VENICE & THE EAST

The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500

DEBORAH HOWARD

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San Marco

Apostles and epistles

In a letter to Doge Andrea Dandolo written in 1352, Petrarch justified his own passion for travel with an analogy that he knew would ring true in the Venetian mind:

> The Apostles travelled far, and barefoot journeyed to the most distant lands. One or another was sent to Ephesus, to Syria, Greece, Rome, India, Egypt. Their bodies wandered in the most rugged regions; they suffered all the misadventures of land and the wide waters; but their hearts were fixed upon heaven. Today, indeed, the bodies of our 'apostles' rest on golden beds, while they send their thoughts afar over land and sea.[1]

In death as in life, the bodies of the Apostles had experienced the adventures of travel. Robbed from its burial place in Alexandria by two Venetian merchants in 829, the corpse of Saint Mark now lay on its 'golden bed' in the ducal chapel of Venice.[2] Here, in the mosaics, the doge could see an encomium of the experience of travel, an anthology of gilded memories of foreign lands (fig. 60).[3]

The celebrated *translatio* of the relics of Saint Mark had achieved a compression of both time and space, by situating the physical 'body' of the Evangelist in present and future time, in the very heart of Venice.[4] But if his martyred remains were to be truly naturalised in Venice, this process had to involve the deliberate importation of aspects of the identity of the Alexandria of antiquity.[5] While the Crusades sought to recover Christian hegemony in the Holy Land, biblical sites could be recreated as a real and immediate presence on the soil of western Europe – with less effort and expense, and greater security. This chapter will explore the generation of an authentic oriental setting for Saint Mark's 'golden bed' by the mosaicists, sculptors and architects who embellished the great Byzantine church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In its dual role as Venice's palatine chapel and as the shrine that safeguarded the Evangelist's relics, San Marco acted as the representational mirror of Venetian civic and religious identity. The church's potential to communicate ideological concerns to the public attracted centuries of artistic enterprise, in which the compelling primacy of the visual imagery gave the building and its decoration a remarkable iconographic coherence and self-sufficiency.[6] Its composite meanings, though constantly modulated over the centuries by changes and additions, needed little textual explanation. Inscriptions on the mosaics, for instance, acted simply as signposts to familiar biblical or hagiographic knowledge or to geographical locations. Although parallel written texts can sometimes be identified, the viewer did not need access to these in order to 'read' the visual programmes. It is this independence of the visual narrative that allowed San Marco to function as a mental framework on which interpretations could be formulated by the viewer, drawing on his/her own body of knowledge. In order to examine this process, it is necessary to investigate how these decorative schemes may have encouraged the spectator to draw on shared humanistic learning and geographical knowledge.

The networks of reporting and dialogue that fed images of overseas travel into the city's cultural memory have already been examined. In this chapter we observe how this interacted with the legacy of classical writing that increasingly coloured the perceptions of the Venetian educated élite over the centuries, its echoes filtering down through oral dialogue into the community as a whole. The chapter focuses on references to Egypt, and to Alexandria in particular, in the mosaic decoration of San Marco. As Alexandria crumbled, the geographical knowledge of travellers sustained by classical

60 Venice, San Marco at winter sunset.

texts gradually came to reinvent the memory of the ancient city in the Venetian mind. It was this dialogue with the heritage of classical and Christian writings that allowed new images to be authenticated, as they were absorbed into the city's repertoire, and to be given heightened local significance by a process of analogy and mimesis. The emulation of other geographical and historical cities – *emulatio* rather than *imitatio* – forms a recurrent theme in this book, a process that relied on the public's familiarity with the chosen paradigms. The effectiveness of Venice's acquisition of aspects of the identity of Alexandria was to depend on this dialectic process. As an epilogue to the chapter, the discussion will broaden to consider the wider spectrum of Islamic influence on the architecture and sculptural decoration of the church.

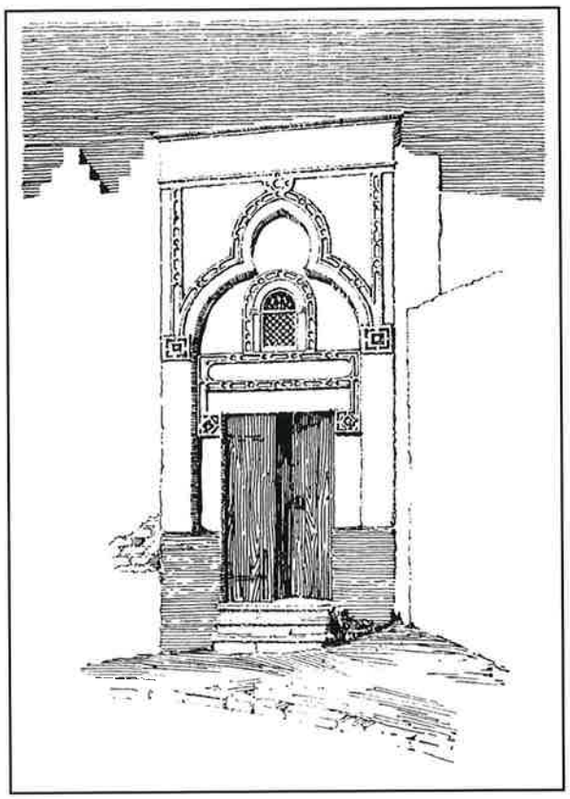
As already seen, Alexandria drew Venetian merchants like a magnet, its attraction never wavering through the medieval period, despite periodic enforced interruptions. Its primacy as an outlet for oriental merchandise gave the Egyptian port a mythical status in Venice, endorsed by the need to anchor the *translatio* more securely in the public imagination (fig. 61). The Alexandria of antiquity had undoubtedly been a metropolis worthy of emulation – ancient sources remarked on its beauty, prosperity and size. Ammianus Marcellianus called the city 'vertex omnium civitatum'.[7] According to Diodorus of Sicily, the census returns at the time of his visit recorded a population of 300,000, greater than the largest population ever to be recorded in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth century.[8] During the Middle Ages, however, under the Islamic caliphates, the centre of gravity within Egypt itself shifted inland to Cairo, leaving Alexandria as a mere maritime outpost (fig. 62).[9] In 1326 the Moslem traveller Ibn Battuta described *Cairo,* not Alexandria, as 'mother of [all] cities . . . boundless in multitude of buildings, peerless in beauty and splendour',[10] but this was a common response of western trav-

61 Sunset in Alexandria.

ellers too. Despite his standpoint as a Christian pilgrim, the German friar Felix Faber on his visit to Cairo in 1483 was impressed by 'this enormous city, the most formidable in the world', whereas he had found Alexandria 'a desolate town'.[11] Like Rome at the start of the fifteenth century, much of the ancient city of Alexandria was *disabitato.* Faber painted a poignant picture of its faded glory: 'Every day houses collapse one after another, and there are only miserable ruins, inside imposing fortifications. The population is very small. Apart from the mosques, the houses of the Mamluks and officials, and the *fondaci*, the town is almost deserted, and the houses still standing are uninhabited.'[12] Like a martyred saint, the spirit had gone out of Alexandria, ready to be resurrected on foreign soil (fig. 63).

Venice and Alexandria

The foundation of Alexandria, like that of Venice, was shrouded in myth. Just as several Venetian chronicles claimed a Trojan pedigree, Alexandria's beginnings were rooted in Homeric lore. According to Plutarch, Homer himself – 'a man with very hoary locks and of venerable aspect' – appeared to Alexander in a dream, quoting two lines from the *Odyssey*: 'An Ile there is by surging seas embrac't/ Which men call Pharos, before Ægypt plac't.'[13] On waking, Plutarch related, Alexander 'saw now that Homer was not only admirable in other ways, but also a very wise architect, and ordered the plan of the city to be drawn in conformity with this account'.[14] Like the legendary origin of Venice in AD 421, Alexandria's foundation in 331/2 BC was associated with a specific date, both being supposedly founded on the twenty-fifth of the month.[15] Such chance conjunctions provided the

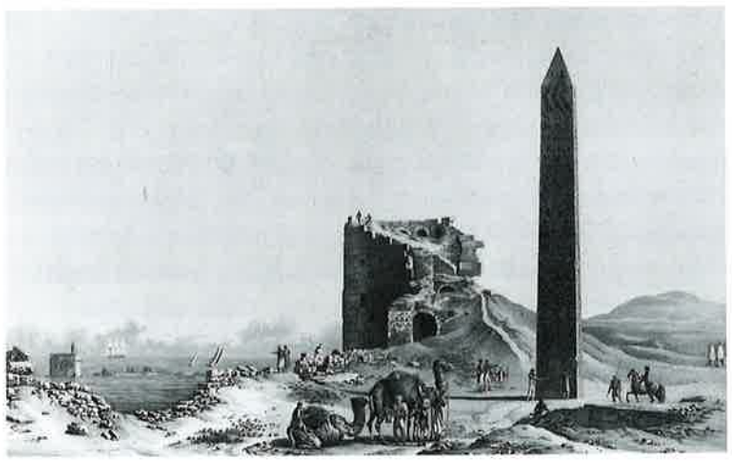


62 Old house in Alexandria, from M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture*, 1924, p. 141.

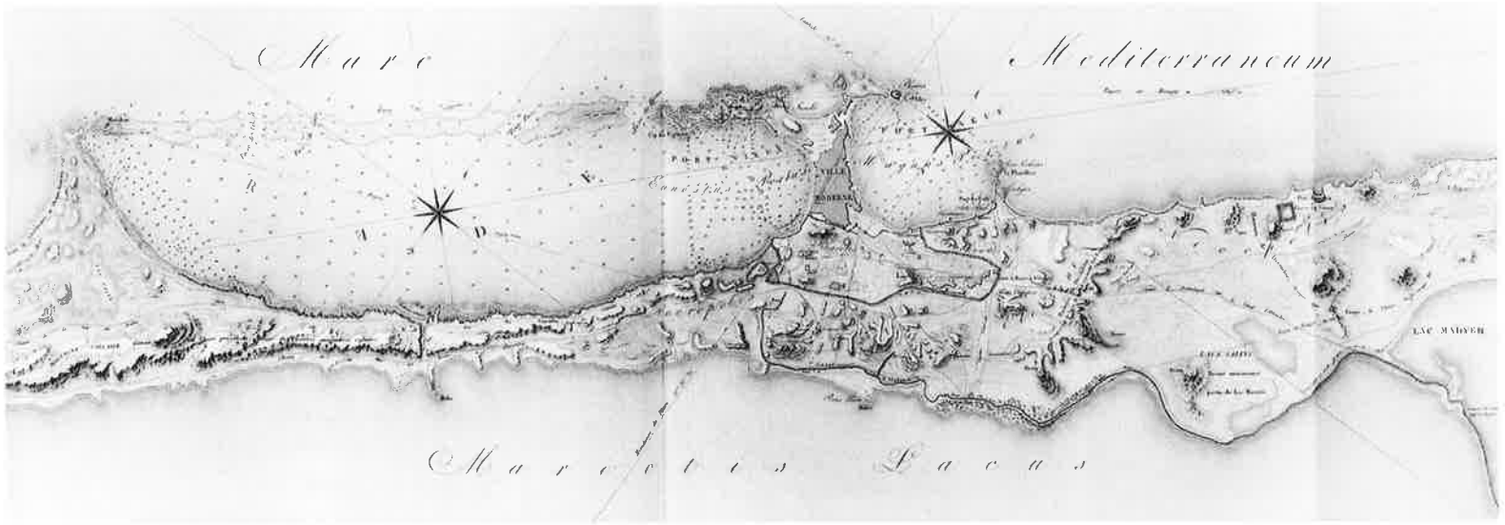
interlocking structure that underpinned the process of civic *emulatio*.

The Venetians were not the first to compare their homeland with Alexandria. Already in antiquity, the Greek geographer Strabo had likened the site and climate of Alexandria to that of Padua, Ravenna and Altinum (the Roman town nearest to the site of Venice itself).[16] All of these were marshy cities, he explained, but they remained healthy because of the purifying effect of the winds and tides, a passage echoed by Vitruvius (only mentioning the Italian cities in this context) and later by Alberti.[17] Like Plutarch, Diodorus of Sicily described the site of Alexandria in terms evoking that of Venice, lying between a great marshy lake and the sea (fig. 64).[18] Between 1306 and 1321 the Venetian traveller Marin Sanuto 'Torsello' expounded his case that the next Crusade should strike at Moslem power in Egypt because the Venetians were so familiar with such terrain from their own experience at home.[19] A century later, the same strategy was to be recommended by the Venetian merchant from Crete, Emmanuel Piloti, after living for more than twenty years in Egypt.[20] This was 'God's first country', he claimed; if it could only be returned to Christian rule, 'Alexandria alone would be the queen of all merchants and all merchandise, whether Christian or pagan'.[21] (Piloti was undeterred by the disastrous failure of the Crusade of 1365, launched from Cyprus by the Lusignan King Peter, which devastated Alexandria and created enormous difficulties for Christian traders.)[22]

63 Ruins in Alexandria, from *Description de l'Egypte* 1821–30, vol. v: *Antiquités*, pl. 32.



The physical resemblances between the two sites extended to the wider context, both geographically and commercially. Both were situated near the mouths of great rivers, the Nile and the Po, their navigable channels needing regular dredging to prevent them from silting up.[23] Like Alexandria in ancient times, the Venetians constructed a canal link – the Brenta – to ease the transport of goods between the hinterland and the port, both canals later becoming the setting for recreational boat-rides.[24] In Hellenistic and Roman times Alexandria was usually described as lying *by* Egypt (*ad Aegyptum*), rather than *in* Egypt, for its cultural and commercial orientation, like that of Venice, looked outwards towards the Mediterranean.[25] According to Diodorus, Alexandria was widely considered 'to be the first city of the civilised world, and it is certainly far ahead of all the rest in elegance and extent of riches and luxury'.[26] Writing in about AD 80, Josephus was among those who praised the trading success of the city: 'To this port are carried all the commodities which the country lacks for its welfare, and from it the surplus local products are distributed to every quarter of the world.'[27] Like medieval Venice, the ancient city had been equipped with shipyards, granaries and warehouses, and had minted its own coins; and, among the local industries, Alexandria's renown as a centre for glass manufacture anticipated Venice's success in the same craft.[28] Even in the fifteenth century, the Egyptian port was still regarded as a marketplace linking two different



64 Alexandria, site, from *Description de l'Egypte*, 1821–30, vol. v: *Antiquités*, pl. 31.

65 Plan of Alexandria, from *Description de l'Egypte*, 1821–30, vol. v: *Antiquités*, pl. 84.

66 Alexandria, Serapeum, Ptolomaic shrine founded 247–221 BC, with Roman remains of the early second century AD.

worlds[29] – precisely the same strategic commercial role that defined Venice's trading success.

The splendours of the townscape of Alexandria had impressed the visitors of antiquity (fig. 65). Achilles Tatius's *Story of Leucippus and Clitophon* conveys the sense of marvel that later visitors to Venice would also experience:

> I entered by the Sun Gate . . . and was instantly struck by the beauty of the city, which filled my eyes with delight . . . I explored every street, and at last, my vision unsatisfied, exclaimed in weariness, 'Ah, my eyes, we are beaten'. Two things struck me as especially strange and extraordinary – it was impossible to decide which was the greatest, the size of the place or its beauty, the city itself or its inhabitants.[30]

Like Venice, Alexandria was 'approximately bisected by an avenue remarkable for its length and beauty', as Diodorus of Sicily remarked.[31] Reading this passage a Venetian might have been forgiven for drawing an analogy with the Grand Canal, even if its route was a sinuously curving waterway rather than a broad, straight highway. In reality, the plan of Alexandria had two main streets, intersecting at right angles, as Strabo and Achilles Tatius more accurately explained.[32] Both Strabo and Diodorus recount that Alexander himself had ordered the building of a great princely palace, later adorned and enlarged by successive rulers until 'there is building upon building' (here Strabo cited Homer's description of the palace of Odysseus).[33] The rebuilding of the Palazzo Ducale, begun in 1341, was just one stage in the parallel scenario in Venice.[34] The public buildings of ancient Alexandria included temples, the celebrated libraries and a museum (fig. 66).[35] Its arcarded streets survived into the sixteenth century, when a visitor from Venice, Filippo Pigafetta, admired a fine colonnade running from the Porta Rosetta to the centre of the town.[36] The Venetian reader, familiar with the outdoor spectacles of his own city that already coloured Martino da Canal's chronicle

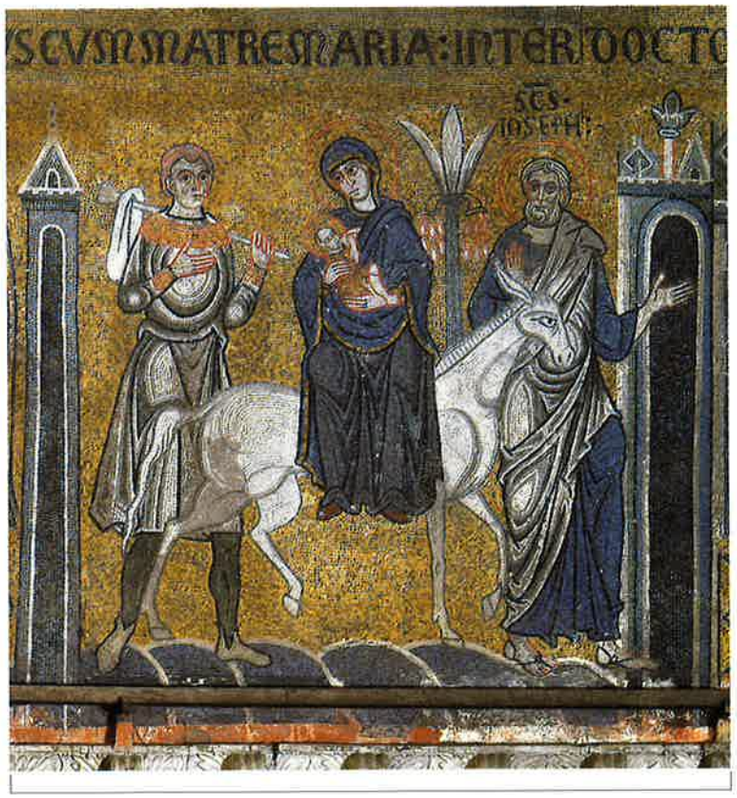
in 1268–75, would have had little difficulty in imagining the public festivals and games of late Hellenistic Alexandria described by ancient writers.[37]

To what extent can it be assumed that Venetians had access to these classical accounts of the topography of the ancient Alexandria before the printing presses of the age of Manutius dispersed their texts across Europe? Evidence of Greek scholarship in Venice in ecclesiastical circles exists from the ninth century onwards.[38] From the early twelfth century the flourishing eastern trade in the wake of the First Crusade intensified this trend, exemplified by such well-known figures as Jacobus Veneticus, translator of Aristotle.[39] During the Latin Kingdom (1204–61), the strong Venetian presence in Constantinople must have offered increased access to libraries of Greek writings, merchants acting as agents in procuring codices for humanist scholars in Venice.[40] Many of the surviving manuscripts of texts such as Strabo can be traced to Byzantium.[41] The earliest manuscript of Ammianus Marcellinus is datable to the ninth century, while the oldest surviving manuscripts of Polybius date to the tenth and eleventh centuries.[42] Christian scholars sought to integrate these writings into their own body of learning – for instance, the tenth-century lexicographer Suida claimed that Achilles Tatius 'of Alexandria' had later converted to Christianity and become a bishop.[43] Doge Francesco Dandolo's library, inventoried at his death in 1339, included works by Eusebius and Josephus, both of whom left texts that are crucial to the argument of this chapter.[44] Doge Andrea Dandolo's friend Petrarch was a great admirer of Homer, and himself hoped to found a humanistic library in Venice, anticipating an enthusiastic readership.[45] Venetian merchants of the Quattrocento engaged in humanistic discussions in the course of their activities in the marketplace – in the opening words of his response to Poggio Bracciolini's *On Nobility*, Lauro Querini remarked: 'A few days ago, as is our daily habit, we went to the Rialto, so that we might discuss a matter concerning literary studies with the learned men who throng to that place.'[46] The celebrated collection of manuscripts of ancient texts that formed the core of the Biblioteca Marciana was not acquired until 1468, when it was donated by Cardinal Bessarion; but Bessarion's generosity depended on the fact that he knew the Venetian appetite for such writings.[47] A manuscript of Strabo's *Geography*, translated from the Greek by Guarino of Verona in 1458–9, was illuminated by an artist in the circle of Jacopo Bellini; and Strabo, Diodorus and Josephus (in Latin) were among the earliest *incunabula* printed in Venice.[48] When Giosafat Barbaro came to recount his missions to the Persian court in the 1470s, he referred to an inherited tradition of geographical writing, ranging from Strabo, Herodotus, Pliny and Diodorus, through Marco Polo and John Mandeville, to his own fellow envoys such as Ambrogio Contarini.[49]

Egyptian settings in the mosaics

It was in the Apostle's 'golden bed', San Marco itself, that the most explicit recollections of Alexandria and Egypt were to be translated into visual imagery in Venice, not only in the twelfth-century mosaic decoration of the interior, but also in the thirteenth-century Old Testament cycle in the atrium.[50] Saint Mark's martyrdom and burial in Alexandria led the designers of the mosaics in San Marco to explore the visual imagery of Egypt. Though translated into the representational language of Byzantine mosaics, reminiscences of the Orient pervaded the whole decorative programme. Evocations of Egypt could endow the narratives with biblical authenticity, making them believable in the literal sense, yet transporting the worshipper effortlessly into the realm of the supernatural by alluding to the exoticism of far-away lands. As Serlio later wondered in his *Dell'antichità*, published in Venice in 1540, 'What should we ourselves say of the absolutely extraordinary remains of Egypt, which seem more like dreams and visions than real objects?' [51]

Egyptian reminiscences were to prove especially potent in the narrative scenes. In the twelfth-century mosaic of the *Return from Egypt* in the north transept the Holy Family sets off on its journey between two vertical architectural framing elements (fig. 67). On the left is a tall slim tower with a gabled summit, identifiable as an Egyptian obelisk by its tapering form. Of the two great obelisks of Alexandria, flanking the entrance to the Caesareum, one was still upright, until its shipment to America in 1879 (fig. 63).[52] Made 'of red granite stone from Thebes' according to the sixteenth-century Venetian traveller Filippo Pigafetta, it now stands in Central Park in New York.[53] (In 1877 its fallen companion was removed to London, where it was erected on the Embankment.) In the mosaic the obelisk is not red but grey, and shaped more like a campanile than one of Cleopatra's needles. Like the schematic palm tree behind the donkey, it does not suggest direct knowledge of Egypt, but rather, the visualisation of a verbal account. Indeed, the late fifteenth-century German pilgrim Felix Faber also likened his first view of the Alexandrian obelisk to a 'tower'. His account shows the difficulty in explaining such an unfamiliar form in words; having described it as a monolithic *column* in red marble, he added: 'Its summit is pointed . . . and it is quadrangular.'[54] The Venetian Giovanni Danese, chaplain to Benedetto Sanudo's mission to Cairo in 1502, was somewhat more successful, describing a



67 *Return from Egypt*, late twelfth–early thirteenth century, mosaic. Venice, San Marco, north transept.

