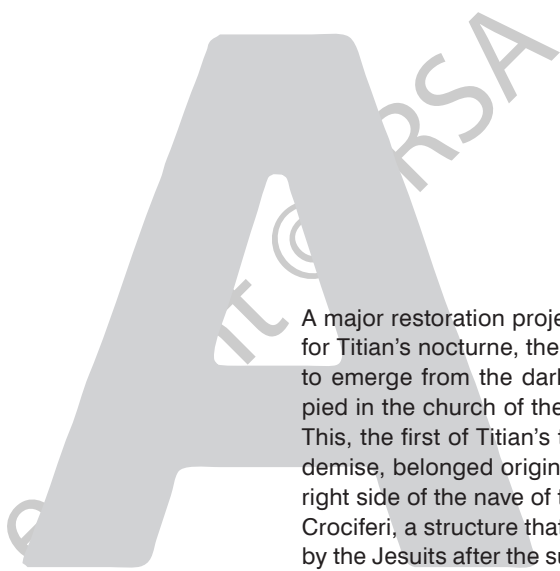


Allison Sherman

Murder and Martyrdom:
Titian's Gesuiti *Saint Lawrence*
as a Family Peace Offering



A major restoration project in 2011 afforded a rare opportunity for Titian's nocturne, the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* [Fig. 1], to emerge from the darkness of the side chapel it has occupied in the church of the Gesuiti since the eighteenth century. This, the first of Titian's two versions of Saint Lawrence's fiery demise, belonged originally to an altar – not a chapel – on the right side of the nave of the church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi, a structure that was purchased and later demolished by the Jesuits after the suppression of the order of the Crociferi in 1656. The cleaning has revealed, among other things, a head that was previously indiscernible, positioned to the left of the saint and above the figure of the tormentor who bends down to stoke the flames beneath Lawrence's gridiron [Fig. 2]. This turbaned figure with a white beard appears to kneel before the martyr, his gaze indicating a measure of sympathy that is otherwise absent in the scene of torture. Indeed, the similarity of this head to known portraits of the artist has prompted Lionello Puppi to speculate that Titian may have inserted his visage into the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, perhaps out of reverence for the remarkable woman who was instrumental in its commission.¹ Titian's patrons, Lorenzo Massolo and Elisabetta Querini, are also at the heart of this study, which seeks to provide something that has never been entirely clear: their motivations for the selection of the altar in the Crociferi church and the rather unconventional choice for a dramatic scene of martyrdom



1. Titian, «Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence», c. 1547–1559, Venice, Chiesa dei Gesuiti. Photo: *Nicola Restauri*, Aramengo (AT)

to decorate it. The answer to these questions involves a brutal murder, a renegade monk, penitential parents and an intricate web of relationships and alliances between powerful patricians and *literati* that when unravelled, deepens our understanding of the violence of Titian's masterpiece.

The identity of Titian's patron has never been a mystery. The name Lorenzo Massolo was recorded from the altar's inscription, perhaps most reliably in the 1581 guidebook of Francesco Sansovino, whose lifelong friendship with Lorenzo's only son, Pietro, was tenderly outlined in Sansovino's extensive commentary on the third edition of Massolo's collection of *Sonnetti Morali* in 1583:

*LAVRENTIO MASSVLO VIRO PATRITII ORDINIS OPTIMO IN
CVIVS OBITU TOTA ET NOBILIS MASSVLORVM FAMILIA FINEM
HABVIT ISABETTA QUIRINA VXOR PIENTISS. M. P. OBIIT ANNO
SALVTIS MDLVI. MENSE IAN.*²

Yet it has been the fate of Lorenzo Massolo – a member of an ancient Venetian patrician family – to remain in the shadow of his wife, Elisabetta Querini, whose exceptional beauty, grace, piety and intellect inspired the poetry of Pietro Bembo and of the papal nuncio to Venice, Giovanni Della Casa.³ Titian and his shop produced no fewer than three portraits of the lady – two of them owned by Bembo and Della Casa – however these survive only in the form of what may be copies and possibly an eighteenth-century engraving.⁴ One of these lost paintings moved Pietro Aretino to produce a sonnet that lauded 'the golden, the beautiful, the sacred countenance of la Massola' and Titian's success in having revealed her illustrious mind, regal quality, noble thoughts, and irresistible spirit.⁵ While a considerable amount is known about Elisabetta as a result of the literary works and correspondence of her learned admirers, it is unusual that a lacuna of information has until recently existed for her husband.⁶ Monique O'Connell's study of the governance of Venice's maritime empire has provided new insight into the character of Lorenzo Massolo, who, it transpires, was a wealthy landowner in Western Crete.⁷ In 1523 a dispute on Massolo's property just outside of Canea sparked a violent peasant revolt that grew to such proportions that the captain of the Venetian fleet was required to quell it. The same year Massolo petitioned the Council of Ten for permission to sell his holdings on the island, fearing for his life in the face of such widespread hatred. A letter of support was sent by the Councillor of Canea, which placed blame for the peasants' discontent on the tyrannical treatment they had received from Lorenzo's father, called Pietro, and maintained that the best way to quell the uprising was to allow Massolo to leave, which he seems clearly to have done.⁸ This Councillor of Canea, importantly for our purposes, was Girolamo Querini, son of Ismerio – Elisabetta's first cousin once removed – a key but previously obscured player in this narrative to whom we shall return.⁹

By the time Lorenzo left Canea, he and Elisabetta Querini had been married for approximately ten years and had welcomed a son, Pietro, in 1518. Beyond this, little is known of their activities until 1537, when Elisabetta caught the attention of Pietro Bembo. Recently bereaved of his companion, Morosina, and several years shy of his elevation to cardinal, Bembo corresponded frequently with Elisabetta and other members of her family throughout the final decade of his life.¹⁰ He devoted six sonnets to the woman he claimed could have toppled Laura in the affections of Petrarch, a beauty born of the Adriatic who could have deposed Venus in the Judgement of Paris.¹¹ But it is clear from Bembo's letters that he prized Elisabetta for qualities beyond the physical; they shared an interest in art and antiquities, he praised her 'fertile and rare genius' and often looked to her for consolation and advice.¹² Indeed, it is to one of Elisabetta's suggestions that we owe the vernacular translation of Bembo's history of Venice. He wrote on several occasions that it was she who had alerted him to the wider audience his work would reach and warned him against sloppy translators. These were things of which he was undoubtedly aware, but he graciously and rather remarkably deferred to Elisabetta in his correspondence, and the edition of the history published by Gualtiero Scotto after his death was dedicated to her.¹³

During the first flush of her correspondence with Bembo in the spring of 1537, as Elisabetta revelled in the attention for which she seems to have had an almost insatiable craving, arrangements were also being made for the politically advantageous marriage of the Massolos' son, Pietro – not quite 18 – to Chiara Tiepolo, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Stefano Tiepolo. Tiepolo was at this point governor of Corfu, but was at the beginning of a distinguished career in service to the Republic, later going on to serve as Capitano Generale to the Levant in 1542 and 1551, Ambassador to Constantinople in 1543, Inquisitore generale (Terraferma) in 1548, Podestà di Padova in 1550, and Procuratore di San Marco in 1553.¹⁴ Pietro and Chiara celebrated their marriage on 9 April 1537 at the church of San Giuseppe in Castello with what we can presume was considerable patrician pomp, given that the bride was accompanied by a not insignificant dowry of four thousand ducats, the highest allowable sum according to a law passed by the Senate two years previously.¹⁵ Something, however, went terribly wrong, and that intermingling of Tiepolo and Querini bloodlines that had proven so toxic in the infamous conspiracy of 1310 turned tragic once more when Pietro murdered his wife in the bedroom, violently stabbing her in the face, eyes and chest, less than two months after their wedding.¹⁶

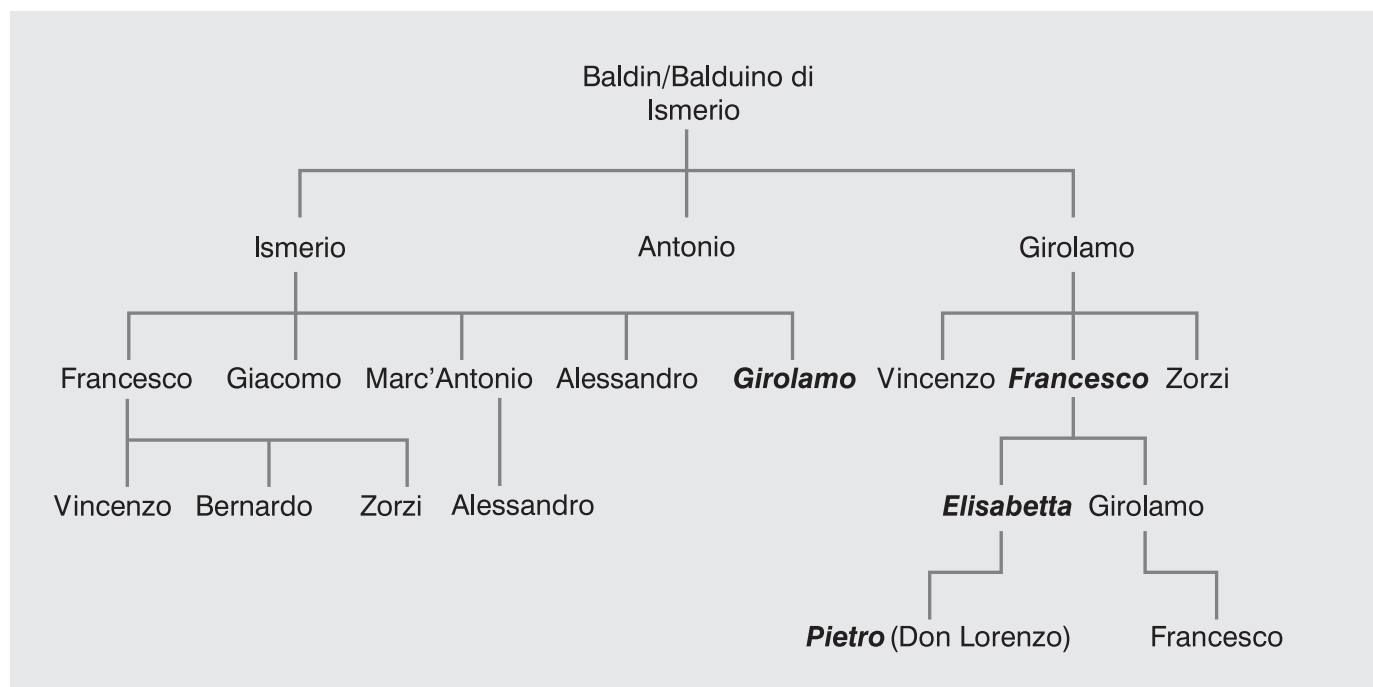
What provoked Pietro to commit the crime remained unclear; however, he had sufficient presence of mind to flee Venice immediately, taking religious asylum at the monastery of San Benedetto in Polirone in Mantua. A letter of 6 July 1537 from the Abbot of the monastery, Gregorio Cortese, to



