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## The Art of Relic Cults in Trecento Venice: *Corpi sancti* as a Pictorial Motif and Artistic Motivation

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### Summary

*This text focuses on scenes showing pilgrims venerating the tomb of a saint in Venetian mid- and late-Trecento paintings which can be securely related to specific relic sites in Venice. The Pala feriale, the Saint Lucy altarpiece, the altarpiece fragment with stories from the life of the Blessed Giuliana Collalto, and the painted panel from the tomb of Leone Bembo are examples of paintings by Paolo Veneziano and like-minded artists from his circle who reconceived pictorial*

*hagiographies to include interactions of pilgrims with corpi sancti. Although only Pala feriale can be securely dated to the mid-Trecento and Andrea Dandolo's dogeship, Dandolo's keen interest in relic orchestration has contributed to a stronger pictorial formulation of »the bodies of saints which are whole and uncorrupted« (as an early Trecento pilgrim put it).*

Key words: *relics, cult of saint, Paolo Veneziano, pilgrims, Pala feriale, tomb, Trecento, 14<sup>th</sup> century, San Marco, Venice*

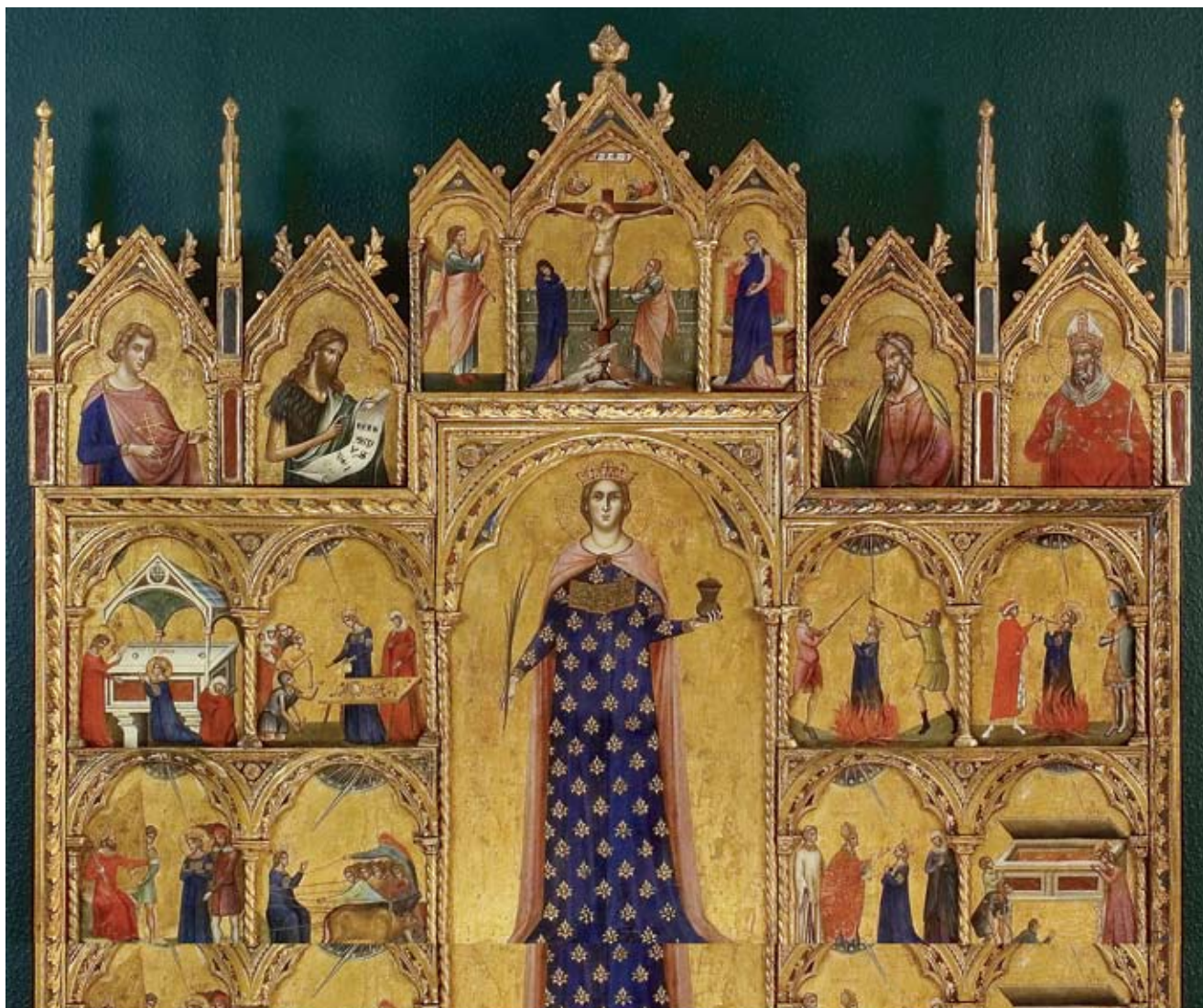
### The Eye of the Pilgrim

After the sack of Constantinople in 1204, the most alluring and rewarding location where one could experience its treasures of relics was Venice. According to Rodolfo Galo, by 1700 there were forty-nine sacred bodies in Venice,<sup>1</sup> of which many were acquired after the conquest of Constantinople. The systematic, centuries-long, state-sponsored accumulation of relics required careful distribution, organization, and artistic orchestration in order to better promote the presence of a particular body. One benefit reaped from such endeavors was the steady influx of revenue generated by holy pilgrimages to Venice; to support pilgrim-tourists seeking relics, Venice developed a service industry which by 1380 had monopolized pilgrim transportation to Levant.<sup>2</sup> Pilgrims such as the Irish friar Simon Fitz-Simon who travelled to the Holy Land in 1323 recorded their experience in journals and marveled about sacred Venetian treasures: »the bodies of saints, which are whole and uncorrupted«.<sup>3</sup>

As pilgrims' accounts suggest, the main site of interest was not only the church of San Marco but parochial churches such as San Salvatore and San Cassiano as well as monastery churches such as San Biagio (destroyed), San Daniele (destroyed in 1839), and Sant' Elena.<sup>4</sup> Felix Fabri, a pilgrim from Ulm, managed to visit thirty-four churches in Venice.<sup>5</sup> Before re-