'very high monolithic pyramid'.[55] Its mysterious hieroglyphs – suggestive of pagan secrets – only heightened the desire for Christian appropriation.[56]

To the right of the Holy Family in the same mosaic of the *Return from Egypt*, another group of buildings has been interpreted as the Gate of Jerusalem, predicting not only the destination of the journey but also the setting of *Christ and the Doctors* in the adjacent mosaic. Yet a puzzling detail is the column surmounted by a ball, visible over the rooftops, which the Byzantinist Otto Demus interpreted as a reminiscence of the idols of Hermopolis.[57] The clue lies in its similarity to the column in Gentile Bellini's *Saint Mark preaching in Alexandria*, where it is assumed to represent Pompey's Pillar (fig. 68).[58] More correctly called Diocletian's Pillar, this great granite column stands in the Serapeum or old citadel of Alexandria; rising from the highest point in the city, it was an emotive landmark for Venetian sailors (fig. 69). In 1502 Benedetto Sanudo's chaplain Danese described how, on their departure from Alexandria, the great column could be seen long after the ship had sailed out of sight of land.[59] It was traditionally believed to contain the head of Pompey in a round casket on the top – the view of Alexandria in the fifteenth-century Ptolemy manuscript now in the Vatican reflects this tradition by depicting a little house on the top of the column labelled

68 Gentile Bellini, *Saint Mark preaching in Alexandria*, commissioned 1504, completed by Giovanni Bellini after his brother's death in 1507, oil on canvas, Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.

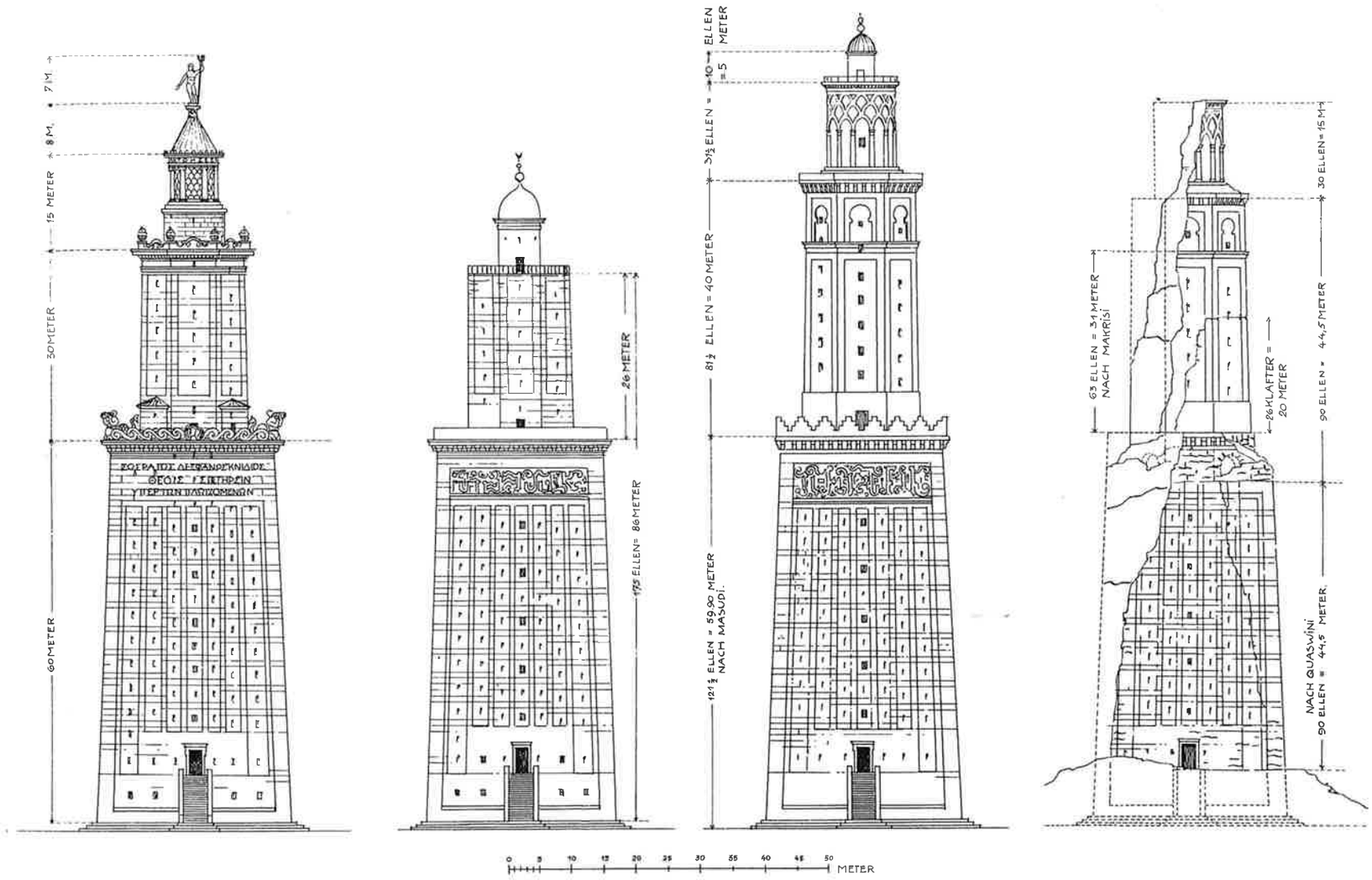
69 Alexandria, column of Diocletian (AD 285–305), known as 'Pompey's Pillar'.

70 *Martyrdom of Saint Mark*, early twelfth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, Cappella di San Pietro, north wall.

'sepulchrum Pompeij'. Thus it can be inferred that the mosaic shows only the departure *from* Egypt, a single scene set entirely in Alexandria, its right-hand edge clearly separated from the succeeding scene in the Temple at Jerusalem by a vertical black line.

The first Marcian mosaic cycle

For the *Stories of Saint Mark* in the chapels of Saint Clement and Saint Peter on either side of the choir of San Marco, datable to the first half of the twelfth century, Alexandrian

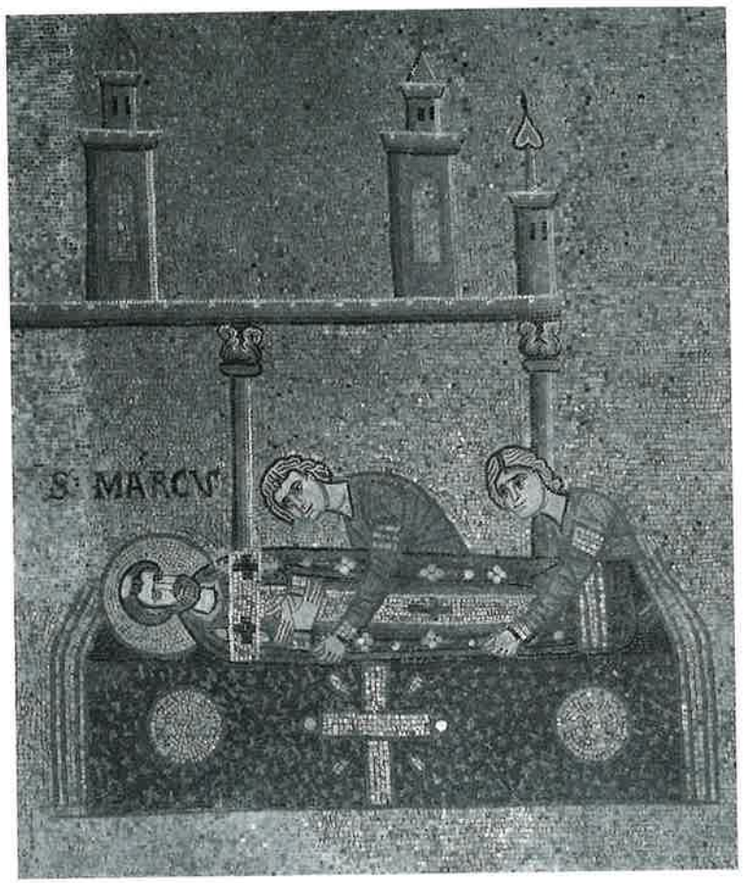


71 Alexandria, Pharos, stages in its appearance from antiquity to the late Middle Ages, from Hermann Thiersch, *Pharos*, 1909, Beilage I, pls I–IV, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress.

settings played an intrinsic part in the narrative. The earlier representation of the Marcian legend in the Pala d'Oro, executed in Byzantium in about 1105, shows how minimally such a geographical setting could be represented.[60] In the mosaics, by contrast, the locations are described in more explicit architectural terms, although to ensure recognition the sites are labelled 'ROMA' and 'ALESANDRIA'.[61] The formulaic scenery in each case consists of a simple entablature supported on columns and bearing an array of rooftop landmarks. This schematic reduction concisely evokes the traveller's experience of the urban scene; it combines close-range, human-scale markers at street level with those recognisable skyline features that allow orientation within the city and characterise its silhouette to the arriving traveller.

The two schematic representations of 'ROMA' in the Cappella di San Pietro – classical columns surmounted by domes and bell-towers – suggest that even Italian sites could not easily be visually signified. Interestingly, the Egyptian settings are more specific and visually articulate. In the *Healing of Anianus* in the same chapel, Alexandria is given a lobed roofline like that of San Marco itself at that time, as if to make explicit the consonance between the two cities.[62] In the early sixteenth century Gentile Bellini was to use the same device in his *Saint Mark preaching at Alexandria,* now in the Brera, although by then the reference was understood and the 'luggage label' no longer needed (fig. 68).[63]

The mosaic scene of the *Martyrdom of Saint Mark* in the Cappella di San Pietro shows the saint suspended by a rope around his neck from the towers of Alexandria with that city's most celebrated monument, the Pharos, directly above his



72 *Burial of Saint Mark*, early twelfth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, Cappella di San Pietro, north wall.

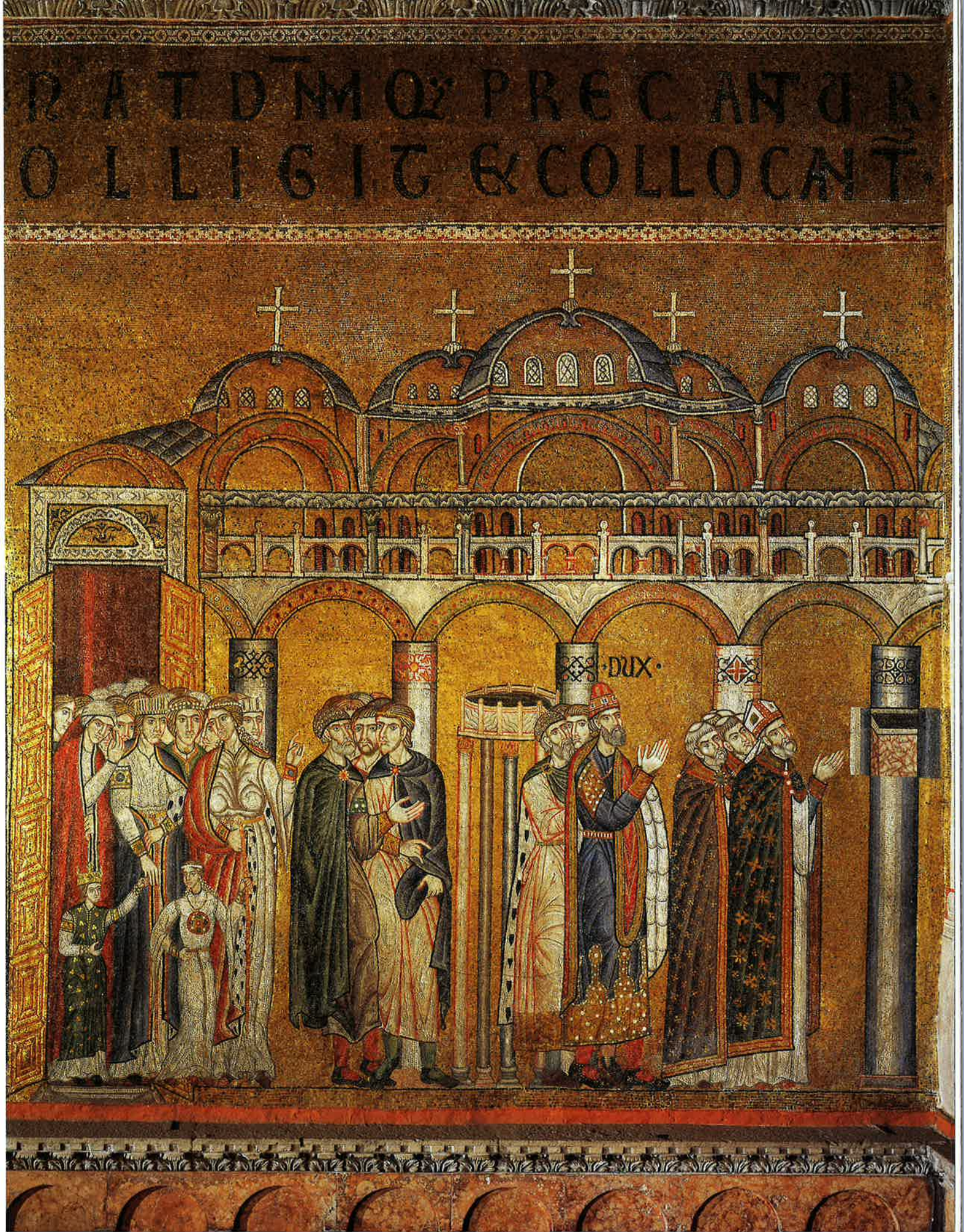
head (fig. 70). In antiquity, the great lighthouse had been distinguished by its three tiers – square at the base, octagonal in the middle and cylindrical at the summit. When this mosaic was executed, it was still standing, though sadly mutilated (fig. 71). Its condition had dramatically deteriorated since the Arab conquest in AD 641: badly damaged under Caliph al-Walîd in the early eighth century in a mistaken search for treasure inside, the upper parts had been restored in brick and stucco rather than the original gleaming white ashlar, its height now much reduced. The descriptions by Arab travellers in the twelfth century suggest that the form depicted in the Cappella di San Pietro was based on first-hand knowledge of its actual state at the time. The top two stories, octagonal and round, are clearly visible above the roofline. The glow inside the cupola, however, must have been superimposed on the information from traveller's reports, through recourse to ancient texts or hearsay. Most twelfth-century Arab visitors mention the *qubba* or wooden-domed mosque erected on top by Ibn Tulun in about 875.[64] By this time the blazing fire and complex mirror system of the ancient lighthouse were probably no longer to be seen – only Idrisi mentioned a fire on the summit, suggesting that he derived this information from older texts.[65]

Not only does the recognisable inclusion of the lighthouse signify a particular geographical identity, but also, as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World lit by the perpetual fire burning at its summit, the Pharos adds stature to the Apostle's role as a powerful source of spiritual light, its lantern open to reveal the golden light emanating from within. It appears again with its cupola alight, once more placed directly above the saint's head in the *Burial of Saint Mark* in the same chapel, although in a more schematic form (fig. 72). Both the Pharos and the neighbouring tower above the heart of the saint have now been transformed into open lanterns pierced by huge luminous windows.[66]

It was the means of travel itself that most excited the inventive powers of the mosaicists, who portrayed four three-masted sailing ships (only two or at most three of which are needed in the narrative) in graphic detail.[67] Merchant ships were at hand to be observed and sketched, even by those who never left the lagoon.[68] Their role as purveyors of wealth and culture, not to mention the transport of warfarers, pilgrims and even apostles, endowed them with heightened significance. The preference in the mosaics for oriental saints and those believed to protect sailors transformed San Marco into a multivalent shrine, not only to the cult of Saint Mark himself but also to the myth and actuality of travel to the Levant.[69] The full extent of the permeation of the lore and language of oriental travel into local culture is suggested by the inscription in Arabic of the words uttered by the Moslem customs official on seeing the basket of pork in which Saint Mark's body was concealed: 'Kanzir, kanzir' (pig, pig). Enough Arabic speakers must have been present among the Christian public to translate and make sense of this utterance.[70]

The reductive process imposed by the rendering of architectural settings recalled and recounted by travellers is highlighted by comparing the depictions of Alexandria in the chapels of Saint Peter and Saint Clement just discussed with the subsequent scenes in the narrative, the *Apparitio Sancti Marci* in the south transept, executed in the following century probably before 1266 (fig. 73).[71] To Demus, the earlier Alexandrian settings showed 'a somewhat barbaric love of showiness, of material splendour', for he recognised (but did not entirely sympathise with) the desire to evoke one of the great trading emporia of the East.[72] Yet in comparison with these early scenes, the *Apparitio* is a feast of colour and material richness. This later event in the Marcian legend records the occasion of the *inventio* in 1094, when the saint's body believed lost, miraculously reappeared as one of the piers bur

73 *Apparitio Sancti Marci*, thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, south transep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open to reveal the burial casket.[73] The story is divided into two separate events, which appear at first glance as a continuous narrative, the narrow space separating the two scenes masked by an open door. Each scene takes the form of a schematic 'bent' section through the church of San Marco: the *Prayers for the Recovery of the Body* follows an L-shaped line from the north transept past the distinctive two-tiered pulpit to the high altar, while the *Appearance of the Body* traces another L, from the main door past the smaller south pulpit to the pier on the south-east of the crossing where the body miraculously reappeared. This skilful rendering of architectural space, with its dynamic representation of the paths of the moving processions and its combining of exterior and interior, shows how vividly a building could be depicted when the artists were in a position to render what they knew at first hand. The starting point is the representative convention of the image of Theodoric's palace in Ravenna, though refreshed by first-hand observation and a subtle understanding of architectural form. Apart from the depiction of the façade of San Marco on the Porta Sant'Alipio, no other architectural setting in the medieval mosaic decoration of the church achieved such detail or spatial complexity. It has been criticised for its lack of 'realistic space', but when read as a cross-section rather than a view it reveals a capacity to represent space that transcends the limitations of single-point perspective.

The atrium mosaics

Observing such representational finesse in the case of a familiar, local setting, the difficulties in transporting architectural images across the seas can better be appreciated. It was in the atrium in the thirteenth century that the opportunity to evoke Egyptian settings offered its widest scope. Here the impact of travel and trade on the visual imagination can be observed in the Old Testament scenes from the Book of Genesis that decorate the chain of domes. Even the idea of surrounding the nave of the church on its two free sides with a succession of low cupolas may have been intended as an allusion to eastern models, for repeated domes were beginning to appear in mosque and *madrasa* architecture from Aleppo to Isfahan (fig. 74).[74] In 1496, for example, an anonymous Venetian traveller described the great mosque in Tabriz: 'Around and about it is all vaulted with the most beautiful domes.'[75] Most historians now agree that in the rebuilding of San Marco under Doge Domenico Contarini, begun in 1063 and completed in about 1094, the church was built with a western narthex only, and that the northern atrium followed at least a century later.[76]

74 Aleppo, Firdaws *madrasa*, 1235–6, courtyard.

75 Venice, San Marco, north side showing *Flight of Alexander* relief.

Significantly, the atrium mosaics show an insistent desire to focus on stories that have Egyptian settings, whereas events that largely preclude this, such as the stories of Isaac and Jacob, are omitted.[77] As if to underscore this particular choice of programme, the exterior of the north wing of the atrium displays a relief representing the flight of Alexander the Great (fig. 75).[78] Founder of Alexandria and the ruler over an enormous empire, Alexander seems to be intended as an image of temporal power, with specific reference to Alexandria, rather than an anti-Christ figure or an image of pride, as has been suggested.[79] Reinforcing this contention, three fragments of a silk banner or ceremonial hanging preserved in German museums, illustrating the flight of Alexander in a repeating design, appear to have been produced in Venice around the thirteenth century.[80] By their very nature, such banners are more likely to be triumphal than to serve as moral warnings against vice.

The San Marco relief adopts the traditional Byzantine formula, with the chariot seen frontally and the griffins ascending sideways in opposite directions (fig. 76).[81] The king rides in triumph in his chariot, drawn by mythical griffins, holding aloft sticks with joints of meat, the kebabs that tempted the beasts to take to the skies.[82] He is portrayed in the guise of a Byzantine emperor, probably taken from coin images (which would explain his lack of a lower body).[83] Despite its ambiguous position in the moral canon of the Middle Ages, the *Flight of Alexander* could only be interpreted as a miraculous event. Its faintly ridiculous rationale, tempting mythical creatures with earthly food, wove a compelling yarn, but the event itself belonged to the medieval *mirabilia* tradition that transgressed religious and cultural boundaries.[84]

The life of Alexander was familiar not only from ancient writings, but more particularly from the hugely popular *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes, from which the story of the *Flight* derives.[85] This exotic narrative stimulated the medieval reader's imagination to range across huge geographical distances, its fantastic tales of oriental travel inspiring Marco Polo (or at least his scribe Rustichello).[86] A twelfth-century manuscript version is still in the Biblioteca Marciana, and the text was printed in Italian translation in

76 *Flight of Alexander, circa* twelfth century, stone relief, Venice, San Marco, north side.

Venice as early as 1477.[87] The life of Alexander appealed to classical, Christian and Islamic literary traditions alike.[88] Icarus and Mohammed had both taken flight, still an unfulfilled fantasy for normal mortals.[89]

Alexander's death, too, slipped easily into both Christian and Islamic *topoi* for the burial of saints and heroes.[90] At the end of the *Alexander Romance*, Zeus instructs Ptolemy, through an oracle, to carry the body of the dead conqueror to its final resting place in Alexandria, enacting the divine prophecy revealed to Alexander at the opening of the *Life*: 'Here in this city always you shall dwell/ In life and death. The city which you built/ Shall be your tomb. This I, your sire, swear,/ Oh Alexander'.[91] An enduring Arab tradition placed the burial site near the Coptic church of Saint Mark in Alexandria.[92] Thus the *translatio* and burial of Alexander offered the perfect classical analogy for the fate of Saint Mark's relics, as well as a potent image of state.