2. Titian, «Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence» (detail). Photo: *Nicola Restauri*, Aramengo (AT)

Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, recorded the arrival of the young Venetian at their doorstep sometime around 17 June, appealing to be admitted into their order. Having welcomed him on the basis of his desire to serve God, as well as his ornate dress and

sufficient learning, the abbot had come to learn that, although repentant, Pietro had killed his wife out of 'disdain and suspicion'.¹⁷ Meanwhile, back in Venice, Pietro was tried in absentia and sentenced to death on 18 July 1537. Pompeo Molmenti



3. Querini Family Tree

published the surviving sentence as a curiosity in the 1920s, noting correctly that the proceedings of the trial conducted by the Quarantia Criminale were lost.¹⁸ A *sentenza di bando* containing some information about the murder does survive in the book of the *Raspe*, where the findings of the proceedings of the Quarantia – the body often charged with handling high-profile homicide cases – were sometimes noted.¹⁹ The authorities characterised the crime as ‘diabolical, wicked, deliberate, and with no legitimate cause’. A previously unknown piece of evidence exists in the records of the Council of Ten for 28 June 1537, three weeks before the final sentence was announced, in which the council expresses its disgust at the crime, adding that a bounty would be placed upon Pietro’s head, viable in Venetian and non-Venetian territories.²⁰ This document also states that Chiara was pregnant at the time of her death, a detail the council moved unanimously to strike from the record several weeks later.²¹ Presumably gossip was promoting her condition as a possible motive for Pietro’s violent outburst, scandalous implications that would have displeased Chiara’s mourning family.

But let us now turn to how all of this relates to Titian’s painting: the aftermath of the murder and the elusive pardon the Massolo couple would spend much of the next decade seeking for their son, who, after a year in exile, in June of 1538, took his monastic vows and assumed the name of Don Lorenzo.²² This quest for clemency was carried out largely through the inter-

cession of their hugely influential circle of friends.²³ The major participants in this scheme were Pietro Bembo, and the papal nuncio to Venice, Giovanni Della Casa, another literary flirt who became Elisabetta’s second admirer. Each of these individuals had connections, not only to each other, but also to Titian, and to Girolamo Querini, a figure of central import to this narrative, and one whose relationship to Elisabetta requires clarification through a brief genealogical digression.

There were actually three men by the name of Girolamo Querini in Elisabetta’s life: her brother, her grandfather, and one who has been almost totally obscured – the son of her grandfather’s brother [Fig. 3]. Despite quite obvious clues in the primary documents – testaments, letters, sonnets, genealogies – scholarship has consistently ignored or confused the more complex reality of multiple relatives, and has therefore inhibited a clear understanding Elisabetta’s connection to Bembo, Della Casa and Titian.²⁴ The Girolamo Querini to whom Bembo addressed more than forty known letters beginning as early as 1530, could not have been, as has so often been maintained, Elisabetta’s brother, who was acquainted with the cardinal, but was probably not in correspondence with him.²⁵ Some of Bembo’s letters to Elisabetta, for example, refer to two separate Girolamos in a single missive. Girolamo di Ismerio, her first cousin once removed, seems to be the man Bembo addresses as Magnifico Messer Girolamo or Ieronimo, while Elisabetta’s

brother (Girolamo di Francesco) is repeatedly invoked through the use of the endearing derivation, 'my sweet Momolo'.²⁶ Born in 1509, just a few years before his sister's marriage, he was obviously younger, which may be why Bembo refers to him so tenderly, often instructing Elisabetta and the cousin Girolamo to pass along his greetings in the form of a kiss. In several letters to Girolamo, Bembo mentions his correspondent's nephew Vincenzo and brother Marc'Antonio, names and relationships that conform to the family tree of the cousin Girolamo.²⁷ Elisabetta's brother, an amateur poet, was also dead by 1547, and was therefore unable to carry out a number of the rather significant tasks for which he has consistently been credited. It was instead Girolamo di Ismerio who was the closer correspondent of Bembo, and the one named lead executor of Elisabetta's estate in 1557, and as such the one charged with seeing to the completion of the still unfinished Titian altarpiece.²⁸

In addition to serving as Councillor of Canea, Girolamo di Ismerio held several other governmental posts: he served as Podestà di Umago from 1506, was elected to the Giustizieri Vecchi in November 1521, and was among the forty-one that elected Doge Francesco Venier in 1545.²⁹ Bembo described him in a letter to Ottavio Falconieri as 'a man of great prudence and judgement, extremely fond of *literati*, but not himself a man of letters'.³⁰ Girolamo was also acquainted with Aretino, whose letters confirm Querini's close friendship with other major intellectuals such as Trifone Gabriele and Giangiorgio Trissino, who – according to Aretino – was also Girolamo Querini's uncle.³¹ Because 'he had no two dearer friends in the world', Bembo entrusted Girolamo and Elisabetta with negotiations for the betrothal his beloved daughter, Elena, in 1542.³² Girolamo, along with Carlo Gualteruzzi, was also named Bembo's literary executor at the time of the cardinal's death in 1547. An inscription confirms it was in fact Girolamo di Ismerio who commissioned the Danese Cattaneo bust of Bembo that was eventually placed in the architectural monument usually attributed to Michele Sanmicheli at the Santo in Padua, and who accompanied Aretino, Jacopo Sansovino and Lorenzo Lotto to Danese's studio in January 1549 to see the bust in progress.³³ He seems also to have been involved in an unrealised project for a sculptural façade monument to Trifone Gabriele at the Celestia in Venice, and was certainly responsible for commissioning Cattaneo to produce a portrait medal in honour of Elisabetta following her death in 1559.³⁴

The letters of Bembo and Della Casa suggest that Girolamo was instrumental in pressing the family's politically connected friends to help them bring Pietro out of exile. Bembo swung swiftly into action on behalf of Pietro, whom he had greeted in a letter to Elisabetta mere days before Chiara's murder.³⁵ Indeed, it seems to have escaped notice that on the same day that Gregorio Cortese notified Cardinal Contarini of Pietro's arrival at San Benedetto, Bembo also sent a letter to Contarini's secretary Luca Beccadelli

announcing that he was himself 'returning from Mantua', having spent at least a week there settling in his son, Torquato, with a tutor.³⁶ Given the close association between Bembo and the fugitive's mother in the months leading up to the crime, it is not impossible that he somehow played a role in Massolo's placement at a monastery that was administered by Bembo's learned friends. His first gesture on Pietro's behalf involved a heartfelt appeal to Abbot Cortese to see to the young man's ongoing education on account of Bembo's love for his parents, who wished above all that the bulk of their son's hours might continue to be dedicated to the 'buone lettere'.³⁷ Bembo asked that a tutor might be assigned to Pietro, who had already received a formative education (along with his fellow pupil Francesco Sansovino) under the humanist teacher Giovita Ravizza in Venice. It is unlikely to be purely happenstance that Pietro found asylum at just the sort of place that could provide this type of support.

The letters of Bembo and Cortese from 1539 onward are littered with vague references to the pardon the Massolo family hoped to secure for Pietro, and reassurances of its realization.³⁸ In October 1539 Cortese wrote to Gasparo Contarini about the matter:

I know that you have received much information regarding the case of our monk Don Lorenzo of Venice, who when he was a secular became involved in this unfortunate case, and to purge himself retired here to the monastery, where he has remained for the past two years, with great satisfaction. Because it seems absurd to me that one dedicated to God, who has continually lived in a sacred location, has a bounty upon him, and in risk of defiling this place, it occurred to me to see, if by way of our Lord, you could implore the Signoria to lift the bounty at least in alien territories, outside the Dominio. Monsignor Reverendissimo Bembo, a great friend of his father and his uncles has promised to do his part from Venice, but I am not content with this. I would like to secure your favour, because of your natural inclination to help pious causes, and for the protection of our religion, of which this monk is a member. I cannot help but want to provide every advantage to this young man, that he be liberated from great danger, and also be freed from an anxious fear that continuously weighs on me, having committed him to our care.³⁹

