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CENSORSHIP AND THE VISUAL ARTS

Edited by Elizabeth C. Childs

A Samuel & Althea Stroum Book

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS

Seattle and London

For my son, William. May his generation fear no art.

This book is published with the assistance of a grant from the Stroum Book Fund, established through the generosity of Samuel and Althea Stroum.

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Printed in the United States of America

COMPOSITION: Wilsted & Taylor Publishing Services

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Suspended license : censorship and the visual arts / edited by Elizabeth C. Childs.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-295-97627-6 (alk. paper)
1. Art—Censorship. I. Childs, Elizabeth C.
N8740.S87 1998
701'.03—DC21 97-16469
CIP

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1984.

Veronese and the Inquisition: The Geopolitical Context

PAUL H. D. KAPLAN

ONE OF THE MOST NOTORIOUS confrontations between an artist and the authorities of church and state took place in Venice on July 18, 1573. On that day Paolo Veronese was questioned by the Venetian branch of the Catholic Church's Holy Office, otherwise known as the Inquisition, about a picture of the Last Supper (fig. 1) he had finished three months earlier for the refectory of the Dominican monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[1] The interrogation probably lasted only twenty minutes, but in the past century it has become an emblem of those conflicts that pit the right of creative artists to determine their own imagery against the perennial tendency of powerful institutions to interfere in such matters.[2]

The painting that provoked this conflict, today in the Accademia in Venice, is a vast canvas of extraordinary elegance. Beneath a nobly ornamented Renaissance loggia, seated at a long and lavishly equipped table set off against the background's stylish edifices and cool evening sky, Christ and his apostles are served an ample supper by a teeming crowd of servants; there are well over twice as many waiters and attendants as there are banqueters. These retainers are a cosmopolitan group: among them are seven liveried black pages, five turbaned Moslems (fig. 2), a dwarf holding a parrot, a prominent dark-skinned man (in the right foreground), and two soldiers in German dress (fig. 3).

The tribunal that summoned Veronese to defend, among other things, his inclusion of a mass of varied servants never mentioned in the Gospels or later sacred legend had little experience in questioning an artist about his art. Writers were often targets of the Inquisition's pursuit of heresy and sacrilege, but painters were not: the surviving records of the Holy Office in Venice re-

FIG. 1. Paolo Veronese, *Last Supper/Feast in the House of Levi*, 1573.
Oil on canvas, 555×1,310 cm (218×516 in.). Accademia, Venice. Photo: O. Boehm, Venice.

veal nothing remotely similar to the Veronese episode,[3] and indeed no other example of a judicial interrogation of a Renaissance artist about his imagery has come to light. Thus the transcript of Veronese's hearing (see the appendix below) is a unique document, and perhaps—though we can never be sure—it records a unique event for its time.

Though it is easy to romanticize this encounter between a painter and the authorities, at bottom the modern view that it represents a significant departure from earlier norms of artistic behavior is justified. In defending his work against the Inquisition's hostile questions about the presence of so many extraneous and uncanonical persons at the sacred supper, Veronese asserted, "We painters take the license, which poets and madmen take," that is, the license of creative imagination. At another point he said: "But the commission was to embellish the picture as I thought fit, which picture is large and capable of holding many figures, as it seemed to me."[4] But let us be clear: for centuries Italian painters had indeed been expected to fill up sacred pictures with appropriate detail, much of it drawn from the texture of contemporary life. Patrons, theorists like Alberti, and standard workshop practices demanded it. The novelty in Veronese's statements lies in the context: he was responding to a group of officials at a formal hearing.

Renaissance artists were, of course, sometimes criticized for their imagery in print or in public forums. Art critics like Vasari, for instance, objected to the obscurity or eccentricity of the subject of particular paintings, and with the onset of the ideological struggles of the Reformation period, sacred art in particular became a battleground. Representatives of various Protestant and Catholic positions attacked certain types of subjects and approaches as well as individual works. There were also attempts to suppress pornographic images and to punish those who had produced and distributed them. A considerable scandal erupted over the nudity of Michelangelo's figures in his Sistine Chapel *Last Judgment*.[5] So well known was this case that Veronese cited it during his hearing, implying that it was far more grave a breach of decorum than anything in his own work. But Michelangelo was never summoned to a formal interrogation; his fresco was altered by the addition of clothing, but only after the master's death.

One might expect Michelangelo to have run into problems of this sort, given his frequently personalized sacred images and his affiliation with a controversial segment of the Counter Reformation. Veronese, on the other hand, had a very different artistic personality. There is no record of any serious disputes with his patrons, and no evidence of his intentionally assuming any independent or unorthodox ideological position with regard to religious theory or practice.[6] Biographers from Borghini (1584) to Ridolfi (1648) and

FIG. 2. Paolo Veronese, *Last Supper/Feast in the House of Levi*, detail of left side. Photo: O. Boehm, Venice.

FIG. 3. Paolo Veronese, *Last Supper/Feast in the House of Levi*, detail of right side. Photo: O. Boehm, Venice.

Zanetti (1771) characterized Paolo's career as a smooth progression from success to success, with nary a hint of any crisis threatening his growing reputation and prosperity.[7] No whisper of the Inquisition's hostile attention appeared in print for nearly three hundred years. Veronese's images of sacred feasts—he executed at least five vast canvases with this general theme in the fifteen years prior to 1573—were especially praised by critics, and one of these epic paintings was resold to the Spinola of Genoa in 1646 for the fabulous sum of 8,000 ducats; another (fig. 5) was eagerly sought and acquired by Louis XIV.[8] When the French historian and archival researcher Armand Baschet in 1867 accidentally rediscovered the transcript of Veronese's interrogation, he was surprised not so much that such an event had occurred as that it had occurred to the mild and agreeable Paolo Veronese.[9] And finally, since Baschet's discovery, even with the knowledge of Veronese's contretemps, no scholar has been able to turn up another breath of this (or any other) scandal in unpublished documents.

To summarize: Veronese's interrogation was in many respects unprecedented, and it cannot be explained by something deliberately provocative in the artist's personality or body of work as a whole. Yet the *Last Supper* for SS. Giovanni e Paolo clearly *was* provocative to at least a few influential contemporary viewers, in a way that Veronese's earlier and similar feast paintings for nearby monastic refectories were not. In order to understand what brought about this unusual episode, we shall need to look briefly at Veronese's career, somewhat more carefully at his earlier feast paintings and their sources, and then intensively at the makeup of the Venetian Inquisition and the discourse of the hearing itself. Once these matters are clarified, we shall turn to an analysis of the challenges then being faced by the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the sensitivity of the Last Supper as a subject, and the complex political relations between Venice, the papacy, and the Ottoman Empire which shaped the most dramatic events of 1573. Ultimately, as I hope to demonstrate, Veronese's hearing resulted from a Venetian need to placate the pope, not so much for purely theological reasons as for immediately political ones.

Paolo Spezapreda, later called both Paolo Caliari and Paolo Veronese, was born in 1528 in Verona. As a young artist he quickly outstripped his rather mediocre teachers; by the early 1550s he was beginning to work not only for patrons in Verona but also for distinguished Venetians. His early subjects included portraits, altarpieces, political allegories for the Ducal Palace in Venice, and fresco cycles for patrician villas. By 1560 he had taken up permanent residence in Venice, and enjoyed the favor of several of the most powerful and culturally engaged noblemen of the city; he was also the chosen artist of the Girolamite monastic church of S. Sebastiano, whose inner surfaces he eventually blanketed with his compositions.[10]

Between 1556 and 1560, Veronese carried out his first commission for a picture to decorate a monastic dining hall: *Supper in the House of Simon*. This

FIG. 4. Paolo Veronese, *Marriage Feast at Cana*, 1562–63.
Oil on canvas, 669×990 cm (263×390 in.). Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photo: Cliché des Musées Nationaux, Paris.

painting, which focuses on Mary Magdalene anointing Christ's feet, was made for the Benedictine monastery of SS. Nazzaro e Celso in Verona.[11] At three by four and a half meters (almost ten by fifteen feet), it was larger than anything Veronese had undertaken on this kind of support, except for a few works of roughly similar scale being made for S. Sebastiano in these years. However, in 1562–63 he painted a *Marriage Feast at Cana* (for the Benedictines of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, and now in the Louvre) (fig. 4) that was five times larger (677 by 994 cm).[12] There is nothing summary or imprecise about either of these works; they are enormous oil paintings with the fine handling typical of much smaller compositions.

From 1567 to 1570, Veronese produced another *Supper in the House of Simon*, this time for the refectory of his beloved S. Sebastiano.[13] He seems to have painted still another version (now lost) for the dining hall of the Fathers of the Maddalena in Padua, who belonged to the same Girolamite order as the monks at S. Sebastiano.[14] By 1572 Veronese had completed two further

FIG. 5. Paolo Veronese, *Supper in the House of Simon*, ca. 1570–72.
Oil on canvas, 454×874 cm (178×344 in.). Musée National, Versailles.
Photo: Cliché des Musées Nationaux, Paris.

FIG. 6. Paolo Veronese, *Feast of Saint Gregory*, 1572.
Oil on canvas, 477×862 cm (188×339 in.). Sanctuary of Monte Berico, Vicenza.
Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

huge refectory canvases for Servite monks: a *Supper in the House of Simon* for S. Maria dei Servi in Venice (fig. 5),[15] and a *Feast of Saint Gregory the Great* at the Sanctuary of Monte Berico in the suburbs of Vicenza (fig. 6).[16] This sort of commission had become one of the artist's great specialties.[17]

Veronese's 1573 *Last Supper* was thus no radical departure, but another variation on a theme that had brought the artist success and fame for more than a decade. Moreover, the notion of a lavish and elegant refectory feast painting was hardly his invention; several works by major Central Italian painters predate Veronese's efforts, and other Venetian masters also helped to shape his ideas. The genre was first developed in Tuscany, especially in Florence, and it was from that tradition that Leonardo's immensely influential Milan *Last Supper* of the 1490s was derived.[18] Produced for the Dominican monastery of S. Maria delle Grazie, Leonardo's dramatic image was probably in the minds of the leaders of the Venetian Dominican monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo when, around 1550, they asked Titian to produce a very large canvas of the *Last Supper* for their refectory.[19] Titian's painting, completed by 1557, was one of the first—and by far the largest—sacred feast images for a Venetian monastic dining hall. But during the night of February 13–14, 1571, it was destroyed in a fire that swept through the refectory and the rooms beneath it. Fortunately, closely related compositions survive[20] (fig. 7), and thus we know that the lost work was a vast but sober reevocation of Leonardo's masterpiece; the only notable additions were a monumental arched loggia, and two attendants at the margins. Although Titian's composition was essentially conservative, it did give the refectory feast painting an instant importance in Venetian art.[21]

Veronese, however, probably knew depictions of sacred feasts far more lavish than Titian's. Between 1525 and 1550, North and Central Italian painters began to produce images of biblical feasts in which genre details from contemporary refections were increasingly emphasized. In the works of Bonifazio de' Pitati (Venice), Garofalo (Ferrara), Francesco Salviati (Rome), and Giorgio Vasari (Bologna and Arezzo), the luxury of Italian aristocratic banquets is repeatedly reflected,[22] and fortunately for us Vasari the art critic was eager to explain what Vasari the painter had in mind. Writing of his *Marriage Feast of Esther and Ahasuerus* (1548–49) for the refectory of the Benedictine Badia of Arezzo (fig. 8), Vasari affirmed that he was seeking greatness and majesty through the depiction of