Books and mosaics

It has been realised for over a century that the manuscript known as the Cotton Genesis was used as the basic source for the figure compositions of the atrium mosaics (apart from the final cupola displaying scenes from the life of Moses, which is not found in the Book of Genesis).[93] Although badly burned in a fire in 1731 – exactly a century after the death of Sir Robert Cotton, the English owner who gave the codex its name – this famous Greek manuscript is now in the British Library.[94] In its incinerated state it consists only of a series of charred fragments, the parchment apparently contracted to about 40 per cent of its original size by the effects of heat.[95] Only 134 pages are now known, either as surviving pieces or from the watercolours made by George Vertue soon after the fire. Most scholars accept the tradition that the Cotton Genesis was made in Egypt – most probably in Alexandria itself – at about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century.[96] The Alexandrian provenance, whether true or mythical, gave this rich source of images a poignant relevance. Indeed, Buchthal postulated that the manuscript was brought directly to Venice from Alexandria 'in the wake of the Venetian commercial relations with Egypt'.[97]

The entire north side of the atrium is dominated by Egyptian settings: the *Story of Joseph* occupies three domes, and the *Life of Moses* the fourth (figs 77, 122). The prominence given to Joseph inside the atrium further emphasises a Christian justification of temporal power. In Egypt, according to the Book of Genesis, Joseph was placed second in command to the king himself:

> And Pharaoh said to Joseph, 'See, I have set you over all the land of Egypt.' Removing his signet-ring from his hand, Pharaoh put it on Joseph's hand; he arrayed him in garments of fine linen, and put a gold chain around his neck. He had him ride in the chariot of his second-in-command; and they cried out in front of him, 'Bow the knee!' Thus he set him over all the land of Egypt. (Genesis 41: 41–3)

Joseph's namesake, Flavius Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, recorded how Jacob could scarcely believe the news of his son's destiny: 'living in splendid fortune, sharing with the king the government of Egypt and having well-nigh the whole charge of it in his hands.'[98]

Thus Joseph becomes a prototype for Saint Mark himself, described as the founder of the church in Alexandria by Eusebius, and depicted as Bishop of Alexandria in one of the spandrels of the north atrium.[99] The association between Joseph, Mark the Evangelist and the image of Alexander in triumph on the north façade as three figures of authority in Egypt would not have gone unnoticed. Material success, temporal power and the ability to manage scarce resources of food – all these aspects of the Joseph story offered themes of particular relevance to the fortunes of the Venetian state.[100] It has even been suggested that this composite image was a prototype for the figure of the Venetian doge.[101]

The Egyptian settings had to evoke a set of memories, personal or retold, of a distant land.[102] It was above all in the architectural backgrounds of the atrium mosaics that the imagination of the local designer(s) transcended the prototypes in the Cotton Genesis (figs 78, 79).[103] Potiphar's wife, an image of temptation, is richly dressed and framed by colourful, airy pavilions. Pharaoh is seen enthroned beneath a cusped arch topped by an exotic, eclectic skyline; in another scene he banquets in front of a similar archway draped with luxurious curtains; and in a lunette he dreams on a cushioned divan. In his position of authority, Joseph occupies dignified buildings almost as rich as those of Pharaoh himself – dramatically split in half in the scene in which he rents his clothes. Following the identification relayed by medieval travel writers such as John Mandeville, Joseph's granaries are given the form of the great pyramids of the Nile (fig. 77).[104] Of course, as the German pilgrim Felix Faber prosaically remarked of this tradition, there is not even enough space inside the pyramids for a man to stand upright – a problem energetically represented in a sketch in the Venetian merchant Alessandro Magno's diary (fig. 80).[105]

In their monograph on the codex, Weitzmann and Kessler remarked that: 'Exquisite literalism is the dominant charac-

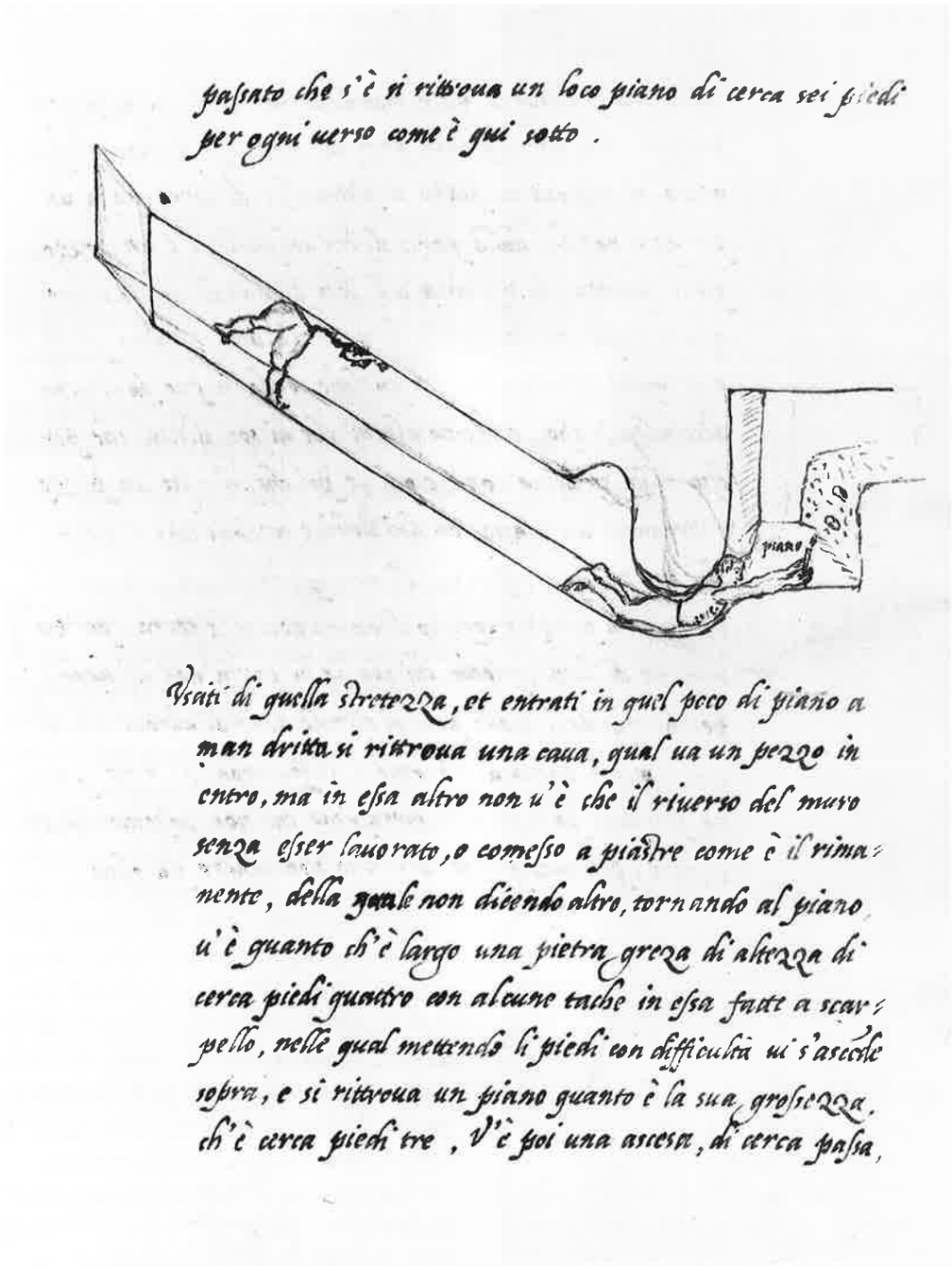
77 Venice, San Marco, atrium, third Joseph cupola, thirteenth century. 'Joseph's barns', depicted as pyramids, are visible at two points in the narrative.

78 *Butler serving Pharaoh, thirteenth century*, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, north atrium, second Joseph cupola pendentive.

79 *Butler serving Pharaoh*, redrawn by Dr Marian Wenzel from the charred fragments of the Cotton Genesis, from Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, 1986, pl. 42.

teristic of the C[otton] G[enesis] cycle of miniatures.'[106] Since they were, however, using the San Marco mosaics as a clue to much of the missing material in the Cotton Bible, their comment may be even more applicable to the mosaic cycle than to its venerable manuscript source. The inscriptions seem to underline this direct narrative intention, attaching simple captions to identify the events, rather than to indicate ideological or theological concerns: 'HIC EXTRAXERUNT EUM DE CISTERNA' (Here they extracted him from the well) and so on. When his brothers are brought to him, Joseph's house is prominently labelled 'EGYPTUS', transporting even the barely literate viewer's imagination to the intended geographical context without the distraction of a biblical text.

Insistently, the atrium mosaics savour the experience of eastern travel. Exotic portals and pavilions, pairs of leggy camels with beaded reins, piles of richly patterned cushions, and ornate tableware enliven the narratives. The scene of the Midianites bringing Joseph into Egypt is inscribed: 'HIC DUCITUR IOSEP IN EGYTPUM A MERCATORIBUS' (Here Joseph is brought into Egypt by *merchants*), explicitly linking the event with the adventures of traders (fig. 89). Even the *Virgin Enthroned* in the apse beneath the Moses cupola rests on a cushioned bench worthy of a Cairene mansion, elaborating on the colourful bolsters of the Evangelists in the Pala d'Oro and reflecting a Byzantine tradition exemplified by the apse mosaic in Hagia Sophia.[107] Many of these 'stage-props' were luxury items that could be loaded on to returning galleys, but camels, tents and buildings were less familiar. How did the



80 *Entering a Pyramid at Giza*, 1560, from the diary of Alessandro Magno, Folger Library, Washington, D.C., MS V. A. 259 (1317/1), f. 132.

artists compile this exotic world, more reminiscent of the *Arabian Nights* than the Book of Genesis?

Surprising parallels in the mode of architectural expression point to the Umayyad mosaics in the Great Mosque at Damascus of about AD 715. This visual consonance is illustrated by the comparison between the palace in the scene of *Moses before Pharaoh* and the pendentive decorated with a palace pavilion in the Damascus mosaics (figs 81, 82). Such an affinity could easily be dismissed by remembering that, like that of Venice, Umayyad mosaic art grew out of Byzantine roots. Yet the fact remains that Byzantine scholars have failed to find a convincing body of comparable architectural settings in more recent decorative schemes. The resemblance to the Damascus mosaics becomes immediately more explicable in the present context if it is remembered that major restorations of both the Great Mosque of Damascus and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem were begun under the Mamluk Sultan Baybars I, who died in Damascus in 1277.[108] The art

81 *Moses before Pharaoh*, second half of the thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, north atrium, Moses cupola.

82 Damascus, Great Umayyad Mosque, begun AD 706, mosaics on spandrels of central pavilion (heavily restored).

of glass mosaic, a medium that apparently flourished for relatively brief periods only in the Islamic tradition, was revived by Baybars during the 1260s and continued in Cairo and Damascus until 1340.[109] Glass mosaics emulating the style and subject matter of the Umayyad mosaics were subsequently executed in the Qubba al-Zahiriyya, the mausoleum of Sultan Baybars in Damascus, built in 1277–81.[110] Tantalisingly little is known about who executed these glass mosaics – if Byzantine craftsmen were involved, as has been suggested, then they deliberately eschewed their own pictorial traditions in favour of those of the Umayyads.[111]

The themes of trees and buildings without figures made these Islamic mosaics ideal vehicles with which to revise the backgrounds offered by the model of the Cotton Genesis in a more 'Egyptian' mode. It has been suggested that the architectural settings of these mosaics, like others of the same date in the citadel of Cairo (of which only fragments survive), were intended to evoke cities and castles in Mamluk dominions.[112] This visual expression of political hegemony, celebrating Mamluk control over Egypt and Syria in the face of crusader and Mongol incursions, provided an eloquent model for the symbolic possession of these lands in the San Marco mosaics. In the context of the intensification of trade with the Mamluks in later thirteenth-century Venice, it is plausible that a Venetian mercantile audience would have recognised the potency of the borrowing and been able to communicate this to other viewers. Ashtor has even described the Venetian relationship with the Mamluk sultans at this time as 'a *de facto* alliance'.[113] How the revival of the art of mosaic in the Mamluk sultanate was communicated to the Venetian mosaicists themselves is more difficult to explain. Similar architectural settings in Mamluk and Jaziran manuscripts of similar date suggest that Arabic book illustrations may have been a possible means of transmission.[114]

The fact that a manuscript source of Egyptian derivation for the Old Testament figure compositions has been identified, namely the Cotton Bible, leads to an investigation of the role of illuminated books in the designs. Could other collections of miniatures have been at hand to inspire the designers of the atrium mosaics?[115] As Kitzinger observed in relation to Byzantine mosaics and frescoes in general, 'library books – and richly illustrated luxury volumes in particular – were not normally available to mural decorators'.[116] The thirteenth-century San Marco mosaic workshop seems therefore to demonstrate an unusually close dependence on the art of book illumination. The possibility, already discussed, that secular and even non-Christian books may have been acquired by Venetian merchants on their trading voyages must

not be overlooked.[117] It is known that Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* were known to the atrium's mosaicists, because this is the only source that specifies the manner of the crucifixion of the baker.[118]

Many of the characteristics of the anecdotal detail in the mosaics can also be found in illustrated manuscripts widely circulated in the Moslem world, such as versions of the *Maqâmât* (Assemblies) of al-Hariri, a series of stories focusing on two main characters: a verbally acrobatic picaresque hero and the narrator, a bourgeois travelling merchant.[119] In his compilation of all thirteen known surviving illuminated versions of the *Maqâmât*, Oleg Grabar remarked on the paradoxical role of these entertaining, visually self-sufficient illustrations. Curiously, they accompany intricate written texts characterised not by visual imagery but by verbal subtlety and complexity.[120] It was their capacity to delight and entertain *without the support of their own texts*, that made such images so easily adapted to another text within a totally different culture.

All but two of the known illustrated *Maqâmât* manuscripts date from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries – for instance, the celebrated 'Schefer' *Maqâmât* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS Arabe 5847) is dated AD 1237.[121] Grabar's study suggests that there is little firm evidence to link their production to any one Islamic city; their distribution – and probably their production – extended from Egypt to central Asia.[122] Such a book could therefore have been imported into Venice well before the atrium mosaics reached completion in about the mid-thirteenth century. Other popular illustrated narratives in the Islamic world included the *Hadîth Bayâd u Riyâd* (Story of Bayâd and Riyâd) and the epic *Shahnama*. This was an unusual period in the history of Islamic art, when representational images proliferated in both book illustration and the applied arts.[123] Even texts without illustration could have suggested oriental details – the *Arabian Nights* had been circulating in Cairo and Baghdad from the ninth century onwards.[124]

Intriguing visual parallels reinforce the possibility that thirteenth-century illustrated Arabic books – or, at the very least, Syrian Christian manuscripts directly influenced by them – may have been available in Venice not only to inspire the architectural settings, but also to enliven the eastern atmosphere in the atrium mosaics, especially in the Egyptian scenes. These include such details as scenes of feasting at low tables (figs 84, 86), trees silhouetted in bold abstract patterns against a bright sky, tents and open pavilions (figs 85, 87), figures of power seated on cushioned thrones, ships floating on schematically rippled water, figures reclining on divans (figs 88, 90) and ornately harnessed camels (figs 89, 91). Most of all, the mosaics share with these Arab book illustrations the use of pose and gesture to express human emotions – the very emotions of trade and travel: anger, submission, gratitude, tiredness, friendship (fig. 83).

The process of assimilation reveals how such an extraneous visual culture had to be transformed. The vocabulary and emotion may be Islamic, but the pictorial language of the Venetian mosaic masters is distinctively Byzantine. At the same time, the roomy architectural spaces are far removed from the flatness of Islamic illustrators; and indeed, they are unusually deep even within the Byzantine tradition, being closer to the spatial systems then evolving in mainland Italian art.[125] It has been argued that such enhanced volumes in Italy at this period served to fix ideas in the memory.[126] As the classical memory system known as the *Ad Herennium* stressed, backgrounds arranged in series – particularly unfamiliar and

83 Sleeping merchants and camels, from *Maqâmât* of al-Hariri, 1237, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Arabe 5847 ('Schefer' *Maqâmât*), f. 9v.

84 *Joseph thrown into a Pit*, and *Brethren feasting*, thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, north atrium, first Joseph cupola.

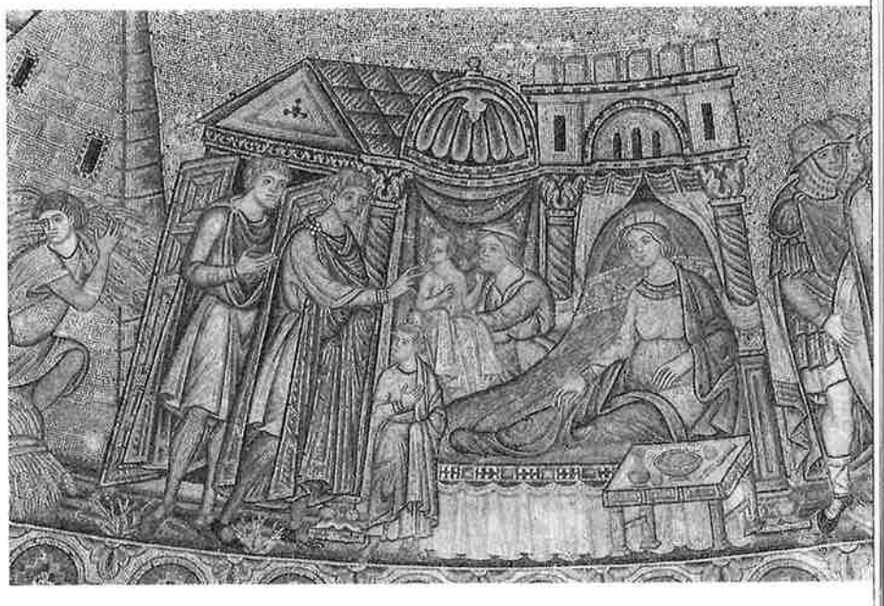
85 Dialogue in a tent, from *Maqâmât* of al-Hariri, 1237, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Arabe 5847 ('Schefer' *Maqâmât*), f. 77.

86 Banquet scene, from *Maqâmât* of al-Hariri, 1237, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Arabe, 5847 ('Schefer' *Maqâmât*), f. 47v.

87 *Desert Miracles of Moses*, thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, north atrium, apse above north door.

88 Bedside scene, from *Maqâmât* of al-Hariri, 1237, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Arabe 5847 ('Schefer' *Maqâmât*), f. 160v.

89 *Midianites bring Joseph into Egypt*, thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, north atrium, first Joseph cupola.



90 *Birth of Ephraim and Manasseh*, thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, north atrium, third Joseph cupola.

91 Camels, from *Maqâmât* of al-Hariri, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Arabe 3239, f. 40v.

noticeable backgrounds – offered the ideal compartments for committing ideas to memory: 'By backgrounds, I mean such scenes as are naturally or artificially set off on a small scale, complete and conspicuous, so that we can grasp and embrace them easily by the natural memory – for example, a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch, or the like.'[127] In the cupolas of San Marco's north atrium, the spectator's mind can perambulate round and round the rhythmic spatial sequences, exploring spaces deep enough to lodge a thought, but not separate enough to interrupt the flow of the narrative (fig. 93). The duty of the Christian scholar to commit the scriptures to memory is underlined in the preface to Hugh of St Victor's *Chronica*, which adopts the Creation narrative as a memory exercise.[128] The same early twelfth-century author used Noah's ark as a metaphor for the *arca sapientiae*.[129] Since manuscripts of such texts were widely circulated in the medieval Church, the intention that the atrium narratives should serve as mnemonic systems may have influenced the layout and choice of backgrounds. The circular format of the domes favours the procedure recommended in the *Ad Herennium*: 'So with respect to the backgrounds. If these have been arranged in order, the result will be that, reminded by the images, we can repeat orally what we have committed to the backgrounds, proceeding in either direction from any background we please.'[130] Evidence of the use of wheel diagrams as mnemonic aids in the Middle Ages ranges from Chaucer's use of the expression 'by rote' to the *rota virgili* (wheel of Virgil) used by teachers of rhetoric.[131] The wheel imagery is underlined in the Joseph cupolas by the elaborate geometric wheel patterns in the centre (fig. 92).[132] Adopting recognisably Islamic designs, these wheel motifs would have imprinted the plausibly oriental context on the memory of any viewer familiar with Moslem decorative vocabulary.[133] The committal of these stories to memory ensured their insertion into the city's cultural inheritance, from generation to generation.

92 Wheel in centre of second Joseph cupola, thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, north atrium.

The Cappella Zen

From the south, the visitor arriving by sea entered the atrium of San Marco through a barrel-vaulted vestibule, already in existence in 1200 and transformed into the Cappella Zen in 1503–15.[134] The vault of the vestibule was decorated, probably in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, with the first full visual cycle narrating the *praedestinatio* of Saint Mark (fig. 94). According to the text from which the cycle derives, the hymn transcribed by Martino da Canal in 1274, Saint Mark's visit to Venice – and the angel's prophecy that the lagoon should be his final resting place – took place *before* his mission to Alexandria.[135] Thus the story justified the (re-)capture of the saint's body and the reclaiming of Alexandria's identity and success. Da Canal seemed to claim the verses as a personal prayer 'which I have made and shall always make to Saint Mark on behalf of the Venetians', but he was probably relaying a narrative that had long circulated orally among the people of the city.[136] The four-line verses are written in Alexandrines or twelve-syllable lines, all four lines in each verse rhyming, perhaps recording a *lauda* sung to a repeatable tune by a lay devotional group such as a confraternity.[137] Indeed the whole poem stresses the capture of eastern loyalties: Greeks, Dalmatians and Istrians are supposed to have received divine inspiration to bless the progress of the relics, crowding to the ports along the route of the *translatio*. The last verse salutes the contribution of the Venetians to the Crusades: in Jerusalem, Tyre, Haifa and Damietta.[138] As well as their service to Christianity, the trading benefits of these Levantine interventions, eagerly protected in the Genoese

93 Second Joseph cupola, thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, north atrium.

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ATHMEC VM·
·IOSEPH·QM·DOMO·
·DEUS A OSTENT PAUL·
·PONIT IOSEPH·
INCARCERE·
·PICERNE ?PISTORI
·IOSEPH·PAVTIPHARAONIS
·SOMNIA QUE VIDERUNT·
·HO PHARAONIS
·PICERNE ?PISTORE
·TOR EXISTE PICAR·
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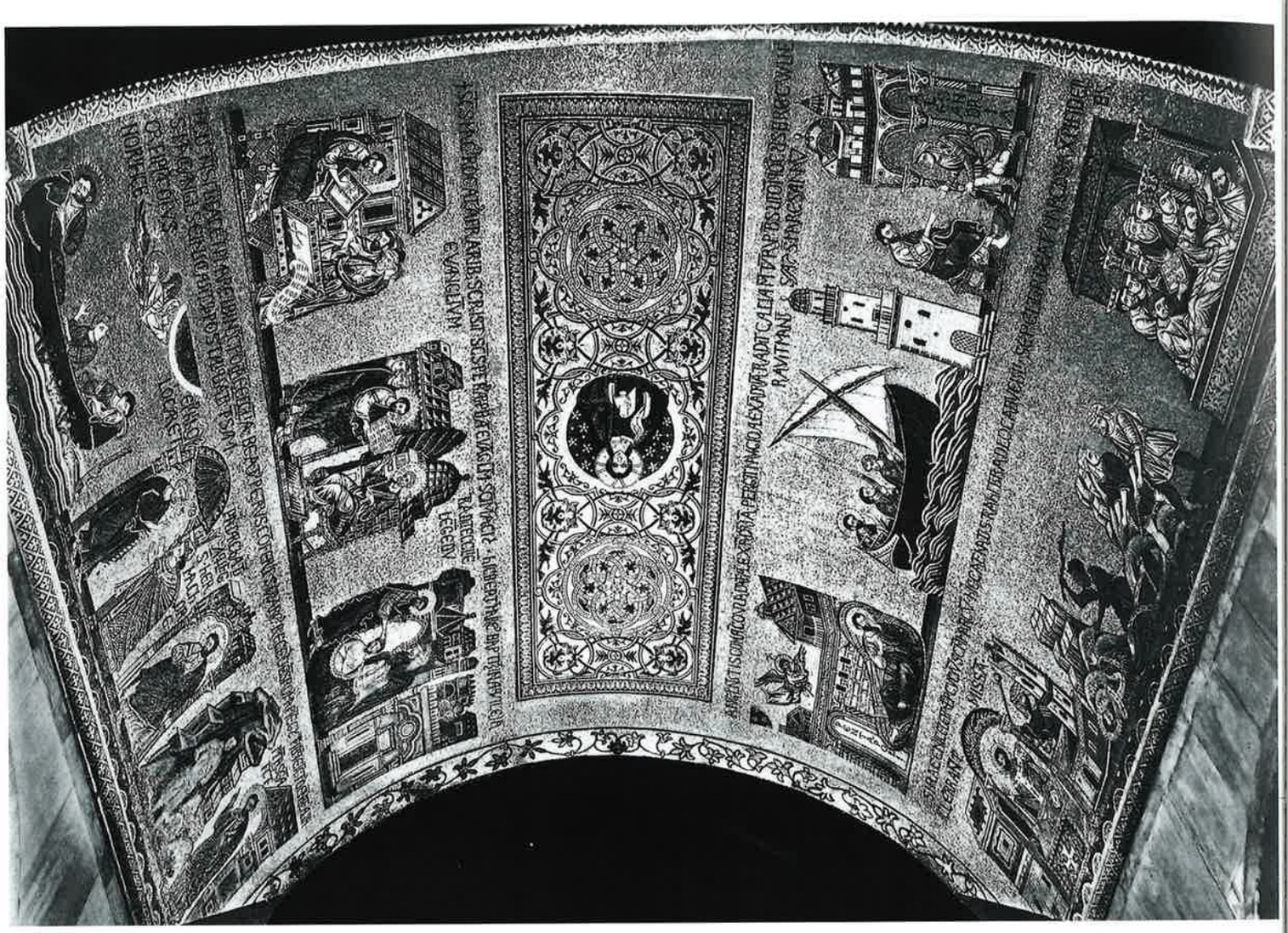
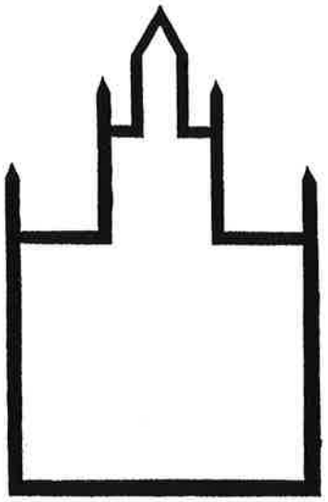


94 Venice, San Marco, Cappella Zen, vault mosaics, *c.*1270s.

Wars and symbolised by the Pillars of Acre outside the vestibule's doorway, would not have been forgotten by the Venetian public.[139]

Although the exact date of the Zen chapel mosaics is uncertain, Demus dated them to the 1270s, the very decade in which da Canal wrote down his hymn, near the end of his chronicle.[140] In that case, the chronicle offered a literary text, missing from the scriptures, to lend authenticity to the narrative. As da Canal spelled out clearly after transcribing the hymn, the whole chronicle was dedicated 'to the honour of Venice' – a city whose chroniclers were continually inventing and reinventing its own history.[141] Already in the third verse of the hymn, we learn of the adoption of the lion as the Evangelist's symbol, already used as a symbol of the Venetian state on the ducal *gonfalone.* With da Canal's text as a written justification for its vault mosaics, the vestibule provides a literal and literary overture for the Creation scenes in the first cupola of the atrium, where the lion takes precedence over the whole animal kingdom as a metaphor for the triumph of Venice.