Bembo consoled Elisabetta at Christmas 1539, assuring her that despite the hectic demands of the season, her son was always on his mind, and that he would do what he could to 'procure for Don Lorenzo that which is most desired, by whatever avenue God might reveal'.⁴⁰ His promise to the mother went unfulfilled, for he wrote to her in January 1540 that it might be time to involve Gregorio Cortese once again. Bembo felt certain that should Pope Paul III live, Cortese would soon be made cardinal, something, he writes, that would 'work to the profit of our Don Lorenzo'.⁴¹ Indeed, Cortese did rise to the rank of cardinal,

and in November 1542 wrote to the man who had replaced him as abbot at San Benedetto, Don Marco da Pontremoli, with some news of the case. Evidently Bembo's efforts had previously been foiled by the Venetian ambassador – 'a bestial man' – who had promised to write to the Signoria about the matter, but had almost certainly failed to do so. The new ambassador, however, had promised to correct the error of his predecessor.⁴² Even as these powerful members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were gradually drawn into the scheme, the Massolo cause went unresolved. Astonishingly, none of these men – some of them deeply pious church reformers – registered the least amount of concern about the murder of which the young monk stood accused. On the contrary, their focus was on consoling him. Bembo's letters to Don Lorenzo throughout 1543–1545 encourage him in his literary pursuits and reassure him of the well-being of his family back in Venice.⁴³ Massolo's correspondent Vincenzo Borghini – the Florentine historian, Benedictine, and friend of Vasari – wrote a lengthy seven-page letter in Latin on Christmas Eve 1543, quoting passages from Saint Paul and Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* in hopes of alleviating the pain of his friend's separation from his parents.⁴⁴

The Massolo family gathered further powerful support for their cause with the arrival in September 1544 of the papal nuncio to Venice, Giovanni Della Casa. He entered their circle upon the recommendation of his two friends in Rome: Bembo, and another member of their literary circle, Carlo Gualteruzzi. They had both been the beneficiaries of the bottomless generosity of the Querini cousins in Venice, and they may well have suspected that Girolamo's acquaintance would afford Della Casa some entertaining company and perhaps even assistance during his stay in the lagoon city.⁴⁵ Bembo's cheery letter to Girolamo Querini introducing Della Casa also records that the nuncio had allowed him to lodge at his Roman palace in his absence. There, Bembo was enjoying the Titian portrait of Elisabetta Querini that belonged to Gualteruzzi but was on loan to Della Casa.⁴⁶ By the mid 1540s all three men owned Titian portraits of Elisabetta, the lady who would take center stage in their correspondence again for a period of a few years, with talk of the pardon temporarily receding into the background.⁴⁷

Throughout 1544 and 1545, letters exchanged between Bembo, Della Casa, Gualteruzzi, Girolamo and Elisabetta Querini were focused on other things, some involving Titian.⁴⁸ Della Casa's letters reported to Gualteruzzi that Elisabetta was hounding him for verses inspired by the portrait Titian had painted of her sometime between 1544 and 1545, perhaps to display amongst the elaborate *spalliere* she had arranged to be surreptitiously installed in his bedroom while he was out on official business.⁴⁹ The pressure to produce the *La Massola* sonnets drove Della Casa to a crippling bout of writer's block and eventually to the solitude of a house on Murano that had been arranged for him by Girolamo Querini.⁵⁰ But the nuncio

eventually warmed to the lady and produced five *rime* in her honour, praising in his prose all the qualities Bembo and others so admired in her, and the remarkable way Titian had succeeded in bringing his 'idol' to life.⁵¹

Della Casa also forged a relationship with Elisabetta's cousin Girolamo. They exchanged various favours and advice; the nuncio wrote to Gualteruzzi a few short months after his arrival in Venice that he had fallen in love with a woman, but that Querini had convinced him to give her up, promising to find him a match of greater sophistication.⁵² They became even more familiar after the death of Bembo in 1547, when Della Casa played mediator between Girolamo and Gualteruzzi over a disagreement regarding the resolution of Bembo's literary estate, of which they were co-executors.⁵³ By the time Della Casa left Venice in 1549, their bond was so great that it was Girolamo to whom the nuncio entrusted the not insignificant task of securing custody of his illegitimate son, conceived with a courtesan before he left for Rome. The child, named Quirinetto, was to live with the Querini family for about five years, and became so dear to Elisabetta that she included him in her testament.⁵⁴

Given all of this, it is unsurprising to find that the nuncio was actively engaged in the quest for the lifting of Pietro's bounty throughout the spring of 1546, having agreed to approach Stefano Tiepolo in hopes of securing his blessing for the long sought-after pardon for Pietro Massolo.⁵⁵ On 1 May 1546, Della Casa wrote to Gualteruzzi, who was also a friend of Tiepolo, that he had little hope of convincing the powerful statesman, for he remained 'ever so bitter, as if the whole thing had happened yesterday'.⁵⁶ Tiepolo had confided that the prolonged discussion had opened old wounds, prompting Della Casa to admit to Gualteruzzi that without Tiepolo's support there was little hope of changing minds, as Venetians deferred to 'this noble and much respected gentleman'.⁵⁷

Although Della Casa seems to have been granted papal authority to intervene in the case, no dispensation was ever made for Pietro, who instead thrived in monastic life at San Benedetto until his death in 1590.⁵⁸ He became an acclaimed poet and a correspondent of many of the leading ecclesiastical, political and literary figures of the time, publishing three editions of moral sonnets devoted to many of them, first in 1557 with Antonio Manuzio, and again in 1558 with Lorenzo Torrentino, the Florentine publisher of Vasari's *Lives*.⁵⁹

In May 1547, a year after Della Casa's unsuccessful mediations, Elisabetta wrote a new testament, appointing her husband and 'il mag[nifi]co M. Hier[oni]mo Querini fo del mag[nifi]co Smerio' as her executors. Her cousin replaced her recently deceased brother and her renegade son, who had both been named *commissarie* in her will of a decade earlier.⁶⁰ This document is the first to name the Crociferi church as the site of the Massolo 'archa'. Her previous will of 1 May 1537, written just weeks before Chiara's murder, had expressed only a desire

to be buried with her husband, son, and an already deceased daughter, but did not specify location.⁶¹ Lorenzo Massolo's testament of 18 November 1548 provides some clarification. He wished that his body be placed in his tomb before his altar in the Crociferi church, and specified that no one else should be buried there besides himself, his wife, and the bones of their daughter, which he states could be found buried in San Giorgio Maggiore.⁶² This is also the first document to mention the altarpiece, already commissioned, but destined to remain incomplete for a decade to follow: 'La Palla del qual altare voglio del si habbia a finir et cussi el coverchio de ditta sepoltura'.⁶³ It may well be that Elisabetta's 1537 testament referred to some sort of burial arrangement the family had at San Giorgio, where their daughter was already interred, a burial site that was later shifted to the Crociferi church. Elisabetta's family had connections to the Benedictine monastery through her uncle, the humanist and reformer Vincenzo Querini, who was also a friend of Bembo, Cortese and Contarini.⁶⁴ Elisabetta was also acquainted with the Abbot of San Giorgio, Don Basilio, for Bembo's letters to both parties from 1539 to 1541 contain requests for one to greet the other on his behalf.⁶⁵ An affinity to the order that might have prompted the Massolo family's desire to be buried at the island church could only have been strengthened when Pietro Massolo took refuge and assumed the Benedictine habit at San Benedetto di Polirone. The timing of the relocation of the family's burial location to the Crociferi church can be secured by Elisabetta's second testament to sometime before 25 May 1547, about the time that Della Casa was making his appeals to the victim's father to support the pardon.⁶⁶ I would suggest that the foundation of the altar together with its altarpiece was in fact a gesture related to the family's efforts to appease Stefano Tiepolo. Lorenzo's 1548 testament contains further evidence of their desire to make amends: 'I leave to Magnifico Messer Stefano Tiepolo and his heirs twenty five ducati del Intrado [...] as a sign of my love, and of the love that I carried for that poor Chiara, his daughter and my dear daughter-in-law'.⁶⁷

But why would such a gesture have moved Stefano Tiepolo? Numerous documents reveal that Tiepolo had a special investment in the Crociferi church. He served for many years as their lay procurator, from at least 1543 until the end of his life, and was succeeded in this office by his son, the distinguished diplomat, Paolo Tiepolo.⁶⁸ The office of lay procurator was created in the thirteenth century in most of the *contrade* of Venice.⁶⁹ Chapters of parish and monastic churches elected gentlemen to serve as advocates for their community, to oversee finances, to defend their rights in government and the various magistracies, to resolve legal issues, to handle bequests and manage properties. Regulations limiting the rights of religious institutions to own property necessitated the involvement of lay representatives, who also provided a particularly critical form of assistance to cloistered communities by becoming a conduit to the

outside world. The role was frequently passed through families, establishing an appealing kind of continuity akin to the *jus patronatus* patrician castes sometimes enjoyed over Venetian churches. During the years in which Stefano was associated with the Crociferi, the order was struggling to rehabilitate its reputation and regain control over its administration after almost a century of disciplinary action taken against it.⁷⁰ Disobedience, relaxation of rule, costume and accusations of corruption within the order in the mid-Quattrocento led to the placement of a *commendata* over all Crociferi monasteries. This censure, which placed financial and administrative responsibility of the monastery beyond the reach of the *frati*, was still in effect in 1556, the year in which the Republic began to actively intervene on behalf of the Venetian Crociferi in an attempt to restore their autonomy. Doge Francesco Venier, via ambassador Bernardo Navagero, convinced Paul IV to lift certain restrictions, and Pius V eventually abolished the *commendata* entirely in 1568. The impetus for the order's renewal emerged from the Venetian house, fuelled by a particular group of high-ranking Crociferi fathers who contributed to the repair of their reputation in the second half of the century by publishing a reformed constitution and histories of their order.⁷¹

Various documents record that Tiepolo was instrumental in assisting the Crociferi in restoring stability, along with his fellow lay procurator and another distinguished statesman, Nicolò Zen, whose father Catharin and grandfather Pietro had preceded him in this role, the latter founding a burial chapel in the church.⁷² Multiple records survive that document both Zen and Tiepolo, and even Giovanni della Casa, intervening to defend the rights of the Crociferi, especially around the mid-1550s. Indeed, amongst the letters written by Della Casa to his nephew, Annibale Ruccellai – an influential member of the household of Cardinal Carlo Carafa in Rome – we find a request from the former nuncio on behalf of both the Crociferi and Stefano Tiepolo. Della Casa wrote on 19 April 1555 that Tiepolo asked him to appeal to Annibale to press for the assistance of the powerful cardinals, Ranuccio Farnese and Giovanni Ricci di Montepulciano, in securing support for the monastery's cause, stating, 'You know how much Stefano merits amongst each of [the cardinals], and how much we are obligated to his goodness and courtesy, and so on this occasion endeavour to show gratitude'.⁷³ It was not the first time Della Casa had intervened on behalf of the monastery. Another document indicates that among his first acts of business upon his arrival in Venice in 1544 was to appeal to his friend Cardinal Alessandro Farnese for a reduction in taxes in favour of the Venetian Crociferi, and in 1545 he intervened to save the *ospizio* of the Crociferi monastery of San Martino di Conegliano, a dependent of the Venetian house.⁷⁴