> all kinds of servants, pages, ensigns, soldiers of the guard, vessels with wine, credenzas, musicians, and a dwarf, and every other thing which is required at a royal and magnificent banquet. There one sees among others the steward

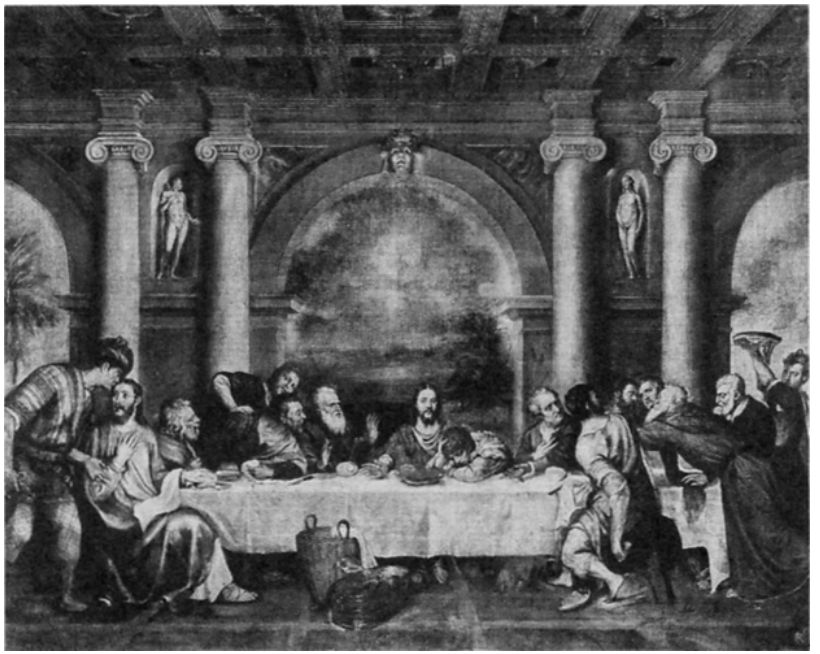

FIG. 7. Titian (?) or copy after Titian, *Last Supper*, ca. 1550 or later. Oil on canvas, 170×216 cm (67×85 in.). Brera, Milan. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

> bringing the dishes to the table accompanied by a good number of pages dressed in livery, and other ensigns and servants. At the heads of the table, which is oval, are lords and other great personages and courtiers, who are standing up, as one typically sees at a banquet.[23]

This passage, first published in the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Lives*, evokes both Veronese's own feast pictures and, even more dramatically, parts of his self-defense before the Inquisition. Paolo, for example, justified his inclusion of two German soldiers (and implicitly all other attendants): "They are placed there, that they may do some service, it seeming to me fitting that the owner of the House, who was great and rich according to what I have heard, should have such servants."

Many of these earlier efforts may have been known to Veronese, but his ideas about sacred feast paintings must have been colored even more strongly by the works of his great Venetian rival Jacopo Tintoretto. Tintoretto's teeming *Marriage Feast at Cana* of 1561 for the refectory of the Crociferi

FIG. 8. Giorgio Vasari, *Marriage Feast of Esther and Ahaseurus*, 1548–49.
Oil on canvas(?). Museo, Arezzo. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

FIG. 9. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Marriage Feast at Cana*, 1561.
Oil on canvas, 435×545 cm (171×214 in.). S. Maria della Salute, Venice.
Photo: O. Boehm, Venice.

(fig. 9)[24] was undoubtedly the main prototype for Veronese's *Cana* of 1562–63 for S. Giorgio Maggiore. Yet the two pictures belong to different orders of magnitude: Veronese's is three times larger and has nearly three times as many figures.

Among this group of luxurious feasts painted after 1525, the subject of the Last Supper itself is conspicuously absent. Tintoretto, beginning in 1547, had painted a series of dramatic and ingenious *Last Suppers*, but all of them were intimate in feeling, and none of them, remarkably, were for refectories.[25] From 1557 to 1571 the only major Venetian refectory with a *Last Supper* was that at SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The destruction of Titian's *Last Supper* and the refectory that contained it in February 1571 prompted the immediate resolve to replace them. We know that the state contributed money to the architectural project, but no contractual documents survive pertaining to Veronese's commission.[26] It is easy to imagine what happened. Titian was perhaps approached, but begged off on the grounds of his age—he was at least in his eighties, conceivably over ninety. Veronese was one of the two major active painters in the city (with Tintoretto), and he was by this time more renowned than his rival for feast paintings in refectories. Though he had had no previous dealings with the Dominicans of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, he was chosen.[27] According to an apparently trustworthy seventeenth-century tradition, an otherwise obscure monk named Andrea de' Buoni volunteered to pay for the picture; we do not know what he was charged.[28] Naturally, the subject of the new work would remain the same, though as the room itself was to be enlarged, the new canvas would also be enlarged to fill one of its shorter sides.

Veronese did not sign the canvas, but he did inscribe on it the date of its completion: A.D. MDLXXIII DIE. XX APR. (This is the only such inscription giving date as well as year in Veronese's oeuvre. It is presumably a proud expression of accomplishment—and relief—in having brought the vast project to completion.) From this date we may infer that work was begun sometime in 1572. Its current dimensions are 555 cm high by 1,310 cm wide, having lost a small strip at the top.[29] In addition to the thirteen canonical sacred figures, there are sixty-one other participants or observers, plus two birds, two dogs, and a cat. The subject, as originally intended, is without question the Last Supper.[30] Christ, his apostles, a monk (the donor de' Buoni?), and an elegant man, whom Veronese describes as the owner of the inn where the supper takes place, are gathered at a long thin table parallel to the picture plane. The table stands within a monumental loggia, behind which a vista of classicizing buildings extends into the distance. The struc-

tural similarities with Veronese's earlier feasts are pronounced. The closest link is undoubtedly with the Monte Berico *Feast of Saint Gregory* of 1572 (fig. 6), and sensibly so, since the event celebrated in that image was Pope Gregory's imitation of the Last Supper itself.[31]

We do not really know how Veronese's *Last Supper* came to the attention of the Inquisition. There is a gap of three months between the completion date (April 20)—which may or may not be the date the work was fully installed at SS. Giovanni e Paolo—and the hearing (July 18). The monks no doubt saw the picture, but whether any lay persons were invited to view it is unclear. At any rate, from Veronese's comments at the hearing, we know that the prior of the monastery was summoned to speak with the Inquisitors—perhaps more informally, since no transcript of this discussion survives—and he was to convey to Veronese instructions about changing the picture. The painter said he had been asked to insert a figure of Mary Magdalene in place of a dog, which would have meant changing the subject to a *Supper in the House of Simon*.[32] Veronese then indicated that he was not inclined to accept the advice, and this, he imagined, was what had earned him an invitation to appear before the Inquisitors. His interrogators did not dispute this account of what had prompted the hearing.

What, then, was the nature of the official body before which Veronese appeared? The Venetian incarnation of the Holy Office, as the Inquisition was usually known, was very different from its harsher and papally controlled Roman counterpart. It had been founded in 1547. In Veronese's day, four of its six members were Venetian functionaries, and of these four only one was a churchman.[33] A fifth participant, at the time of Veronese's hearing, was a native of Venice's territories on the mainland. Let us look at all of these men and their allegiances more closely.

The chief and perhaps only active interrogator was a Dominican monk named Aurelio Schellini, who was not so much the chair of the committee as its counsel. Nominated by Rome, the person who held this post was by statute subject to confirmation by the Venetian state. Schellini was from Brescia, a provincial city of the Venetian empire, and not much else is known about him.[34] The fact that he was a Dominican, like the monks at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, may be significant. The other clergymen were a papal legate (envoy) to Venice, Giovanni Battista Dei, archbishop of Rossano in Southern Italy, and Giovanni Trevisan, patriarch (effectively archbishop) of Venice.[35] Trevisan, like virtually all Venetian patriarchs, belonged to an aristocratic family from Venice itself, and had been nominated by the Venetian government and merely confirmed by the pope.

The three laymen were also Venetian patricians. They had been elected by their peers in the Collegio—a select legislative body—to serve a two-year term as the Tre Savi sopra Eresia ("three overseers on heresy") and their principal function was to participate in the proceedings of the Holy Office. Two of these men, Nicolò Venier and Alvise Zorzi, were distinguished though unremarkable,[36] but the third man, the senior member, was a powerful politician. Giacomo di Michele Foscarini was a learned patrician with a history of involvement in politics and pious works.[37] In 1557 he had been one of the founders of the Venetian institution of the Catecumeni, a home and school for those Jews and Moslems who could be induced to convert to Christianity.[38] Foscarini was among the forty-one nobles chosen to elect the doge of Venice in 1559, 1567, and 1570, and held many major elective offices. (In the ducal election of 1578, Foscarini may himself have been the recipient of a number of votes.) In 1572–73 he was a member of the Council of Ten, the much feared state security committee which was the strongest executive body of the Venetian government, and he served at least two month-long terms as one of its three chairs, in July and September.[39] Foscarini's stature, however, was not unusual for the Savi sopra Eresia; the state wanted sophisticated and high-level representation on this sensitive body.

While the charge of the Venetian Holy Office was to search out and suppress heresy, its investigations frequently had political ramifications. On the one hand, the presence of so many lay officials emphasized that the physical powers of the state stood ready to enforce the Inquisition's dictates. Indeed, since the Venetian state prized the scrupulous observance of orthodox religious practices by its subjects as a hallmark of social order, the government was often eager to support the rulings of the Holy Office. On the other hand, the Venetian government had long been suspicious of the Roman Church's tendency to assert the primacy of ecclesiastical law and practice over local secular legal systems. The presence of at least four powerful Venetian subjects—three of them laymen—at the deliberations of the Holy Office was therefore calculated to prevent those excesses of pious zeal which might compromise Venetian secular authority, both in principle and in practice. The result was an overall mildness in the pronouncements of the Inquisition in Venice compared with its Roman counterpart.[40]

The transcript of Veronese's hearing presents several technical problems. As the most thorough editor of the text, Philipp Fehl, has pointed out, "it does not represent a verbatim account of all that was said [at the hearing]. The scribe appears to have concentrated on the essential elements of the transaction and to have edited what he heard."[41] Fehl also carefully noted a

number of crossed-out words and phrases. A translation of the transcript is provided here in the appendix, but a summary of the main points raised might be helpful.

After identifying himself and indicating why he thought he had been summoned, Veronese proceeded to respond to questions about the subject, location, and dimensions of his picture. The subject, he said, was the "last Supper, that Jesus Christ took with his apostles." The painter was then requested to describe the more important noncanonical figures in the work, whom he identified as the owner of the inn and his chief steward in charge of the meal. Veronese was then asked about the "Suppers of the Lord" he had previously painted, and he listed them; the Inquisitor disqualified the *Marriage at Cana* for S. Giorgio Maggiore from this list, but accepted the several versions of the Supper in the House of Simon. Veronese did not mention the Vicenza *Feast of Saint Gregory.*

Schellini next asked about an attendant with a bloody nose, and about the two soldiers outfitted in the German style at the right (fig. 3). Sensing that his interrogator was fishing for sacrilegious implications, Veronese in reply made a more general defense of the innocence of his imagery:

> We painters take the license, which poets and madmen take, and I made these two Halberdiers, one who drinks and the other who eats, near a blind staircase. They are placed there, that they may do some service, it seeming to me fitting that the owner of the House, who was great and rich according to what I have heard, should have such servants.