The Zen chapel mosaics seem even more like pages in an illuminated book than the cupolas of the atrium, for although a continuous floor connects each row of scenes they are clearly separated by intervals of empty space. The rhythmic flow entwining the episodes in the cupolas – open and closed, agitated and static, rural and urban – has been abandoned in favour of a rigid, staccato compartmentalisation. Despite this more episodic quality, the oriental infusions of the atrium cupolas have not been forgotten. The exotic architectural settings of the Joseph cupolas are echoed in the Egyptian scenes; the baptism in Aquileia is a variant on the scenes of Joseph in the pit; and the figure of Saint Mark asleep recalls the



95 Alexandria, Pharos, sketched by Yaqut in 1215–27 (after Hermann Thiersch, *Pharos*, 1909 p. 44).

96 Coin of Emperor Hadrian, reverse, showing the Pharos of Alexandria, London, British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, BMC 884.

dreams of Joseph and Pharaoh in the north atrium. Even the wheel of fortune reappears on the vault. As Demus remarked, 'Venice [is] presented as the heir to Alexandria, for here we encounter the same preponderance of the "Egyptian" motif as in the north wing of the atrium.'[142] While da Canal's chronicle itself was quickly forgotten in Venice, the graphic narrative of the vault remained persuasive.[143]

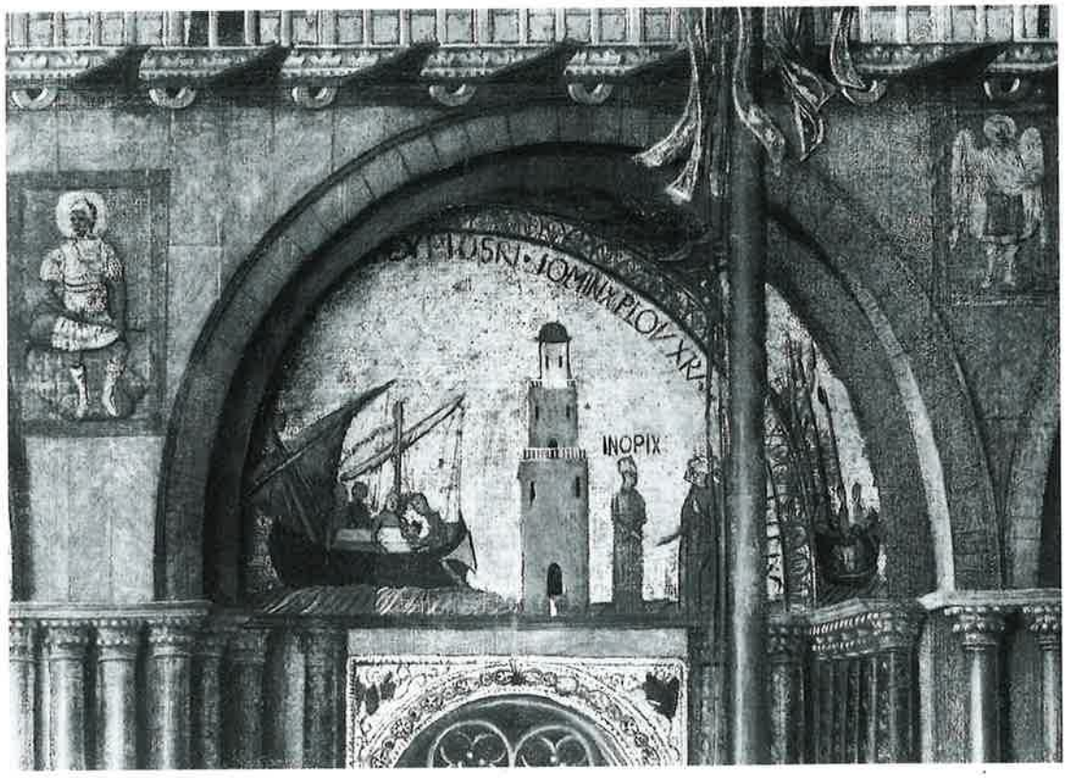
Most striking of all in the vault mosaics is the vivid and memorable depiction of the Pharos of Alexandria (fig. 97). Unlike the earlier representations of the Pharos in the Cappella di San Pietro it is not hoisted to the rooftops, a symbolic beacon over the head of the saint, but planted firmly on the seashore. The domed lantern is not lit, but instead the whole tower glows with the luminous whiteness of its stone walls. The three storeys are clearly differentiated, decreasing telescopically upwards, each with a balustraded terrace. The close-range details – the stepped shoreline and the huge, arched watergate – give a deceptive immediacy. What has been lost in the process of revision is the three-dimensional solidity of the tower that the earlier mosaicists in the Cappella San Pietro seemed to understand. Here, the image stands as insubstantial as a stage-flat. This Pharos is a vivid representation, not of its state in the thirteenth century, but of the lighthouse as it stood in Hellenistic times. The Arab traveller Yaqut, who visited the Pharos between 1215 and 1227, recorded its sadly mutilated state (fig. 95). The great lighthouse now consisted of only two vertical stages, both rectangular (and stocky, if we are to believe his outline sketch).[144] In the Cappella Zen, instead of the memory of a returning traveller, there is evidence of true humanistic research, based on classical texts and perhaps coins (fig. 96).[145] Classical sculpture may even have informed the designers, to judge by

98 Ancient Roman stone relief of lighthouse with boat, Museo Archeologico di Ostia, inv. 49132.

97 (*left*) *Saint Mark's Voyage to Alexandria*, showing the Pharos, *c.*1270s, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, Cappella Zen.

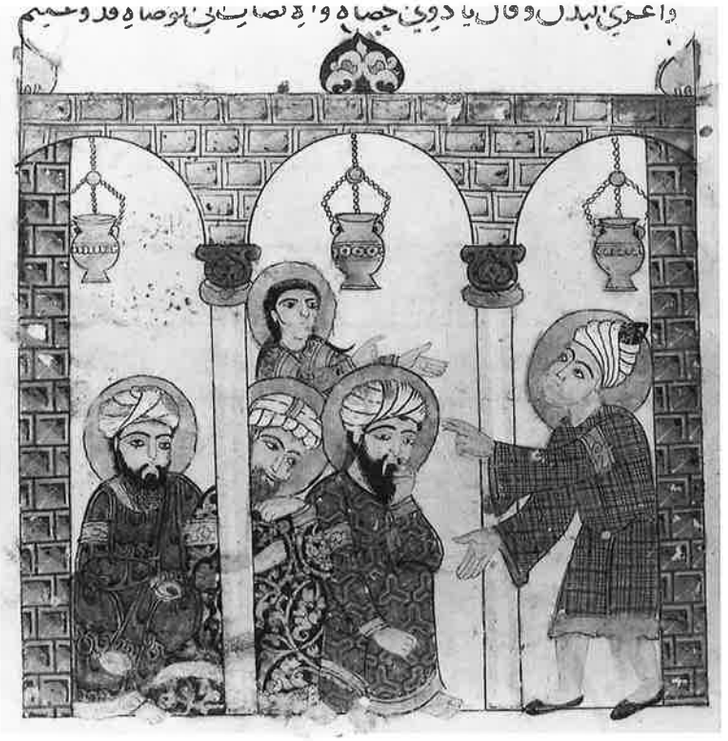
99 Gentile Bellini, *Procession in Piazza San Marco*, signed and dated 1496, oil on canvas, Venice, Accademia.

100 *The Relics of Saint Mark loaded into a ship in Alexandria* (detail of fig. 99), late thirteenth century, mosaic, formerly in the second lunette from the right of the façade of San Marco, Venice.



the remarkable compositional similarity with views of ancient lighthouses such as the relief now in Ostia (fig. 98).[146]

The unusually close dependence on classical tradition in San Marco in the thirteenth century was noticed by Demus, who styled the period as a 'proto-Renaissance'.[147] The important issue in the present context is that, as mentioned earlier, the Fourth Crusade made classical scholarship accessible to those Venetians who chose to spend extended periods in Constantinople after 1204. As already seen, Greek texts such as Strabo's *Geography*, which could inform and interpret a humanistic reference such as the Zen chapel's image of the Pharos, are known today mainly through Byzantine manuscript survivals, a fact that seems to suggest their availability in the Latin Kingdom.[148]

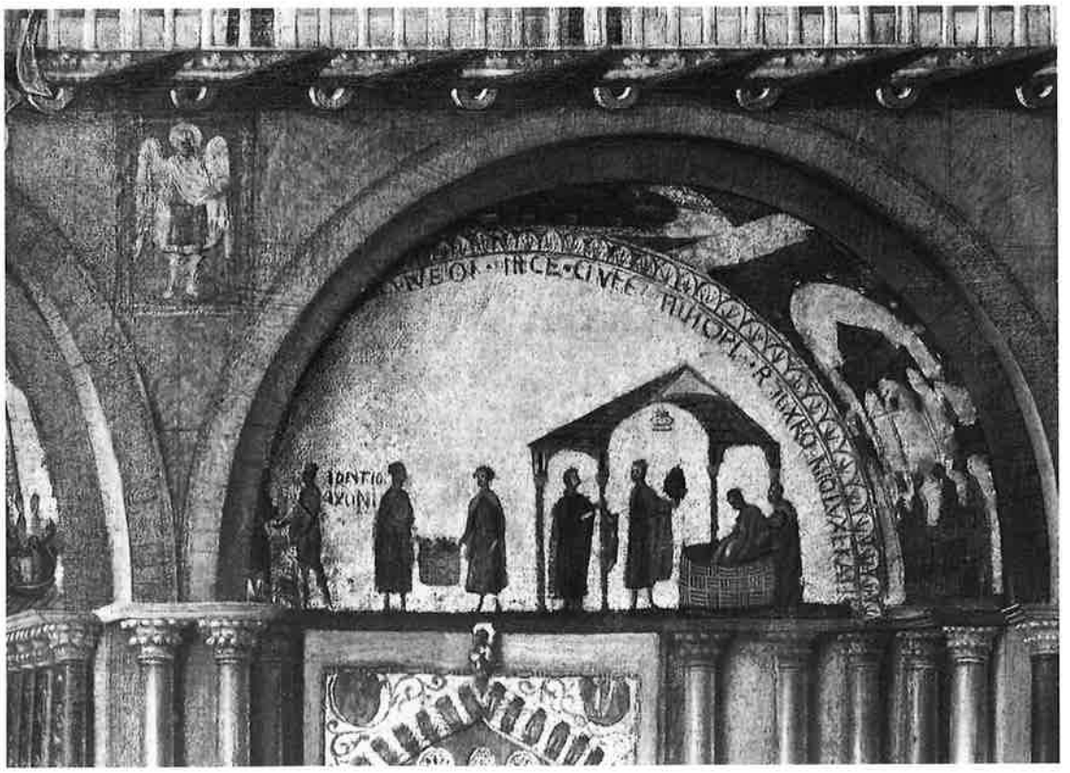


101 Mosque scene, from *Maqâmât* of al-Hariri, fourteenth-century Mamluk illustration, London, British Library, MS Add. 22114, f. 143.

The façade mosaics

However schematic, the new *all'antica* imagery of the Pharos proved compelling. As the most memorable detail in the Zen chapel vault, it appears in almost identical guise in the continuation of the same cycle across the lunettes of the façade, depicting the *translatio* of Saint Mark's relics and probably

102 *The Theft of Saint Mark's Body from Alexandria* (detail of fig. 99), late thirteenth century, mosaic, formerly on right-hand lunette of the façade of San Marco, Venice.



carried out in the 1260s.[149] This cycle, claimed Martino da Canal with tortuous logic and touching faith in the power of the visual image, allowed the spectator to verify the historical authenticity of the narrative.[150] Only the last of these scenes, the *Carrying of Saint Mark's Body into the Church of San Marco*, over the Porta Sant'Alipio on the northernmost portal of the façade, survives today (fig. 111), but the whole cycle is known from the detailed reproduction of the lunette mosaics in Gentile Bellini's *Procession in Piazza San Marco*, signed and dated 1496 (fig. 99).[151] Compared with the curiously hybrid obelisk-lighthouse later depicted in the Marcian cycle on the wooden cover for the Pala d'Oro by Paolo Veneziano in 1345, the thirteenth-century façade mosaic alludes directly to the image of the classical lighthouse depicted in the Cappella Zen (figs 97, 100).[152]

These façade mosaics offer the most compelling evidence of knowledge of book illustrations from the Arab world in the thirteenth-century mosaic workshop of San Marco, in the two scenes of the theft of the body from Alexandria in the right-hand façade lunette, now destroyed, but also recorded by Gentile Bellini (fig. 102). The two-dimensional silhouette of an open pavilion, with a glowing lamp suspended from the roof, forms the setting for the two robbery scenes, borrowing the conventional portrayal of mosque interiors from Arabic painting, such as the *Maqâmât* illustrations already mentioned (fig. 101). Any viewer familiar with the art of Islamic books at this time would have recognised this stylised representation, its simplified *mode* of depiction directly appropriated from Moslem visual tradition as an allusion to the daring theft of the Apostle's body.[153] Whereas in the north atrium the narrative detail and emotion of Arabic book illustration was transformed into more three-dimensional Byzantine pictorial conventions, here even the formulaic representational language has been adopted. By using the attributes of visual imagery from the Islamic world, not only were identifying details provided to locate the narratives in Egypt, but the style of description itself evoked this extraneous environment by adopting its *medium* of expression – a visual rather than verbal language imported as cultural baggage on the galleys of Venice's Levantine merchants.[154]

The last Venetian Pharos

When he painted his *Procession* in 1496, Bellini could see a three-dimensional, large-scale reproduction of the Pharos, newly erected on Venetian soil. This was Mauro Codussi's campanile for the cathedral church of San Pietro di Castello, for which the mason-architect received the commission in 1482 (fig. 104).[155] With its three superimposed tiers – quadrangular at the bottom, octagonal in the central zone and circular at the top – and its snow-white ashlar masonry, Codussi's campanile was an explicit reference to the ancient Pharos of Alexandria. Here the image is given its true three-dimensional geometry, although the campanile has since lost its domed top storey.[156] As the first bell-tower in Venice to be completely faced in Istrian stone, it stands at the eastern end of the city, as a beacon for the sea-borne traveller from the east.[157]

The full significance of Codussi's intervention depends on the fact that the campanile had only just been rebuilt, its construction begun in 1463 and completed as recently as 1474.[158] His contract confirms that some lightning damage had since occurred, but a close reading of this document indicates that the campanile had not been destroyed, as is usually suggested.[159] A promised payment of one hundred ducats included not only the repair of the lightning damage, but also the carving of the topmost cornice and the adjustment of the first two steps – with an additional payment of forty ducats for the labour of ascending of the campanile.[160] In view of the scale and fine detail of the great *all'antica* cornice (to follow a design already supplied), the amount of this payment confirms the relatively minor degree of the lightning damage.[161] In addition, the contract provided for the innovatory facing of the entire campanile in white Istrian stone at fifty ducats per *passo*, and here lay the extravagance of the conceit. The real nature of the project was a cosmetic and rhetorical one.

Several aspects of the commission support the hypothesis that a self-conscious representation of the imagery of the Pharos of Alexandria was intended. The expense of the Istrian stone cladding, not to mention the cost of the cornice, implies that the innovatory use of gleaming white ashlar was intended to be meaningful (fig. 105).[162] Both the fact that the adjustment of two steps at the base was specifically mentioned in the contract and the reference to the arcaded bell-chamber by the word 'balchonal' (for the balcony exists only in the mosaic) seem to make direct reference to the Zen chapel image of the Pharos – and to its echo that still decorated one of the façade lunettes of San Marco (fig. 107). The single arched door at the base of the lighthouse in the mosaics is evoked in Codussi's campanile by the entrance portal with its straight lintel scooped out to give an arched appearance.[163] This curious detail seems to result from the redesign of a rectangular portal in the remodelling process. The facing of the whole tower in perfectly jointed smooth white ashlar, for which the stone was personally chosen by Codussi at the quarries in Istria, was a dramatic innovation in Venice, which

had enjoyed a long tradition of belfries in warm red brick.[164] Istrian stone was the ideal material in which to replicate the dazzling luminosity of the ancient Pharos, its white marble blocks described by Strabo and graphically recorded by the mosaicists in the Cappella Zen (fig. 97).[165] Later documents record the construction of the crowning *cuba* or dome using a lead-covered wooden framework, completed in 1488, just ten days before the bells were finally hung.[166]

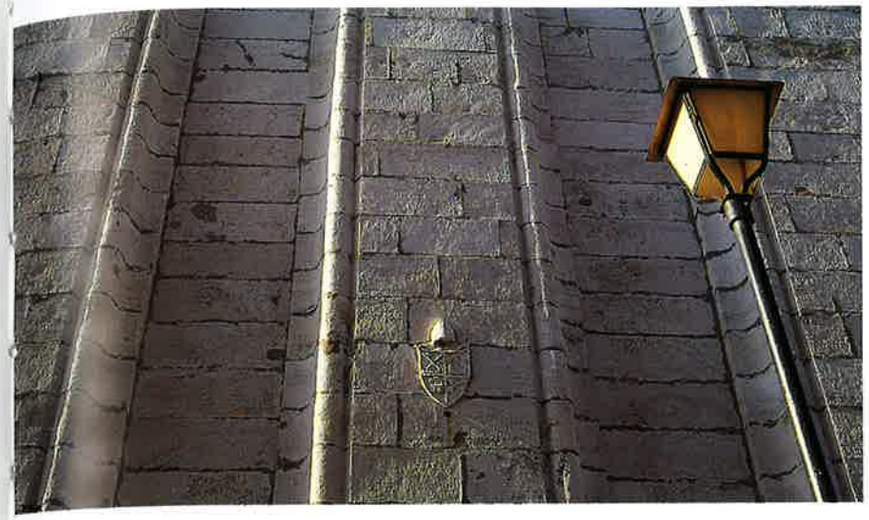
The Pharos of Alexandria had by then totally disappeared. In 1480, just two years before the start of the new campanile of San Pietro di Castello, the Sultan Qa'it Bay had completed his hefty fort on the promontory at the mouth of Alexandria's double harbour, obliterating the last remains of the great lighthouse (fig. 106).[167] The sight of the Pharos rising anew on Venetian soil gained added potency through its recent final obliteration in the hands of the Mamluk sultan. This is not an isolated example of the use of architecture as a form of political or ideological appropriation through the resurrection on Italian soil of monuments destroyed at the hand of the 'infidel'. The adoption of Byzantine elements in Venice after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 is by now a familiar theme, exemplified for instance by the use of Byzantine capitals in the Arsenal gateway of 1460.[168] Likewise in Rome, the evocation of the quincunx of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (the original inspiration for San Marco itself) in Bramante's first design for St Peter's preserved the memory of this venerable and eloquent apostolic prototype, destroyed at the hands of the Ottomans only two generations earlier.

How confidently can it be claimed that Codussi's public would have recognised the allusion to the Pharos of Alexandria at San Pietro di Castello? A letter of only five years earlier relating to Codussi's new church for the Camaldoli of San Michele in Isola suggests that his circle of patrons were not unaware of the measure of the public gaze (fig. 103). In 1477 the monk Pietro Dolfin wrote to the abbot of the monastery, Pietro Donà, who was then in Ravenna:

> Come, then, to see something great and rare, which adds adornment and decorum not only to our order, but also to the whole city: your temple, I call it (and not for the sake of flattery), for it was built through your initiative, so that it would ennoble both you and your monastery. Excepting, of course, the church of San Marco, I prefer our façade to every other. Newly brought to perfection, it is resplendent with such beauty that it attracts the gaze of every passer-by and traveller by boat. Everyone is amazed that it could have been built so quickly, and with such artistic merit, a building of such greatness that it not only emulates antiquity, but even evokes the finest works of the ancients. Thus, when you come, as soon as you draw near . . . stand up in your gondola, and then, believe me, you will see it and will be stunned, and your heart will rejoice, even if weighed down by innumerable worries and saddened by some grief or other.[169]

103 Venice, San Michele in Isola, façade by Mauro Codussi, 1469–77.

This eager missive reveals three aspects of the intention behind the design of San Michele in Isola. First of all, it confirms that the emulation of antiquity through the evocation of the masterpieces of the ancients was a conscious intention. The patriarch who commissioned Codussi's refashioning of the campanile at San Pietro di Castello, Maffeo Gerardo, had been Donà's predecessor as abbot of San Michele. He was elevated to the patriarchate in 1468, just before work began



105 Venice, San Pietro di Castello, campanile, detail of masonry.

104 (*facing page*) Venice, San Pietro di Castello, campanile, refaced by Mauro Codussi 1482–8. The crowning dome was removed in 1670.