The involvement of Tiepolo and Della Casa with the Crociferi also coincided with a phase of redecoration of the church that formed a visual parallel to the rejuvenation of the order. The presbytery received a renovation in the 1550s with an altarpiece by

Tintoretto, flanked by monumental stucco saints by Alessandro Vittoria, and two lateral pictures by Tintoretto and Andrea Schiavone.⁷⁵ The refectory was furnished with a Tintoretto *Wedding at Cana* shortly thereafter, and three new altars were gradually established in the nave of the church.⁷⁶ Between 1560 and 1620, the church and nearby oratory were ornamented with more than fifty individual works by Palma il Giovane, whom the Crociferi fathers had nurtured from the time he was a boy.⁷⁷ Indeed, a *terminus ante quem* of 1559 for Titian's altarpiece has traditionally been secured by Ridolfi's testimony that the visiting Duke of Urbino discovered the talent of the fifteen-year-old Palma in the Crociferi church while he was sketching the freshly installed *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*.⁷⁸ This impressive phase of decoration, responsive both stylistically and iconographically to the latest trends in church decoration, was coordinated and solicited by the shrewd Crociferi fathers, but it may also have been influenced by their sophisticated lay protectors, Tiepolo and Zen. Nicolò Zen, whose portrait was painted by Titian and possibly also by Tintoretto, lived in a palace opposite the Crociferi church that had been frescoed by Andrea Schiavone and Tintoretto.⁷⁹ Tiepolo also had a history of interest and involvement in the arts.⁸⁰ Like Girolamo Querini, he had connections to Danese Cattaneo, who produced a bust of his image.⁸¹ While *podestà* of Padua, Tiepolo summoned Michele Sanmicheli to evaluate Danese's work at the Chapel of the Santo, and he was responsible for commissioning Domenico Campagnola to fresco the Sala dei Nodari at the Palazzo Moroni.⁸² The provision of a Titian altarpiece would have been recognised by almost anyone as a welcome coup for any church, but Tiepolo was particularly well equipped to understand the significance such an object would have for the monastery under his protection at a critical moment in its spiritual and decorative renaissance.

Any number of the individuals involved might have facilitated this artistic gesture, including Elisabetta's cousin Girolamo, whose involvement with other major commissions has already been noted. Bembo's letters inform us that Titian and Girolamo were well-acquainted, and that the painter credited Querini for having inspired his 1545 Roman sojourn.⁸³ Just as favourably placed to suggest such a deed was the papal nuncio-turned-mediator, familiar with both the Massolo and Tiepolo families, and with Titian, to whom Della Casa was connected in a variety of ways almost from the moment of his arrival in Venice.⁸⁴ But it would be unwise to dismiss the role of Elisabetta in this narrative. It was she who mobilised her circle in the campaign for Pietro's pardon, a fact which lends further support to what has always been suspected: that she was the driving force behind the commission. She shared her own history with Titian as his sitter, and – as Bembo wrote – she had treated him generously as a patron.⁸⁵ It may even have been the ease between friends that allowed the project to drag on for more than a decade.⁸⁶ Even Lorenzo's testament hints at her control of the situation,

noting that the altarpiece should be brought to completion according to certain intentions, but failing to specify them, directs the reader instead to his wife, who 'knows it all'.⁸⁷ And somehow we do not doubt it. In addition to her rare beauty and intellect, a portrait of a take-charge kind of woman who enjoyed the spotlight emerges from the pages of correspondence and poetry dedicated to her. Catherine Whistler has astutely characterised her as an 'active agent' who assumed bold initiative in furnishing Della Casa's quarters with wall hangings to create a suitably handsome space in which her portrait might hang, undoubtedly with the hope that it would inspire flattering poetry in her honour.⁸⁸ Many have argued for various cryptic references to Elisabetta's involvement in the Crociferi altarpiece, perhaps most persuasively for the significance of the veiled statue of the Roman goddess Vesta.⁸⁹ This protector of the hearth and familial virtue is an allusion especially appropriate to a woman who hailed from a family that claimed ancient Roman descent, and was named for Quirinus, the deified Romulus.

It is hard to imagine that Elisabetta would have missed such a golden opportunity for commemoration, but even as an extraordinary woman, it would be anomalous to suggest that she would have expected to be overtly referenced in the altarpiece. If there is evidence of her in this image, it might better be described as decorously latent; she went quietly into the night. Her mark is left by the choice of the artist, and perhaps even by elements of the work that are so remarkably novel that they could only have been geared toward a rather progressive patron. The fiery nocturnal scene of Lawrence's martyrdom assumed unprecedented drama on a life-size scale; gone is the traditional static, passive figure leaning on a grill. In the altarpiece's original setting, the viewer would have encountered the foreshortened Lawrence, feet first on the right as they moved up the nave. The spectator would have been drawn with greater ease into the composition and the darkness that engulfs the saint, broken only by the licking flames, torches, and a bolt of lightning, seen only by Lawrence and the pious witness in front of the canvas. This effect would only have been heightened by the addition of two actual torches, which Lorenzo stipulated should be placed on the altar on special occasions.⁹⁰ The looming classical temple emerging from the night – perhaps drawn from a memory of the trip to Rome Girolamo Querini had inspired – and the violent postures of Lawrence's tormentors, pushing, pulling and watching in cruel inaction, inspire in the spectator pity, fear, and horror.

The theatricality and violence of the image, the powerfully conveyed impression of the saint's victory over death, of the Christian faith over the pagan world, has been recognised as an early manifestation of the new priorities sought for the Counter-Reformation altarpiece, which at this stage still remained to be codified. It was precisely during the 1540s that Venice became

more aware of the Protestant threat and a need to remain vigilant against it. Della Casa's arrival in the city in 1544 signalled a superficial openness to addressing the concerns of the papacy, whereas in reality he was met with the usual Venetian resistance to external interference. As Peter Humfrey has noted, the echoes of Counter-Reformation spirituality discernible in altarpieces like this one 'may be interpreted less as the result of instructions from bishops and the clergy than a spontaneous response by artists and their lay patrons to a generally diffused mood of religious revival'.⁹¹ Through connections to the most sophisticated circles of learning, and to major ecclesiastical figures, not least of which was Giovanni Della Casa, Elisabetta and Titian both had access to ideas that may well have contributed to this sort of result. Although far more invested in the production of his profane literary works than in religious reform, the nuncio did, after all, have a front row seat to the early sessions of the Council of Trent and was responsible for the first index of prohibited books.⁹² But against the backdrop of this family tragedy, the drama of this altarpiece – a painting about suffering and torment, but ultimately hope and redemption – takes on new significance quite apart from such influences. In this respect, there may even be something in this image of Pietro, who by the time of its commission had been living for a decade as Don Lorenzo. Although provided for in the testaments of both his parents, Pietro was disowned in the inscription on the family tomb. It emphatically stated that his father was the last of his family line, a decorous omission that might be interpreted as consistent with the concept of a peace offering to Tiepolo.⁹³ Perhaps for Lorenzo and Elisabetta, their exiled son, like his mother, found expression in their monument in a less obvious way: in the form of the writhing, tortured figure of Lawrence on his grill, reaching through the perpetual darkness towards that hopeful break in Titian's night sky.

There is a further, poignant parallel in Prudentius' late fourth-century poetic account of Lawrence's martyrdom – the generally accepted source for the painting first identified by Panofsky – a text that culminates with a confession for absolution of the 'sinner poet Prudentius':

Among these sons, O saint of Christ,
Give audience to a rustic poet
Who humbly bares his sinful heart
And owns his guilt and misery.

I am not worthy Christ Himself
Should hear me, this too well I know,
But martyr advocates can win
His salutary grace for me.

O kindly hear Prudentius,
A culprit at the bar of Christ,
And from the bondage of the flesh
And earthly fetters set him free.⁹⁴

We might well expect to find evidence of such penitential sentiments in Don Lorenzo Massolo's own poetic *Rime morali*, but as in the correspondence of his powerful allies, there is nothing but discomforting silence regarding his dark past.⁹⁵ However, amongst the sonnets to illustrious men, the disgraced son-in-law penned a patriotic tribute to the military successes of the Capitano Generale Stefano Tiepolo.⁹⁶ Perhaps this was Pietro's contribution to the mollifications initiated by his parents, who may have hoped that their Titian – a painting none of the major parties involved probably lived to see finished – would tip the scales in favour of their son, just as Saint Lawrence's death had done for the Christian faith.⁹⁷

Appendix I

ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, Registri, reg. 5, c. 57^v

XXVIII Junij MDXXXVII

In consilio X

S. Petrus Zeno
S. Jo. Francesco Mauroceno
S. Hieronimo Zane

Capita

Atrocissimo e stato il caso della morte senza niuna causa crudelmente perpetrata da S. Piero Mas[s]olo nella q. Donna Chiara fo fiola del N[obel] homo Stephano Tiepolo soa consorte giovane li di avanti tradutta et gravida , che à commemorarlo die indur ciascun à commiseratione et molto più moverne a far contra tal scelesto quella dimostration de iustitia ch[e] se die meritamente Et perho.