Veronese was then asked about the dwarf with the parrot in the foreground, and about the actions of several apostles, especially Peter, who is cutting up a roast lamb.

The questions then become more tendentious. Veronese denied that anyone had asked him specifically to include "Germans and buffoons and similar things," but this only earned him a scolding about inventing things "without any discretion and judgment." "Did it seem to you fitting," asked Schellini, "that at the last supper of the lord it was fitting to paint buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs and similar scurrilities?" "Do you not know," continued the Inquisitor, "that in Germany and other places infected with heresy they are accustomed, with various paintings full of scurrilities and similar inventions, to spread [lies?], vituperate and pour scorn on the things of the Holy Catholic Church, in order to teach bad doctrine to idiotic and ignorant people?"[42]

Here Veronese introduced the idea that his own iconographic idiosyncrasies were nothing next to Michelangelo's in the Sistine *Last Judgment*, but this earned another rebuke.[43] The painter concluded his testimony by saying he did not want to defend his picture, "but I thought I was doing right." The scribe then gives—now in Latin rather than Italian—a kind of sentence: Veronese is "held and obliged to correct and amend the painting" within three months at his own expense, or face other unspecified penalties. Significantly, the phrase "that it would be fitting as a last supper of the Lord" is crossed out.

Several conclusions can be drawn from Schellini's questions and statements. The Inquisitor's principal concern about the picture was that its profane elements made the painting sacrilegious. The eating and drinking Germans, and the man with the bloody nose, were evidently taken as parodies of the eucharistic meaning of the event. (We shall return to this point in more detail shortly.) Schellini feared that the image was crypto-Protestant, and tried to find out if some suspect individual had influenced Veronese in this direction.[44] (The Dominican did not suggest that Veronese himself was tainted by Lutheranism.) The Inquisitor evidently was persuaded by Veronese's replies that he had no subversive intent in composing the picture, and therefore concluded by scolding him for not having anticipated that many of the profane details ("scurrilities") might be seen as attacks on the doctrines and authority of the Catholic Church. This sort of concern, of course, corresponds to the tenor of Catholic religious discourse in the 1560s. In the decrees of the final phase of the Council of Trent in 1563, and in the book of the Flemish censor Johannes Molanus in 1570, artists and especially ecclesiastical patrons were instructed to exclude fantastic and potentially sensual elements from religious images.[45] But, it must be emphasized, these statements had no apparent impact on the acceptability of Veronese's feast paintings executed in the 1560s and in 1570–72. To put it another way, we are still left with the problem of understanding why the 1573 canvas, so similar to its predecessors in many ways, was the one to create scandal. Only three major features really set this work apart from the others: (1) it was made for the Dominican monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; (2) it was Veronese's first depiction of the Last Supper; (3) it was completed in the spring of 1573.

The vast Gothic church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (S. Zanipolo in Venetian dialect) was one of the principal centers of Venetian ecclesiastical life, and, one might say, political afterlife. As the greatest church of the influential Dominican order of preaching monks in the city, it attracted the attention of the powerful as well as the poor, and from the fourteenth century it gradually became the favored site for the lavish tombs of Venetian doges and military leaders.

During the period around 1573, the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was a troubled institution; unfortunately a full understanding of its problems still eludes us. Here is what we do know. The monastery was on the defensive, struggling as best it could with efforts at reform and attempts by Rome to control its fate. The Venetian Senate wrote to the Venetian ambassador in Rome on August 6, 1569, telling him to thank the general (chief administrator) of the Dominican order for his cooperation in the new reform of the monastery.[46] On December 23, 1570, the papal nuncio in Venice was urged in a letter from his Roman superiors to press harder for reform at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and on January 13 of the following year Facchinetti, the nuncio, reported on his slow progress in this matter.[47]

Meanwhile—and we do not know if it was the cause or result of this crisis—an extraordinarily large number of monks at the monastery seem to have left its walls and died after abandoning the Catholic faith. An internal monastic chronicle lists two such deaths in 1568, four in 1571, six in 1572, two in 1573, three in 1574, three in 1575, and seven in 1576, and these apostates represent more than 75 percent of the deaths of monks recorded for those years.[48] This is an astonishing result, and many details are unclear. The chronicle does not indicate when the monks left SS. Giovanni e Paolo; from the dates of death, one would presume that the exodus took place well before 1568, but this cannot be proven.[49] Most of the monks evidently turned to Protestant sects, but one, the chronicle indicates, became a Moslem. If the chronicler's data are correct, SS. Giovanni e Paolo was in turmoil nearly to the point of disintegration. Veronese's inclusion of Germans (fig. 3) and turbaned Moslems (fig. 2) in his refectory picture may have produced a bitter reaction among those concerned about the monastery's difficulties with apostasy.

Another document from the Venetian archives is even more suggestive of a connection between Veronese's troubles and the monastery's precarious state. On May 3, 1573, the two Venetian ambassadors to the pope sent a dispatch to the chairs of the Council of Ten.[50] (Veronese's *Last Supper* had been completed on April 20.) The dispatch, with some obliqueness, indicated that one of the Venetian envoys had spoken with the general of the Dominicans of Brescia to obtain the absolution—by the father Inquisitor of Venice (Schellini)—and reinstatement of the vicar of the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The general had finally conceded to these requests. The Venetian state had thus successfully intervened with the Dominican order and the Dominican Inquisitor in an attempt to protect, at least to some degree, the Venetian monastery. But we remain ignorant of why the vicar (perhaps another word

for the prior or head of the monastery, or perhaps his principal subordinate) had been suspended and why he required absolution.[51] Even if it had nothing to do with Veronese's painting, the precarious position of the monastery in the eyes of the authorities is obvious.

In this difficult situation, the Last Supper was bound to be a sensitive subject for a painting. Though it might have been wiser for the Dominican patrons to have commissioned some less theologically central feast, the urge to replace Titian's incinerated *Last Supper* was too strong. Veronese had not painted this subject before, and as a layman was possibly unaware of how loaded the event had become in the preceding half-century.

Since early Christian times, of course, the Gospel account of Christ's final meal with the apostles had been understood as a critical event in his life. His statement that in offering bread and wine to his apostles he was offering them his sacrificial flesh and blood[52] provided the basis for the recurring eucharistic miracle of the mass, where the priest reenacted the transformation for the Christian faithful. The Lutheran challenge to certain doctrinal aspects of the mass immediately began to make its biblical prototype a delicate subject. In 1523, Dürer produced an austere woodcut of the scene with reformist overtones.[53] Luther himself wrote in 1530:

> Whoever is inclined to put pictures on the altar ought to have the Lord's Supper of Christ painted, and with these two verses written around it in gold letters: "The gracious and merciful Lord has instituted a remembrance of His wonderful works." Then they would stand before our eyes for our heart to contemplate them, and even our eyes, in reading, would have to thank and praise God. Since the altar is designated for the administration of the Sacrament, one could not find a better painting for it. Other pictures of God or Christ can be painted somewhere else.[54]

This recommendation was evidently not followed, perhaps because Luther did not give further guidance on what should be shown in such an image.

Indeed, the many controversies surrounding Holy Communion in this period tended to scare artists off the Last Supper as a subject altogether, especially in Northern Europe. And depictions of sacred feasts in general began to come in for pointed criticism by the 1530s. The Catholic reformer Erasmus wrote:

> Some artists, when they paint something from the Evangelists add impious absurdities to it. For example, when they depict our Lord received to supper at the house of Martha and Mary, they show the young John secretly chatting in a corner with Martha, and Peter downing a tankard, while He is speaking to Mary.

> And again, at the supper, they show Martha sitting behind John with one hand thrown on his shoulder and the other as if making fun of Christ, who is unaware of it all. Also there is Peter already flushed with wine still putting a tankard to his lips. And although these things are blasphemous and impious, they still pass for humour. In sacred matters it is proper that the same standards apply to painting as to speech.[55]

As with Saint Bernard's famously lyrical castigation of the impious fantasies of Romanesque sculpture, one senses a certain rhetorical pleasure in Erasmus's description of these lapses in painterly decorum; this, along with the absence of a named work of art as its object, separates Erasmus's critique from that of the inquisitor Schellini. But the Counter Reformation notion that profanities must be banished from sacred narrative painting is shared by the urbane humanist and the Dominican interrogator.[56] Still, one has to ask again why the Inquisition did not confront Veronese about one of his several earlier *Suppers in the House of Simon*, especially since this is the very feast which concerns Erasmus in the passage above. And one of the answers must be that although the Inquisition was willing to list the Simon feasts as "suppers of the Lord," the Last Supper remained in a class by itself. Only at this final meal was the Eucharist instituted, and thus only here could the gluttonous Germans and the servant with the bleeding nose really be seen as a potential attack on vital dogma. Schellini's idea that these might have been deliberately parodic elements must be understood in light of Catholic attitudes toward Protestant celebrations of "Holy Suppers," like the one publically mounted in Lyon in 1562; an unsympathetic observer called this chaotic and crowded affair "diabolical" and likened it to a bacchanal.[57] And Protestants attacked Catholics in similar terms: a trenchant and mocking Calvinist treatise of 1560, *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine Papale*, compared Catholicism in general and the mass in particular to a disordered and gluttonous banquet.[58]

But there is more. In Veronese's case, the charged nature of the Last Supper as a subject was further exacerbated, in the eyes of papal and Venetian officials, by the fact that one of the two most serious contemporary conflicts between Venice and the pope centered on a papal bull entitled "In Coena Domini" (At the Lord's Table). Traditionally issued each year on Maundy Thursday, the anniversary of the Last Supper, this formal and public papal document essentially declared which sins were so grievous that their absolution was reserved to the pope rather than to any priest. The practice went back to at least the 1300s, but became more structured and standardized from 1511.[59] No great controversy was attached to this bull until the election

of the militantly zealous Dominican Pope Pius V in 1566. Pius quickly transformed the "In Coena Domini" into a threat to excommunicate the leaders of other Christian states if they resisted Pius's substantial limitations on their temporal powers.

The first series of disputes broke out in 1568, with Spain and its Italian dependencies (Milan and Naples) leading the attack on papal "usurpation" of the right to prosecute, tax, and otherwise control the clergy in their dominions.[60] Perhaps emboldened by Spanish resistance, in 1569 the Venetian Senate resolved to ban the new version of "In Coena Domini" which had been issued on April 1 of that year.[61] This precipitated a substantial crisis in relations with the papacy, but despite much maneuvering Venice remained firm in refusing to publish or post the bull anywhere in its dominions, all the while protesting its loyalty to the Roman Church.[62]

In addition to the clauses related to control over the clergy, Venice also had reason to be concerned about the severe strictures Pius had added to the bull concerning heretics, Jews, and Muslims. Venetian trade with Lutheran Germany and the Ottoman Empire was considerable and vital. Yet the new "In Coena Domini," narrowly interpreted, forbade allowing Lutherans or Muslims to enter the Venetian republic, and it placed many kinds of commerce off limits as giving aid to the enemies of the Roman Church.[63] Between 1569 and early 1573, however, Venice could not have been too preoccupied with this aspect of the bull, since it was continuously at war with the Turks. This conflict also explains the pope's failure to actually excommunicate the Venetians; they were fighting the crusade-like war Pius had always wanted, and in fact in 1571 Spain and the papacy joined Venice in the so-called Holy League. (In February 1570, Rome had offered help against the Ottomans as a reward for accepting the banned bull, but the Venetians did not agree to this, knowing that the pope would support them militarily anyway.[64]) In March 1570, Venice moved to detain Turks and Eastern Jews in the city,[65] and in the aftermath of the Holy League's great naval victory at Lepanto in October 1571, the Venetian ruling classes became even more strongly xenophobic. On December 18 the Senate ordered the expulsion of the entire Venetian Jewish community, which in the preceding half-century had become an important factor in Venice's economic vitality.[66] Venice was falling in with several parts of Pius's program for a Church Militant.