107 (*right*) Venice, San Pietro di Castello, campanile, detail of steps.

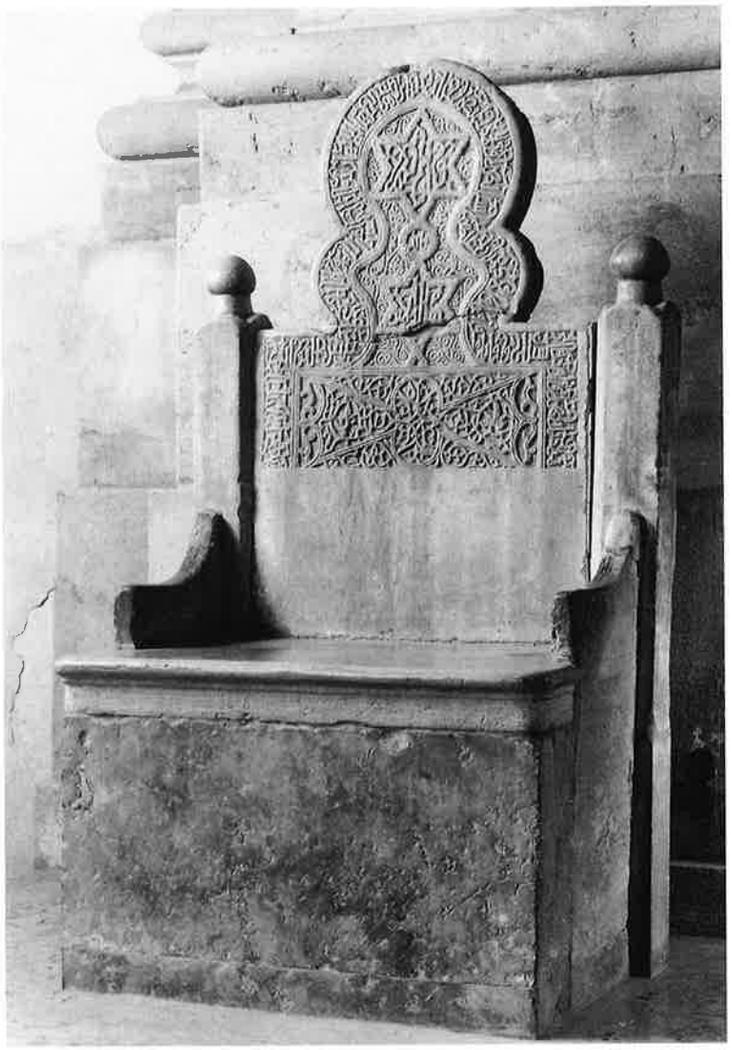
106 (*below*) Alexandria, Fort Qa'it Bay, 1477–80.

108 View of Alexandria, from *Capitolare al Cottimo*, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, *Capitolato cottimo Alessandria*, busta 944 bis.

on Codussi's new island church, having already himself begun the renovation of the Camaldolese monastery. His chancellor in the patriarchate was the celebrated humanist, Filippo Morandi of Rimini, who had been the first teacher at the newly founded school for classical studies at San Marco and had also spent time in the eastern Mediterranean.[170] Filippo's erudition fully qualified him to reinforce the choice of the imagery of the Pharos at San Pietro by reference to the full range of available classical texts. Secondly, Dolfin's encomium asserts that San Marco still retained its paradigmatic status. By analogy, at San Pietro di Castello, the recognition of an overt citation from a celebrated mosaic in San Marco can be presumed. And thirdly, the letter acknowledges that these patrons were aware of the different levels of appreciation within the Venetian audience. Dolfin expressed his satisfaction that the façade would engage even the attention of the passing boatman. For the uneducated passer-by, at San Pietro di Castello, as at San Michele, the crispness of the stonecarving and the innovatory whiteness, not to mention the expense of so much dressed Istrian stone, would have aroused more notice among the populace than the new building's *all'antica* qualities.

That attention of the passing boatman should be drawn to the new building was especially relevant at San Pietro di Castello where the campanile acted as one of the reference points for navigation into the port of Venice, a role already performed by the Pharos of Alexandria over the centuries (fig. 108). The portolan of Pietro dei Versi begun in 1444 explains how to enter the harbour of Venice, using the campanili of San Nicolò al Lido, San Pietro di Castello, San Marco and San Giorgio Maggiore as bearings.[171] The portolan specifically states that 'San Pietro has the lighthouse tower', suggesting that the campanile had a traditional function as a beacon for sailors in dark and fog.[172] Portolans give similar guidance for approaching Alexandria – the Rizzo Portolan declares: 'Alexandria is a noble city, and it has a causeway leading out towards the north on which stands a tall tower known as the great Pharos of Alexandria, which marks the land and is visible at a distance of 25 to 30 miles.'[173] This guide was printed in Venice in 1490, by which time the Pharos itself had vanished, but it publishes navigational lore that had circulated for some time. The thirteenth-century merchant's handbook from crusader Acre now in the Biblioteca Marciana advises the mariner: 'and now turn towards Africa and head towards the lighthouse.'[174] A second nearby lighthouse in Alexandria, mentioned by both the Rizzo Portolan and Sanuto and popularly known as Maimon or Memon, presumably outlived the Pharos itself.[175]

The new Pharaonic campanile was not the first case of cultural appropriation from the Arab world at San Pietro di Castello. The same church houses a curious relic known as the Throne of Saint Peter, which has been identified in an article by Sinding-Larsen as an Islamic funeral stele inscribed with Koranic texts (fig. 109).[176] In the same way that Islamic artefacts, such as Fatimid rock crystal dishes and jugs and an Iranian or Iraqi turquoise glass bowl in the treasury of San Marco, were remounted as Christian objects for the treasury, so, too, this tombstone was remodelled to form an apostolic seat (fig. 110).[177] Given the number of Arabic speakers among the Venetian mercantile class this was surely not an ignorant case of mis-identity, but rather, a deliberate robbing of a devotional object from the Moslem world – the Christianisation of the spoils of a crusading culture. By this celebratory rev-



109 'Throne of St Peter'. Remodelled Arabic stele, remounted in Venice late twelfth–thirteenth century, Venice, San Pietro di Castello.

110 Ewer of al-Aziz Billah, carved rock crystal, probably Egypt (Fatimid), AD 975/6, Venice, San Marco, Treasury.

erence of a Levantine trophy, a gesture of competition with the Papacy in the display of apostolic imagery may also have been intended. Saint Peter's in Rome, too, of course, preserves a 'throne of Saint Peter', the *Cattedra petri*, now floating triumphantly in a sea of light in Bernini's dramatic setting at the (liturgical) 'east' end of the basilica.[178] In the context of the Venetian lagoon, by contrast, San Pietro di Castello's seat incorporating the Arab stele is set solidly on the ground, like the ancient throne in the *campo* in Torcello, its 'oriental' inscriptions alluding to its origin in biblical lands, where Saint Mark handed his gospel to Saint Peter and founded the church in Alexandria.[179]

Architectural orientalisation

This excursion to the cathedral church of San Pietro di Castello at the eastern end of the city has taken us away from San Marco, where we must now return to consider the architectural character of the church as a whole. As Demus recognised, in the thirteenth century not only the infusion of Egyptian themes into the mosaic decoration of San Marco took place, but also an array of Islamic architectural embellishments were made to the church. 'Having built such a beautiful church,' recorded da Canal, 'the Venetians decided that it should be embellished every year for ever and ever, and this is what they do.'[180]

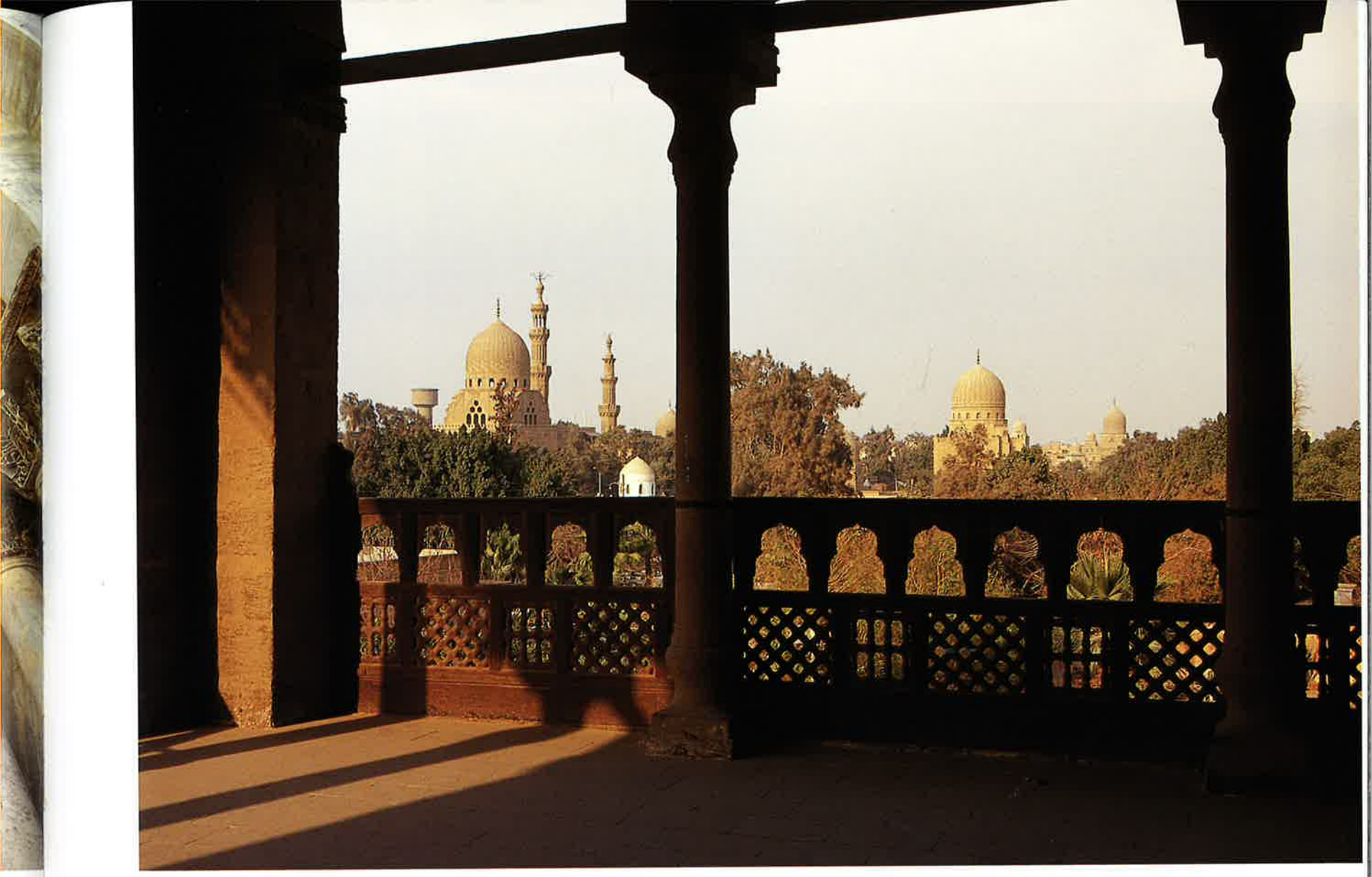
Most conspicuous were the five great bulbous outer cupolas, erected on wooden superstructures over the low

111 *The Carrying of Saint Mark's Body into the Church of San Marco*, late thirteenth century, mosaic, Venice, San Marco, Porta Sant'Alipio.

Byzantine brick domes, and vividly depicted in the Porta Sant'Alipio mosaic already mentioned (fig. 111).[181] These must pre-date Martino da Canal's chronicle (1267–75) in which the mosaics in the façade lunettes are described. Adopting the swelling profiles of Islamic mausolea in Egypt from the time of Ibn Tulun onwards, a specifically Egyptian funerary context is recreated for Saint Mark's new burial place.[182] The multiplicity of the closely spaced cupolas recalls the profusely domed skyline of the City of the Dead in Cairo (fig. 112), but the domes of these Cairene mausolea are constructed in a robust masonry jigsaw technique characteristic of the Mamluk period. To erect Islamic-style soaring domes over the existing Byzantine construction of San Marco, the Venetian builders needed a more lightweight structural solution (fig. 113). Creswell claimed that Egypt was also the home of the large, bulbous wooden-framed dome, beginning with the mosque erected by Ibn Tulun (d. 883) on the summit of the Pharos of Alexandria and the dome of his own mosque in Cairo (876–8) (fig. 114).[183] Significantly, in view of the possible links with the patronage of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars already noted, the dome of this ruler's mosque built in 1266–9 in Cairo also had a wooden-framed cupola.[184]

An alternative source of technical information lay in the great Umayyad domes of Damascus and Jerusalem.[185] The structure of the dome of the Great Mosque in Damascus was proudly shown off to visitors, as is known from the detailed description of Ibn Jubayr in 1184. Entering the space between the two concentric wooden shells, he observed:

> This [inner] cupola is round like a sphere, and its exterior is of wood strengthened by stout wooden ribs bound by iron bands, each rib curving over the cupola and all meeting at a central wooden disc at the summit . . .
>
> The Lead Dome enfolds this cupola. It is also strength-

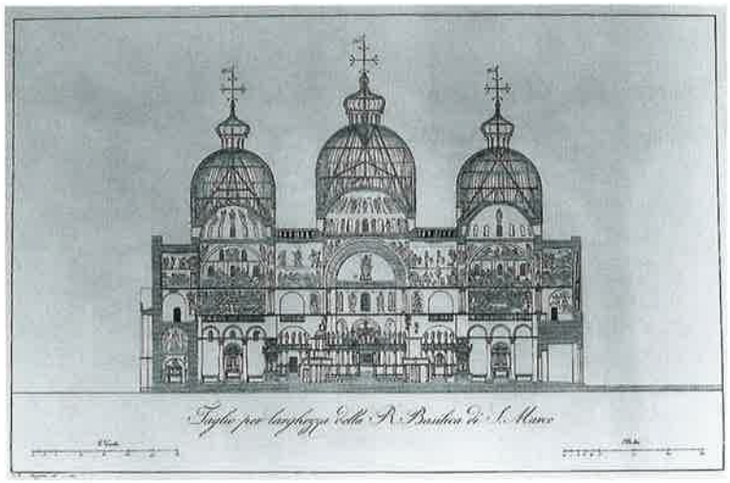


112 Cairo, City of the Dead.

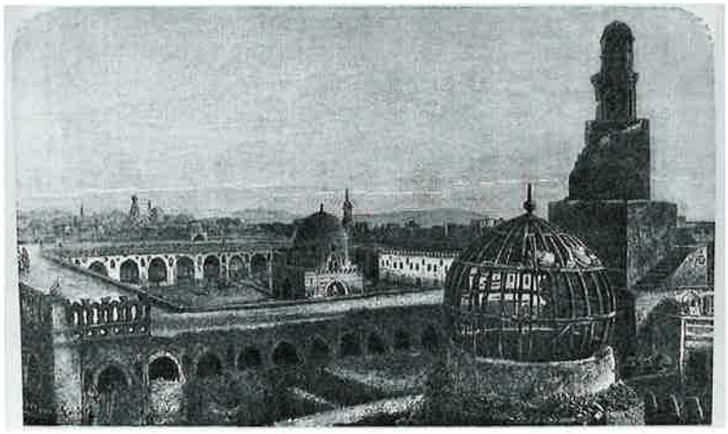
> ened by huge ribs of solid wood, bound in the middle by iron bands. These ribs number forty-eight, and the distance between each is four spans. They bend round in remarkable fashion, and their ends meet at a central wooden disc at the summit.[186]

Damascus, of course, was never part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but a strong Venetian presence there was maintained over the centuries. Whether those Venetians with suitable Moslem contacts could have made the same ascent is uncertain, but they could undoubtedly have discussed its structure with Moslem merchants. This double-shelled timber cupola no longer survives, for it was rebuilt following a disastrous fire in 1893; but the anonymous Venetian painting of Damascus in the Louvre reveals that this soaring dome still existed in the late fifteenth century (fig. 16).[187] As already mentioned, both the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque in Damascus were restored in the 1260s by Sultan Baybars.[188] A further reminiscence of Mamluk decoration is found in the marble facings on the great upper arches on the north side of San Marco, just above the Alexander relief, where the play of shapes in pink and white marble wilfully subverts the keystone principle. Instead it recalls in a purely non-structural and decorative way the joggled *ablaq* (or two-tone masonry) of Mamluk arches where irregular keystones interlock like the pieces of a jigsaw.

Carvings in wood and ivory provided a three-dimensional medium for the transport of architectural vocabulary from the East. Because of their status as material luxuries, ivories were particularly potent agents of transmission, yet this possibility has too often been overlooked, perhaps because of the temptation to privilege large-scale works over the 'applied arts'.[189] Thus, surprisingly, the striking resemblance between the magnificent series of *The Months* carved around the main portal



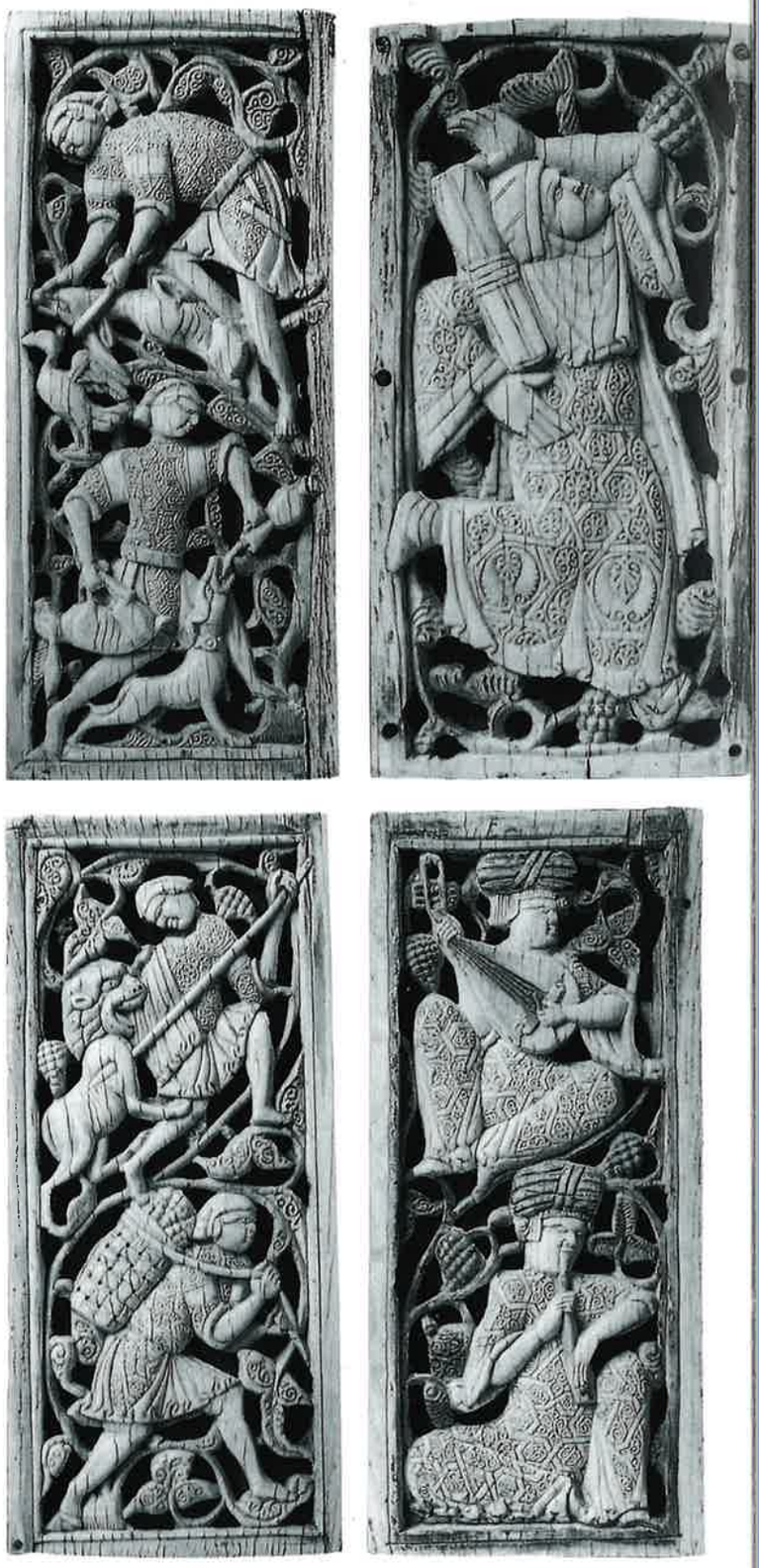
113 Venice, San Marco, north–south section showing heightened domes, from Cicognara, Diedo and Selva, *Le fabbriche di Venezia*, vol. I, 1815.



114 Cairo, Ibn Tulun Mosque under repair (from Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens*, 1886 p. 55, fig. 4).

of San Marco and the set of Islamic ivories of *The Labours of the Months*, now in the Bargello, has aroused little interest (figs 115, 116).[190] These reliefs seem to be Fatimid in origin, that is to say, before 1171, whereas the San Marco sculptures are datable to shortly before 1240.[191] Both the chronology and the logistics of the visual transfer suggest that the influence was from Egypt on San Marco and not vice versa, as has been previously suggested.[192] The porphyry columns that proliferate around this main entrance portal were probably pillaged from Constantinople, but the Venetian audience with its penchant for rare marbles may have been aware that porphyry could be quarried only in Egypt, as Ptolemy's *Geography* explains (fig. 117).[193]

The display of sculptured panels and relief fragments on the

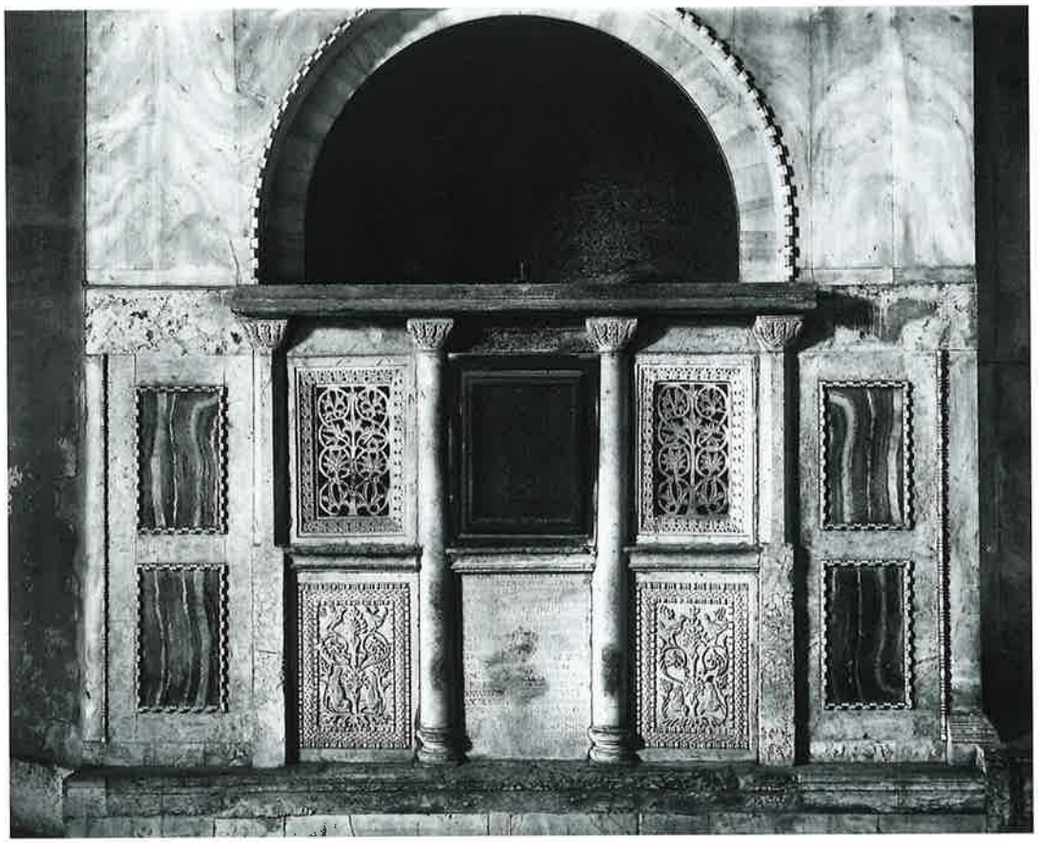


115 *Labours of the Months*, eleventh–twelfth century, Fatimid ivory reliefs, Egypt. Florence, Bargello, Carrand bequest 1094, iv. solenne 460. Four of the six plaquettes are illustrated, each about 17 × 7.5 cm.