Landara parte, che per autorità di questo consiglio sia data facultà alli Avogadori de commun, che col consiglio di Quarantia criminal possano in la condannason, che contra el ditto S. Piero Masolo se fara poner che quello ó quelli lo amazara etiam in terre aliene possa liberar uno ch[e] sia bandito per el consiglio di Quarantia de tutte le terre et luoghi n[ost]ri si da terra come da mar, et di Venetia, et de navilij armati, et disarmati, excettuati quelli ch[e] fusseno sta ó fusseno relegati et confinati si in vita come a tempo et etiam excetti quelli ch[e] havessero taglia di poter esser amazati in terre aliene.

De parte 10
De non 6
Non sinc 1

Appendix II

ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, Registri, reg. 5, c. 58^f

XVI julij MDXXXVII

In consiglio X

Essendo sta ditto nell' exordio della parte presa in questo consiglio adi 28 zugno prox. passato ch[e] fosse gravida la q. Donna Chiara fiola del N[obel] homo Stefano Tiepolo amazata da S. Piero Masolo suo marito, perche questo non se contien nel processo sopra tal caso formato, et manco esta fatta mention di questo in la parte della retention, come hora esta dechiarito. Perho

Landara parte ch[e] X cio el tut[t]o passi veridicamente & come se die p[er] iustitia sia depenata et remossa dall ditto parte quella parola gravida.

12 De parte
0 De Non
3 Non sinc

- 1 P. Conti, 'Nel capolavoro restaurato spunta un inedito autoritratto di Tiziano', *Corriere della Sera*, 17 May 2012, p. 45; C. Cremonini, L. Puppi and A. Nicola Pisano, *Tiziano. Atto II*, Banca d'Alba, 2012. The restoration was funded by the Banca d'Alba and was undertaken by Anna Rosa Nicola Pisano at the Laboratorio di Nicola Restauri di Aramengo.
- 2 F. Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima, et singolare*, Venice, 1581, f. 61^r; P. Massolo, *Rime morali di Pietro Massolo gentiluomo vinitiano, hora don Lorenzo monaco cassinese. Divise in quattro libri; col commento di Francesco Sansovino*, Venice: Antonio Rampazetto, 1583, preface. Sansovino's laudatory preface traces his friendship with Massolo across five decades.
- 3 G. Bettinelli, *Dizionario storico-portatile di tutte le venete patrizie famiglie...*, Venice, 1790, p. 103; *Stemmario veneziano Orsini De Marzo*, ed. N. Orsini De Marzo, Milan, 2007, pp. 134–135. 'Da Padova in Malamocco, si rifuggio questa Famiglia, per le irruzioni di Attila. Produse Tribuni Antichi, ed un ramo di essa passò nelle Colonie di Candia'.
- 4 H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: complete edition*, vol. II: *The Portraits*, London, 1971, p. 204, cat. L-26; C. Whistler, 'Uncovering Beauty: Titian's *Triumph of Love* in the Vendramin Collection', *Renaissance Studies*, 26, 2012, pp. 234–236. An engraving by Giuseppe Canale may reproduce one of Titian's portraits of Elisabetta. Painted copies that correspond to Canale's print are in the Louvre, Paris and the Villa Borghese, Rome.
- 5 P. Aretino, *Poesie*, ed. G. Sorselli, Lanciano, 1930, vol. II, p. 222. See also Aretino's letter to Titian of October 1543 in P. Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte*, ed. E. Camesasca, with commentary by F. Pertile, 3 vols, Milan, 1957–1960, vol. II, pp. 11–12.
- 6 C. Hope, *Titian*, London, 1980, p. 141. The suggestion that Massolo was a lawyer is not supported by primary documentary evidence.
- 7 M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (1496–1533)*, Bologna, 1969, vol. 54, pp. 443, 457, 492. Sanudo recorded Massolo investing considerable sums of eight, four and five thousand ducats on three separate occasions in May, June and July of 1531.
- 8 M. O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore, 2009, p. 153.
- 9 Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth ASV), Marco Barbaro, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, VI. 28, fols 334–335. Girolamo quondam Ismerio belonged to the 'V' branch of the Querini family, while Elisabetta belonged to the 'Z' branch, descended from Girolamo, the brother of Ismerio. The Council of Ten had exiled Girolamo's father, Ismerio, to Crete in 1514. Thanks to Monique O'Connell for confirming Querini's lineage when I did not have access to the genealogies. For the election of 'Hieronimo Querini fu Ismerio' as Councillor of Canea on 25 July 1515, see ASV, Segretario alle Voci, reg. 8, fol. 103^v.
- 10 P. Bembo, *Lettere (1537–1546)*, vol. IV, ed. E. Travi, Bologna, 1993.
- 11 P. Bembo, *Opere di M. Pietro Bembo (Rime)*, Milan, 1808, vol. II, pp. 286–290, sonnets CXXIII–CXXVII. Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, p. 123, n. 1943. Bembo later wrote to Antonio Anselmi that the modest Elisabetta resisted being portrayed as a nude goddess.
- 12 Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, pp. 31–32, n. 1837 (April 1537); pp. 112–113, n. 1930 (10 May 1538). A *medaglietta* was a topic of discussion in the first known letter from Bembo to Elisabetta, and the second referred to her gift of a *testa di marmo antica*, complete with bust and pedestal. For example, in January of 1539 he confided in Elisabetta about the as yet unresolved matter of his promotion to cardinal (Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, p. 171, n. 2007), and in July 1544 he declared that 'Santa Elisabetta and Santo Girolamo Querini' were 'descended from heaven to listen to me', on this occasion to a rant about disinheriting his son, Torquato (Bembo *Lettere*, IV, p. 501, n. 2438).
- 13 Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, pp. 484, n. 2413 (7 February 1544) and pp. 492–493, n. 2425 (15 March 1544).
- 14 ASV, Barbaro, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, VII.32, fols 84, 141. Stefano Tiepolo quondam Polo belonged to the 'B' branch of the Tiepolo family at Santi Apostoli. He married Donna Cecilia Priuli di Bernardo in 1517 and together they had seven children: Chiara, Andriana, Monica (a nun at S. Giuseppe), Paolo (Cavaliere and Procuratore di San Marco, 1576), Almoro (Capitano delle fuste, 1570), Benedetto, and Andrea. Stefano was among the forty-one who elected Doges Francesco Venier (1554) and Lorenzo Priuli (1556), and he was balloted twice for Doge (1553 and 1554). For the testaments of Stefano and Cecilia respectively: ASV, Notarile, Atti (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1214, n. 978 (16 April 1550) and b. 1208, n. 393 (14 March 1544).
- 15 ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Contratti di nozze, reg. 143, cc. 392–393; P. Molmenti, 'Un poeta uxoricida del secolo XVI', *Nuova Antologia*, 62, 1927, pp. 129–141. The marriage contract was registered on 16 April 1537, and in conformity with the laws of the time, the groom presented himself before the Avogaria di Comun on 3 May 1537 with four witnesses to the marriage. The contract also included an inventory of Chiara's bridal garb, valued at one hundred-sixty ducats. On the dowry regulations of 1535, see S. Chojnacki, 'Identity and Ideology in Renaissance Venice. The Third *Serrata*', in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. J. Martin and D. Romano, Baltimore, 2002, p. 281.
- 16 ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Raspe, reg. 3668/28, c. 195. '[...] duobus vulneribus de puncta altero penetranti versus cor, altero vero in faciem subtus oculum dextrum, ex quibus percussionebus statim miserabiliter mortua fuit [...]']
- 17 G. Cortese, *Gregorii Cortesii... Omnia, quae huc usque colligi potuerunt: sive ab eo scripta, sive ad illum spectantia*, Padua, 1774, vol. I, pp. 121–122. '[...] vi ritrovai uno Giovine di Anni XVIII Gentiluomo Veneziano da Ca Massolo, unico del suo Padre, e forse anco della successione di quella Casa, qual avendo fatta istanzza grande a questi venerabili Padri [of San Benedetto] di esser adnesso nel consorzio loro a server Dio, era stato accettato, parendo in Lui essere ottima voluntà, ornate costume, e sufficiente litteratura. Ora da lui stesso si è inteso, che essendo stato usorato circa mesi XVII all'ultimo per sdegno ed anco per qualche sospetto ha ammazzata la moglie'.
- 18 Molmenti, 'Un poeta uxoricida', pp. 129–141.
- 19 ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Raspe, reg. 3668/28, c. 195. For a full transcription of this document, see Molmenti, 'Un poeta uxoricida', pp. 132–133.
- 20 ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni, Criminali, Registri, reg. 5, c. 57^v; see Appendix I.
- 21 *Ibid.*, c. 58^r; see Appendix II.
- 22 G. degli Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*, Venice, 1752–1754, vol. II, p. 576.
- 23 R. Gallo, 'Per il "San Lorenzo martire" di Tiziano. I committenti – La datazione', *Rivista di Venezia*, 14, n. 4, 1935, pp. 155–174.
- 24 E. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, Venice, 1824–1853, vol. I, pp. 117–118; J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Titian: His Life and Times*,

