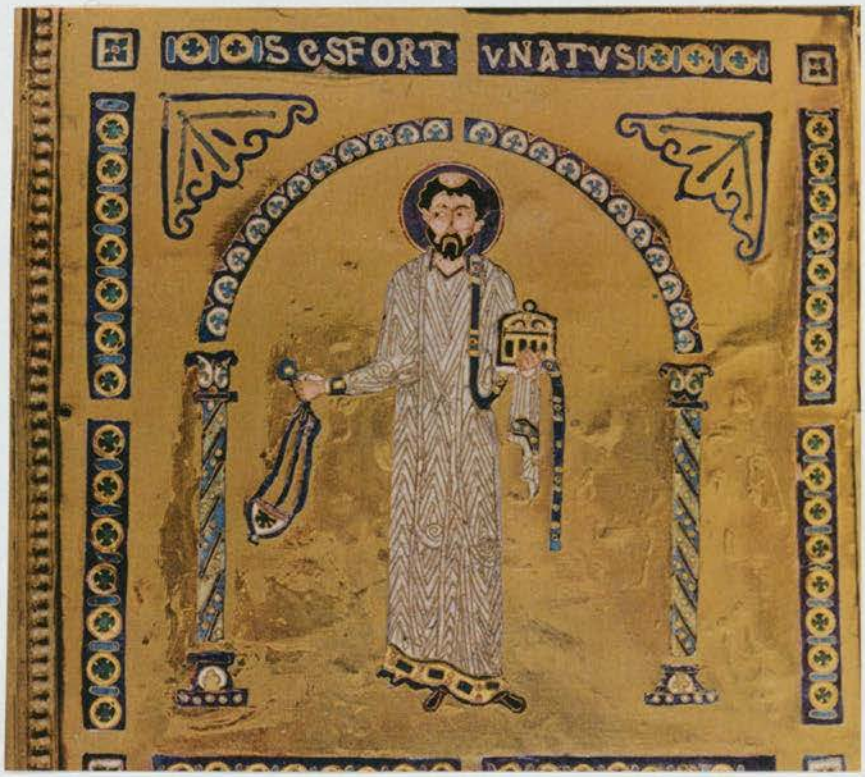


68. Pala d'Oro: St.Vincent.



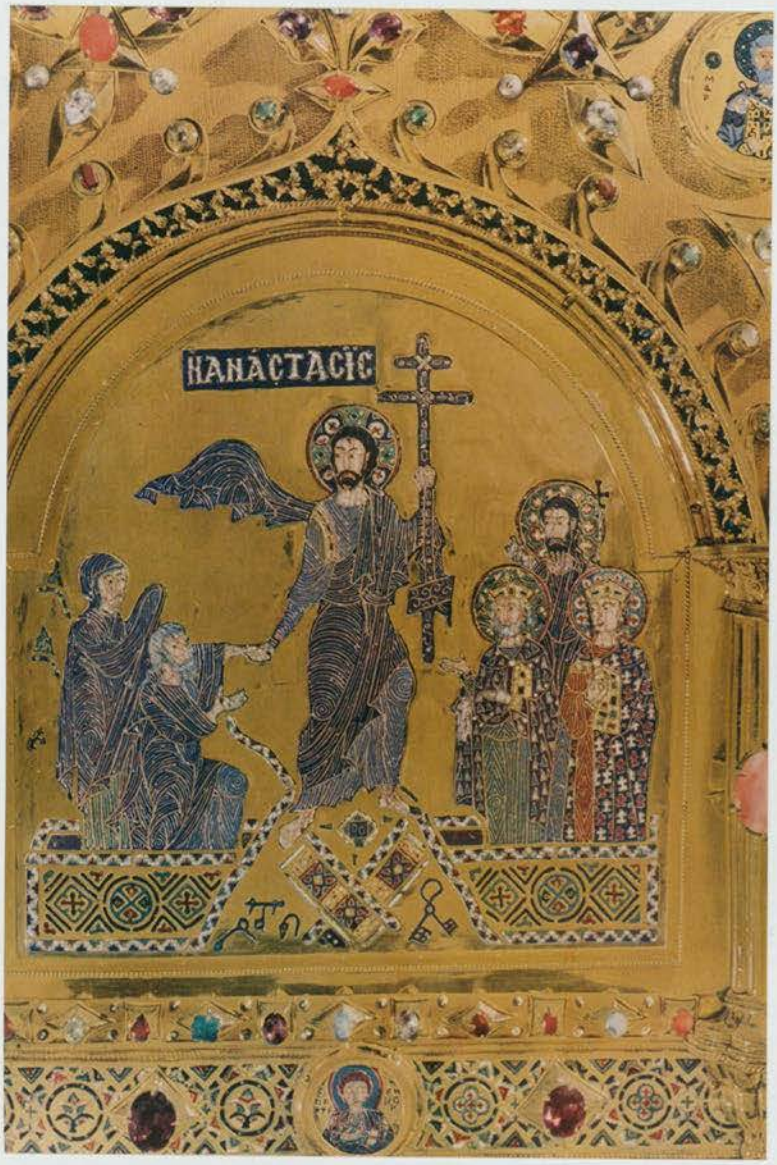
69. Pala d'Oro: St.Peter of Alexandria.