116 *The Months*, before *c.*1240, relief stone carving, Venice, San Marco, main portal.

117 Venice, San Marco, main entrance, porphyry columns.

exterior and interior of San Marco is usually interpreted as a celebration of the Venetian despoliation of Byzantium in the Fourth Crusade of 1204. In her reassessment of this 'stolen' heritage, Fortini Brown has more perceptively suggested that 'Tangible works that can be seen and touched – buildings, spolia, icons, mosaics, sculpture, artefacts – were more powerful than texts in creating a civic identity of a reassuring historical density.'[194] Investigation of the Egyptian visual repertoire, however, adds another layer to the potency of this expression of cultural acquisition. For example, the vertical relief panels with stylised, symmetrical pairs of creatures, such as the peacocks on the spandrel of the west façade, borrow a characteristic design theme from Fatimid sculpture (fig. 119).[195] Even their placing in the spandrels recalls mosque exteriors such as that of al-Azhar mosque in Cairo. The Moslem tree-of-life motif appears in the Islamic-style stone panels in the tomb of Dogaressa Felicita Michiel (d. 1111) in the west atrium (fig. 118), reflected also in the nearby tomb of Doge Vitale Falier (d. 1096).[196] The dozens of panels of interlacing relief ornament *ad intreccio di fettuce* displayed both inside and outside San Marco have generally been accepted as Byzantine spoils, whether genuine or imitations carved in Venice.[197] Yet, Islamic monuments of the thirteenth century, too, adopted interlacing relief designs as a favourite decorative motif, as if asserting possession of the Christian legacy in the wake of the Crusades.[198] Thus, the Venetian merchant more familiar with the Egyptian and Syrian trade routes might plausibly interpret these panels within the Islamic context, as symbols of dominance over biblical lands. It is

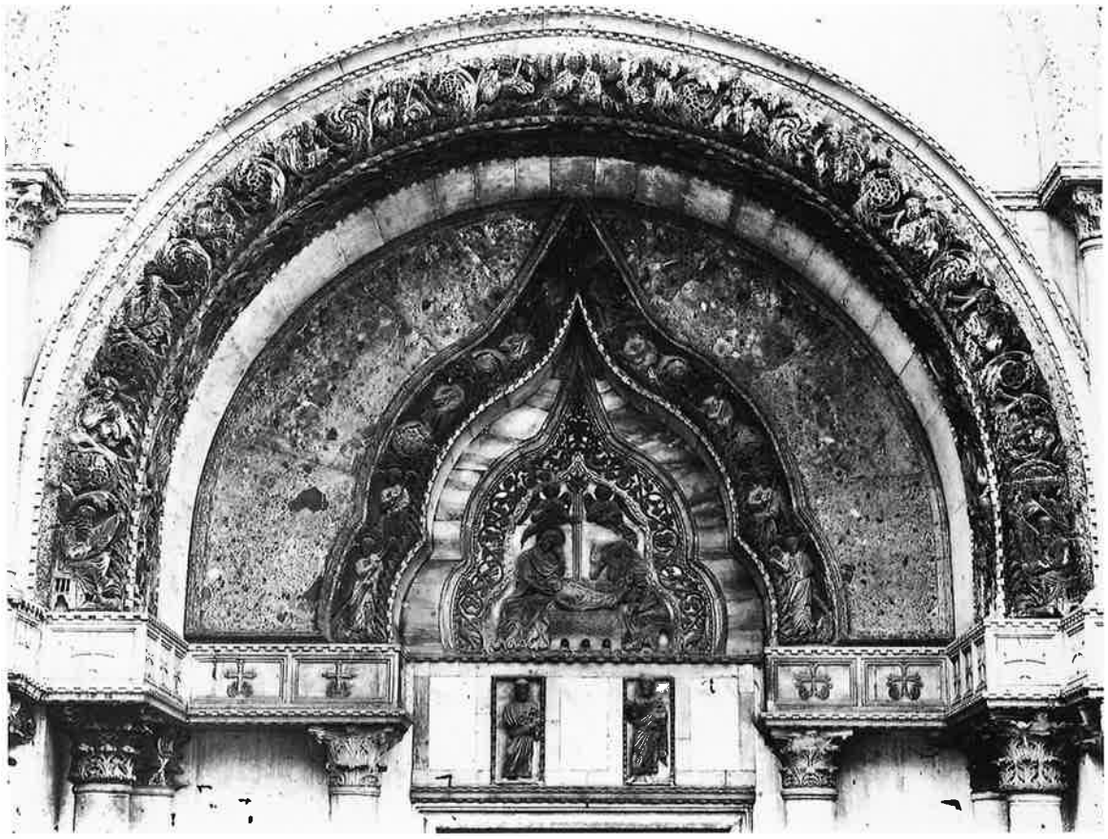


118 Tomb of Dogaressa Michiel (d. 1111), Venice, San Marco, west atrium.

119 Venice, San Marco, façade. Fatimid-style relief depicting peacocks and eagles, panel at left-hand end.

important to remember, too, that similar patterns pervaded western medieval carved ornament from the Carolingian period onwards, growing out of similar late antique roots.[199] Like their overlapping and intertwining forms, therefore, these designs themselves epitomise the richness and complexity of Venice's trading and cultural links, and expand the range of potential readings by addressing a cosmopolitan audience.

The series of 'Saracenic'-looking portals inserted in the thirteenth century stand out as conspicuous orientalising elements in San Marco.[200] The undulating outline of the Porta di San Giovanni Evangelista, for example, could have been derived from an imported relief carving in ivory or wood (figs 123, 124).[201] More exotic are the Porta dei Fiori and the entrance to the treasury, which show exaggeratedly pointed arches like a fantasised vision of the Orient transformed by memory and hearsay (figs 120, 121).[202] The location of these oriental doorways may help to elucidate their significance. The three portals just mentioned seem to describe a pilgrim itinerary to and from the shrine itself, including a visit to the relics of the treasury, leaving the main western portals free for public ceremonial use. The pilgrim route would begin on the north side, entering the church through the Porta dei Fiori into the north transept; after descending into the crypt to pay homage at the tomb of Saint Mark, the believer would

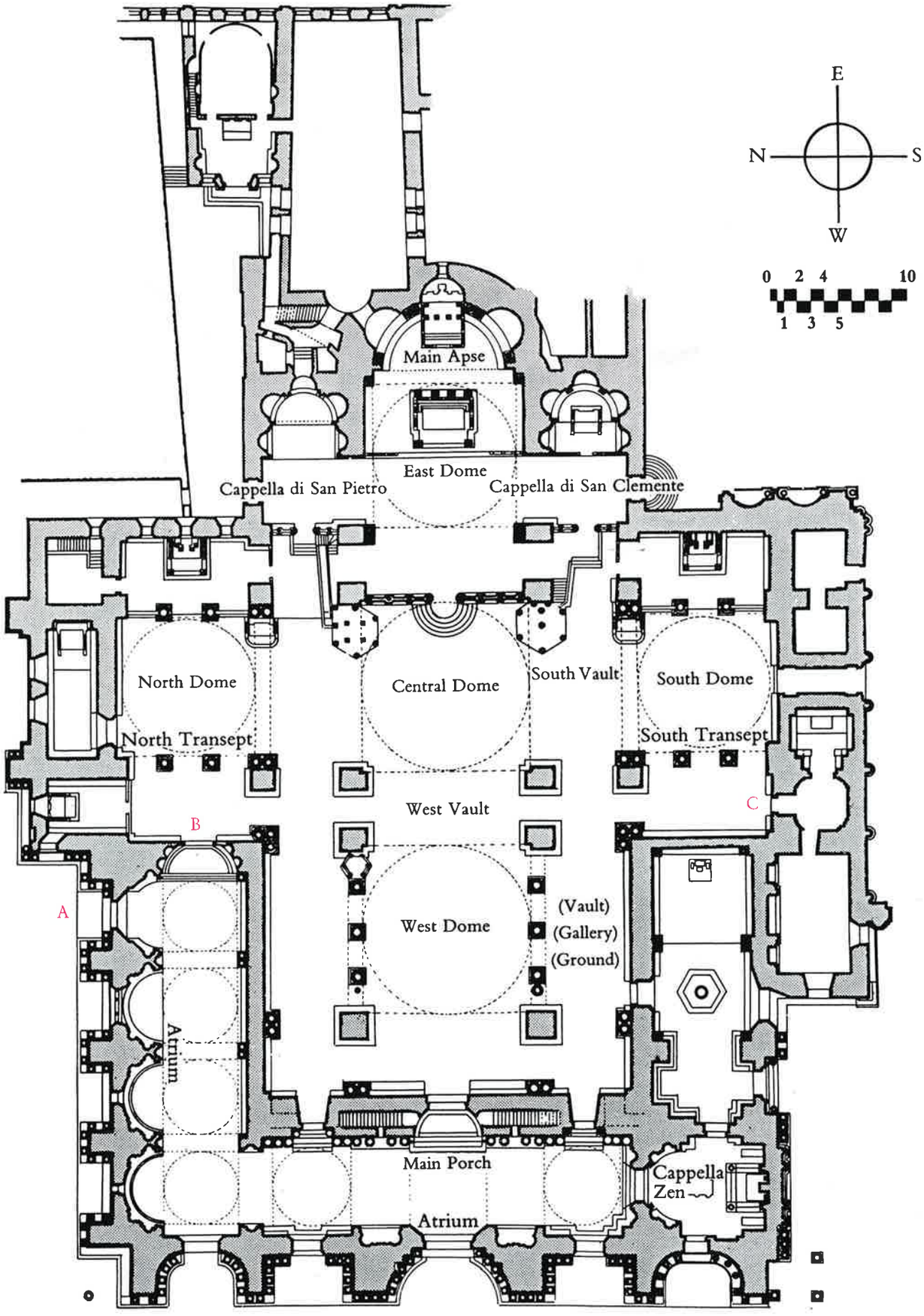


120 Venice, San Marco, Porta dei Fiori (entrance to north atrium), probably thirteenth century.

121 Venice, San Marco, entrance to the treasury, probably thirteenth century.

emerge in the south transept to visit the Treasury; finally, the curvaceous archway of the Porta di San Giovanni would signal the point of exit in this oriental journey. Pilgrims familiar with the Holy Land would have recalled the poignant prototype in the one-way circulation route to the crypt in the church of the Holy Nativity in Bethlehem (fig. 260).[203] (By the fifteenth century, however, Saint Mark's body was not usually shown to pilgrims, who were directed instead to the shrine of Saint Isidore.)[204]

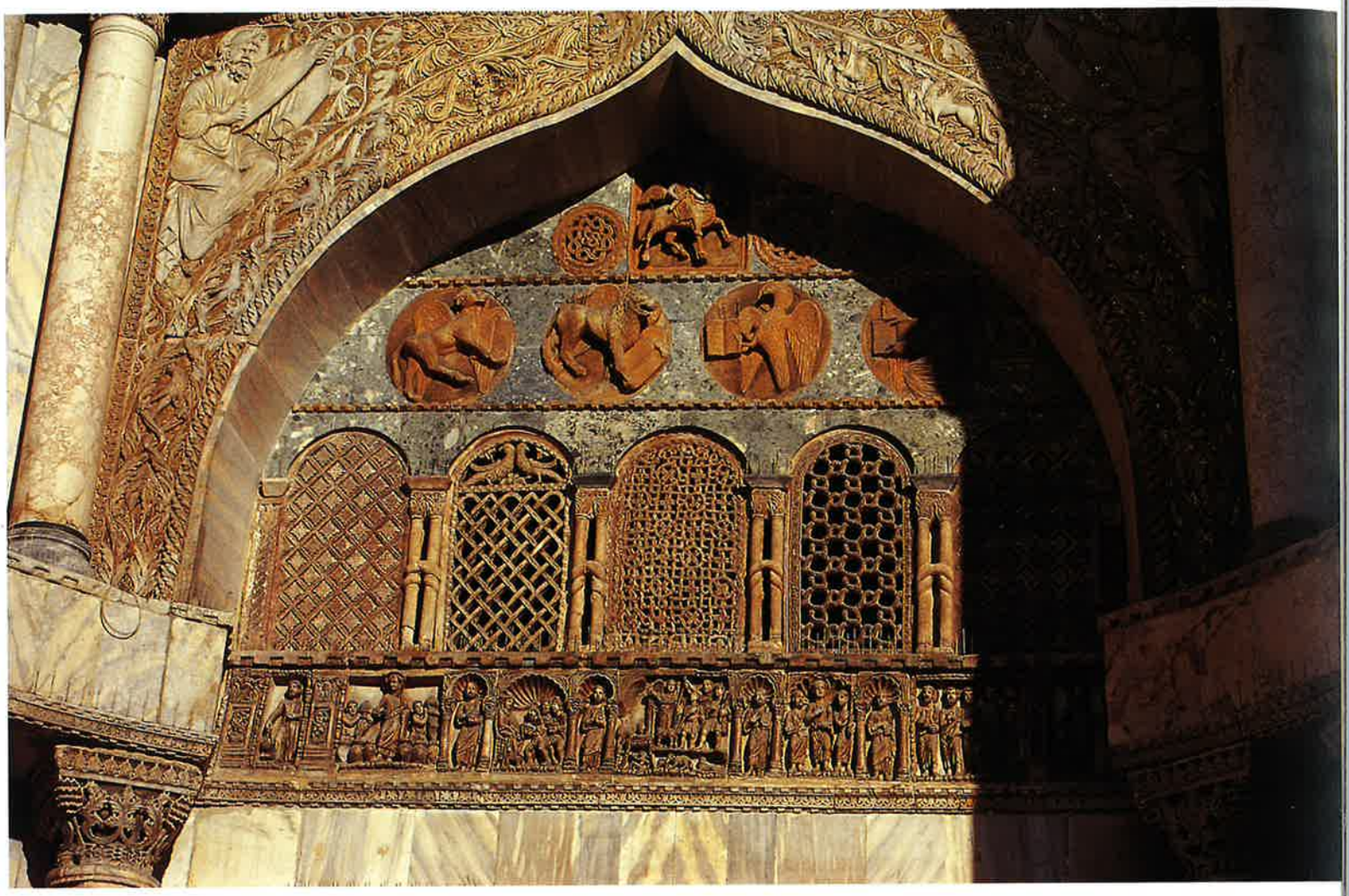
The two portals at either end of the façade are similarly orientalising, with their pointed arches and Islamic-style stone grilles (figs 125, 126).[205] To those viewers who recognised such nuances, these mark the most specifically Egyptian of the mosaic ceilings – the Cappella Zen on the right and the north atrium on the left. (The right-hand portal was, of course, a false door, for the entrance to the north atrium was from the Piazzetta to the south.) If, as has been argued, these two end-bays were added in the thirteenth century, the atrium of the



122 Venice, San Marco plan, with mosaics marked. Reproduced from Otto Demus, *The Mosaic Decoration of San Marco*, 1988. A = Porta dei Fiori; B = Porta di San Giovanni Evangelista; C = Entrance to the treasury.

123 Porta di San Giovanni Evangelista, Venice, San Marco, north transept, inside entrance from north atrium, probably thirteenth century.

124 Ivory plaquette from the door of a *minbar*, Egypt or Syria, thirteenth–fourteenth century, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 7461.



125 Venice, San Marco, Porta Sant'Alipio, with stone window grilles, probably thirteenth century.

Contarini church would thus have been just three bays wide, like its prototype, the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.[206] The new, later portals would thus have clenched the Byzantine nucleus between ostentatiously Islamic-style bookends. The extended length provided a plinth for the balustraded terrace which supported the quadriga of bronze horses newly pillaged from Constantinople.[207] Whereas terraces of this kind were apparently unprecedented within Byzantine tradition, the biblical description of the Temple of Solomon offered a potent inspiration:

> The vestibule in front of the nave of the house was twenty cubits wide, across the width of the house. Its depth was ten cubits in front of the house . . . He also built a structure [the Latin Vulgate Bible has 'tabulata' or platforms] against the wall of the house, running around . . . both the nave and the inner sanctuary. (1 Kings 6:3–5)

The relevance of the biblical Jerusalem as a paradigm for Venice will be considered in a later chapter, but in this context it should be recalled that the memory of the great balustraded terrace of the Pharos may have helped to give visual form to this text.

This chapter has explored the ways in which travellers' memories of Egypt, and of Alexandria in particular, were woven into the Byzantine fabric of San Marco, especially after the Fourth Crusade when Venice began to forge a more independent public identity. As a cradle of Christianity, where the Bible had been translated into Greek, Alexandria was not only a symbol of temporal power but also an eloquent devotional allusion.[208] 'Egypt is an image of heaven . . . a temple where the whole cosmos is enshrined', declared Saint Augustine, quoting the assertion of the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus.[209] Through this web of allusion in San Marco, the Pharos of Alexandria constantly recurs as a leitmotif, its representations

126 Damascus, Great Mosque, begun 702, showing stone window grilles over the main entrance, removed in subsequent restoration. Photograph by F. Bedford, 1862, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library.

through four centuries reflecting a growing dependence on classical descriptions as the lighthouse itself decayed and was finally obliterated. Even in the sixteenth century, as is known from the copious references in Sanudo's diary, the return of the Alexandria galleys was still an emotional and meaningful event in the calendar.[210] Interestingly, despite the recent obliteration of the Pharos, Sanudo still used the expression 'entrato nel Farion' for 'having entered the port [of Alexandria]'.[211] By this time the orientalism of San Marco had become absorbed into the Venetian visual tradition, its progeny visible in the soaring domes of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Palladio's churches and Santa Maria della Salute.

vol. I, p. 265: 'laborando et procertando per terram et per aquam prout melius potero.'

157 See, for example, the essay by Brown, Shevell and Rips, in Rubin 1986, pp. 137–59.

158 This is suggested by Lowenthal 1985, p. 194.

159 On the *colleganza* see, for example, Luzzatto 1954, 59–80, 106, 142–3, 162; Luzzatto 1955, pp. 251–3; Lopez and Raymond 1955, p. 174; Renouard 1955, pp. 92–4; Cracco 1967, p. 42; Rösch, 1992, pp. 556–7.

160 The alternative system, known as 'bilateral', allowed the stay-at-home investors to supply two thirds of the capital, while the remaining third and the labour were provided by the travelling partner; in this case the profits were divided equally. See Lane, 'Investment and Usury', in Lane 1966, p. 59.

161 Mueller 1997, pp. 81–9.

162 See, for example, Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. I, pp. 16–19, 176–8.

163 Cracco 1967, pp. 64–7; Lopez 1979, p. 366.

164 Romano's career is recorded in the documents published in Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. I I, passim. See also Cracco 1967, pp. 43–5; Luzzatto 1954, pp. 97, 108–16.

165 Luzzatto 1954, pp. 61–3.

166 Lopez and Raymond 1955, pp. 38–41; Lopez 1955, p. 42; Luzzatto 1954, p. 126.

167 Luzzatto 1954, pp. 112–16, 128–30, 153–4; Cracco 1967, pp. 8–13, 58–9. On the wealth of the Ziani see also Schulz 1984; Fees 1988, pp. 47–102.

168 Luzzatto 1954, pp. 86; Renouard 1955, p. 94.

169 Tucci 1981, pp. 17–18; Finlay 1984, p. 107, n. 49: 'Ipse vult esse dominus et simul vult esse mercator. Esse autem dominum et mercatorum impossibile est.'

170 Andrea Berengo's activities in Aleppo, although from the sixteenth century, vividly document the use of agents (Tucci 1957).

171 This merchant's career was first brought to light by Luzzatto 1954, pp. 108–116

172 Comune di Venezia 1954, p. 7; Rösch 1992, p. 556.

173 See, for example, Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. I, pp. 176–9.

174 Examples may be found in Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. I, pp. 38–9, 159, 181–2; vol. II, 1954, pp. 42–3, 77–8, 166–7, 370–71.

175 Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. I, pp. 225–6.

176 Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, 1940, vol. II, p. 177.

177 Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, 1940, vol. II, p. 176.

178 Comune di Venezia 1954, pp. 25–6; Lopez and Raymond 1955, pp. 281–9; Lopez 1955, pp. 62–82. On the risks of travel to India as late as the sixteenth century, see Campigotto 1991.

179 For example, the letter of Vanino in Alexandria to Pignol Zucchello in Venice, 1347 (Morozzo della Rocca 1957, p. 109); letter of Andrea Berengo from Aleppo, 1556 (Tucci 1957, p. 321).

180 See, for instance, Renouard 1955, p. 94.

181 Most surviving references to the display of maps in Venetian private houses date from the sixteenth century onwards. Sanudo, for instance, proudly displayed his *mappamondo* to a group of scholarly visitors in 1511 (Thornton 1990, p. 88, citing Sanudo 1879–1903, vol. XII, col. 293, 5 Dec. 1511). Giovanni Moro wrote fondly of the world maps in his portego in his will of 1622 (Howard 1975, p. 153). See also Ambrosini 1981.

182 Cracco 1967, pp. 30–31.

183 Lopez 1979, p. 366.

184 For example Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. I, pp. 38–9.

185 For example Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. I, p. 266. See also Tucci 1981, p. 19.

186 Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. II, pp. 233–4: 'ad negociandum per terram et per aquam.'

187 For example Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. II, pp. 166–7, 371.

188 Suriano 1949, pp. 11 ff.

189 See above, p. 51 and n. 72.

190 Lopez and Raymond 1990, pp. 281–9. See above, p. 34.

191 Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. I, p. 313.