- London, 1881, vol. I, p. 418. Previous scholarship has consistently identified Girolamo Querini as the brother or grandfather of Elisabetta. The mistake seems to have originated with Cicogna, was repeated by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and has been perpetuated ever since. For example, see C. Dionisotti, 'Bembo, Pietro', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. VIII, 1966, pp. 131–151; O. Moroni, *Corrispondenza Giovanni della Casa – Carlo Gulateruzzi (1523–1549)*, Vatican, 1986, p. 20; C. Terribile, 'Il doge Francesco Donà e la Pala di San Giovanni Elemosinario di Tiziano', *Venezia Cinquecento*, VII, 1997, pp. 123–126; C. Kidwell, *Pietro Bembo: Lover, Linguist, Cardinal*, Montreal, 2004, p. 459; U. D'Elia, *The Poetics of Titian's Religious Paintings*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 180; Whistler, 'Uncovering Beauty', p. 237.
- 25 Bembo, *Lettere*, III, p. 153, n. 1111 (18 June 1530).
- 26 Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, p. 246, n. 2105; pp. 282–283, n. 2152; pp. 383–384, n. 2284. Bembo spoke of both 'Magnifico M. Girolamo Quirino' and 'Momolo' in letters of 1 August 1539 and 10 January 1540 to Elisabetta Querini, and wrote 'baciandomi Momolo' in a letter to Girolamo Querini of 23 September 1543. Massolo, *Rime morali*, f. 61^{r-v}. Sansovino distinguished between the two in his commentary on the sonnet written by Pietro Massolo on the occasion of Bembo's death: 'Venuto a morte Pietro Bembo, lume dell'età nostra, il Poeta molto amato da lui, si duole di contal morte con M. Hieronimo Quirino Smerio, huomo honorato, & grand'amico & cordiale d'esso Bembo, sicome per diversi Sonetti dal Bembo scritti al Quirino si vede. Ovvero a Hieronimo Quirino fratello della madre del Poeta & suo zio [...]'.
 27 Bembo, *Lettere*, IV, p. 331, n. 2217; p. 550, n. 2509.
- 28 Biblioteca del Museo Correr (henceforth BMC), Ms. Cicogna 3423, n. 17 (Atti Girolamo Parto), 8 March 1557, c. 1^r: 'Comissarij e executori di questa mio testamento lasso il Mag[nific]o m. Hier[on]imo Querini fo de m. Ismerio, m. Vincenzo Querino fo del Mag[nific]o m. Zorzi et m. Francesco Querini fo del Mag[nific]o m. Hier[on]imo mio nevodo. Ma voglio che m. Hier[on]imo Querini fo de m. Ismerio s'intendi commissario per la mazor parte fino che vive, il qual prego che dagli execution a questo ordinare'.
- 29 ASV, Segretario alle Voci, reg. 7, fol. 55^r and reg. 8, fol. 63^r. Like the Massolo couple, Girolamo lived near San Cancian. See his testament: ASV, Notarile, Testamenti (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1210, n. 617.
- 30 Pietro Bembo, *Opere del cardinale Pietro Bembo: Lettere*, 1810, vol. VIII, p. 120: '[...] uomo di prudenza grande e di giudicio, e amicissimo e affezionatissimo de' letterati, ma non uomo di lettere'.
- 31 Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte*, vol. I, p. 93 (1 December 1537).
- 32 Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 417, n. 2328. Bembo wrote to Girolamo on 10 June 1542: 'E perché io vedo, per le lettere di M. Flaminio, che voi insieme con Mad. Isabetta laudareste Fran[cesc]o Quir[ino] di M. ler[onim]o, tanto è l'amore che io a voi porto, e quello che io so che voi portate a me, e la prudenza dell'uno e dell'altra, che io ho deliberato rimettere al vostro giudizio tutta questa causa. E sì come io non ho oggimai in questa vita amici più cari di voi due, voglio che in vostra libertà stia la più cara cosa che io al mondo abbia, la quale è questa figliuola'. Elisabetta and Girolamo proposed their relative, Francesco di Girolamo, but the arrangement fell through due to his father's overly ambitious dowry request. See S. G. Ross, *The Birth of Feminism. Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England*, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 54–60.
- 33 Aretino, *Lettere sull'arte*, vol. II, pp. 274–275 (5 January 1549). On Bembo's monument, see L. Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli architetto: opera completa*, Rome, 1986, p. 128; M. Morresi, 'Trifone Gabriele, Danese Cattaneo e il Monumento Bembo al Santo di Padova', in *Alessandro Vittoria e l'arte veneta della maniera*, ed. L. Finocchi Ghersi, Udine, 2001, pp. 77–80.
- 34 G. F. Hill, 'Notes on Italian Medals – XIV', *The Burlington Magazine*, 23, no. 121, 1913, pp. 17–23. On the project for statues in niches celebrating Gabriele on the façade of the Celestia, a project given to Vincenzo Scamozzi and described by Stringa that seems not to have ever been realized, see: Morresi, 'Trifone Gabriele', p. 77.
- 35 Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 38, n. 1846 (6 June 1537).
- 36 *Ibid.*, pp. 50–51, n. 1858 (6 July 1537).
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119, n. 1937 (25 June 1538).
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 246, n. 2105 (1 August 1539 to Elisabetta Querini).
- 39 Cortese, *Omnia...*, vol. I, pp. 121–122, n. 14 (16 October 1539) and pp. 125–126, n. 15 (15 November 1539).
- 40 Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 277, n. 2147.
- 41 Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, pp. 282–283, n. 2152.
- 42 G. Fragnito, *Il cardinale Gregorio Cortese nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento*, Rome, 1983, pp. 109–110, n. 24 (4 November 1542); Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 427, n. 2343. In July of 1542 Bembo wrote to Contarini via his secretary, Beccadelli, in hopes that they might write letters of intercession.
- 43 Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 449, n. 2374 (7 September 1538), p. 498, n. 2434 (15 June 1544), p. 528, n. 2478 (20 May 1545), pp. 550–551, n. 2509 (12 December 1545). Bembo wrote in 1538 that Don Lorenzo – whom he loved 'as a son' – was a blessing to his monastery and the world, for good and devoted defenders were always needed. He reported that Pietro's mother and all of his relatives were well, and that they delighted in the good news that they received about his progress. In December 1545 Bembo wrote to Girolamo Querini that he had received Don Lorenzo's 'gentile epistoletta ben latina e ben composta, insieme con un epigramma di otto versi, dotto parimente e gentile assai'.
- 44 *Il carteggio di Vincenzo Borghini*, ed. D. Francalanci, F. Pellegrini, and E. Carrara, Florence, 2001, vol. I, pp. 79–80, 164–170.
- 45 Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 394, n. 2297 (11 November 1541). Bembo reported to Girolamo Querini that he had heard about Gualteruzzi's recent visit to them in Venice and the many kindnesses that both Girolamo and Elisabetta had bestowed upon him. Girolamo later assisted Gualteruzzi with his son's education, and hosted him after he fled Rome for Venice, fearing implication in a case that was under investigation by the Inquisition.
- 46 Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 505, n. 2444 (3 August 1544).
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 477–478, n. 2403; Moroni, *Corrispondenza*, no. 79 (20 June 1545) and no. 121 (17 December 1545); Whistler, 'Uncovering Beauty', p. 235. Titian's first portrait of Elisabetta was for Bembo, who mentioned it in a letter to Girolamo Querini on 24 December 1543. Another portrait of the lady belonged to Gualteruzzi and was loaned to Della Casa sometime before August 1544 when Bembo noted he was enjoying it during his stay at the nuncio's Roman palace. When Gualteruzzi wrote to Della Casa in 1545 of his desire to reclaim the loaned picture, he spoke of his envy for the nuncio's portrait of Elisabetta, all the more valuable because it was by the hand of the master himself. Della Casa remarked on another portrait the same year, perhaps by the workshop.
- 48 R. Zapperi, 'Alessandro Farnese, Giovanni della Casa and Titian's Danae in Naples', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 54, 1991, pp. 159–171.