The victory at Lepanto was, however, an end rather than a beginning, and the Holy League soon began to come apart. Venice's prosperity—indeed, even the survival of the republic—depended on its key role as a fulcrum of international commerce between Northern Europe, the Christian nations

of the Mediterranean basin, and the Ottoman Empire. Venice simply could not afford to be at war with one of its principal trading partners indefinitely, and early in 1573 it negotiated with the Turks for a separate peace.[67] The papal nuncio in Venice expressed a fear that such a peace might be made on February 21.[68] Maundy Thursday fell on March 19, and the new "In Coena Domini" issued by the recently elected Pope Gregory XIII contained a special clause directed as a warning to Venice: any state that abandoned the Holy League would be excommunicated.[69] But a Venetian treaty with the Ottomans had been secretly drawn up in Istanbul on March 7.[70] Two weeks after the issuance of the bull, on April 6, Venetian envoys—with elaborate instructions as to how to couch an apology from the Senate—revealed the treaty to a disgusted pope.[71] On April 16 the Venetian ambassador Paolo Tiepolo, still trying to placate the pontiff, wrote the Senate that Gregory feared that Venice's betrayal would lead Spain to abandon the war, and that then the Turks would "form an alliance with the Protestants, and turn the world upside down."[72] Four days later the unlucky Veronese completed his painting.

Venetian apologies and excuses continued to be made to the pope on into May, and they achieved their aim: Gregory, who lacked Pius's obsessive intensity, did not enforce the sections of his "In Coena Domini" that prohibited defection from the League, commerce with the Turks, and the admission of heretics and infidels into Venetian territory.[73] Venice was thus not placed under an interdict despite its refusal either to abide by certain clauses or to publish any section of the bull. Indeed, the Senate dared to go further: on July 7 the Senate revoked the official expulsion of the Jews —which, incidentally, had never been carried out—and on the 11th the Jewish community received a new charter.[74] (This may have been a reward for Jewish help in making peace with the Ottomans.[75]) But despite these economically pragmatic actions, Venice could scarcely afford to give the impression—least of all to Rome—that it was relaxing its guard against enemies of the Catholic Church.[76]

In this sense, Veronese's hearing on July 18 was a kind of smokescreen. The artist's picture had appeared at the wrong place (in a troubled monastery whose monks were suspected of heresy), at the wrong time (just as Venice desperately needed to assure the papacy that despite its political actions the republic's Counter Reformation heart was pure), and with the wrong subject (one that was doctrinally most sensitive, and could only remind both Venice and the pope of their dispute about the "In Coena Domini" bull). One of

Schellini's questions, it should be noted, focused on the depiction of Peter cutting up the lamb. The Inquisitor no doubt feared this was a veiled criticism of papal greed, an issue that was a staple of Protestant attacks and also a feature of Catholic complaints about the "In Coena Domini" bull's usurpation of the tax-levying rights of secular states.[77]

But although the Venetian state permitted and participated in Veronese's interrogation, its leaders were not really interested in punishing or making a public example of him. The hearing was secret, and no word of it was leaked. The papal court was of course informed, since one of those present at the hearing was the papal legate himself, and this was really the most important audience. At no cost to itself, the republic could act to assure the pope that it would clamp down on even the suspicion of heresy and sacrilege.[78] There was, however, no point in really damaging or destroying an artist highly valued by the Venetian ruling class. So the Inquisition's sentence imposed no penalty but a vague instruction that the painting be corrected. By crossing out the phrase "that it would be fitting as a last supper of the Lord" the Inquisition was probably hoping that Veronese would accept the suggestion that had first been made to him—to add Mary Magdalene and thus convert the composition into a Supper in the House of Simon.[79]

Instead, and with the connivance of some learned person of more emphatic antipapal tendencies, Veronese's "correction" answered the Inquisition and militant Counter Reformation ideology with a daring and witty theological repartee. Since the rebuff would have been fully intelligible only to those few who knew of the charges against the painter, contemporary discussion of the painting does not refer to it, but it is odd that modern critics have never noted it. This is probably because these critics have emphasized Veronese's apolitical and nonideological stance at his hearing,[80] but the rebuff suggests that, as with so many artists in our own day, Veronese's reluctance to accept the authorities' ideological interference with his imagery did not mean he was unwilling to make a political comment of his own.

Thanks to the recent cleaning and conservation of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo canvas, we now know for certain that Veronese made *no* changes in his picture after April 20, except the one which has long been evident: he added the inscriptions "FECIT D.COVI.MAGNU.LEVI" and "LUCAE CAP. V."[81] He thus retitled the work as the *Feast in the House of Levi*, by which name it has been known since 1573. This feast, described in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark as well as Luke, is a celebration of the apostle Matthew's calling by Christ:

> After this he [Christ] went out, and saw a tax collector, named Levi [Matthew], sitting at the tax office; and he said to him, "Follow me." And he left everything and rose and followed him. And Levi made him a great feast in his house; and there was a large company of tax collectors and others sitting at table with them. And the Pharisees and their scribes murmured against his disciples, saying, "Why do you eat and drink with tax collectors and sinners?" And Jesus answered them, "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick; I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."[82]

As a subject for artists, Matthew's calling is well known, but there is no tradition of representing the ensuing feast except in medieval manuscripts.[83] As far as we know, Veronese's painting was the first large-scale work to be so entitled, and the choice of this scene therefore must have been both deliberate and meaningful. Veronese's painting does not really fit this subject—where are the conversing apostles and Pharisees?—but the subject was suited to the rebuke Veronese wished to make. If the Inquisitors had castigated Veronese for inserting Germans, a dwarf, buffoons (black and turbaned white characters as well as the dwarf are evidently meant by this term[84]), his reply to them would be in Christ's words: "I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." The Lord's mission is to preach to, not expel or excommunicate, the heretic, the infidel, the tax collector; and the exclusionary Pharisees are stand-ins for the pope and the Inquisition.[85]

That Veronese got away with his "correction" is perhaps not so remarkable in the light of political shifts toward the end of 1573. The "In Coena Domini" crisis was moving toward a solution, and the pope had come to terms with Venice's peace treaty and the end of the League.[86] Veronese's value as a state artist soared even higher after the Ducal Palace fires of 1574 and 1577, since so many new triumphal images of the republic were now required. Paolo continued to work on major sacred commissions, but he was no fool: he never resumed his specialty in vast sacred feasts. A request for a huge *Marriage at Cana* for the refectory of Benedictine nuns in Treviso was turned over to Veronese's brother Benedetto.[87] Paolo did paint another *Last Supper*, but this much smaller and soberer canvas, made for a confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament in the small Venetian parish church of S. Sofia, has an ingenious Counter Reformation iconography that the Inquisition would have found beyond reproach.[88]

After Paolo's death in 1588 his refectory feast paintings (including the one for SS. Giovanni e Paolo) were taken by his critics and biographers as among his greatest creations, and their sumptuousness and elaboration were considered central to his achievement as an artist. The *Feast in the House of Levi* was simply held to be one of a distinguished group of compositions; these writers give not the slightest hint that the picture had been retitled, or that it had ever been the subject of controversy. But there is a peculiar epilogue to that controversy, albeit a possibly fortuitous one. Paolo's heirs—his brother, two sons, and a nephew—either did not know of his brush with the Holy Office, or if they did it meant little to them two decades later. For at some point after 1588, perhaps even after 1600, they accepted a commission from the Servite monks at S. Giacomo on the Giudecca for a refectory painting (fig. 10) with the subject of the *Feast in the House of Levi*![89]

FIG. 10. "Heirs" of Veronese, *Feast in the House of Levi*, ca. 1588–1610. Oil on canvas, 550×1,010 cm (216×397 in.). Accademia, Venice, on deposit at Municipio, Verona. Photo: O. Boehm, Venice.

This vast work survives, and it is apparently the only example in postmedieval Christian art of a real illustration of the biblical event. The composition is a pastiche of Paolo's earlier feasts, but in the center several Pharisees—one holding the text of the Law—argue with Christ and his apostles. It may only be coincidence that the intellectual leader of Venice's next and stronger challenge to the papacy, Fra Paolo Sarpi, was also one of the leaders of the Servite order in the city.[90] This new conflict, again inflamed by a Venetian re-

fusal to publish the "In Coena Domini" bull, culminated in the interdict placed upon Venice by the pope in 1606–7.[91] A destructive breach of this kind was, perhaps, what Veronese's hearing paradoxically had helped to avoid in 1573.

APPENDIX

The transcript of Veronese's hearing before the Inquisition is found in the Archivio di Stato of Venice, Sant'Ufficio, Processi, 6, busta n. 33, 1572–1573. The best published version of the original Italian/Latin text is in Philipp Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition: A Study of the Subject Matter of the So-called 'Feast in the House of Levi,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 58 (1961): 325–54 (reprinted in his *Decorum and Wit: The Poetry of Venetian Painting*, Vienna, 1992, 223–43); text also reprinted in Terisio Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese: Convito in casa di Levi*, Hermia, 10 (Venice, 1986), 9–13. What follows is a very literal translation of this text into English, using the previously standard English version (in Elizabeth G. Holt, ed., *A Documentary History of Art*, vol. 2, Garden City, 1958, 65–70) as a point of departure; many of my adjustments and changes—though they often make for inelegant prose—clarify the nuances of the statements recorded; others simply reflect Fehl's more accurate transcription, which Holt did not have access to. Two other recent and somewhat freer English translations should be noted: by Peter and Linda Murray, from Fehl, in André Chastel, *A Chronicle of Italian Renaissance Painting* (Ithaca, 1984), 214–20; by Brian Pullan in David Chambers and Brian Pullan with Jennifer Fletcher, eds., *Venice, a Documentary History, 1450–1630* (Oxford, 1992), 232–36, from Fogolari. Minor crossed-out words are not included.