lic-hunting pilgrimages turned into aesthetic pilgrimages in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, even well-educated pilgrims such as Santo Brasca (a chancellor at Francesco Sforza's court in Milan) admired the mosaics in San Marco, but his experience of the church interior revolved mainly around a performing object, a bleeding cross he saw in the middle of the church.<sup>6</sup> On the night of the Ascension, the blood that supposedly issued from that cross was shown making everybody run to San Marco with a candle in hand.

Late fifteenth century pilgrims' travelogues are replete with notes on loving, personal, and somatic interactions with sacred corpses. For instance, Felix Fabri explained that when pilgrims saw a relic they were supposed to kiss and touch it with their jewelry, hoping they would »perchance derive some sanctity from the touch«. Fabri carried a great number of gold and silver rings, beads for rosaries, or rosaries entrusted to him by his friends and relatives back home for which he would be duly compensated once they were sanctified and returned to their owners. Even the Mayor of Ulm, he said, would have considered a sanctified ring double its original value. Other ways of transferring the sanctity and healing powers from the relic to the living included drinking water sanctified with the relic. Fabri described the health benefits of this practice at length in an account of the relics of Saint Peter Martyr in which pilgrims touched, kissed, and drank the »life-giving« water.<sup>7</sup>



1. Paolo Veneziano, *The Altarpiece of Saint Lucy*, Bishop's chancellery, Krk, 1350 (foto: Ž. Bačić)  
 Paolo Veneziano, Poliptih sv. Lucije, *Biskupski ordinarijat, Krk, 1350.*

Holy Incorruptibles, or the name the Catholic church gave to the bodies of saints untouched by the passage of time, were undoubtedly the most engaging. A French pilgrim, for instance, admired the body of Saint Helena<sup>8</sup> which lay in a chapel altar in a church on the Island of Saint Helen, covered except for the upper part and feet. The preserved body wrapped in clothes and wearing a silver mask can still be seen in the same location. His companion, Felix Fabri further tells us that after the mass, the monks opened her tomb.<sup>9</sup> What they saw was a body staged for viewing; on Helena's breasts was another relic, a spinal bone from Mary Magdalene, a foot-long pectoral, and wood of the true cross which Helena supposedly always carried with her.