- 49 Giovanni della Casa, *Opere*, Milan, 1806, vol. IV, p. 186 (20 October 1544).
- 50 *Ibid.*, 194–195; Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 567, n. 2534; Moroni, *Corrispondenza*, pp. 47, 56, 65, 89, p. 104, 123, 139, and 178. On 19 December 1544 Casa wrote to Gualteruzzi about the idea of the sonnet, but by 1 January 1545 he regretted it: '[...] sono entrato nel maggior garbuglio che io fussi mai [...] ne farò archetipo la Magnifica Madonna Isabetta'. The matter dragged on throughout the month of January, when Gualteruzzi supplied added pressure when he wrote that Cardinal Bembo anticipated the Massola *canzona* 'as a priest awaits Easter'. Bembo was still longing for satisfaction on 8 March 1545 when he wrote to Girolamo Querini in hopes of urging the process along. In April 1545 one of Elisabetta's servants visited Della Casa to remind him of his 'debt to her', but the poem was not complete until 1 August 1545 when Gualteruzzi reported receiving it in Rome.
- 51 G. Della Casa, *Opere di Monsignor Giovanni della Casa*, ed. G. B. Casotti and M. Forcellini, Venice, 1752, pp. 56–70. *Rime* XXXIII and XXXIV were dedicated to the Titian portrait, XXXVI was written in honour of Elisabetta and in competition with Bembo, and *rime* XXXVIII–XXXIX were devoted her talking pet parrot.
- 52 Moroni, *Corrispondenza*, pp. 19, 24, 53, 59, 263, 266–267, 297, 300; Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 508, n. 2449, p. 518, n. 2465; Della Casa, *Opere*, pp. 147–148. Della Casa reported to Gualteruzzi on 20 September 1544 that he had met Girolamo Querini, but had not yet encountered Elisabetta. Bembo wrote to Girolamo on 20 September 1544 that he had read a letter that Gualteruzzi had received from Della Casa in which the nuncio praised the courtesies he had received from Querini. In January 1545 Bembo rejoiced at the friendship that had blossomed between the two as a result of his introduction. Querini leaned on Della Casa to solve an issue relating to benefices and to aid his nephew in another matter.
- 53 M. Mazzeschi Porretti, *Il Monsignore. Vita e opere di Giovanni Della Casa*, Rome, 1990, pp. 102–103. Part of this disagreement involved the dedication of the Italian translation of Bembo's *Istoria*, which Girolamo wished to dedicate to Elisabetta.
- 54 C. Berra, 'Le lettere di Giovanni Della Casa a Girolamo Querini', in *Studi dedicati a Gennaro Barbarisi*, ed. C. Berra and M. Mari, Milan, 2007, pp. 215–257; Mazzeschi Porretti, *Il Monsignore*, pp. 109–110. Della Casa left Venice for Rome in December 1549. The child was born sometime in May 1550 to a courtesan named Ippolita Pannona. It was left to Girolamo Querini to arrange a marriage for the woman so that the child could be taken into his custody, where he remained until late 1553. BMC, Ms. Cicogna 3423, n. 17, c. 1^r: 'Lasso à Querineto fiol del q. Monsignor della casa qual ho relevato et amo da fiolo rubin ligato in anello d'oro che si ritrova appresso M. Hier[on]imo Querini che é di buon valor et tutti li arzenti che mi donò essa q. Monsignor suo padre et de pi li lasso ducati cinque cento per segno d'amor, perche non ha bisogno et se havesse bisogno più li lassaria. Li quali tutti arzenti, anello et ducati Cinquecento, voglio che staghino in man del ditto magnifico M. Hier[on]imo Querini fino al età de ditto Querineto d'anni disdotto, al qual tempo, gli sia consignato il tutto [...]'. The 1558 edition of Della Casa's *Rime e Poesie* (Venice, Nicolò Bevilacqua) was dedicated to 'Girolamo Quirino fu del Magnifico Messer Smerio', whose relationship to the late poet was explained in the preface by Erasmo Gemini.
- 55 Della Casa, *Opere*, pp. 174–175; G. dell Casa, *Lettere di Monsig. Giovanni della Casa, arcivescovo di Benevento a Carlo Gualteruzzi da Fano*, ed. L. M. Rezzi, Imola, 1824, p. 25. A letter of 25 March 1546 from Della Casa to Gualteruzzi speaks of the 'causa di Magnifico Querini in Camera apostolica'. Another of 10 April 1546 elaborates on the nature of the cause: 'Io ho messo alle orecchie al Clarissimo M. Stefano Tiepolo un gran gentiluomo suo amico, e spero ottenere che a quel povero monaco sia levato il pericolo della taglia. Pure non si può mai errare a prometterli poco delle volontà degli uomini'.
- 56 Della Casa, *Opere*, p. 176 (24 April 1546): 'Il Clarissimo Teppolo [Tiepolo] è molto aspro anchora: e non di meno ha detto di venirmi a parlar sopra la causa: se verrà, usarò ogni diligenza per adolcirlo, e voterò tutti gli alberelli e i bossoletti de l'arte: ma io non spero di far molto frutto; ne anco spero che senza il consenso di S. M. si possa ottener cosa alcuna; e di quanto io farò, voglio esser fatto creditor al libro della Magnifica Madonna Isabetta incontro a tanti obblighi che io ho con S. M. e non a quel di Mons. Reverendo [Bembo] anco questo debito sia molto grosso'.
- 57 Della Casa, *Opere*, p. 177 (1 May 1546): 'Sono stato pur hora lunga spatio alle mani co'l clar. Teppolo, il quale é sustanza non è per rimerarsi da la sua opinione, nella quale e' così acerbo come se il caso fosse occorso hieri, e si duole che altri procuri di rinovar le piaghe sue, con tanta efficacia et con sì lunga querela e anco ornata e prota, che io tengo per certissimo che non si potrà ottenere quello che si desidera da questo Illustr. Dominio, il qual harà sempre rispetto a questo nobile eben honorato genilhomio'. For the brief response of Gualteruzzi to Della Casa on 8 May 1546, see O. Moroni, *Carlo Gualteruzzi e i corrispondenti*, Vatican, 1984, p. 191: 'La di Vostra Reverendissima Signoria delli 2 è l'ultima fino a qui sì come anchora è la mia, et perché io sono anchora impedito della mano destra sarò breve, anzi brevissimo. Ho fatto intender quanto ella mi scrive del Clarissimo Tepolo al Cardinal, anzi Sua Signoria ha letto il capitolo stesso di Vostra Signoria, et se rimette alla perfine a chi più ne sa parendo di molta stima la molta onorevolezza di quel genilhuomo'.
- 58 Gallo, 'Per il "San Lorenzo martire" di Tiziano', p. 164.
- 59 Agostini, *Notizie*, vol. II, pp. 574–576; G. Da Pozzo, G. Balduino, A. Valione, G. Luti, V. Rossi, C. Jannaco, N. Sapegno, *Storia letteraria d'Italia. Il Cinquecento*, Padua, 2007, vol. III, pp. 1596–1597. Agostini singled out Massolo and Gian Paolo Lomazzo – the noted Lombard painter and author of *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura et architettura* (1584) – as the greatest proponents of Petrarchan lyrical poetry of a spiritual variety. The 1557 edition of the *Sonneti* contained two poems in honour of Elisabetta Querini. The 1583 edition contained *rime* devoted to Girolamo Querini, Bembo, Della Casa, Gualteruzzi, Gasparo Contarini and Gregorio Cortese.
- 60 ASV, Notarile, Testamenti (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1207, n. 270, c. 1^r.
- 61 ASV, Notarile, Testamenti (Girolamo Canal), b. 190, n. 244, c. 1^r: '[...] voglio esser seputa nel[]a sepultura se ha a far dove sarà seputo una mia fiola che è morta [...]']'.
- 62 ASV, Notarile, Testamenti (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1210, n. 683, c. 1^r: '[...] voglio et ordino che mio corpo sia messo in uno deposito nella Chiesa del m. S. Zorzi mazor in ove altri voglio siano messi in detta sepultura quale è nella Chiesa di Crosechieri davanti il mio altar'.
- 63 *Ibid.*, c. 1^v; ASV, Procuratori di San Marco de Supra, Commissarie, b. 12, fasc. 10b, cc. 1^r–2^r. Lorenzo's previously unknown *mansonaria* dating to 8 August 1551, helps to fill part of that decade-long gap in documentation. The agreement states: '[...] costrui et fabricarini fecevit in ecc[lesi]a dine virginis Marie ordinus cruciferorum huius Civitatis Venetum a manu dextra Ingressus [...] altare sub vocabulo dine laurentij'. Although the document remains silent on any arrangements for decoration of the altar, the tense used to describe the act of building indicates that the altar itself had not yet been built.

- ⁶⁴ S. Bowd, *Reform before the Reformation: Vincenzo Querini and the Religious Renaissance in Italy*, Leiden, 2002.
- ⁶⁵ Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 257, n. 2119 (23 September 1539); p. 277, n. 2147 (Christmas 1539), pp. 282–283, n. 2152 (10 January 1540); pp. 370–371, n. 2269 (27 August 1541). In September 1539 Bembo asked Don Basilio to greet Elisabetta and her consort on his behalf. In 1541 Bembo refers to the safe return of Girolamo Querini and Don Basilio to Venice after their journey to an unknown destination.
- ⁶⁶ ASV, Notarile, Testamenti (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1207, n. 270, c. 1': 'Il corpo mio voglio che sia sepolito nella chiesa di crosecchieri (Crociferi) a venezia nell'archa nostra [...]'].
- ⁶⁷ ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 1210, n. 683, c. 1'.
- ⁶⁸ ASV, Notarile, Atti (Diotisalvi Benzon), b. 359, cc. 89'–90'. A record of the election of priors at various Crociferi monasteries in May 1543 mentions 'Cl[arissim]o D. Stephanus Thiepolo pr[ocurat]or et p[ro]tector dicti mon[asteri]o'. In ASV, Notarile, Atti (Diotisalvi Benzon), b. 372 (not numbered), 19 April 1549, Stefano Tiepolo and Nicolò Zen are named 'procuratori laici'. Tiepolo's name appeared in several notarial documents in 1555 and 1556, including one from October 1555 that marks the transfer of administrative duties from the procurators to the prior as a result of the restoration of order at the monastery. BMC, Ms. PD. c. 2190/I, fasc. 9, 'Crociferi nominate Procurator Paolo Tiepolo, 17 January 1577'; ASV, Marco Barbaro, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, VII.32, fol. 84. Paolo served as ambassador to Mantua (1549), to Ferdinand, King of the Romans (1554–1557), to Spain (1558–1562), and to Rome (1565–1568, 1572–1575), and as Procuratore di San Marco (1579).
- ⁶⁹ G. B. Gallicciolli, *Delle memorie Venete antiche, profane ed ecclesiastiche*, Venice, 1795, III, pp. 148–156.
- ⁷⁰ S. Lunardon, *Hospitale S. Mariae cruciferorum*, Venice, 1984, pp. 32–57; A. Sherman, *The Lost Church of Santa Maria Assunta dei Crociferi: Form, Decoration, Patronage*, doctoral diss., University of St Andrews, 2010, pp. 19–24.
- ⁷¹ *Constitutiones ordinis fratrum cruciferorum...*, Venice, 1587; B. Leoni, *Memoriale per la regolare osservanza della congregazione de' Crociferi*, Verona, 1591; B. Leoni, *L'origine et fondatione dell'ordine de' Crociferi*, Venice, 1598.
- ⁷² Sherman, *The Lost Church*, pp. 77–79.
- ⁷³ M. Mari, 'Le Lettere di Giovanni della Casa ad Annibale Rucellai', in *Per Giovanni della Casa*, ed. G. Barbarisi and C. Berra, Bologna, 1997, p. 409.
- ⁷⁴ Archivio Storico del Patriarcato di Venezia, Capitolo di San Marco, Pergamene, b. 7, n. 62 (9 December 1544); O. Battistella, *Di Giovanni della Casa e di altri letterati all'Abbazia dei Conti di Collalto in Nervesa intorno alla metà del sec. XVI*, Treviso, 1904; N. Faldon, *La chiesa di San Martino di Conegliano*, [Conegliano], 1979, p. 12. Della Casa visited the Crociferi of San Martino di Conegliano while in Nervesa, where he retired in 1553 to write *Il Galateo*. He had intervened on their behalf as nuncio in 1545 when city officials accused them of mismanaging their ospizio.
- ⁷⁵ Sherman, *The Lost Church*, pp. 42–126. The high altarpiece by Tintoretto, an *Assumption of the Virgin* (c. 1553–1555), remains on a side altar in the church of the Gesuiti. The lateral painting by Tintoretto, a *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (c. 1555–1556) is now in the Accademia, Venice. Its pendant by Schiavone, a *Visitation*, and the *stucchi* by Alessandro Vittoria of St Barbara and St Helen were lost sometime between the suppression of the Crociferi in 1656 and the rebuilding of the church by the Jesuits in the early eighteenth century.
- ⁷⁶ The Tintoretto *Wedding at Cana* (signed and dated 1561) is now in the sacristy of Santa Maria della Salute.
- ⁷⁷ Sherman, *The Lost Church*, pp. 128–170. Palma produced two extensive narrative cycles for the oratory of the Crociferi facing the church and for the sacristy of the church, a visual counterpart to the histories of the order published by Venetian Crociferi in these same years. He also decorated the organ and the choir, and produced at least three altarpieces and several other works for both private and corporate patrons.
- ⁷⁸ C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, Venice, 1648, ed. D. von Hadeln, 2 vols, Berlin, 1914–1924, vol. II, p. 172. Palma was probably born in 1544, making him fifteen in 1559.
- ⁷⁹ O. Pinessi, *Nicolò Zen tra Tiziano e Tintoretto: storia di un riconoscimento*, Treviso, 2011. Titian's portrait of Zen (Kingston Lacy, Dorset) is dated to 1547–1550. It has been proposed that a slightly older Zen can be identified as the sitter in the portrait of a man with a gold chain in the Prado, Madrid.
- ⁸⁰ Tiberio d'Armano provided a dedicatory letter to Stephano Tiepolo for the Aldine edition of Lodovico Dolce's tragedy *Didone* (1547). G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* (1568), ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878–1885, vol. VI, pp. 588–589. Vasari recorded that Tiepolo was depicted as one of the (anachronistic) witnesses in Tintoretto's *Emperor Frederick receiving the Imperial Crown from Pope Adrian* (destroyed) in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio (1553).
- ⁸¹ M. Rossi, 'Danese Cattaneo', in *La bellissima maniera: Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, ed. A. Bacchi, L. Camerlengo and M. Leithe-Jasper, Trent, 1999, p. 240; Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. VII, p. 523.
- ⁸² T. Temanza, *Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani* [1778], ed. L. Grassi, Milan, 1966, p. 182; L. Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli architetto: opera completa*, Rome, 1986, p. 129. Sanmicheli was summoned by the friars and Stefano Tiepolo, Podestà of Padua, in November 1559 to provide an evaluation of bronze gates by Cattaneo and Tiziano Aspetti in the Cappella del Santo. *Dopo Mantegna: arte a Padova e nel territorio nei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. C. Bellinati, Milan, 1979, p. 83, cat. 50. The Tiepolo arms appear on a plinth at the centre of the Campagnola *Madonna and Child with St Anthony of Padua and Another Saint*. The painting was commissioned as a part of the project to enlarge the Palazzo Podestarile that was initiated by Tiepolo in 1550.
- ⁸³ Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, p. 544, n. 2500 (10 October 1545); pp. 307–308, n. 2191; pp. 477–478, n. 2403. Bembo asked Girolamo to thank Titian for his second portrait on 30 May 1540, and on 24 December 1543 requested that Girolamo urge Titian to finish his portrait of Elisabetta.
- ⁸⁴ Mazzeschi Porretti, *Il Monsignore*, pp. 87–89; Zapperi, 'Alessandro Farnese', pp. 159–171; A. Sambo, 'Tiziano davanti ai giudici ecclesiastici', in *Tiziano e Venezia*, Vicenza, 1980, pp. 383–393. According to a letter of 30 September 1544 from Della Casa to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Titian was one of the first to visit the nuncio upon his arrival in Venice. Della Casa had written to the cardinal ten days before regarding the Titian portrait of Paul III and a benefice the painter hoped to secure for his son, Pomponio. He was also involved in the correspondence regarding the Naples *Danae*, passing along Titian's suggestion to give the goddess the features of Farnese's mistress, and declaring the nude in the cardinal's picture 'a Theatine' nun in comparison to Titian's *Venus of Urbino*. In 1545 Della Casa served as delegate judge at Titian's trial over a dispute with the Canons of Santo Spirito in Isola, and two years later he acted as an intermediary between Titian and the Farnese court to secure the artist the role of keeper of the keys following the death of Sebastiano del Piombo. He owned a Titian portrait of Elisabetta Querini