SATURDAY 18TH DAY OF THE MONTH OF JULY 1573

Paolo Caliari of Verona painter resident in the parish of S. Samuele, summoned to the holy office in the presence of the holy Tribunal, and questioned as to his name and surname. Answered as above. Questioned as to his profession. Answered: I paint and make figures. Said to him: Do you know the reason why you were summoned? Answered: No, sir. Said to him: Can you imagine it? Answered: I can well imagine. Said to him: Say what you imagine it is. Answered: From that which was said to me by the Holy Fathers, that is, the Prior of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, whose name I don't know, who told me that he had been here, and that Your Illustrious Lordships had given instructions that he should have had made the Magdalene in the place of a dog, and I responded that, I would have freely done that and other

things for my honor and that of the painting; But that I did not feel that such a figure of the Magdalene could appear as if it were right, for many reasons, which I will give at any time, if I am given a chance to say them. Said to him: What picture is this of which you have spoken? Answered: This is a picture of the last Supper, that Jesus Christ took with his apostles. [Crossed out: Said to him.] In the house of Simon. Said to him: Where is this picture? Answered: In the refectory of the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Said to him: Is it on the wall, on panel or on canvas? Answered: On canvas. Said to him: How many feet high is it? Answered: It would be seventeen feet. Said to him: How wide is it? Answered: About thirty-nine feet. Said to him: At this Supper of the Lord have you painted Ministers [representatives, i.e., figures besides Christ and the Apostles]? Answered: Milord, yes. Said to him: Say how many Ministers, and the effect made by each. Answered: There is the owner of the inn, Simon, beyond this I have made below this figure a steward, whom I pretended had come for his own pleasure to see how things were going at the table. Then he added: that there are many figures, and because there are many, and because I finished the painting some time ago, I cannot recall them. Said to him: Have you painted other suppers than this? Answered: Yes, sir. Said to him: How many have you painted and in what place? Answered: I made one in Verona for the Reverend Monks of S. Lazar [scribe's error for S. Nazzaro]; which is in their refectory. Said: I made one in the refectory of the Reverend Fathers of S. Giorgio here in Venice. It was said to him: This is not a supper, one is asking of the Supper of the Lord. Answered: I made one in the refectory of the Servi of Venice, and one in the refectory of S. Sebastiano here in Venice. And I made one in Padua at the Fathers of the Maddalena, And I do not recall having made any others. Said to him: In this Supper, which you made at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, what is the meaning of the depiction of he who has blood coming out of his nose? Answered: I made him for a servant, who due to some accident had a bloody nose. Said to him: What is the meaning of those armed men dressed as Germans each with a halberd in hand? Answered: It is necessary that I say twenty words. Said to him: Say them. Answered: We painters [crossed out: have the] take the license, which poets and madmen take, and I made those two Halberdiers, one who drinks and the other who eats, near a blind staircase. They are placed there, that they may do some service, it seeming to me fitting that the owner of the House, who was great and rich according to what I have heard, should have such servants. Said to him: That man dressed as a Buffoon with the parrot in his fist, for what purpose did you paint this in that Canvas? Answered: For ornament, as is customary. Said to him: At the table of the lord, here there are? Answered: The Twelve apostles.

[Crossed out: Said to him: You know Saint Peter who is the first to cut up the lamb.] Said to him: What is the effect of Saint Peter, who is the first? Answered: He divided the lamb to give it to the other End of the Table. Said to him: What is the effect of the other one who is near him? Answered: He has a plate to receive that which Saint Peter will give him. Said to him: Say what is the effect of the other one who is near him. Answered: He is one, who has a fork, who picks his teeth. Said to him: Who do you believe was really to be found at that Supper? Answered: I believe that Christ with his apostles were to be found; but if in a picture space is provided I adorn it with figures [crossed out: as I am instructed] according to the stories. Said to him: Were you instructed by any person that you should paint in that picture Germans and buffoons and similar things? Answered: No, sir: But the commission was to embellish the picture as I saw fit, which picture is large and capable of holding many figures, as it seemed to me. Said to him: Are not the ornaments which you the painter are accustomed to place around paintings and pictures supposed to be fitting and proper to the subject and principal figures or are they to be truly [crossed out: by chance] at your pleasure according to what comes to your imagination without any discretion or judgment? Answered: I make paintings with that consideration of what is fitting, that my intellect can grasp. Asked if it seemed to him fitting that at the last supper of the lord it was fitting to paint buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs and similar scurrilities. Answered: No, sir. Asked: Why then have you painted this, [Answered:] I did it because I supposed these people were outside the place where the supper was to be held. Asked: Do you not know that in Germany and other places infected by heresy they are accustomed, with various paintings full of scurrilities and similar inventions, to spread [lies?], vituperate and pour scorn on the things of the Holy Catholic Church, in order to teach bad doctrine to idiotic and ignorant people? Answered: Sir, yes, this is bad: but I return again to what I have said, that I am obliged to follow what those greater than me have done. Said to him: What have those greater than you done, have they perhaps done something similar? Answered: Michelangelo in Rome [crossed out: in the clothes] in the Pontifical Chapel painted our Lord Jesus Christ, his mother and Saint John, Saint Peter and the Celestial Court, all made nude from the Virgin Mary on down in different poses with little reverence. Said to him: Do you not know that in painting the last judgment, in which no clothing or similar things are presumed, it was not necessary to paint clothing, and in those figures there is nothing which is not spiritual, nor are there buffoons, nor dogs, nor weapons, nor similar buffooneries? And does it seem to you because of this or any other example that you did right in having painted this picture in that way which it is, and

do you want to argue that the picture is right and decent? Answered: Illustrious Lord[s?] no, I do not want to defend it; but I thought I was doing right. And I did not consider so many things, Thinking even so much not to make disorder, that those figures of buffoons are outside the place where Our Lord is. [Now entirely in Latin.] Of which it is held [i.e., ruled]. The Lords decreed that the said Paolo would be held and obliged to correct and amend the painting here considered [crossed out: so that it would be fitting as a last supper of the Lord] at the judgment of the Holy Tribunal within the limit of three months numbered from the day of this correction, making it according to the aforesaid judgment of the Holy Tribunal at his [i.e., Veronese's] expense, with the threat of penalties to be imposed by the Holy Tribunal. And thus they decreed in the best of all manners.

NOTES

I would like to thank the staff of the Archivio di Stato in Venice for their assistance. Some of the research on this project was carried out while I held a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend in 1987, and I am grateful to the Endowment for its support.

1. The most important treatments of this work are: Terisio Pignatti, *Veronese*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1976), 1:136, no. 177, 2: fig. 455 (catalogue entry in the standard monograph); idem, *Paolo Veronese: Convito in casa di Levi*, Hermia, 10 (Venice, 1986), a useful pamphlet with the text of the artist's interrogation; Giovanna Nepi Scirè, ed., *Il restauro del 'Convito in Casa di Levi' di Paolo Veronese*, Quaderni della Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici, 11 (Venice, 1984); Gino Fogolari, "Il processo dall'Inquisizione a Paolo Veronese," *Archivio Veneto* 17 (1935): 352–86, the first detailed examination of the problem; G. Delogu, *Paolo Veronese: la Cena in casa di Levi* (Milan, 1952), with a facsimile of the transcript of the interrogation; Emerich Schaffran, "Der Inquisitionsprozess gegen Paolo Veronese," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 41, no. 2 (1960): 178–93; Philipp Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition: A Study of the Subject Matter of the So-called 'Feast in the House of Levi,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 58 (1961): 325–54, reprinted in Fehl's *Decorum and Wit: The Poetry of Venetian Painting* (Vienna, 1992), 223–43, the most thoughtful treatment and best text of the transcript (not translated); Michelangelo Muraro, "La Cena di Paolo Veronese: nuove interpretazioni" (typescript; Padua, 1980–81), in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice; André Chastel, *A Chronicle of Italian Renaissance Painting* (Ithaca, 1984), 208–27, 284–89; Massimo Gemin, "Riflessioni iconografiche sulla cena in casa di Levi," in Massimo Gemin, ed., *Nuovi Studi su Paolo Veronese* (Venice, 1990), 367–70.

2. See, for example, Sandra Moschini Marconi, *Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia: Opere d'arte del secolo XVI* (Rome, 1962), 83–85.

3. See the thorough study of the Venetian Inquisition's files in Philipp Fehl and Marilyn Perry, "Painting and the Inquisition at Venice: Three Forgotten Files," in David Rosand, ed., *Interpretazioni Veneziane: Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro* (Venice, 1984), 371–83, reprinted in Fehl, *Decorum and Wit*, 243–60. For a case from the 1600s of artists questioned about illicit changes in a portrait tending to sanctify a living sitter, see Anne Jacobson Schutte, "'Questo non è il ritratto che ho fatto io': Painters, the Inquisition and the Shape of Sanctity in Seventeenth-Century Venice," in Peter Denley and Caroline Elam, eds., *Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein* (London, 1988), 419–31. For two painters from Verona prosecuted by that city's Inquisition in 1559 and 1584 for offenses unrelated to their art, see Giulio Sancassani, "Il pittore Girolamo Vaienti da Vicenza in carcere a Verona per eresia nel 1559," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona* 151 (1976): 191–98.

4. For this and all other quotations from the transcript of the hearing, see the appendix.

5. See Pierluigi De Vecchi, "Michelangelo's Last Judgment," in C. Pietrangeli et al., eds., *The Sistine Chapel: The Art, the History, and the Restoration* (New York, 1986), 190–97; and the essay in the present volume by Bernadine Barnes.

6. As is true of most artists in this era, no records survive (apart from the transcript of the hearing) which shed light on his personal religious beliefs or practices, but one would assume that he was a conventional Catholic. At the hearing, Veronese made every effort to disassociate himself from heretical beliefs.

7. R. Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1584), 561–63; Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1648), 1:283–338; Antonio Maria Zanetti, *Della pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche dei veneziani maestri* (Venice, 1771), 172–90.

8. The work bought by the Spinola was the *Supper in the House of Simon* from the monastery of SS. Nazzaro e Celso in Verona, now in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin; Pignatti, *Veronese* (1976), 1:117, no. 93, 2: fig. 188; the picture that the Venetian state purchased and sent to Louis XIV was also a *Supper in the House of Simon*, from the monastery of S. Maria dei Servi in Venice, and now at Versailles; Pignatti, 1:135–36, no. 176.

9. "Paul Véronèse appelé au tribunal du Saint Office à Venise (1573)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1st ser., 23 (1867): 378–82, including the first published version of the transcript. Baschet had long been familiar with the Venetian archives, but he was so astonished by the Veronese hearing transcript that he claimed its discovery in a dated inscription (May 2, 1867) he added to the document's folder. The date of discovery is interesting in two respects: (1) the discovery was probably made possible by Venice's incorporation in the kingdom of Italy one year earlier in 1866—the antipapal Italian state would have had few objections to the study of secret Inquisitional documents; (2) Baschet's publication of this document in a major French periodical in 1867 may reflect a more general climate of interest in policies of censorship in late Second Empire France; see the essay by John House in this volume.

10. For a detailed account of the artist and his career, in addition to Pignatti, *Veronese*, see: Remigio Marini, *L'opera completa del Veronese*, Classici dell'Arte, 20 (Milan, 1968); Terisio Pignatti and Filippo Pedrocco, *Veronese: Catalogo completo dei dipinti* (Florence, 1991); Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Veronese* (Milan, 1984); W. R. Rearick with Terisio Pignatti, *The Art of Paolo Veronese, 1528–1588*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, 1988).