70. Pala d'Oro: St.Stephen.

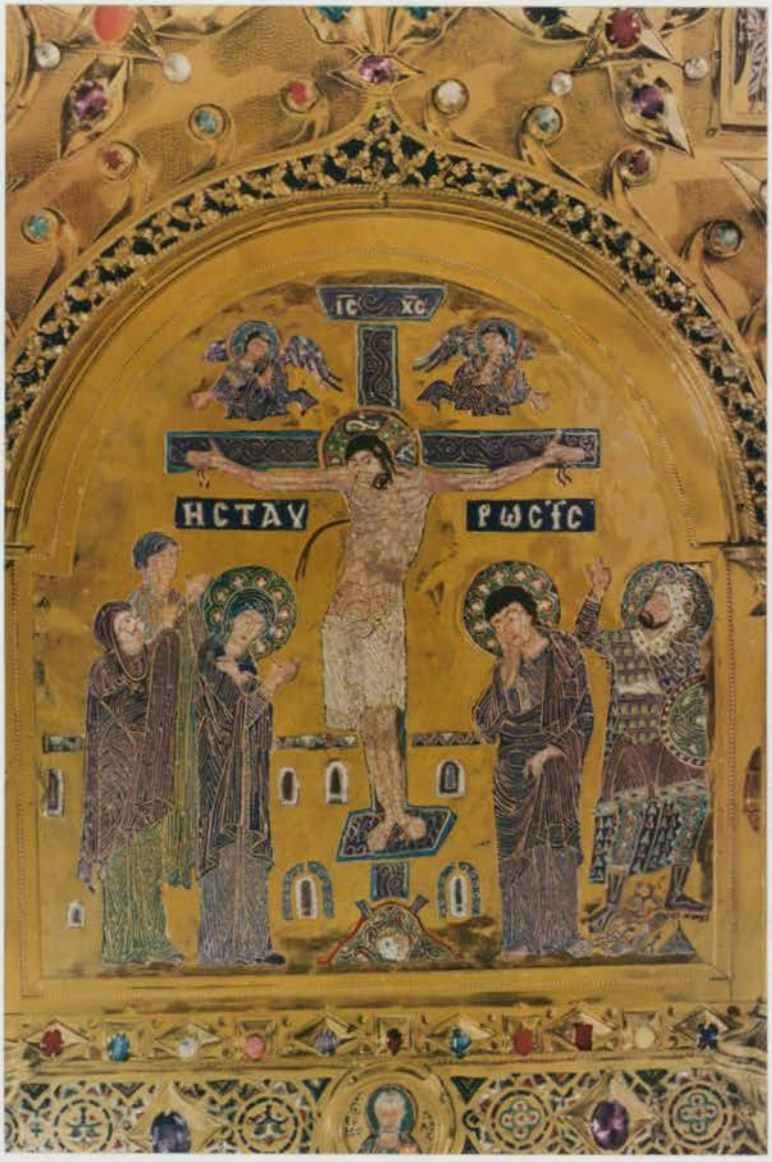


71. Pala d'Oro: St.Fortunatus.

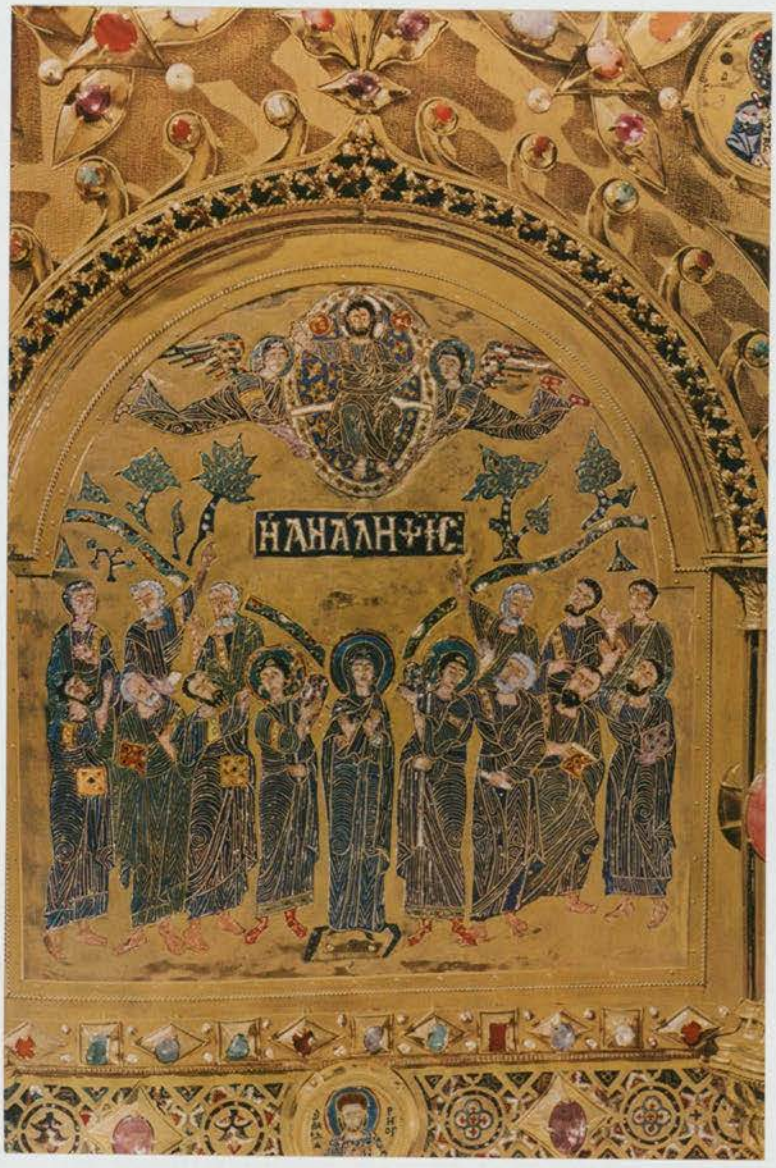