- that may well have been commissioned by the lady herself in exchange for his verses, and a now-lost portrait of himself. Upon his departure for Rome in 1550 he gave two paintings to Girolamo Querini, one of which was probably a Titian. On Titian's lost portrait of Della Casa, see A. Santosuosso, 'Giovanni della Casa and His Lost Portrait by Titian', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 57, 1995, pp. 111–118; C. Terribile, 'Il volto napoletano di monsignor Della Casa', *Venezia Cinquecento*, 7, n. 14, 1997, pp. 47–139; *eadem*, 'Quale volto per monsignor Della Casa?', in *Giovanni della Casa*, ed. A. Quondam, Rome, 2006, pp. 79–130.
- 85 Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie*, vol. I, pp. 176, 198; Bembo, *Lettere*, vol. IV, pp. 477; Whistler, 'Uncovering Beauty', p. 235. It has been speculated that she may have commissioned the portrait of herself as a gift to Bembo in return for one that he gave to her. This may have been Bembo's first portrait by Titian of 1539, rather than the second, referenced in a letter to Girolamo Querini in 1540, possibly a copy of the original.
- 86 BMC, Ms. Cicogna 3423, n. 17, 8 March 1557, c. 1^r: 'Voglio et ordino che se l'archa et Pala di Crosechieri non sarà finita, la facci finir con quella più prestezza sarà possibile et così si data ogni debita execution di tempo in tempo à quanto è stà ordinato per il g. m. Lorenzo mio marito'.
- 87 ASV, Notarile, Testamenti (Antonio Marsilio), b. 1210, n. 683, c. 1^v: 'La palla del qual altar voglio del si habbia a finir et cossi et coverchio del ditta sepultura et salizato li va attorno secondo la mia intentioni come mio moier sa il tutto'.
- 88 Whistler, 'Uncovering Beauty', p. 238.
- 89 R. W. Gaston, 'Vesta and the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37, 1974, pp. 358–362; S. Sponza in *Titian Prince of Painters*, ed. F. Valcanover, Venice, 1990, pp. 309–311. Sponza presents an argument that connects the choice of a nocturne setting and the lightning depicted in the Crociferi version (replaced by moonlight in the later permutation produced for Philip II of Spain) with a small book entitled *Le Virtu' in giuoco, ovvero Dame Patritie di Venetia* published in 1681. Its appendix contained a deck of playing cards, one dedicated to Elisabetta Querini that was illustrated with a hieroglyph of Virtue invented by the lady herself. An accompanying inscription noted that she 'scorns lightning bolts and fears not the dark'.
- 90 ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 1210, n. 683, c. 2^r: 'lo voglio che mio moier manda ogni anno dilli sopra scritti padri di Crosechieri doi torci' to be placed on his altar 'al vespero et alla messa di morti'. A codicil was preoccupied with how and by whom the torches would be supplied after his wife's death.
- 91 P. Humfrey in *The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections*, ed. A. Weston-Lewis, exh. cat., National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2004, pp. 26–27.
- 92 A. Santosuosso, 'The Moderate Inquisitor. Giovanni della Casa's Venetian Nunciature, 1544–1549', *Studi veneziani*, n.s. 2, 1978, pp. 129–130. For example, Della Casa wrote to a friend in 1552 that he had 'very clearly been ordered by the Pope [Julius III] to go to the council's next session. I shall make a sincere reply, and if His Beatitude insists, I shall obey, much to the annoyance of my spirit and body, and so I shall have to abandon my writing odes'.
- 93 ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 1207, n. 270, cc. 1^v–2^r. Elisabetta made a small provision in her 1547 testament for 'lorenzo mio fiol al presente monacho di s. Benedetto del Mantoa'. In her 1557 testament, Elisabetta references instructions given in her late husband's testament including: '[...] è stà ordinato per il q. m. Lorenzo mio Marido, et in quella parte dove lui lassa scudi venticinque à nostro fiolo frate in S. Benedetto di Mantoa voglio che in tutto di trenta in vita sua'. The 1581 apostolic visit to the church of the Crociferi (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Visita Apostolica, 96, c. 72^r) notes the altar was 'ornatum decen-tissime in omnibus' and records the *mansonaria* attached to it of 'S.^{mi} Dn' Laurentij Massoli, familia extincta est'. The altar was 'annexa est ei societas', probably meaning that it was under the care of a confraternity.
- 94 *The Poems of Prudentius: The Hymns*, trans. M. Clement Eagan, Washington, 1962, vol. I, p. 128; E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly iconographic*, London, 1969, pp. 55–56. Panofsky contends that Titian's source may have been the *Passio sancti Laurentii* from the *Peris-tephanon* of Prudentius, published in the vernacular by the Aldine press around 1501.
- 95 Molmenti, 'Un poeta uxoricidia', p. 137.
- 96 Massolo, *Rime morali*, fols 94^v–95^r.
- 97 Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Titian*, vol. II, p. 259; M. Mancini, *Tiziano e le corti d'Asburgo nei documenti archivi spagnoli*, Venice, 1998, p. 322, n. 202; F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* [1581], with additions by G. Stringa, Venice, 1604, p. 147. Lorenzo Massolo and Stefano Tiepolo died in 1557, Elisabetta died in January 1559, and Girolamo Querini di Ismerio died on 25 October 1559. Because Girolamo, Elisabetta's primary executor, died soon after she did, the Crociferi may well have been involved in completing the transaction with Titian. This may clarify the consistently misinterpreted letter of 9 October 1564 from the Spanish ambassador, Garcia Hernández, to Philip II's secretary Gonzolo Pérez. The letter states that the Crociferi gave two hundred *scudi* for the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, not that the fathers – who had spent the better part of the century accumulating impressive works for their church – were willing to sell the painting for that extraordinarily low price. Stringa claimed in 1604 that an elderly Crocifero told him that the *frati* had received many offers over the years for the picture, even from foreign princes, of three or four thousand *scudi*, but that they would never part with it.