11. Now Turin, Galleria Sabauda; 315 by 451 cm; see above, note 8.

12. Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1:126, no. 131, 2: fig. 375. See also *Les Noces de Cana de Véronèse: Une oeuvre et sa restauration* (Paris, 1992); David Rosand, "Theatre and Structure in the Art of Paolo Veronese," *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973): 217–39, revised and reprinted in his *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto* (New Haven and London, 1982); and Philipp Fehl, "Veronese's Decorum: Notes on the *Marriage at Cana*," in Moshe Barasch, Lucy Freeman Sandler, and Patricia Egan, eds., *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson* (Englewood Cliffs, 1981), 341–65, reprinted in Fehl, *Decorum and Wit*, 261–81.

13. Now at Milan, Brera; 275 by 710 cm; Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1:132–33, no. 164, 2: fig. 431.

14. Veronese referred to this work at his Inquisitional hearing (see appendix) but did not specify its subject, except that it was a "cena." However, since this monastery was a Girolamite house like S. Sebastiano, and since it was dedicated to the Magdalene (who plays a crucial role in the Supper in the House of Simon story, anointing Christ), the presumption must be that the Paduan picture was similar in title and composition to the work at S. Sebastiano. It was probably executed around 1570. See Fogolari, "Il processo," 370.

15. Now at Paris, Louvre, on deposit at Versailles; ca. 1570–72, 454 by 874 cm; Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1:135–36, no. 176, 2: fig. 454.

16. Still in situ; completed 1572, 477 by 862 cm; Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1:135, no. 175, 2: fig. 453.

17. The present essay is part of a larger project examining all of the feast paintings of Veronese and his Venetian contemporaries; for a section already published, see my article listed in note 88 below. Irina Smirnova's brief "Le cene veronesiane: Problemi iconografici," in Gemin, ed., *Nuovi Studi*, 359–64, takes a step in this direction. Veronese did make feast paintings for sites other than refectories: a medium-sized (207 by 457 cm) *Marriage at Cana* painted ca. 1571 for the Palazzo Cuccina in Venice, now in Dresden; Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1:134, no. 170, 2: fig. 445; two images of the Supper at Emmaus for domestic display, one rather large (in the Louvre, ca. 1560, Pignatti, no. 91) and one small (Rotterdam, ca. 1574, Pignatti, no. 171), and a late *Last Supper* for the parish church of S. Sofia to which are related several works by Paolo's shop; on this final group, see below, p. 106. See also Luisa Vertova, "I chiaroscuri di casa Muselli," in Gemin, ed., *Nuovi Studi*, 172–82, fig. 137, for an unusual drawing of a sacred meal.

18. On the Tuscan tradition see Luisa Vertova, *I Cenacoli Fiorentini* (Turin, 1965);

also Creighton Gilbert, "Last Suppers and Their Refectories, " in Charles Trinkaus with Heiko A. Oberman, eds., *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), 371–407.

19. See Brian T. D'Argaville, "Titian's 'Cenacolo' for the Refectory of SS. Giovanni e Paolo Reconsidered," in *Tiziano e Venezia*, Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venice, 1976 (Vicenza, 1980), 161–67. Until 1582, SS. Giovanni e Paolo was administratively subordinate to S. Maria delle Grazie.

20. A large but cut-down work (Escorial) and a small intact work (Brera) (D'Argaville, figs. 52–53)—this last (fig. 7) a late copy, or even a modello by Titian himself; see entry by Carlo Bertelli, in Rodolfo Pallucchini et al., *Da Tiziano a El Greco: Per la storia del Manierismo a Venezia, 1540–1590* (Milan, 1981), 115, no. 22.

21. Possibly predating but more likely postdating Titian's painting is a modest *Last Supper* by Giuseppe Salviati made for the refectory of the monastery of S. Spirito in Isola and now in the sacristy of S. Maria della Salute. See Rodolfo Pallucchini, "Per gli inizi veneziani di Giuseppe Porta," *Arte Veneta* 29 (1975): 159–65, at p. 164.

22. Bonifazio: Simonetta Simonetti, "Profilo di Bonifacio de' Pitati," *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte* 15 (1986): 83–134, 235–77, nos. 27, 28, 35, 37, 38, 58, and by shop nos. A54, A61, A82, A162, A167, A168, A240, A241. Garofalo: *Marriage Feast at Cana*, 1531, now St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Salviati: *Marriage Feast at Cana*, early 1550s, fresco, refectory of S. Salvatore in Lauro, Rome (discussed in conjunction with Veronese by Fehl, "Veronese's Decorum"; Tracy Cooper, "Un modo per 'la riforma cattolica'? La scelta di Paolo Veronese per il refettorio di San Giorgio Maggiore," in Vittore Branca and Carlo Ossola, eds., *Crisi e rinnovamenti nell'autunno del rinascimento a Venezia* (Florence, 1991), 271–92, at p. 276; Christian Lenz in *Les Noces de Cana*, 228–29, fig. 76. Vasari: *Christ in the House of Martha* and *The Feast of Saint Gregory*, 1539–40, for S. Michele in Bosco, Bologna, and *The Marriage Feast of Esther and Ahasuerus*, 1548–49, now Arezzo, Museum; Paola Barocchi, *Vasari Pittore* (Milan, 1964), 92, 102–3, pls. IV, V, XVII. Salviati and Vasari both worked in Venice for a time, and Vasari produced an actual (as opposed to painted) feast for a fashionable Venetian club; *Le vite de' più eccelenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, vol. 7, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1906), 664–66.

23. Quoted in Barocchi, *Vasari Pittore*, 102–3; Vasari-Milanesi, *Le vite*, 7:687–88.

24. Now in the sacristy of S. Maria della Salute; 435 by 545 cm; Rodolfo Pallucchini and Paola Rossi, *Tintoretto: Le opere sacre e profane*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1982), 1:180–81, cat. no. 230, 2: pl. 300.

25. The 1547 work was for S. Marcuola; ibid., 1:155–56, cat. no. 127, 2: pls. 162–66; for some smaller and perhaps earlier feasts, see cat. nos. 42, 46, 49, 99, and 113. The major works which follow the S. Marcuola picture were made for the churches of S. Simeon Grande (1562–63), S. Trovaso (1566), S. Polo (ca. 1570), S. Rocco (1579–81), S. Margherita (1580), and S. Giorgio Maggiore (1592–94); Pallucchini and Rossi, *Tintoretto*, cat. nos. 232, 259, 305, 351, 410, 467. The biggest canvas was the one for San Rocco, 538 by 487 cm; the others were about 2 to 3.5 by 5 meters. Discussions of Tintoretto's impact on the conception of Veronese's feasts can be found in Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese* (1986), 26; and Smirnova, "Le cene veronesiane," 359.

26. On the 400 ducat contribution to the reconstruction, see Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese*, 6 (from Archivio di Stato di Venezia, hereafter ASV, Senato Terra, reg. 49, carta 152).

27. Veronese, as far as we know, had not yet worked directly for the Dominicans. He did carry out his *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto* for a lay donor who placed it in the Dominican church of S. Pietro Martire in Murano; this work was executed after October 1571, but not necessarily before the spring of 1573; see Pignatti, *Veronese* (1976), 1:133. After 1573, Veronese did paint two works for Dominican churches: an *Adoration of the Magi* for S. Corona in Vicenza (lay donor); ibid., 1:144–45, no. 231, 2: pls. 545–46; a *Dead Christ with Mary and Angel* for SS. Giovanni e Paolo, early 1580s, now in the Hermitage; ibid., 1:167.

28. The mysterious Fra Andrea appears in the 1648 Ridolfi account (314): "Fra Andrea de' Buoni, wishing to see Painting renewed [or, the painting replaced], offered to Paolo for this purpose a certain sum of money, which he had put aside from charity and confessions, which price one would not risk asking a gentleman to accept these days for such a big canvas. But since the poor monk could not spend more, Paolo, obliged by his prayers, finally wished to satisfy him, taking on such a big job, urged on more by his [i.e., Paolo's] desire for glory than by business sense." Ridolfi also indicated that the elderly man seated at the table—one of the fifteen seated figures, with Christ, the twelve apostles, and the host—was a portrait of Fra Andrea. This may well be so, though it is puzzling that this character is dressed in brown rather than the black and white of the Dominican habit. His age would correspond to that of Fra Andrea, who is also mentioned in the "Emortuale fratrum SS. Jo e Pauli ab anno 1500 usque 1739" compiled by Urbano Urbani (Venice, Museo Correr, cod. Cicogna 822, first section, p. 45, last section f. 11r): this document also says that de' Buoni paid for the work, and says that he died in 1588 at the age of ninety-two, which would have made him seventy-seven in 1573. The "Emortuale" further indicates that Fra Andrea had commissioned a monstrance for use on Holy Thursday which was used at SS. Giovanni e Paolo. See Fogolari, "Il processo," 356–57, 363. Andrea de' Buoni's name cannot be found in other documents of the period, and his last name is an unfamiliar one in Venice, unless it is a version of Bon, a common nonpatrician surname; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese* (1986), 6.

29. On the work's physical history and conservation, see Nepi Scirè, *Il restauro*.

30. Despite much obvious evidence to the contrary, several modern scholars have claimed that the SS. Giovanni e Paolo picture was not commissioned as a Last Supper. Anthony Blunt (*Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450–1600*, Oxford, 1940, 116) asserted it had always been a *Feast in the House of Levi*, but it does not come close to illustrating this rarely depicted story; see below. Elizabeth G. Holt (*A Documentary History of Art*, Garden City, 1958, 2:66) suggests the commissioned subject was the Supper in the House of Simon, and Richard Cocke argues vigorously in defense of this idea; see

both his *Veronese's Drawings* (Ithaca, 1984), 166, and his "Venice, Decorum and Veronese," in Gemin, ed., *Nuovi Studi*, 241–55, at p. 251. For more on this matter, see Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 342, note 16. There are two sources for the confusion about Veronese's initial subject for this canvas. First, all later critics (until 1867) knew the work as the *Feast in the House of Levi*—the result of Veronese's retitling later in 1573 (see below). Second, even when the transcript of the Inquisition's hearing was discovered, there was Paolo's evidently confused statement: he indicated that his subject was the Last Supper which Christ took with his apostles, in the house of Simon. Cecil Gould, in "Veronese's Greatest Feast: The Inter-Action of Iconographic and Aesthetic Factors," *Arte Veneta* 43 (1989–90): 85–88, speculates that Veronese, having been warned of the Inquisition's interest before his hearing, changed his *Last Supper* to *Supper in the House of Simon*, and finally after the hearing to *Feast in the House of Levi*; but the evidence for this complicated trajectory is slight and unpersuasive. As Fehl suggested, Veronese probably believed that the Last Supper did take place in Simon's house, but this did not mean that he could not distinguish the Last Supper from the Supper in the House of Simon at which the Magdalene appeared. In fact, the Bible does not indicate who owned the house in whose upper room the Last Supper was held (see Mark 14:12–16), and Christian writers have guessed that it might have been the dwelling of John the Evangelist, Joseph of Arimathea, or Simon (see Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 352, note 4, and 354, note 41). At the beginning of his interrogation Veronese acknowledged that the prior of SS. Giovanni e Paolo had recently told him that the Inquisition had advised him to add a figure of the Magdalene—which would have gone some way toward making the picture a Supper in the House of Simon—but that he had refused. It is in fact very hard to see how Veronese could easily have added a Magdalene anointing Christ, since Jesus is placed behind the table in an inaccessible spot with most of his body obstructed. A major repainting of this section of the canvas would have been necessary, and this may be why Veronese refused to take the Inquisition's first hint. For another detailed affirmation of why Veronese's intended subject was the Last Supper, see Gilbert, "Last Suppers," 397–99.