Another, typical description is found in Pierre Barbatre's 1480 account of the body of Saint Barbara. According to the account, he saw the body in a sepulcher («Sepulcher comme une arche») which a pilgrim had inspected with the interest

of a modern forensic; her right eye was more sunken than the other. The body was covered with a cloth but the feet remained visible. When he climbed six or seven stairs he could see more, including her neck and shoulders.<sup>10</sup> Pierre Barbatre also described the sight of the Hundred Innocents, on Murano. There he saw the bodies, some of which were still intact with bones and skin, arranged one on top of the other. The bodies were big and small, and heads, arms, hands, legs, and teeth were in an »unaccountable« quantity.<sup>11</sup> While fully accessible to the pilgrims, these same bones were protected by the Venetian state.<sup>12</sup>

Bodies and body relics were jealously guarded as »living limbs of Christ«<sup>13</sup> but were also readily shown to pilgrims. By the end of the sixteenth century, the artistic means used to enhance the content of holy shrines so as to make them available to pious veneration was codified. Thus, according to instructions dating to 1592,<sup>14</sup> where whole bodies were found they were to



2. *The Incorruptible Body of Saint Lucy*, San Geremia, Venice  
Tijelo sv. Lucije, *San Geremia, Venecija*

be preserved in marble or stone tombs (*arca*) where one could easily see them or placed in an ornate chapel. It was further specified that a cloth with an inscription should be used to signal the presence of the relics and that they should never be shown without light and incense.<sup>15</sup>

Such information for the Trecento is, however, lacking. Even so, as sporadic but significant evidence suggests, pictorial art was made to enhance the audience experience of relics in the Trecento. These were primarily the images which bear evidence of a synergistic relation to holy tombs, either as painted decorations or pictorial advertisements signaling the corporal presence of the saint. This discussion will first establish the broader context for such images and then focus on particular examples: the altarpiece of Saint Lucy (Fig. 1), the painted cover for the sarcophagus of the Blessed Leone Bembo (Figs. 3 and 4), the altarpiece fragment depicting the vita of Blessed Giuliana Collalto (Fig. 5), and the *Pala feriale* (painted shutters) which was a weekday altarpiece for the high altar of San Marco (Fig. 7). The fact that all these examples were either attributed to Paolo Veneziano, his collaborators, or to painters from Veneziano's immediate circle is significant and testifies to the common concerns of like-minded artists in the age of the hagiographical boom that was the Venetian Trecento.<sup>16</sup>

### For the Benefit of the Pilgrim

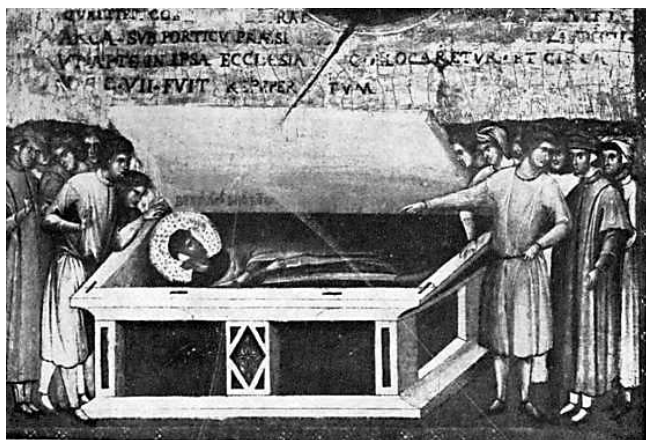
There is no essential (doctrinal) difference between a fragmented body in a reliquary and the whole body of a saint in his or her shrine. The difference is primarily an art historical one

since the strategies employed to visually articulate the corporeality of holiness differed historically and geographically. The ambiguous reference to relics in the language of ecumenical councils does not explain if a relic refers to a fragment, to the whole body, or to some proportion in between. The ostentations of nude relics had a special place in demonstrating the bodily presence of the saint, which were frequent since church councils had banned such ostentations.<sup>17</sup> The frequent use of glass reliquaries since the 14<sup>th</sup> century makes it clear that the intent of such prohibitions was not to deprive the audience from seeing relics or to overly control their access, but rather, to limit the possibility of fraud, theft, and the dispersion of relics. Although the Lateran Council prohibited the practice of nude relic exhibition in 1215, a council in Budapest in 1279 introduced a counter-restriction, practically annulling the Lateran's prohibition for »the benefit of the pilgrims«.