72. Pala d'Oro: Orthodox Feasts, Entry into Jerusalem.



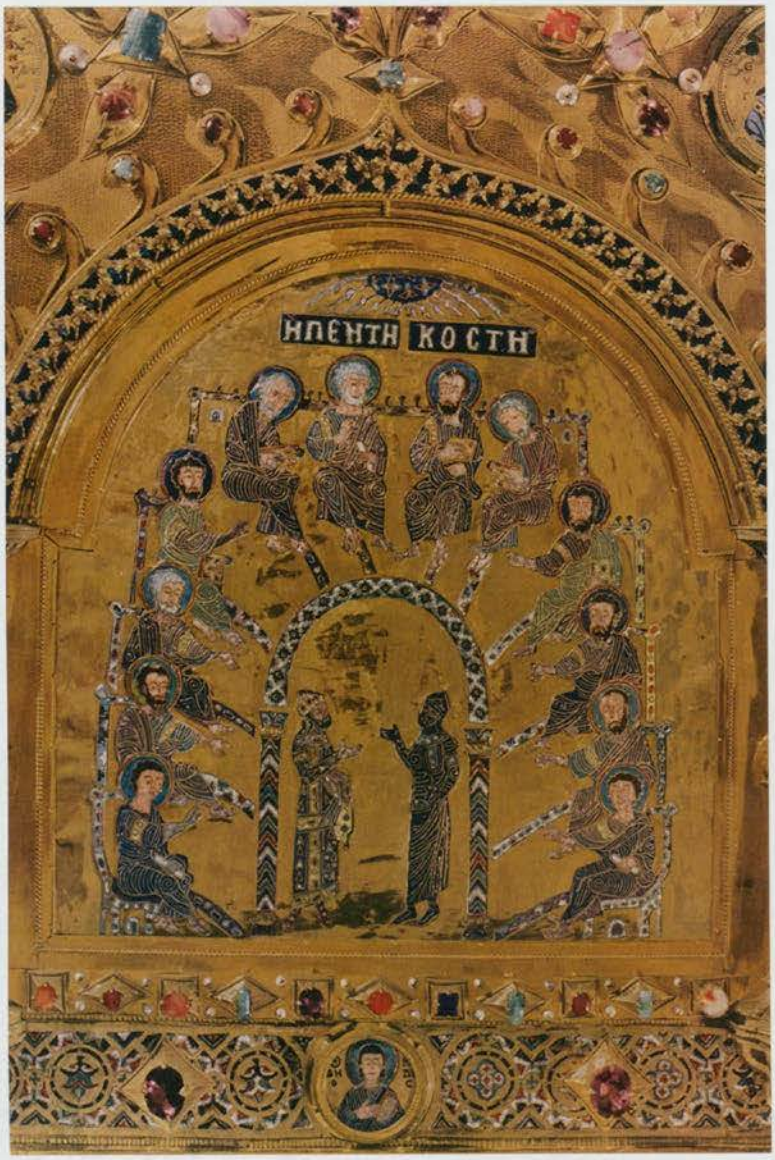
73. Pala d'Oro: Orthodox Feasts, Anastasis.