31. According to legend, Pope Gregory the Great had reenacted the Last Supper as a banquet for twelve of the poor, at which a thirteenth guest—Christ—mysteriously appeared; see Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 327.

32. See above, note 30.

33. Apart from Veronese himself, the names of those present at the artist's hearing are not listed in the transcript and must be inferred from other documents from the same file; see Fogolari, "Il processo," 365–66. My data about the Venetian Inquisition is drawn from Paul Grendler, "The *Tre Savi sopra Eresia* 1547–1605: A Prosopographical Study," *Studi Veneziani*, n.s., 3 (1979): 283–340, and also Fehl and Perry, "Painting and the Inquisition at Venice."

34. Schellini served as Inquisitor from July 1569 until November 1574; Fogolari, "Il processo," 365–66. Gemin, "Riflessioni iconografiche," 368–69, speculates about Schellini's theological orientation, but presents no new hard information about the man.

35. Dei was evidently a Florentine, from his surname. Trevisan participated in the Council of Trent; Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 353, note 29.

36. Venier received votes in the ducal elections of 1578 and 1585; Zorzi was known to be well disposed toward ecclesiastical powers; Grendler, "The *Tre Savi sopra Eresia*," 294, 319, 321–22, note 56.

37. Foscarini, 1507–83; for a detailed vita see ibid., 296, 318–19, note 52.

38. *Capitoli, ed ordini per il buon governo delle pie case de' Catecumeni di Venezia* (Venice, 1802), 5.

39. Foscarini is named as a *capo* (chief) of the Council of Ten on July 4 and September 26; ASV, Capi Cons. X Parti Secrete Rome, filza 1, 1573–1582. Thus he was probably serving in this capacity when Veronese appeared before him on July 18. Grendler indicates that Foscarini served two further terms as a Savio sopra Eresia (1576–78, and 1580–81), other terms on the Council of Ten (one in 1569), and as a ducal counselor, another important post.

40. See Fehl and Perry, "Painting and the Inquisition at Venice"; but see Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 341, note 3, who points out that it was nevertheless a serious matter to be interviewed by the Venetian Inquisition, which often imposed prison terms and exile.

41. Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 349.

42. Veronese might have been tempted to suggest that his German soldiers were echoes of the drunken German soldiers billeted at SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1571 who were said to have caused the fire that destroyed the refectory and Titian's painting (see above), but he made no such comment. See Muraro, "La Cena di Paolo Veronese," 17; also Nepi Scirè, "Il restauro," 13, note 3. Nepi Scirè notes that the document cited by Fogolari ("Il processo," 356) asserting that these soldiers were German and in Venice because of Venice's war with the Turks can no longer be found in the ASV, but D'Argaville, "Titian's 'Cenacolo,'" 164, note 8, refers to a microfilm copy at the Cini Foundation.

43. See above (note 5); and see also the interesting observations in Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 354, note 37, and in Gemin, "Riflessioni iconografiche," 369, who points out that Schellini—in contrast to the Church's standard position in these years—actually defends Michelangelo.

44. On Veronese and at least one Protestant patron, see Michelangelo Muraro, "Un celebre ritratto: Sir Philip Sidney a Venezia nel 1574 sceglie Veronese per farsi ritrarre," in Gemin, ed., *Nuovi Studi*, 391–96.

45. For the decrees of the Council of Trent, see Holt, *Documentary History of Art*, 62–65. On Molanus see David Freedberg, "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 229–45. Both the Council and Molanus were particularly preoccupied with lasciviousness in images, but the sensuousness of a lavish banquet could be seen in similar terms in this period.

In 1608, Saint Francis de Sales wrote: "There is some resemblance between shameful voluptuousness and that of eating, because both are concerned with the flesh, such that the former, because of its brutal vehemence, is simply called carnal. I will thus explain that which I cannot say of the one sort by what I can say of the other." *Introduction à la vie dévote*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. A. Ravier (Paris, 1969), pt. 2, chap. 39, "De l'honnêteté du lit nuptial," 240.

46. ASV, Senato Decreti Roma Ordinaria, r. 2, 1566–1570, f. 87r.

47. Aldo Stella, ed., *Nunziature di Venezia*, 9 (Rome, 1972), 413, no. 301, and 426–28, no. 309; see also xiii. Complaints about unspecified misbehaving mendicant monks were made on August 4 and September 9, 1571; Aldo Stella, ed., *Nunziature di Venezia*, 10 (Rome, 1977), 68, 95, nos. 32, 52. See also the brief reference to the process of reform in the nuncio's letter of February 14, 1571, quoted in D'Argaville, "Titian's 'Cenacolo,'" 164.

48. The chronicle is the "Emortuale" cited above, note 28. This material was first brought forward by Fogolari, "Il processo," 377–78, note 1; Gemin, "Riflessioni iconografiche," 369, gives it greater importance. Neither author alludes to the Rome-Venice correspondence about the monastery just discussed.

49. Perhaps the "deaths" recorded here are really departures from the faith rather than physical demise.

50. ASV, Capi Cons. dei X, Dispacci degli Ambasciatori, Roma, busta 25, 1566–1573, f. 205 (from Nicolo da Ponte and Paolo Tiepolo): "Il General delli padri di S:Domenico Bressano, et molto servitor di quel ser.mo Dominio, al quale io Paulo parlai per l'asolutione del padre Inquisitor di Venetia, et per la restitutione del Vicario delli padri di S. Giovanne Paulo superando tutte le difficoltà, ch'egli havea finalmente hà concessa l'una et l'altra cosa molto favorabilmente mandandi per questo corriero, l'una, et l'altra spedittione gu." Unfortunately, I have not been able to find further documents that might clarify the suggestive but murky implications of this letter. It should be noted that Giacomo Foscarini (the Savio sopra Eresia) was on the Council of Ten at this point.

51. I have not been able to identify the leading administrators of SS. Giovanni e Paolo during these years; Brian Pullan has identified the prior as Adriano Alviani, but does not indicate his source; David Chambers and Brian Pullan with Jennifer Fletcher, eds., *Venice, a Documentary History, 1450–1630* (Oxford, 1992), 233, note 29.

52. Mark 14:17–25.

53. See Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1948), 1:222–23, 2: figs. 277–78.

54. In his *Commentary on Psalm CXI*, cited in James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Englewood Cliffs, 1985), 346.

55. From his *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio*, in *Opera*, vol. 5, ed. Jean Leclerc (Leiden, 1703–6), cols. 696F–697A. This passage is discussed by Erwin Panofsky, "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 200–227, at 211–12, notes 30, 31; and by Keith Moxey, "Erasmus and the Iconography of Pieter Aertsen's *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* in the Boymans–Van Beuningen Museum," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 335–36. Erasmus did, however, recommend that an ideal secular dining room be decorated with images of the Last Supper as well as other sacred and mythological feasts; *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans. Craig R. Thompson (Chicago, 1965), 76–77, "The Godly Feast" (1522).

56. In fact, the Counter Reformation writer on art Johannes Molanus approvingly quoted Erasmus's very words in chapter 42 of his 1570 treatise *De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris*; Freedberg, "Johannes Molanus," 242–43. In the same breath Molanus also quoted another passage from Erasmus (*De Amabili Ecclesiae Concordia*, in *Opera*, vol. 5 [Antwerp?, 1733], col. 501D): "To twist sacred literature into unsuitable and profane jokes is a kind of blasphemy; for the same reason those who on their own initiative add details which are ridiculous and unworthy of the saints when they paint subjects from the scriptural canon deserve punishment." This should be understood as the basis of Inquisitor Schellini's attitude toward Veronese; and the appropriation of Erasmus's statement by Molanus demonstrates that in this matter two otherwise very different approaches to Catholic reform were in full agreement. This is a point not grasped by Gemin, "Riflessioni iconografiche," 368–69.

57. Six to seven hundred armed men attended the event, which lasted from January 11 to 13; note that the Venetian Inquisitors objected to the *armed* Germans in Veronese's picture. See Jean Guéraud, *La chronique lyonnaise de Jean Guéraud, 1536–1562*, ed. Jean Tricou (Lyon, 1929), 147, no. 284. See also Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present* 59 (1973): 51–91.

58. Geneva, 1560 (republished in Geneva in 1857), esp. satire 5 (pp. 56–77). The tract was written by learned Protestant apologists, probably including Theodore de Beze; Y. Giraud, "Le Comique engagé des *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale*," *Studi di letteratura francese* 177 (1983): 52–72; Michel Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words: Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1991), 206. This text has not previously been related to Veronese's interrogation.

59. Since Maundy Thursday was the day of the first communion, its anniversary became the most popular day for popes to excommunicate. It is clear that portions of the bull existed in 1363 (perhaps earlier), but the first full text is from 1511, during the reign of the aggressive Pope Julius II. See the entries on "Bulla in Coena Domini" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* and *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* (1937).

60. Mario Bendiscioli, "La Bolla 'In Coena Domini' e la sua pubblicazione a Milano nel 1568," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 54 (1927): 381–99; Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 18, ed. Ralph F. Kerr (London, 1952), 35–60; Stella, *Nunziature*, 9:xii–xiii.

61. For the text of the 1569 bull, see F. Gaude, ed., *Bullarium Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Pontificum*, 7 (Naples, 1882), 744–46, no. CXXVII, called "Si de protengendis caeteris." The bull was drafted six days before Holy Thursday, which fell

on April 7 that year. On April 6 the papal nuncio to Venice, Facchinetti, first mentioned the new bull (Stella, *Nunziature*, 9:39–40, no. 4), and on April 16 Rome ordered Venice to publish it (ASV, Senato Secreta Deliberazioni Roma, filza 3, 1567–1569). On April 22 the Venetian Senate decided, however, to ban it by a vote of 163 to 4, and notified their Roman ambassador (ASV, Senato Secreta Deliberazioni Roma, filza 3, 1567–1569, and Senato Decreti Roma Ordinaria, r. 2, 1566–1570, fs. 78r–79r).

62. April 23: Nuncio points out that the patriarch of Venice had published the 1568 version of the bull (Stella, *Nunziature*, 9:49, no. 11). April 30: Patriarch writes to Rome of ban (Stella, 9:54, no. 16). May 4: Nuncio asserts that cause of ban is the Venetian fear of losing tax revenues (Stella, 9:55–56, no. 18). May 5: Venice defends the ban as a defense of its liberty, and believes the pope is trying to get around the ban (ASV, Senato Secreta Deliberazioni Roma, filza 3, 1567–1569, and Senato Decreti Roma Ordinaria, r. 2, 1566–1570, fs. 80r–80v). May 14: Senate writes to monasteries to enforce ban (Bartolomeo Cecchetti, *La repubblica di Venezia e la corte di Roma nei rapporti della religione*, 2 vols., Venice, 1874, 1:448, and 445–51 on the controversy as a whole). May 26–28: The Senate writes to the nuncio, agreeing to carry out all "spiritual" portions of the bull, affirming its loyalty to the pope, but defending its right to refuse limits on its temporal power; the nuncio informs Rome that he believes the Venetians are conspiring with the Spanish in this matter (ASV, Senato Secreta Deliberazioni Roma, filza 3, 1567–1569, and Senato Decreti Roma Ordinaria, r. 2, 1566–1570, fs. 82v–83v; Stella, 9:72–73, no. 31). For further communications on June 17, July 1, September 19, November 26, and December 10, see Stella, 9:169, no. 108, and ASV, Senato Secreta Deliberazioni Roma, filza 3, 1567–1569, Senato Decreti Roma Ordinaria, r. 2, 1566–1570, fs. 85r, 87r, 87v, 89r, and Senato Dispacci Ambasciatori 1569, filza 4, nos. 38–39. See also Christopher Cairns, *Domenico Bollani, Bishop of Brescia: Devotion to Church and State in the Republic of Venice in the Sixteenth Century*, Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica, 15 (Nieuwkoop, 1976), 209–13, who notes that this conflict also involved the Venetian Inquisition.