The benefit to pilgrims seems to be a crucial motivation in the figuration and display of holy bodies. The public clamored for access to the bodies, and to allow it was not contrary to the interests of the guardians of the shrines; posthumous miracles that occurred at various tombs were a way of establishing the efficiency of the relics, and, ultimately the sanctity of the corpse for recently deceased candidates to sainthood. Posthumous miracles provided a basis for canonization since such miracles were one of the *sine qua non* requirements for official sanctification.

Turning our attention to Trecento Venice we can see changes occurring in the pictorial hagiographies of various saints. For instance, one would be hard pressed to find a parallel in the earlier medieval illustrated Lives of Saints to the last scene in a pictorial narrative of the life of St. Ursula painted by a





3. Paolo Veneziano, *Cover for the Tomb of Blessed Leon Bembo*, Treasury of the Parish Church of Saint Blaise, Vodnjan (Istria), originally in San Sebastiano, Venice, 1350

Paolo Veneziano, Pokrov groba blaženoga Leona Bemba, *Zbirka sakralne umjetnosti Župne crkve svetoga Blaža, Vodnjan, porijeklo: San Sebastiano, Venecija, 1350.*

4. *Discovery of the Incorruptible Body of Leon Bembo*, Cover for the Tomb of Blessed Leon Bembo, detail of Fig. 3

Otkriće neraspadnutog tijela Leona Bemba, *detalj pokrova groba Leona Bemba, detalj sl. 3*

Veneto master, ca. 1350.<sup>18</sup> Sixteen scenes describing the legend of Saint Ursula and her maidens culminate in one final scene that is devoted to a pile of decapitated heads that are about to be lowered into a shrine. This and similar pictorial motifs in Venetian Trecento art show the influence of what was only fully expressed in the above-mentioned 15<sup>th</sup> century pilgrims' accounts: a keen interest in the condition and whereabouts of holy bodies.

### The Saint Lucy Altarpiece

One innovative hagiographical motif found in the images analyzed in continuation is the visibility of the holy corpse to which the pictorial hagiography refers. In these altarpieces and painted tomb covers, a cluster of scenes which were typically found in the medieval illustrated Lives of Saints (starting with the death of the saint and continuing on through post-mortem discoveries, translations, and miracles) was often condensed into one, final scene whose aim was to articulate, advertise,

authenticate, and for various reasons, call attention to the holy cadaver.