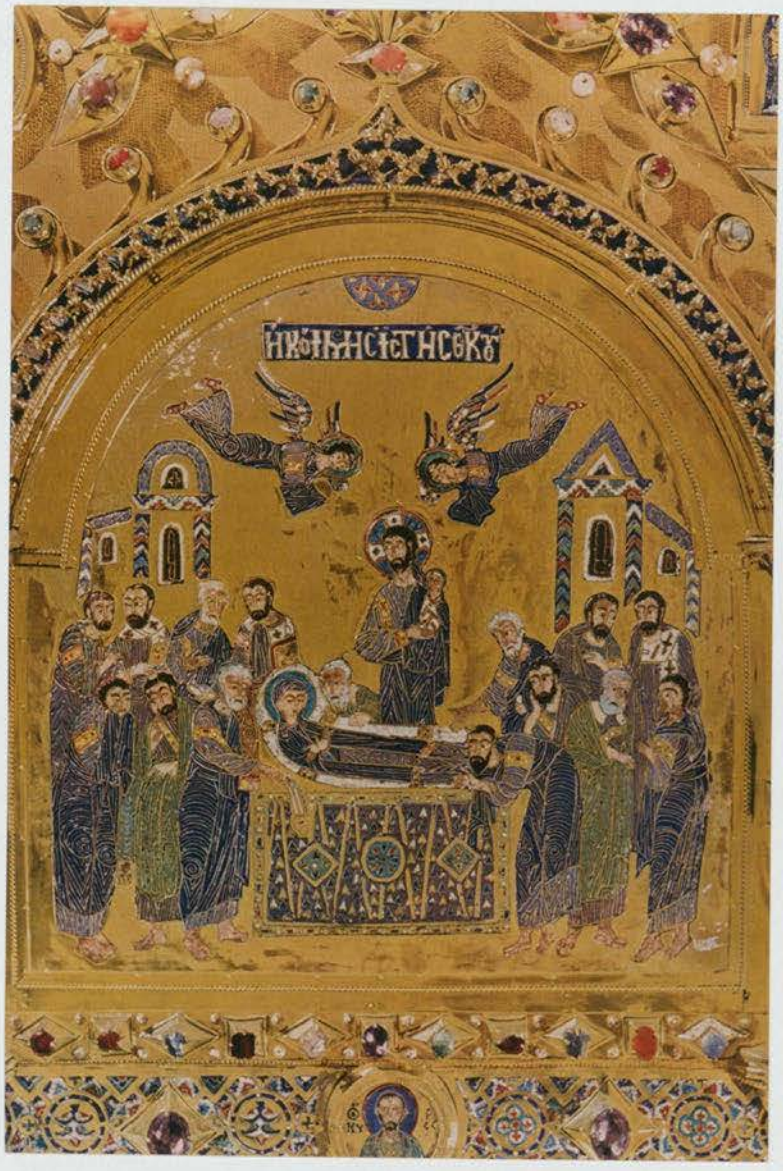
74. Pala d'Oro: Orthodox Feasts, Crucifixion.