192 Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, vol. II, p. 75. See also Stussi 1965, pp. 35–6, 93, 105, 116.

193 Comune di Venezia 1954, p. 23.

194 See the remarks of Lopez 1979, p. 366.

195 Da Canal 1972, pp. 4–6: 'Venise, qui est orendroit la plus belle et la plus plaisant dou siecle, ploine de biauté et de tos biens: les marchandies i corent par cele noble cité, con fait l'eive des fontaines . . . Vos i poés trover dedens cele bele vile une mult grant gentilesse de viaus homes et de meens et de damoisaus a planté, que mult fait a loer lor nobilité; li marcheans aveuc yaus, qui vendent et achatent; et li chanjor des mehailles et citaïns de tos mestiers; li mariniers de totes guises . . . Si est en cele belle vile les beles dames et damoiseles et puceles a grant planté, aparillees mult richement.'

196 Cracco claimed that before the Genoese war, small-scale traders could still become rich and replenish the mercantile élite from below, but from the later thirteenth century onward this became progressively more difficult (Cracco 1967, pp. 117–18, 216).

197 On the status of noble merchants and shipowners, see for example, Luzzatto 1954, pp. 128–32, 146, 148. On the growth of the *grandi* in the thirteenth century, see Cracco 1967, pp. 67–86, 103 *et seq.* On rights of citizenship see Mueller 1992, pp. 53–4; Mueller 1998, p. 168, with further bibliography. Mueller 1992, pp. 54–9, remarked on the stratification evident from testators' wishes to benefit (or exclude from benefit) particular ranks of society in the first decades of the fourteenth century.

3 SAN MARCO

1 Petrarch 1966, p. 133, letter from Vaucluse, France, 26 Feb. 1352.

2 For recent studies of the legend of Saint Mark in Venetian art, chronicle literature and hagiographic texts, with further bibliography, see especially Niero 1992; Bertoli, 'Le storie di San Marco nei mosaici e le ragioni dell'agiografia', in Bertoli 1993, pp. 89–124; Dale 1994; Dale, 'Reliquie Sante e "Praedestinatio"', in Polacco 1997, pp. 146–56; Schmidt Arcangeli in Daniele et al. 1998, pp. 84–91.

3 On Andrea Dandolo, see Simonsfeld 1877, pp. 49–59; Buchthal 1971, pp. 59–67; Pincus 1990; Goffen 1996. See also n. 13 and pp. 177, 188, below.

4 See Brown 1981, esp. pp. 88–95. The doctoral dissertation of Rodini 1995, considers many of the issues raised in this chapter.

5 Ingrid Rowland has proposed an aspiration to emulate ancient Alexandria in High Renaissance Rome (Rowland 1998, pp. 42–53).

6 For pertinent observations on this theme see Winter 1997, pp. 359–60.

7 Marcellinus 1935, XVII, 16, 7; Calderini 1935, p. 77; Bowersock 1993, p. 265

8 Diodorus 1963, XVII, 52, 6.

9 Udovitch 1977; Udovitch 1993, pp. 273–84. E. M. Forster's negative view of the Arab period, which he describes as 'too obscure to possess a history', is a sad blind-spot in an otherwise illuminating work (Forster 1961, pp. xxiv, 83–7).

10 Ibn Battuta, vol. I, 1958, p. 41.

11 Fabri 1975, pp. 725, 400.

12 Fabri 1975, p. 725.

13 Plutarch 1919, xxvi, 1–3. Translation of Homer, *Odyssey*, iv, 354 f. from Sandys 1615, p. 111. On Venice's claims to Trojan origins, see, for example, in the chronicle literature: Cessi 1933, pp. 3–10, 58; da Canal 1972, pp. 6; Dandolo 1939, pp. 9, 53, 60. Among more recent interpretations, see Buchthal 1971, pp. 58–61; Crouzet-Pavan 1994, p. 421; Fortini Brown 1996, pp. 41–2.

14 Plutarch 1919, xxvi, 4–6. Homer is not the only 'architect' mentioned in the early sources. Diodorus and Saint Augustine attributed the plan to Alexander himself (Diodorus 1963, VII, 52; Saint Augustine 1966, XII, xxvi) and Vitruvius to the architect Dinocrates who dressed up as Hercules (Vitruvius 1931, II, Pref. 1–4). Marcellinus cited Dinocrates as the designer (1935, XII, 16, 7). Pseudo-Callisthenes claimed divine inspiration for the idea from the sun god Ammon, followed

up by architectural advice from Cleomenes of Naucratis, Dinocrates of Rhodes, Heron and his brother Hyponomos who advised on the layout of canals (Pseudo-Callisthenes 1955, I, 31). The rich mythology surrounding the city's foundation is usefully reviewed and summarised in Calderini 1935, pp. 63–6, with full bibliography. See also Fraser 1972, vol. I, pp. 1 ff.; Green 1993, pp. 6–18.

15 The month was Tybi for the Egyptian city, according to Pseudo-Callisthenes 1955, I, 320; March for Venice, the Feast of the Annunciation to the Virgin. Bowman, however, gave 7 April 331 BC as the date of foundation of Alexandria (Bowman 1986, p. 204). On the traditional date of Venice's foundation see for example Crouzet-Pavan 1994, pp. 424–5; Fortini Brown 1996, pp. 21, 38–39, 176–8.

16 Strabo 1917–32, vol. V, 5, i, 7. Strabo visited the city in 24–25 BC. See also Bosio 1983–4, pp. 107–12.

17 Vitruvius 1931, vol. I, iv; Alberti 1989, bk. X, ch. 2. See the remarks on Daniele Barbaro's interpretation of this theme in his Vitruvius editions of 1556 and 1567 by d'Evelyn 1996, pp. 84, 86, 92–3. See also Bosio 1983–4, pp. 104–6.

18 Plutarch 1919, xxvi, 4; Diodorus 1963, XVII, 52, 3.

19 Sanuto 1611, bk. I; Atiya 1938, pp. 114–27; Laiou 1970, p. 376.

20 Dopp 1958, pp. 227–40. See also Atiya 1938, pp. 208–12.

21 Dopp 1958, pp. 223, 227: 'Alexandrie seulle sera la royne de tout marchans et de toutes marchandises de crestiens et de poyens.'

22 Setton 1976, vol. I, pp. 258–84.

23 Irwin 1986, p. 115

24 Strabo 1917–32, vol. VII, 16, IV, 24, p. 359; Breccia 1922, pp. 18–20, 35.

25 Fraser 1972, vol. I, p. 107; vol. II, 196–97; Green 1993, p. 3.

26 Diodorus 1963, XVII, 52, 5.

27 Josephus 1928, IV, 615.

28 Breccia 1922, pp. 41–2; Fraser 1972, vol. I, pp. 25, 132–86.

29 Fabri 1975, p. 722.

30 Achilles Tatius 1917, V, 1, 1, 6. On visitors' responses to the 'miraculous' qualities of Venice, see below, p. 193, pilgrimage chapter.

31 Diodorus 1963, XVII, 52, 3.

32 Achilles Tatius 1917, vol. V, 1, 2–3, 237; Strabo 1917–32, vol. VIII, 17, 1, 8. See also Breccia 1922, pp. 71–6.

33 Strabo 1917–32, vol. VIII, 17, 1, 8; Diodorus 1963, XVII, 52, 4.

34 See below, p. 171.

35 See, for example, Breccia 1922, pp. 42–52; Calderini 1935, pp. 102–4, 128–30; Butler 1978, pp. 401–26; M. El-Abbadi, 'The Great Library in Mouseion: Intellectual Centre of the World' in Steen 1993, pp. 83–108.

36 Lucchetta 1985, p. 58.

37 Breccia 1922, p. 35; Calderini 1935, p. 181–3.

38 Pertusi 1974, pp. 331–50.

39 Pertusi 1974, pp. 350–1.

40 Pertusi 1974, pp. 342–57.

41 Strabo 1917–32, vol. I, p. xxxii. The first Greek printed edition was published in Venice at the Aldine press in 1516 (ibid., p. xxxix).

42 Marcellinus 1935, p. xliv–xlv; Polybius 1922–7, vol. I, pp. xv–xvi.

43 Achilles Tatius 1917, pp. vii–viii.

44 Molmenti 1905–8, vol. I, p. 445 (Dandolo's inventory is transcribed on pp. 443–7).

45 Mommsen 1957, pp. 43–50; M. Zorzi 1988, pp. 15–16.

46 Cited by King 1986, p. 14.

47 A copy of Bessarion's *Instrumentum Donationis Librorum* dated 14 May 1468 is contained in Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Marc. Lat. XIV, 14 (= 4235). The inventory of the bequest is published in Omont 1894. See also Kibre 1946, pp. 260–64; L. Labowsky, 'Il Cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi della Biblioteca Marciana,' in Pertusi 1966, pp. 159–82; M. Zorzi 1988, pp. 16–22, 54–5.

48 British Museum, vol. V, 1924, pp. 161 (Strabo 1472), 251 (Diodorus 1476/7, reprinting a Bologna edition of 1472), 256 (Flavius Josephus 1481). The Strabo manuscript, translated by Guarino, is in Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 77 (see Hills 1999, pl. 113).

49 Lockhart et al. 1973, p. 68.

50 See especially Demus 1984; Bertoli 1986; Demus et al. 1990.

51 Serlio 1619, bk. III, f. 123v.; translation from Serlio 1996, p. 244. On Serlio's interest in the East and the information on the monuments of ancient Egypt supplied to him by Marco Grimani, see Serlio 1994, introduction by Fiore, p. LI, and p. 501, n. 4.

52 Breccia 1922, pp. 92–3. The best-known ancient text on the obelisks is Pliny 1962, XXXVI, xiv, 64–9. See also Genis 1818–29, vol. II, xxvi, 35; Calderini 1935, pp. 118–19; Fraser 1972, vol. I, p. 24.

53 Lucchetta 1985, p. 58; D'Alton 1993. I am grateful to Joseph Connors for kindly giving me a copy of the latter work. See also Empéreur 1998, pp. 119–22.

54 Fabri 1975, vol. II, p. 687.

55 Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Marc. It. XI, 66 (= 6730), f. 270.

56 The hieroglyphs were perhaps associated by Venetians with the Egyptian Hermetic writings. On the Hermetic tradition see, for example, Fowden 1986; Yates 1992 ed., pp. 149, 295–6. Scarpa 1997, pp. 237–8, suggests an interpretation for the pseudo-hieroglyphs on the obelisk in Gentile Bellini's Preaching of St Mark in Alexandria.

57 Demus 1984, vol. I, p. 138.

58 Lehmann 1977, p. 8; Raby 1982b, p. 21; Forster 1961, pp. 136, 157–61 and illustration on p. 75. An intriguing alternative explanation for the sphere on top is suggested by some early sources, which mention that Pompey's Pillar had once been topped by a steel mirror capable of focusing the sun's rays to set light to enemy ships. This tradition was apparently due to a confusion between the Pillar and the Pharos (Leone Africano, *c.*1485–*c.*1554, 'Descrizione dell 'Africa', in Ramusio 1978, p. 397; Sandys 1615, p. 114). Scientific investigation suggests that the heat generated could not in fact have incinerated objects so far away. In the eighteenth century the French scientist, the Comte de Buffon, conducted experiments to question Descarte's scepticism on the subject, and succeeded in igniting wood at a distance of two hundred feet (see Roger 1989, pp. 52–4). Edward Eigen kindly pointed out this discussion to me. On an August morning in 1798, the enterprising Napoleonic archaeologists preparing the *Description de l'Egypte* made an ascent of the column and reported an excavation on the top 7cm deep and 2 metres in diameter (Jomard 1821–30, vol. V, pp. 516–18). See also Fraser 1972, vol. II, p. 85, n. 4.

59 BMV, MS Marc. It. XI, cod. 66 (= 6730), f. 270.

60 Demus 1984, vol. I, pp. 59–60, 69–71. On the Pala d'Oro see Gallo 1967, pp. 157–201; Sergio Bettini, 'Venice, the Pala d'Oro and Constantinople, ' in Perocco et al. 1984, pp. 35–64; W. F. Volbach, 'Gli smalti della Pala d'oro,' in Hahnloser and Polacco 1994, pp. 3–74. Goffen 1996, p. 321, suggested that the obelisk in the *Healing of Anianus* may represent the Pharos.

61 Rodini has discussed the labelling in terms of a cartographic discourse, but concentrated, instead, on the Cappella di San Clemente (Rodini 1995, pp. 98–100).

62 See Schmidt Arcangeli 1996, p. 229.

63 Lehmann 1977, pp. 7–9; Raby 1982b, pp. 66–72; Fortini Brown 1988, pp. 203–9; Scarpa 1997, pp. 242–6.

64 Maqrizi 1895, pp. 448, 450.

65 Allard 1883, p. 7; Thiersch 1909, pp. 41–44. I am grateful for Edward Eigen for pointing out Allard's account to me. There are countless myths associated with this mirror system – for instance Maqrizi reported the claim of one Arab source that the mirror allowed observers to see as far as Constantinople! (Maqrizi 1895, p. 451).

66 In the cycle's continuation in the chapel of San Clemente opposite, the domed tower in the centre of the *Removal of the Saint's Body* seems only a faint reminiscence, its light extinguished, more probably reflecting a bland and uninformed copy of the burial scene than a change made for historical or symbolic reasons (Demus 1984, vol. I, plates vol., pl. 43). A similarly hollowed out, illuminated version of the Pharos appears in the pendentive of *Saint Mark the Evangelist* beneath the central dome of the crossing. Since this twelfth-century mosaic is a sym-

bolic representation of the Gospel rather than a narrative, the allusion to the original Alexandrian monument is purely notional. The summit is no longer alight, and the middle zone is lit by a candle that would be of gigantic size if any geographical identity were intended. For a discussion of the relationship between narrative and symbolic representation see, for instance, Weitzmann 1971, pp. 43, 45, 58.

67 Demus 1984, vol. I, p. 66.

68 Fatimid artists of the time are also known to have portrayed ships in drawings on paper, but these are schematic compared with Venetian ship depictions of the same period. See Grube 1976, pp. 61–2. On Fatimid painting see also Ettinghausen 1942; idem, 1962, pp. 54–6; Grube 1963, pp. 89–96; James 1978, pp. 12–14; Barrucand 1998, pp. 99–103. On the painting of ceramics and glass, see for instance Barrucand 1998, pp. 111–17, 170–79, 184–5.

69 Tramontin 1973; A. Niero, 'I cicli iconografici marciani', in Bertoli 1986, p. 11.

70 By the time that Gentile Bellini came to transcribe the same words in his *Procession of San Marco* in 1496, this familiarity was no longer assumed, for he wrote the nonsensical 'IRNTIO/IXUNI' (detail illustrated in Demus 1984, vol. II, plates vol., pl. 347).

71 Demus 1984, vol. I, p. 29.

72 Demus 1984, vol. I, p. 81.

73 See Muraro 1975.

74 Demus 1960, pp. 76–8; Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 72–5. For Aleppo in this period see Tabbaa 1997: e.g. compare the Madrasa el-Zahiriyya, figs 124–5.

75 BCV, Cod. Cic. 2727, fasc. 20, f. 8: 'A torno à torno è tutta fatta à volti con bellissime cube', significantly using the Venetian word derived from the Arab *qubba*.

76 In his seminal study of the architecture of San Marco, Demus accepted the hypothesis that the north atrium dates from a later phase of construction. The northern bays, he suggested, were a thirteenth-century addition, probably executed under Doge Marino Morosini, who was buried there after his death in 1253 (Demus 1960, p. 77, taking up the suggestion of Gombosi made in 1934; Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 72–3). Later Zuliani challenged this dating, claiming that the north atrium was already in place when the cladding of the brick exterior began in the thirteenth century (Zuliani 1975, p. 52). The most radical reinterpretation, using the questionable hypothesis that the lower part of the mosaic representation on the Sant'Alipio portal shows the ninth-century configuration, is that of John Warren, who claimed that the nave was originally an open atrium surrounded by the entire narthex dating from the ninth century (Warren 1990, pp. 327–32). This theory has been rejected by Mainstone 1991, pp. 132–4. Most recently Dorigo has suggested a date for the narthex in the first half of the thirteenth century. See W. Dorigo, 'Fabbriche antiche del quartiere marciano' in Polacco 1997, pp. 39–66, esp. p. 46. In the same volume Herzner argued that the western atrium was originally of three bays only (V. Herzner, 'Le modifiche della facciata di San Marco dopo la conquista di Costantinopoli', in Polacco 1997, pp. 67–76).

77 Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 95–7; Niero in Demus et al. 1990, p. 196.

78 Demus 1960, p. 111; Giulia Hempel and Jürgen Julier, 'Katalog der skulpturen', 29, no. 1, in Wolters 1979; Frugoni 1993.

79 The case is argued by Schmidt 1995, pp. 7, 18–9, 68. See also Cary 1956, pp. 166, 184–5. Frasson 1996, p. 448, interpreted *Alexander* as an ancient hero protecting the church, as well as founder of the Roman Empire. He also suggested that the link with the nearby *Moses and Isaac* defines the Venetians as the Chosen People.

80 Schmidt 1995, pp. 69, 202–3, cat. no. 86, pls 6–7. Two of the fragments are now in Berlin, and one in Düsseldorf. I am grateful to Carole Bier for a useful discussion of the status of these fragments.

81 Schmidt 1995, pp. 18–19.

82 The text on which this episode in legend is based appears in some early manuscript versions of the *Alexander Romance*. It is transcribed, using the version in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, MS Fr. 9342, ff. 180v.–181v., in Schmidt 1995, pp. 211–12.

83 Compare, for instance, the *solidus* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, illustrated in Weitzmann 1971, p. 243. See also Grabar 1936, pp. 185–6, pl. XXX, nos 17, 18, 21. Reliefs such as those discussed of imperial coronations discussed by Grabar 1936, pp. 116–7, pls XXIV–XXV, also show comparable imperial costume. A circular medallion depicting a standing Byzantine emperor in similar regalia is to be seen on a house in the Campiello di Ca' Angaran in Venice, illustrated in Rizzi 1987, pp. 512–13, cat. no. 349.

84 See especially Schmidt 1995, pp. 41–2.

85 On the medieval versions of the *Alexander Romance* see especially Cary 1956.

86 Polo 1958, p. 49.

87 Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Lat. X, no. 216 (= 3055); on the *Historia Alexandri*, printed in Venice, 'nel Berretin convento della Ca' Grande', in 1477, see British Museum 1924, V, p. 238.

88 On the place of Alexander in Greek and Roman literature, see Carlsen et al. 1993, especially the essays by Jacob Isager and Hugo Montgomery; Alfano 1995, especially the essays by Braccesi, Moreno and Centanni. For the Christian perspective, see Cary 1956; Schmidt 1995; and Chiara Frugoni, 'La fortuna di Alessandro nel Medioevo,' in Alfano 1995, pp. 161–73, summarising her earlier works on the theme. For the Islamic version of the legend see Alfano 1995, especially the articles by Piemontese and Scerrato, and cat. nos 127–44. Cotrugli's scholarly merchant handbook of 1458 makes several references to Alexander as a paradigm, taught by Aristotle (Cotrugli 1990, pp. 212, 232).

89 Schmidt argued that an additional allusion to Christ's ascension was intended in twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscript illuminations of the *Flight of Alexander*, Schmidt 1995, pp. 106–7.

90 Marlowe 1971. Lane Fox 1974, pp. 477–8 synthesised the historical sources of the burial of Alexander into a single narrative.

91 Pseudo-Callisthenes 1955, pp. 40–41. Green 1993, p. 18, discussed the subsequent loss of Alexander's remains. Unlike those of Saint Mark they have never been rediscovered, miraculously or otherwise, although more than fifteen supposed sites have been claimed within the last quarter of the twentieth century. See Empéreur 1998, pp. 146–53.

92 Empéreur 1998, pp. 149–50.

93 Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, pp. 3–6, 18–20. The first scholar to recognise the link was J. J. Tikkanen 1888. See also Kitzinger 1975, pp. 99–109. The detailed studies of Demus and Weitzmann have concluded that the borrowings are too close for a copy rather than the original itself to have been used (Demus 1984, vol. II, p. 95; Weitzmann, in Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 105–8). See also Buchthal 1971, p. 54. Weitzmann went further, asserting that 'in the whole history of art there is no parallel to the narthex mosaics of San Marco, where a manuscript model is used on such a large scale and apparently with intention to copy this model as faithfully as circumstances permitted' (Weitzmann in Demus 1984, vol. II, p. 106)

94 On Cotton as a collector see Wright 1997.

95 Weitzmann 1971, p. 88; Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, pp. 6–9.

96 Buchthal 1971, p. 53; Demus 1984, vol. II, p. 95; Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, pp. 6, 30–34.

97 Buchthal 1971, p. 57.

98 Josephus 1930, II, 168–9.

99 Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 97–8. That Saint Mark held the office of bishop is claimed, for instance, by Eusebius 1926, vol. II, xxiv.

100 The fullest recent exploration of the state iconography in the mosaics is that by Niero in Demus et al. 1990, e.g. pp. 196–200.

101 Dale 1994, p. 97. Dale also stressed the significance – for the enhancement of Venice's self-image – of the endpoint of the biblical narrative: the exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land (p. 96).

102 As Weitzmann and Kessler observed of the Cotton Genesis, 'Retelling the Old Testament story in visual form required interpreting it; insisting on specific references to the real world meant bringing the ethical precepts in the Bible into correspondence with human

experience' (Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, p. 40).

103 Weitzmann in Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 129–39; Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 159, 165–6, 177.

104 Mandeville 1983, pp. 66–7; Friar Simon Fitzsimons in Hoade 1952, p. 32; Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, pp. 20, 39.

105 Fabri 1975, p. 449; Diary of Alessandro Magno, Folger Library, Washington DC, MS V. A. 259 (De Ricci 1317/1), f. 132.

106 Weitzmann and Kessler 1986, p. 35.

107 Bettini, 'Venice, the Pala d'Oro and Constantinople,' in Perocco et al. 1984, p. 41.

108 Rabbat 1995, pp. 162–69; Flood 1997, pp. 66–74. I am most grateful to Gülru Necipoglu for suggesting to me the context by which one might explain this relationship. Thanks are also due to Filis Yenisehirolgu for earlier suggestions along these lines.

109 Flood 1997, pp. 66–70.

110 Flood 1997, pp. 66–70 and fig. 6.

111 Flood 1997, pp. 69–70.

112 Rabbat 1995, pp. 166–9.

113 Ashtor 1983, p. 12.

114 Rabbat 1995, p. 164.

115 For a general discussion of the use of book illustrations for large scale decorative cycles, see Kitzinger 1975.

116 Kitzinger 1975, p. 142.

117 See above, pp. 58–60.

118 Weitzmann 1971, p. 89.

119 Grabar 1970; *idem*, 1984, pp. 2–3.

120 Grabar 1984, pp. 3–4. See also James 1978, p. 21.

121 Grabar 1984, cat. no. 3.

122 James 1978, pp. 20–22, 34–6; Grabar 1984, p. 4.

123 James 1978, pp. 15–38; Grabar 1984, p. 4. Ettinghausen mentioned that Christian-Jacobite painters from Syria appropriated similar images for biblical book illustrations, and the sources used in Venice might therefore have been Middle Eastern Christian manuscripts in the same genre, Ettinghausen 1962, p. 96.