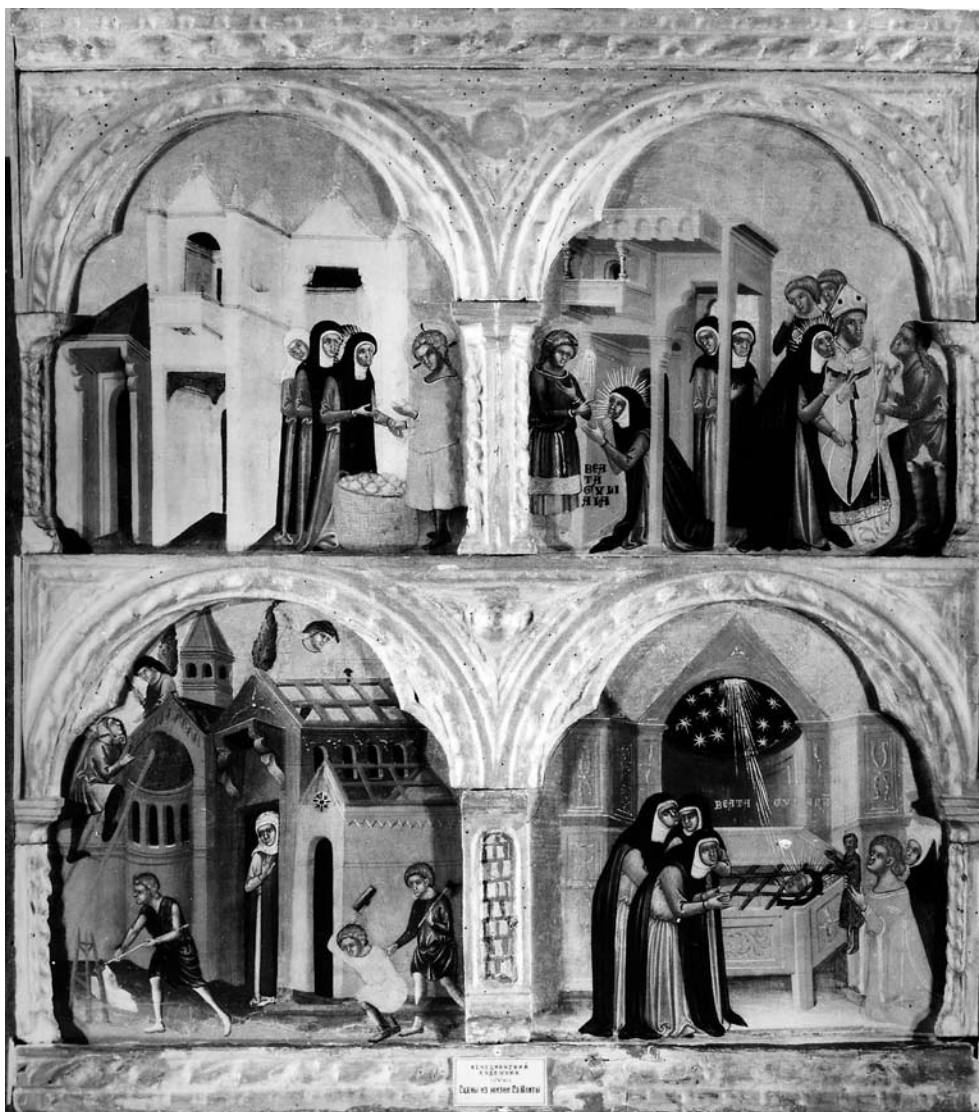
The last scene on the Saint Lucy Polyptych by Paolo Veneziano<sup>19</sup> (variously dated from 1330–1350) is such an example (Fig. 1). It shows how the final episodes of her life are reformulated so as to better serve the cult of Lucy's incorruptible body (Fig. 2). The pictorial precedents for Lucy's hagiography in Venice or Veneto are lacking, and thus the visualization of the crucial, final scene, is, I believe, fully informed by Venetian cultural (not pictorial) practices.

The story of Lucy's life starts with the saint kneeling at the shrine of Saint Agatha and praying for the cure of her mother, a motif previously found in the illustrated Lives of Saint Lucy which was produced earlier outside of Venice.<sup>20</sup> Veneziano's fictional narrative unravels in seven subsequent scenes that testify to Lucy's charitable and prophetic deeds as well as to her martyrdom. The depiction ends in the actualization of the narrative in a scene showing believers gathered around Lucy's open tomb. The corpse is visible, one woman is leaning close toward Lucy's face, and another on the opposite side is climbing up the column that supports the shrine. For an audience accustomed to interacting with holy shrines, the last scene establishes a palpable and curative presence of the saint in their midst.

The painting originally stood in the Abbey Church of Saint Lucy (in Jurandvor, on the island of Krk /Ital. Veglia/) and now stands in the bishop's chancellery in the town of Krk. How it arrived there as well as whether it was originally commissioned for her church in Jurandvor is uncertain.<sup>21</sup> In all likelihood it was commissioned for that church because the depicted saints – Quirinus, John the Baptist, Andrew, and Gaudentius – were all protector saints of different dioceses and parishes on Krk. Local significance notwithstanding, the last scene on the tomb documents the cult of Saint Lucy in Venice, undoubtedly one of the most popular and long-standing cults among the holy incorruptibles in Venice.

Unfortunately, little can be said about her original shrine in Venice since the church and convent of Saint Lucy were demolished in 1860.<sup>22</sup> Lucy's body was there in 1395 and 1480, and, to the pilgrim's eye must have appeared very young, with a beautiful face, and pleasant to behold.<sup>23</sup> A separate account clarified that the body conveyed Lucy's state of grace.<sup>24</sup> While nobody was permitted to enter the chapel where the body rested (the nun possessed the only key), the visiting pilgrim was afforded ample time to view it through an iron trellis.<sup>25</sup> This description dates to 1480 and therefore does not convey the impact on Veneziano's audience of c. 1350. Nonetheless, the motif of the open tomb is new and suggests the desirability, accessibility, and the impact Lucy's body had on pilgrims whether domestic, foreign, or from territories under Venetian cultural influence.