75. Pala d'Oro: Orthodox Feasts, Ascension.



76. Pala d'Oro: Orthodox Feasts, Pentecost.

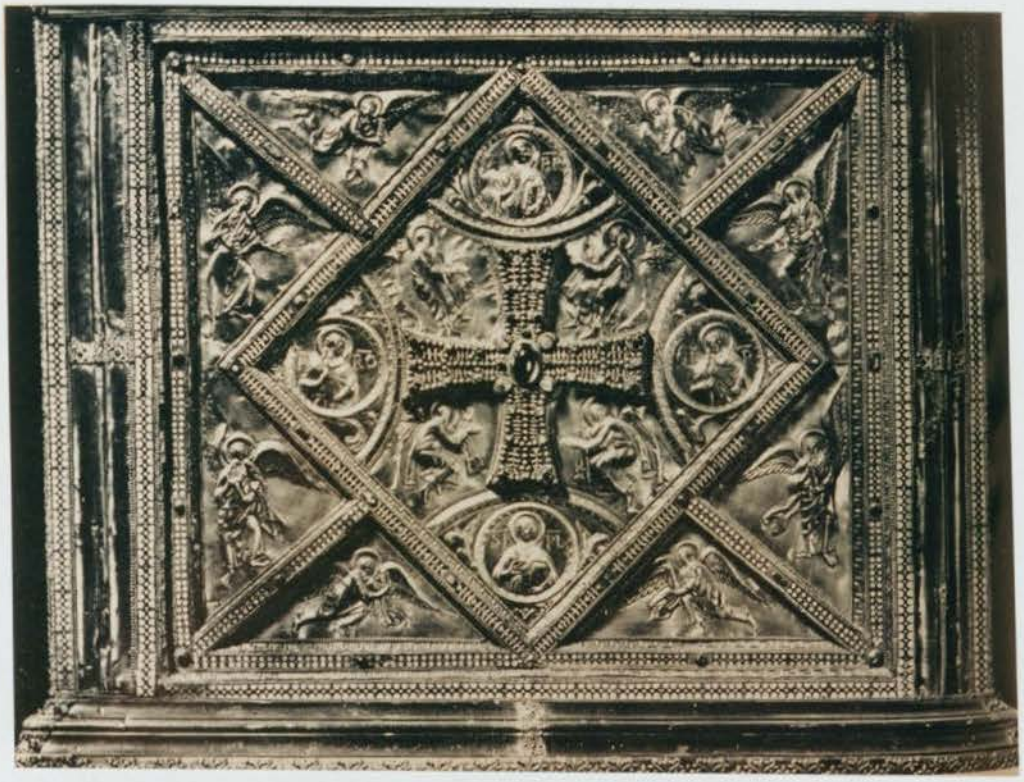


77. Pala d'Oro: Orthodox Feasts, Koimesis, or Dormition of the Virgin.

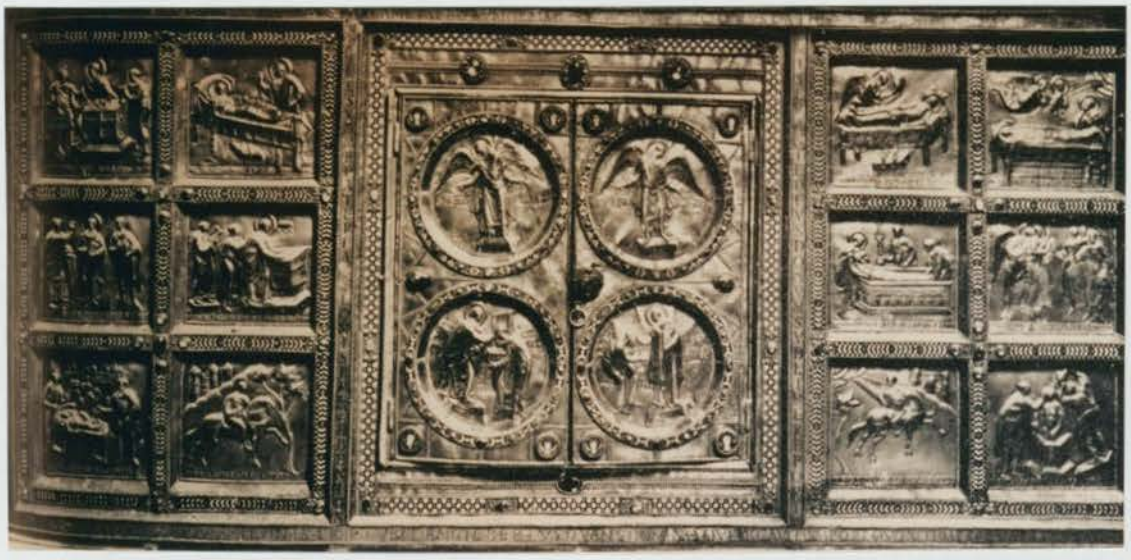
78. Pala d'Oro: Archangel Michael.