124 Irwin 1994, pp. 49–51.

125 Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 165–6.

126 Jean-Philippe Antoine, 'L'arte della memoria e la trasformazione dello spazio pittorico in Italia nel Duecento e Trecento', in Bolzoni and Corsi 1992, pp. 99–116.

127 *Ad Herennium* 1954, p. 209. See also Yates 1966, 4–8, 55–7, 63–4, 72, 75–6, 93, 99. See the fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Ad Herennium* in BMV, MS Marc. Lat. XI, cod. 143 (= 4118).

128 Carruthers 1990, p. 265.

129 Carruthers 1990, pp. 43–5, 208–211.

130 *Ad Herennium* 1954, p. 211.

131 Carruthers 1990, pp. 251–3.

132 Among the numerous examples of such designs in Islamic art, a wheel of constellation, preserved in a Fatimid drawing of the late tenth or early eleventh century (see Grube 1976, pp. 51–2 and pl. 7), is particularly pertinent in this context because of the potential role of such sketches as agents of transmission.

133 Grabar 1968, II, 'La décoration des coupoles a Karye Camii et les peintures italiennes du Dugento', pp. 1055–65, esp. pp. 1057–9; Buchthal 1971, p. 57.

134 Demus 1984, II, p. 73. The Zen chapel was converted into a burial chapel for Cardinal Zen in 1503–15. See Jestaz 1986; Perocco, 'Le vicende storiche', in Demus et al. 1990, p. 23; Jacoff 1993, pp. 9–10, 42–8; Jacoff, 'L'unità delle facciate di San Marco del XIII secolo' in Polacco 1997, pp. 77–97.

135 Da Canal 1972, pp. 340–3. See also Fasoli 1961, p. 66; Dale 1997, pp. 87–90, 93, 101.

136 Da Canal 1972, p. 340: 'que je ai faite et ferai a tosjors mes a monsignor saint Marc por les Veniciens.'

137 I am grateful to Professor Patrick Boyde for this suggestion and for his generous help in analysing the form of this poem. Alexandrines are so called because of their use in a French version of the *Alexander Romance*.

138 Da Canal 1972, pp. 342–3.

139 Jacoff 1993, pp. 9–10. On the identification of the Pillars of Acre as originating from the church of St Polyeuktos in Constantinople, see Harrison 1989, pp. 100, 132, 143.

140 Demus 1984, vol. II, p. 191.

141 Da Canal 1972, pp. 342–3. For a full discussion of da Canal's own standpoint see especially Fasoli 1961. I can see no justification for her suggestion (pp. 45, 47) that da Canal had moved to Venice from abroad precisely in 1266–7; although it is evident that he had lived abroad, probably in Syria and plausibly in Acre, he could have lived in Venice for more than a year when he began the chronicle in 1267. I also question her argument (on p. 45) that, because of his lack of interest in economic facts, he was not a merchant – indeed he seems to have many aspects of the mentality of the merchant, but this work is not intended as a mercantile manual. Limentani's introduction to da Canal 1972, pp. xxi–xxv, identifies him as a Venetian, probably not a noble, perhaps a public servant. See also Chapter 1, note 246, for a will drawn up in Acre in 1282 by 'Marino da Canale'. On the chronicle tradition see especially Fasoli 1958; Crouzet-Pavan 1994, pp. 416–27; Fortini Brown 1988, 31–50; Fortini Brown 1996, esp. pp. 10–17, 24–5, 33–41, 100–3.

142 Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 190–2. Where new inventions are needed, a sense of geography is not lacking: St Peter, in Rome, is given a more solid and monochromatic domed background, with five storeys of simple Romanesque arches to convey the traveller's experience of the Vatican.

143 On the subsequent use of the chronicle see Limentani's introduction to da Canal 1972, pp. lxv–lxvi. Fasoli, however, refuted the tradition, accepted by Limentani, that Andrea Dandolo used da Canal's chronicle, suggesting instead that the text sank into oblivion until it was published in 1845 (Fasoli 1961, pp. 42–3).

144 Thiersch 1909, p. 44. Thiersch asserted that the Zen chapel mosaic records the Pharos as it stood in the tenth and eleventh centuries and then remarked on its similarity with the Roman coin images (Thiersch 1909, p. 36). However, as he elsewhere recorded, the lighthouse had lost its white ashlar masonry in the early stages of the Arab conquest in the eighth century (Thiersch 1909, p. 4).

145 Thiersch described the coins from the Alexandrian mint which show the lighthouse in its antique state, especially those from the reigns of Domitian and Commodus (Thiersch 1909, pp. 2, 7–11.). For full references to the classical sources see Calderini 1935, pp. 156–64; Fraser 1972, vol. I, pp. 17–20, vol. II, pp. 44–9.

146 On the lighthouse at Ostia and other ancient lighthouses, see Thiersch 1909, pp. 19–20; Stuhlfauth 1938.

147 Demus 1960, pp. 58–60, 101–4, 165–82. See also Fortini Brown 1996, with further bibliography.

148 Strabo 1917–32, vol. I, introduction by H. L. Jones, p. xxxiv.

149 Demus 1984, vol. II, pp. 192–205; Dale 1994, pp. 90–93.

150 Da Canal 1972, pp. 20–21: 'Et se aucun vodra savoir la verité tot ensi con je vos ai conté, veigne veoir la bele yglise de monsignor saint Marc en Venise et regarde tres devant la bele yglise, que est escrit tote ceste estoire tot enci con je vos ai contee.' See Demus 1960, pp. 104–5, 147–8.

151 Fortini Brown 1988, pp. 144–50.

152 R. Goffen, 'La Pala Feriale', in Hahnloser and Polacco 1994, pp. 173–85.

153 Struggling to come to terms with the idiosyncracies of Venetian art of the thirteenth century, Demus detected elusive 'foreign influences' that he considered to be deflecting the artistic development from its 'normal [i.e. Byzantine] course' (Demus 1984, vol. II, p. 212).

154 Rodini has pointed out that the façade cycle is a metaphor for an east–west 'positional shift', the central portal severing east from west (Rodini 1995, pp. 101–2). The viewer is obliged to read the narrative from right to left, which replicates the direction of arrival of the relic, following its disembarkation at the south end of the Piazzetta. As Rodini recognised, this a non-western reading process. Too much should not be read into this observation, since it also replicates the direction of arrival of the saint's remains from the shore to the church.

155 For general accounts of Codussi's work at San Pietro di Castello see Paoletti 1893, vol.

I, pt. II, pp. 172–3; Puppi and Puppi 1977, pp. 45–50, 187–90; McAndrew 1980, pp. 262–7.

156 I am disregarding Thiersch's eccentric view that countless minarets, campanili and belfries, not to mention lighthouses, from China to western Europe are derivations of the Pharos of Alexandria (Thiersch 1909, pp. 97–211). The domed cupola on the summit of the campanile at San Pietro di Castello was removed during a restoration effected in 1670 (Puppi and Puppi 1977, p. 190).

157 Thiersch 1909, p. 5, mentioned a lighthouse erected in 1312 in the inner harbour of the Lido.

158 Paoletti 1893, vol. I, pt. II, p. 171; Puppi and Puppi 1977, pp. 187–9.

159 McAndrew, for instance, described the old campanile as 'smashed' down to the foundations (McAndrew 1980, p. 262). The documents are published in Paoletti 1893, vol. I, pt. II, p. 101, Miscellanea di Documenti, nos 67–9.

160 'Item dare debet dicto maetro moreto ducati centum pro labore suo pro fabricando cornicem superiorem et aptando duas primas scalas et aptando locum ubi fulminavit fulgur' (ASV, Mensa Patriarcale, busta 60, Registro di Cassa: vol. I [formerly busta no. 69], 'Patriarcato 1483 sino 1485', f. 35; published in Paoletti 1893, vol. I, pt. II, p. 101, doc. no. 68).

161 '. . . et hoc secundum designationem factam de cornice' (loc. cit.)

162 Loc. cit.

163 Until a nineteenth-century restoration this doorway bore the date of 1474, recording the completion of the original tower (Paoletti 1893, vol. I, pt. II, p. 171).

164 'Quod ipse m.[agist]^{er} moretus ire debeat in Istriam suis sumptibus ac accipiendum et spunctandum lapides' (ASV, Mensa Patriarcale, busta 60, Registro di Cassa: vol. I [formerly busta no. 69], 'Patriato 1483 sino 1485', f. 35; published in Paoletti 1893, vol. I, pt. II, p. 101, doc. no. 68).

165 Strabo 1917–32, vol. VIII, 17, 1.6.

166 ASV, Mensa Patriarcale, busta 60, Registro di Cassa, vol. II [formerly busta no. 70], 'Patriato 1485 sino 1492', ff. 108–125, published in Paoletti 1893, vol. I, pt. II, p. 101, doc. section no. 69.

167 According to Empéreur 1998, p. 63, the fort was erected in 1477–80. I have adopted this date given by the most recent published source known to me, but in the Alexandria literature the dates given range from 1477 (Thiersch 1909, p. 3) to 1495 (Steen 1993, pp. 16–17).

168 See especially Lieberman 1991.

169 Translated from the Italian version published by Meneghin 1962, vol. I, pp. 309–10. The original Latin text is to be found in Martène 1724, vol. III, col. 1032, letter no. 73.

170 King 1986, p. 406–7.

171 BMV, MS Marc. It. IV, cod. 170 (= 5379), f. 40–40v., published by Conterio 1991, p. 57. An earlier transcription is to be found in Kretschmer 1909, p. 246. The same phrase, 'San Pietro de Chastelo a la tore del fano', appears in a portolan contained in the Venetian nautical manuscript compiled in 1470–1529, now in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. See Bonfiglio Dosio 1987, p. 95.

172 BMV, MS Marc. It. IV, cod. 170 (= 5379), f. 40v. 'San Piero da chastello a la ture del fano'. Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 131, mentioned the installation of a lighthouse on the tower of San Nicolò on the Lido in 1312.

173 Kretschmer 1909, p. 535: 'Alexandria si e nobile citade ed a una ponta fora daver ponente in la qual si e una gran tore che a nomo lo farion dalexandria che e la cognoscenza dela terra e par da lonzi mia 25 in 30 chomo si volon.' The *incunabulum* is preserved in BMV, cod. C, IX, 4 (= 40135). See also the instructions for entering the port of Alexandria given by the portolan in the Venetian nautical manuscript compiled in 1470–1529, now in the National Martime Museum at Greenwich, published by Bonfiglio Dosio 1987, p. 35. On the first sight of the 'farion' by the Venetian embassy to Egypt in 1489–90 see Rossi 1988, pp. 83–4.

174 BMV, MS Marc. It. XI, cod. 87 (= 7353), f. 8: 'et poi torna in afracum et vas supra lo faro.' On the date of this manuscript see Jacoby 1989, essay VII, p. 403. See also Kretschmer 1909, pp. 199–235. Similar information is given in the fourteenth-century Latin portolan of Marin Sanuto 'Torsello' (Kretschmer 1909, p. 241).

175 Kretschmer 1909, pp. 241, 535.

176 Sinding Larsen 1981. As early as the mid-eighteenth century Corner recognised that the throne could not be authentic because of its Arabic script (Corner 1758, pp. 25–6). See also Demus 1960, 11, n. 27.

177 Perocco et al. 1984, pp. 26, 30; nos 29–32, 37. The inventories of the Treasury from 1283 to 1845 are published by Gallo 1967, pp. 273–402; the inventories of 1283 and 1325 are analysed on pp. 19–31. In all twenty-one objects of Islamic origin are preserved in the Treasury of San Marco, mainly Fatimid carved rock-crystal vessels. On the turquoise vase see also Gallo 1967, pp. 206–12, where he related the tradition that the vase was given to the Republic by the envoy of Sultan Uzun Hassan in 1472. Gallo is inconclusive as to whether the vase is made of glass or turquoise (p. 212). In the catalogue of the Fatimid exhibition in Paris in 1998 it is described as glass paste, from Iran or Iraq and datable to the ninth or tenth century (Barrucand 1998, p. 230, cat. no. 205). Similar examples of incongruous re-working of Islamic artefacts as Christian relics are discussed in Ettinghausen 1975.

178 See, for example, Avery 1997, pp. 108–13, claiming on p. 113 that this work is 'arguably the supreme achievement of Bernini's career'.

179 The supposed 'throne of Saint Mark' from Alexandria, given to the cathedral of Grado by Emperor Heraclius (610–41), was another highly symbolic Apostle's chair, asserting Imperial recognition of Saint Mark's role in the founding of the patriarchate of Grado. It eventually found its way in to the Treasury of San Marco. See Grabar 1954; Buchthal 1971, p. 54; Fortini Brown 1996, p. 41.

180 Da Canal 1972, pp. 22–3: 'Et de lors en avant que li Venesiens orent fait si bele yglise, si loerent que ele fust chascun an amendee a tosjors mais, et ensi le font.'

181 On San Marco before its thirteenth-century accretions see especially Zuliani 1975.

182 Lane-Poole's illustration of the Ibn Tulun Mosque under repair, published in 1886, reveals the timber cage beneath the bulbous dome (Lane-Poole 1886, p. 55). See fig. 114.

183 Creswell 1952, vol. I, p. 237.

184 Creswell 1952, vol. I, p. 237. The dome of the Iwan of al-Nasir Muhammad, to be considered later in the context of the Palazzo Ducale (pp. 176–8), also had a timber-framed, copper-roofed dome, which collapsed in 1521 (loc. cit.).

185 This link was noticed by Fiocco 1966, pp. 225–6.

186 Ibn Jubayr 1952, pp. 306–7.

187 I am assuming the accuracy of the 'eye-witness style' image.

188 See above, pp. 83–4.

189 For observations on this theme see Winter 1989.

190 The link was first observed by Rice 1954, pp. 31–3.

191 On the dating of the *Mesi*, see Demus in Wolters 1979, p. 11; Hempel and Julier in Wolters 1979, pp. 42–5, cat. nos 118–30. On the date of the ivories see the entry by Grube in Curatola 1993, p. 156, cat. no. 63.

192 See Rice 1954, pp. 32–33; Demus 1960, pp. 154–5.

193 Jacoff 1993, p. 81; Butters 1996, vol. I, pp. 35–40. Butters's profusely documented and pioneering volumes are now the fundamental source on porphyry. For further observations on porphyry carving and the connotations of the material see, for example, Penny 1993, pp. 30–33; Conforti 1993, pp. 11–15. Interestingly, in the rich array of oriental marbles depicted in the following century in the Baptistery mosaics executed in the 1350s, porphyry appears only once (Pincus 1996, p. 139).

194 Fortini Brown 1996, p. 29.

195 Demus 1960, p. 148; Hempel and Julier in Wolters 1979, p. 34, cat. no. 75.

196 Flood 1991–2, pp. 209–10. Barry Flood tells me that he no longer believes that the Venetian version preserved the meaning of the Islamic original, and suggests that

Byzantine models such as St Polyeuktos may have been influential. I am indebted to Dr Flood for his generous help.

197 Zuliani 1970, pp. 94–125.

198 See, for instance, those illustrated in Tabbaa 1997, fig. 98.

199 Zuliani 1970, pp. 78–93.

200 Demus 1960, p. 104.

201 Examples of the type of carving that might have reached Venice are the two ivory plaques in the Louvre from a *minbar* door, nos 7460–61. See fig. 124.

202 See below, pp. 145–6, for a discussion of the transforming effect of memory on the recollection of pointed arched forms.

203 On the possible presence of a Venetian mosaicist in Bethlehem, see below, p. 209.

204 See, for example, Sanudo 1900, p. 79 (on relics displayed in Venice): 'A San Marco / San Marco evanzelista a l'altar grando, ma non si vede.' Writing in the fifteenth century, Bernardo Giustinian asserted that the Saint's body's whereabouts were kept secret for reasons of security (Labalme 1969, pp. 308–9).

205 Demus 1960, p. 104. Rosamund Mack has pointed out how Gentile Bellini's *Saint Mark preaching at Alexandria* extends the stone grilles across all the façade portals in recognition of this allusion (in press; I am grateful to Ms Mack for kindly allowing me to see a draft from her forthcoming book).

206 Herzner 1997.

207 Herzner 1997, pp. 71–4. On the origins of the *quadriga* see, for example, Perry 1979, and Borrelli 1997.

208 See, for example, Eusebius 1926, vol. II, xv–xvi; Calderini 1935, p. 160, with further refs.; Forster 1961, pp. 49–51, 73–87; Marlowe 1971, pp. 235–78.

209 St Augustine 1968, VIII, 23.

210 For example Sanudo 1879–1903, vol. I, col. 270 (1496); vol. III, col. 95 (1500).

211 Sanudo 1879–1903, vol. II, col. 172.

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1 Newett 1907, p. 129.

2 This is suggested by Crouzet-Pavan 1996a, pp. 579–80, 593.

3 Brasca 1966, p. 142.

4 Bellavitis and Romanelli 1985, pp. 34–5; Bosio 1983–4; Dorigo 1985; Schulz 1991, pp. 419–22; Crouzet-Pavan 1995, p. 550.

5 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, pp. 36–7.

6 On bridges see, for example, Crouzet-Pavan 1996b, pp. 29–30; Crouzet-Pavan 1997, pp. 750–55, 775. For a catalogue of Venetian bridges see Zucchetta 1992, vol. II. On paving, see Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 42. On paved streets in Islamic cities, see Jairazbhoy 1964, p. 65.

7 Crouzet-Pavan 1992, vol. I, pp. 72–95; Crouzet-Pavan 1995.

8 Schulz 1991, p. 423; Crouzet-Pavan 1995, pp. 557–9. In the second half of the fifteenth century the Provveditori di Comun and the Savi alle Acque inherited much of the power of the Giudici del Piovego. See Crouzet-Pavan 1996b, pp. 36–7.

9 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 32.

10 Mueller 1997, p. 574.

11 Crouzet-Pavan 1995, p. 557.

12 See Goitein 1983, p. 23, in relation to the documents of the Cairo Genizah.

13 Crouzet-Pavan 1996b, pp. 10–11.

14 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, pp. 23–5.

15 Chambers and Pullan 1992, p. 136, English trans. from Senate decree of 31 May 1459.

16 See Burckhardt 1976, p. 181.

17 Crouzet-Pavan 1992, vol. I, pp. 71–119.

18 Marcus 1989, p. 289.

19 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, pp. 39–42.

20 On this theme, see for example, Saalman 1969, pp. 32–5. Calabi 1993, though dealing with the early modern period, surveys much pertinent material.

21 Sansovino-Martinioni 1663, vol. I, p. 363; Cessi and Alberti 1934, pp. 20–23; Calabi and Morachiello 1987, p. 7; Schulz 1991, p. 426.

22 Cessi and Alberti 1934, p. 25.

23 The literature on this icon building is enormous. For a summary with interesting observations, see Calabi and Morachiello 1987, pp. 91–100.

24 Calabi and Morachiello 1987, p. 40: the term is 'sacrario'.

25 Sabellico 1957, p. 17.

26 Quoted by Sims 1978, p. 97, from the Koran, sura II.

27 See Lane, 'Investment and Usury', in Lane 1966, pp. 64–8; Mueller 1997, pp. 573–6.

28 Sansovino-Martinioni 1663, vol. I, pp. 519–20.

29 Lorenzetti 1961, pp. 469–70; Calabi and Morachiello 1987, p. 100. The Latin inscription is illustrated in Mueller 1997, p. 37, fig. 2.

30 In Venice, Dandolo 1939, p. 165; in Tyre, Ibn Jubayr 1952, pp. 319–20, copied by Ibn Battuta 1958–62, vol. I, p. 84; in Acre, Jacoby 1979, p. 13.

31 Jacoby 1979, pp. 13–14.

32 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 119.

33 Crouzet-Pavan 1995, p. 563; Crouzet-Pavan 1997, p. 742.

34 Calabi 1991, p. 808. In 1414 the Dogana was divided into two divisions: 'da Terra' at the Rialto and 'da Mar' at Santa Trinita (Cessi and Alberti 1934, p. 59).

35 See, for example Thomas 1880, vol. I, p. 6 (treaty of 1302).

36 Dopp 1958, pp. 179–80.

37 Jacoby 1979, pp. 15–17.

38 Ibn Jubayr 1952, p. 317.

39 Sansovino-Martinioni 1663, vol. I, p. 363; Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 84; Cessi and Alberti 1934, pp. 30–43.

40 Sansovino-Martinioni 1663, vol. I, p. 364.

41 Crouzet-Pavan 1997, p. 744.

42 Sanudo 1879–1903, vol. XVII, pp. 458–67; Calabi and Morachiello 1987, pp. 40–49.

43 Cessi and Alberti 1934, pp. 105–21; Calabi and Morachiello 1987, pp. 50–78. Fra Giocondo's scheme is described in Vasari 1878–85, vol. V, pp. 269–72.

44 Sanudo 1879–1903, vol. XVIII, col. 401: 'il locho non capisse.'

45 See above, p. 5.

46 A full and clear account of these various types of market buildings is given in Raymond and Wiet 1979, pp. 1–24 (in the context of Maqrizi's description of Cairo). See also Sauvaget 1941, vol. I, p. 79, where the *qasariyya* is likened to an antique basilica.

47 Sauvaget 1941, vol. I, pp. 104–5.

48 On Palmyra as an example of the infilling of antique colonnades streets to create *suqs* see Raymond 1998, article 1, p. 335. A similar effect can be observed in the street on the north-east corner of the excavations at Bet She'an. See Murphy-O'Connor 1998, pp. 192–4.

49 Sauvaget 1941, vol. I, pp. 105, 247: 'Les souks, la quaisariya, le khan, La Halle aux Fruits, ne sont que des dégénérescences de l'avenue à colonnade, de la basilique, de l'agora' (p. 247). For a challenge to this view see Raymond 1998, article 1, p. 314.

50 On the bazaars of Aleppo see especially Russell 1794, vol. I, pp. 20–22; Sauvaget 1941, vol. I, 104–5; Ibn Jubayr 1952, p. 262; Ziadeh 1953, pp. 88–9, 136–40, 164; Raymond 1984, pp. 28–30, 35–6.

51 In an unpublished lecture on 'The Origins of Venice', given at Cambridge University's Department of Architecture on 26 Oct. 1992, Juergen Schulz compared this type of development to northern ports such as Stockholm.

52 Lorenzetti 1961, p. 467; Calabi and Morachiello 1987, p. 173.

53 Crouzet-Pavan 1995, pp. 563–4, 567.

54 Cessi and Alberti 1934, p. 35; Crouzet-Pavan 1995, p. 563.

55 Concina 1997, pp. 127–8.

56 Concina 1997, pp. 129–30.

57 Von Harff 1946, p. 51.

58 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 87 (note).

59 Sansovino-Martinioni 1663, vol. I, p. 363: 'finissimi panni di diversi colori.'

60 Michele Lamprakos has pointed out that Sanudo uses the term 'campo', apparently to mean *khan*, when citing reports from eastern consuls (personal communication 14 May 1998).

61 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 84: 'in bordonalibus et columpnis.'

62 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 90: 'quod talis locus esset pulcer, magnus, ornatus, et expeditus . . . esset honor nostri dominii et civitatis que per dei gratiam est tantum famosa.'

63 Cecchetti 1885, pt. I, p. 90: 'continuo se reducunt et conversantur nobiles et mercatores