63. See article 7 in Gaude, *Bullarium*, 744–46; and also the analysis in Pastor, *History of the Popes* (appendices 2–3), 463–66, esp. 464–65.

64. Stella, *Nunziature*, 9:200–201, no. 131, February 4. On April 18, 1571, the nuncio was instructed to allow the absolution of some Venetians who had failed to observe the bull; Stella, 9:487, no. 351.

65. Ibid., 9:226, no. 156, March 5.

66. Benjamin Ravid, "The Socioeconomic Background of the Expulsion and Readmission of the Venetian Jews, 1571–1573," in F. Malino and P. Cohen Albert, eds., *Essays in Modern Jewish History: A Tribute to Ben Halpern* (Rutherford, N.J., 1982), 27–55, at 41–43.

67. Mario Brunetti, "La crisi finale della Sacra Lega (1573)," in *Miscellanea in onore di Roberto Cessi*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1958), 2:145–55.

68. Stella, *Nunziature*, 10:405–10, no. 229.

69. This version of the bull is not published in the usual compilations, but the section on the League is alluded to by Paolo Tiepolo, the Venetian ambassador to Rome, in a letter to the Senate of March 23: "Giovedi fo' segondo l'ordinario publicata la bolla in cena Domini, con molte aggiunte, a' far buona parte delle quali vien detto, che ha' dato occasione il Cardinal Granvella co'l severo modo da lui tenuto nelle attioni sue, ma anco alcune toccano la lega, si come mi è stato referito, perciòche io stando alquanto lontano non la ho' udita, se potrò questa sera haverla stampata la mandarò, se non, questa futura settimana al tutto si manderà." ASV, Senato Dispacci Ambasciatori Roma, filza 9, f. 37r. I have never been able to find a copy of any of the controversial "In Coena Domini" bulls in the Venetian archives; it is as if every copy was so threatening that it could not be allowed to survive. The League-related contents of the 1573 bull are discussed in William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 329; Ludwig Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, 9 (Rome, 1925), 238; Luciano Serrano, *La liga de Lepanto entre España, Venecia y la Santa Sede (1570–1573)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1918–20), 2:249; also Cairns, *Domenico Bollani*, 213.

70. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, 239.

71. ASV, Senato Decreti Roma Ordinaria, reg. 4, 1573–1580, fs. 7v–9v, also f. 12r; ASV, Senato Deliberazioni Secreta Roma, filza 6, 1573; Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, 239.

72. ASV, Senato Dispacci Ambasciatori Roma, filza 9, f. 124r.

73. For Venetian apologies, see ASV, Senato Deliberazioni Secreta Roma, filza 6, 1573, documents dated April 23 and May 15, Senato Decreti Roma Ordinaria, reg. 4, 1573–1580, fs. 13v–17r. For papal grumbling, see Serrano, *La liga de Lepanto*, 2:413–26, documents, XXIV–XXX. For evidence that all commercial enterprises with the Ottomans were in theory banned by the bull, see Stella, *Nunziature*, 10:409, no. 229 (February 2, 1573).

74. The first crack in the expulsion order appeared on June 29. See Ravid, "Venetian Jews," 47.

75. Ibid., 49–50.

76. It was a commonplace that Venice's political and economic interests required a delicate balance in its relations with the papacy and the Ottomans. One might simply describe Veronese's problem with the Inquisition as a breach of decorum potentially jeopardizing that balance. Gilio, the Counter Reformation critic of the arts, exemplifies the concept of decorum by saying "it would not be right to dress the pope in Turkish garments, nor to dress the Turk in the pope's robes"; Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Due dialogi* (Camerino, 1564), reprinted in Paola Barocchi, ed., *Scritti d'arte del cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Milan and Naples, 1971), 1:303–25, at 308.

77. On visual images of papal greed characterized as gluttony, see the *Lazarus and Dives* woodcut of 1556 by Hans Lautensack discussed in Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 353–54, note 35, fig. 20. See also *Satyres chrestiennes*, above (note 58).

78. For a similar phenomenon, see Cairns, *Domenico Bollani*, 202–4: in 1565 the

powerful and humorless ecclesiastic Saint Charles Borromeo was upset by unorthodox religious views expressed by the mayor of Brescia, a Venetian appointee. The dispute quickly became politicized. The Venetians settled it by apologizing to Borromeo, protecting the mayor from arrest or prosecution, and telling him firmly to shut up. Schellini, a Brescian, probably witnessed this dispute.

79. Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 354, note 41.

80. Pignatti (*Paolo Veronese* [1986], 15), for example, says that "the pure painter had defeated censorship."

81. Before the 1980–83 cleaning, some writers had claimed to be able to see clear marks of figurative changes (Schaffran, "Der Inquisitionsprozess," 190—a painted-out Magdalene—and Brian D'Argaville, in a talk at the College Art Association annual meeting in 1976). The cleaning revealed no figurative changes had been made after completion, but did reveal one interesting pentimento which must have been made in the middle of the work's initial execution: a page, serving the seated owner of the house, was eliminated; Nepi Scirè, *Il restauro*, 16; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese* (1986), fig. 7. In 1771 Zanetti (*Della pittura veneziana*, 174) had in fact mentioned this pentimento, indicating that it had been made for purely aesthetic reasons. As the page's removal gives a clearer view of the controversial motif of Peter's plate with the lamb, the figure must have been erased before the hearing. For another view, see Gould, "Veronese's Greatest Feast."

82. Luke 5:29–32; cf. Matthew 9:10–13; Mark 2:15–17.

83. Fehl, "Veronese and the Inquisition," 342, note 13. The story appears in medieval manuscripts that provide a small illumination for virtually every event in the New Testament, and these miniatures are never elaborate; see for example Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. gr. 74, fs. 17r, 67v, 116v. A fresco in the church of Spas-Mirojski in Pskov, Russia, of 1156, and a catacomb fresco in the Hypogeum of the Aurelii, Rome, ca. 200—neither one unquestionably of this subject—are the only large-scale images known.

84. Both Veronese and Schellini use this abusive term in the plural, which means it must apply to more than the dwarf with the parrot. In the sixteenth century, Italians referred to black pages and other "exotic" non-European peoples in this way.

85. Veronese's retitling has sometimes been described as a slap in the face of the Inquisition, but only because by doing so he seemed to evade the instruction to correct the picture; Pignatti, *Paolo Veronese* (1986), 15. Marion Leathers Kuntz, in her talk "The Inquisitor as *Medicus*: Religion and Politics in Renaissance Venice," at the Renaissance Society of America 1995 annual meeting, revealed that a Venetian Inquisitor of the early 1560s actually referred to Luke chapter 5 as a model for the duties of an Inquisitor, who must heal the sick and not the healthy. In this light, Veronese's use of Luke chapter 5 seems an even more pointed reproach to the particular Inquisitor who interrogated him.

86. The dispute about the bull was fully settled only in 1575, but it drops out of the diplomatic correspondence by the end of 1573. See Cairns, *Domenico Bollani*, 213. Prosecutions by the Venetian Inquisition, which had shot up from about 30 a year to about 50 a year in 1572 and 1573, dropped off to 35 in 1574 and 24 in 1575; ASV, Sant'Ufficio, Savi all'Eresia, index 303.

87. For S. Teonisto, Treviso; now Rome, Palazzo di Montecitorio; 379 by 970 cm, 1580; Pignatti, *Veronese*, 1:205, no. A276, 2: pl. 952.

88. 230 by 523 cm, ca. 1585, now Milan, Brera. See Paul Kaplan, "Veronese's Last *Last Supper*," *Arte Veneta* 41 (1987): 51–62.

89. Venice, Accademia (since 1910 on deposit in the Municipio of Verona). Little attention has been paid to this work in the last few centuries, and consequently many errors have crept into the very brief published accounts of it. Pignatti (*Veronese*, 1:218, no. A365) gives what appear to be correct dimensions—550 by 1010 cm—but mistakenly calls it a *Supper in the House of Simon*. (There is no Magdalene.) He attributed it to Veronese's brother Benedetto. Moschini Marconi (98–99, no. 159, inv. no. 339, cat. no. 1017) gets the title right but the dimensions wrong (she gives 550 by 1,280, the dimensions of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo picture before its recent repair); she also cites Ruskin's proposal to take it off the wall and burn it. Bernard Berenson (*Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Venetian School*, 2 vols. [London, 1957], 1:138) titled it *Christ in the House of the Pharisee*. It has been said that Veronese did not care about which subject he was painting, but in reality it is sometimes the art historians who seem not to care about this. G. Martinioni (*Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, Venice, 1663, 252) clearly describes it: "These fathers [at S. Giacomo] have in their refectory the story told by the evangelist Saint Luke in chapter five, where is depicted the Savior at the table with Levi the banker, and many scribes, and Pharisees, of whom it appears, that some are scandalized, and ask the disciples: why does their master eat with sinners and publicans?" Some of the details which caused problems for Veronese in 1573 (bloody nose, Germans, dwarf, fork, apostles preoccupied with food) are notably absent in this work. Giovanna Nepi Scirè ("Paolo Veronese: Restauri recenti alle Gallerie dell'Accademia," in Gemin, ed., *Nuovi Studi*, 399) gets the title right and names Benedetto as the painter. On small copies of the SS. Giovanni e Paolo canvas, see Nepi Scirè, "Paolo Veronese" (398) and *Il restauro* (22, fig. 8).

90. Sarpi was born in 1552, and entered the Servite order in 1566. He became regent at S. Maria dei Servi (the major monastery of the order in Venice, to which S. Giacomo was attached) in 1578, and prior of the entire Venetian province of the order in 1579. In 1585 he became second in command of the entire order in Rome. In 1594 he was accused of unorthodox theological opinions and of holding theological conversations with Venetian Jews, but he was finally absolved by the Venetian Inquisition. See David Wooton, *Paolo Sarpi between Renaissance and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1983), 8–10, and Paolo Sarpi, *Opere*, ed. G. and L. Cozzi (Milan and Naples, 1969), 3–25. In Sarpi's own monastery of S. Maria dei Servi there was, of course, a great *Supper in the House of Simon* by Veronese (fig. 5), installed in the early 1570s when Sarpi was

already in residence there. Sarpi was also in a position to know something of the acts of the Venetian Inquisition, having written a history of it (*Discorso della origine, forma, leggi, ed uso dell'uffizio della inquisizione nella città, e dominio di Venezia*, 1613, in Sarpi's *Scritti giurisdizionalistici*, ed. G. Gambarin, Bari, 1958, 119–212), and he may have been one of the few in Venice who were aware of Veronese's brush with that institution.

91. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty*, 350.