79. Pala d'Oro: inscription plaques.

80. Paliotto, Sant'Ambrogio, Milan: front.



81. Paliotto, Sant'Ambrogio, Milan: side.

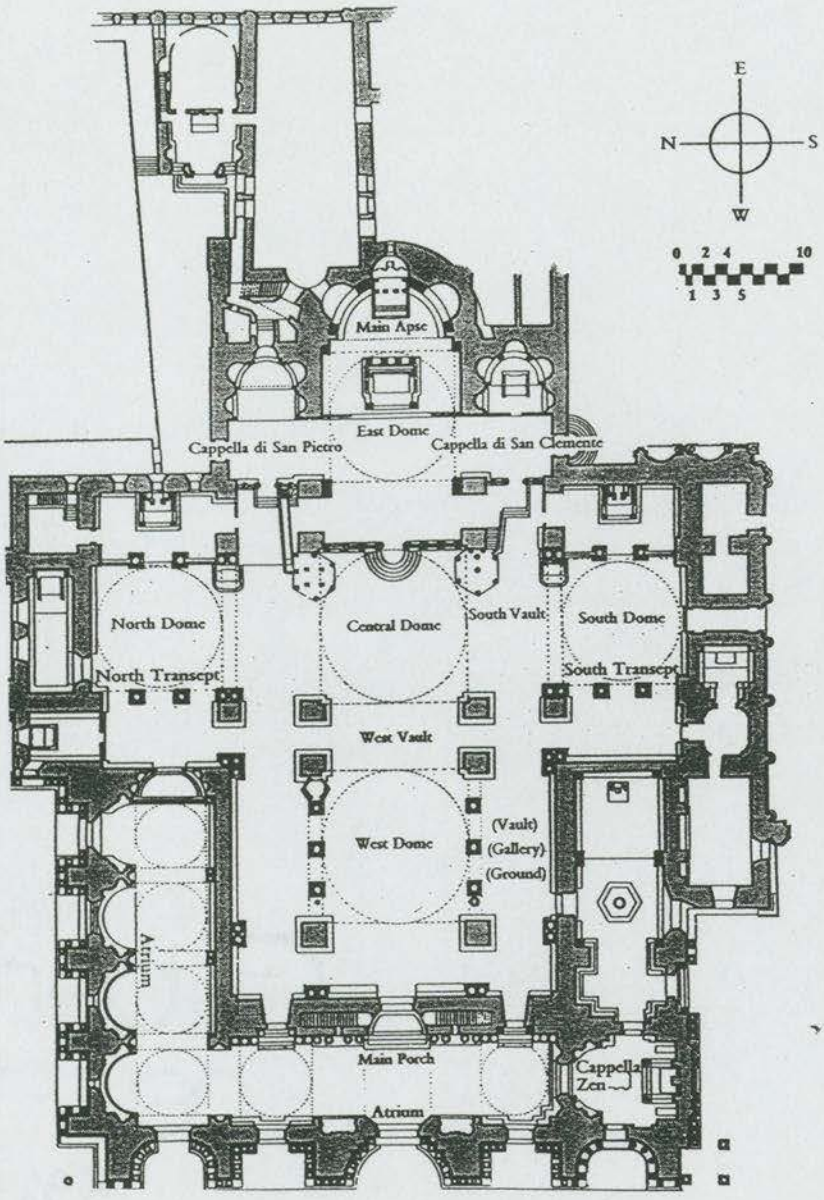


82. Paliotto, Sant'Ambrogio, Milan: back.

83. Paliotto of Patriarch Pellegrino II,
Cathedral, Cividale.

84. Cathedral, Cefalù: apse.

85. Cathedral, Cefalù: presbytery vault.

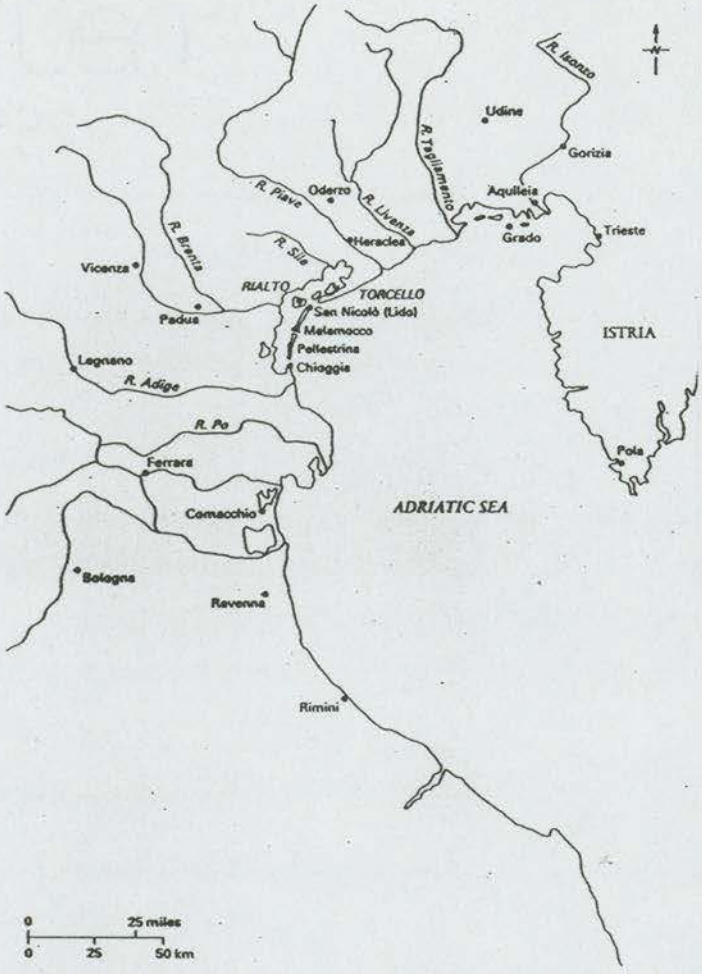


86. San Marco, Venice: ground-plan.

87. San Marco, Venice: east dome.

88. San Marco, Venice: middle dome.

89. San Marco, Venice: west dome.



90. Map of Venice, the Gulf and the Lagoons.

91. San Marco, Cappella di San Clemente: Mark's Body is Taken from Its Tomb in Alexandria.

92. San Marco, Cappella di San Clemente: Mark's Relics are Carried in a Basket by Bonus and Rusticus.

94. San Marco, Cappella di San Clemente: Venetian Ship Departs from Alexandria.

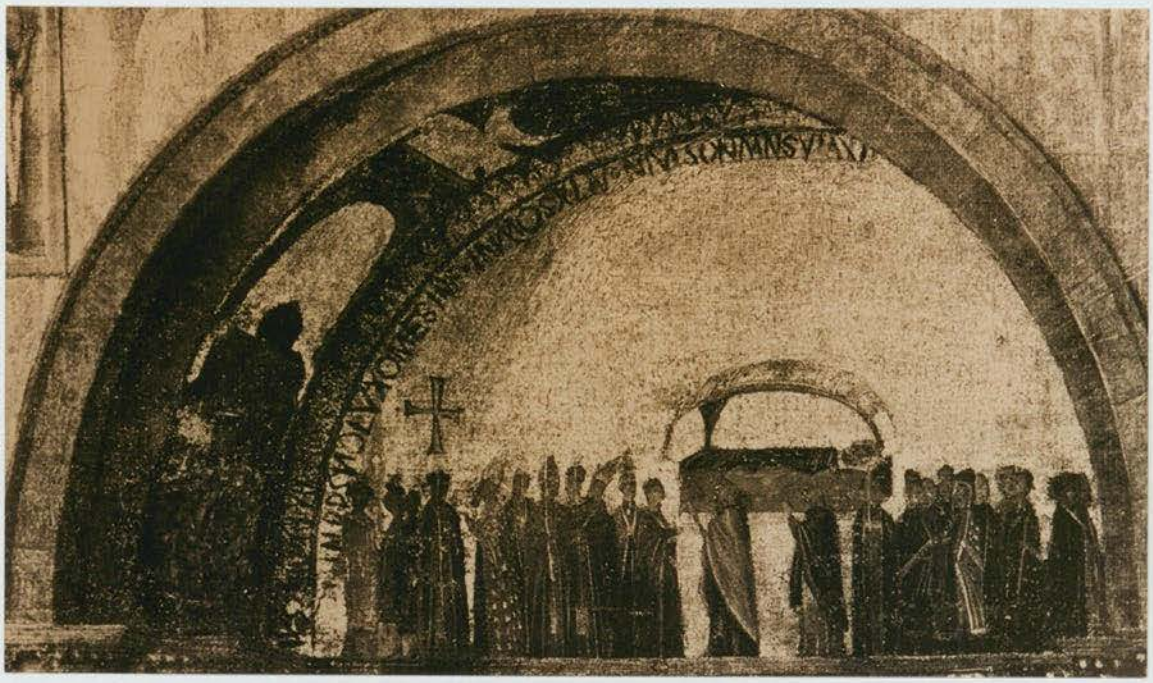
95. San Marco, Cappella di San Clemente: Venetian Ship is Saved Through the Intervention of St.Mark.

96. San Marco, Cappella di San Clemente: Venetian Ship Arrives in Venice.

97. San Marco, Cappella di San Clemente: Mark's Relics are Received by the Doge, the Clergy, and the People of Venice.

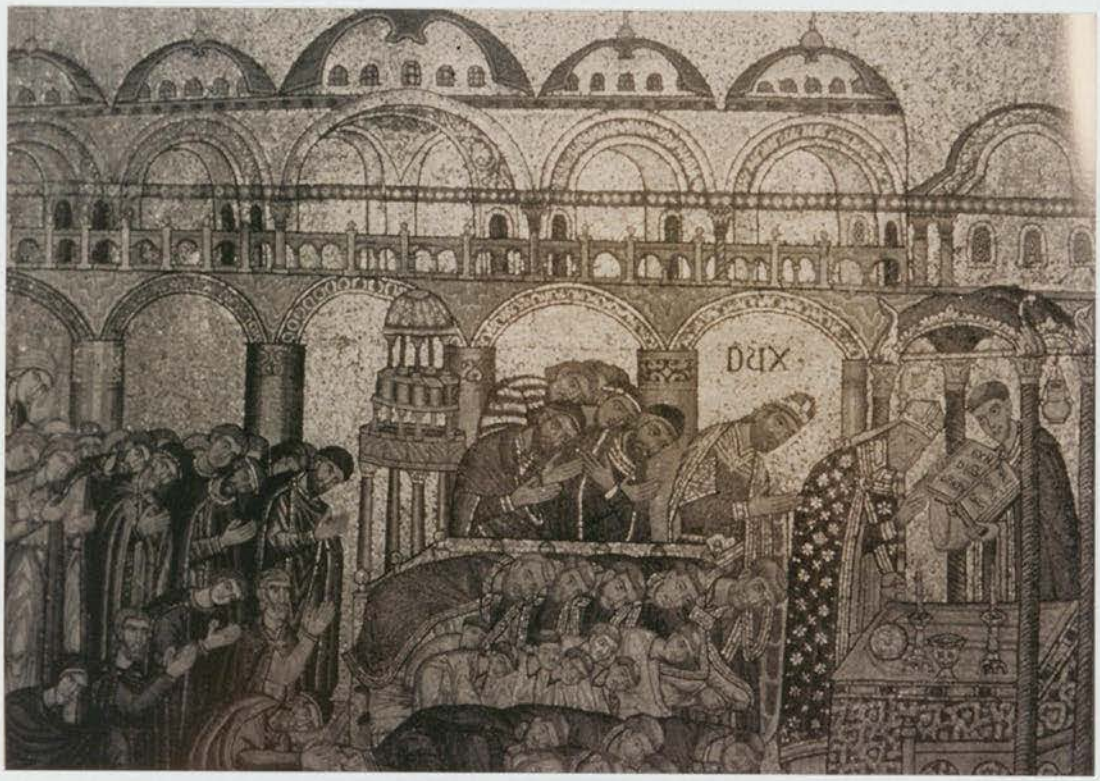
98. San Marco, Porta Sant'Alipio: Deposition of Mark's Relics.

99. Gentile Bellini, Procession in Piazza San Marco, Venice, Accademia.

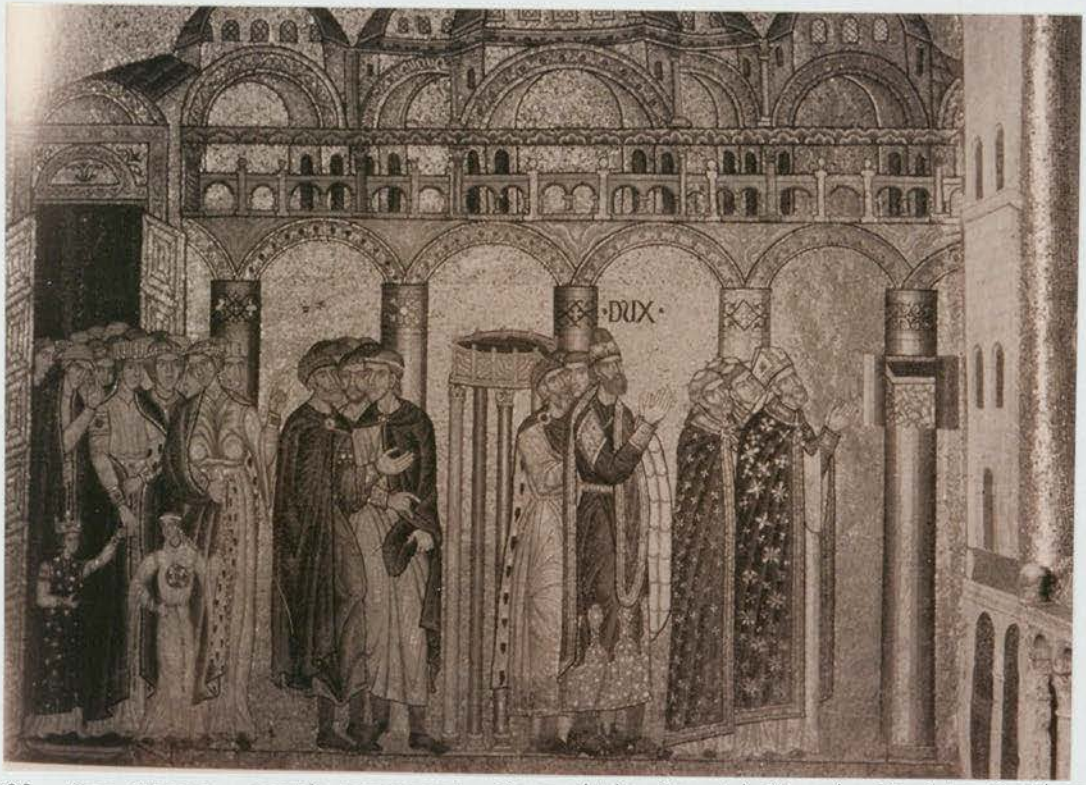


100. Mark's Relics are Received by the Doge, the Clergy, and the People of Venice, after Bellini.

101. San Marco, Porta Sant'Alipio: detail, right side of mosaic.



102. San Marco, south transept: Apparitio Sancti Marci, Venetian Community Prays for the Discovery of Mark's Relics.



103. San Marco, south transept: Apparitio Sancti Marci, Mark's Relics are Revealed to Venetian Community.

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Title of Thesis The Pala d Oro of San Marco in Venice in its Art Historical and Historical Contexts

Author [redacted]

NANCY BRODEN

13 XII 1993