At one point the body in Venice also became visualized as a reliquary of sorts; Lucy's body was reported to have been protected with a silver mask since her face had »deteriorated into something out of a horror film«<sup>26</sup> (according to one modern observer). The silver mask is very recent, but the possibility of an earlier cosmetic facial covering should not be discounted.<sup>27</sup> In such a multi-media installation which serves the dual purpo-



5. Circle of Paolo Veneziano (Maestro Donato?), Fragment of a Polyptych Showing Four Scenes from the Life of Beata Guliana di Collalto, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

*Krug Paola Veneziana (Maestro Donato?), Dio poliptiha s četiri prizora iz života blažene Giuliane di Collalto, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, druga polovica 14. stoljeća*

se of protecting the body as well as ensuring its presentability, the tomb, corporeal adornments, reliquaries, and the body itself converge into a thematic unity communicating the tactile sense of the sacred body. The conscious drawing together of these elements manages to flesh out the bones, which was a key point of interest to medieval audiences.

#### **Painted tombs: Blessed Giuliana di Collalto and Leone Bembo**

Another Venetian artist from Veneziano's circle ended the pictorial biography of Blessed Giuliana di Collalto (d. 1262) with a scene showing nuns adoring her body in an open sarcophagus, fully visible, and under an open metal grill which served as a transparent cover for the tomb (Fig. 5).<sup>28</sup> Among

the nuns is a laywoman who is lifting her baby so it can reach the body in the tomb. The same motif seems to have been depicted on Veneziano's *pala feriale* showing the pilgrims at the tomb of Saint Marc. Judging by recent accounts this was also a pious Venetian practice persisting well into the twentieth century.<sup>29</sup>

The altarpiece testifies to the continuation of Giuliana's cult into the Trecento by means of pictorial hagiography which unifies both the narrative of her life and her (uncorrupted) bodily presence a century after her death. Previously, Giuliana reposed in an impressive, viewer-friendly tomb which lacked evidence of the broader significance of her cult that her pictorial biography had provided (Fig. 6). The lid of the casket could be easily opened so that the corpse could be viewed.<sup>30</sup> It must have held a place of honor and been accessible from all sides since the casket is painted on the back as well. The



6. *The Tomb of Beata Giuliana Collalto*, Museo Correr, Venice, c. 1290  
Grob blažene Giuliane di Collalto, *Museo Correr*, Venecija, oko 1290.

lid was also painted on the interior and probably served as a sort of altarpiece when her body was shown.<sup>31</sup> Also depicted are the titulars of her monastery and Beata Guiliana in her Benedictine habit.

A further example of the role of pictorial hagiography in determining the significance and whereabouts of the »new saint« is the cover for the marble sarcophagus of Blessed Leon Bembo, a late eleventh century Venetian noble and bishop who had chosen a life of monastic austerity in San Lorenzo. It is, according to Paolino Fiamma, a 1321 work which probably refers to the date of discovery of the body and not to the date of the painting. Fiamma also notes that it was painted »alla greca« and commissioned by the nun Tommasina Vitturi to record Bembo's miracles and the discovery of his body (Figs. 3 and 4). Fiamma refers to it both as *paliotto* and as the cover of Bembo's sarcophagus.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore signifying the continuation and persistence of the cult is an extant painting, identical to this one in composition and chosen themes, but made later by Lazzaro Bastiani. The painting originally hung in the church of San Sebastiano in Venice. Bembo's body, the cover, and other incorruptible bodies from S. Sebastiano and S. Lorenzo were moved to Vodnjan (Ital. Dignano, Istria) where they are currently exhibited.<sup>33</sup>

That Bembo's incorruptible body is present in his sarcophagus is spelled out three times. First, by the inclusion of two angels holding incense holders in the central panel, indicating that a funerary rite is perpetually performed over his body. It is

a very common motif in sepulchral monuments but not one that would have been encountered on an altarpiece. Secondly, attention is drawn to the corpse by showing Bembo's death on the right-hand scene and, finally, in the scene showing laymen gathered around his tomb in the left-hand scene (Fig. 4). According to the inscription, the last scene depicts a 1207 event when a group of faithful opened the sarcophagus situated in the presbytery and discovered that, despite the passing of a hundred years, his body had remained intact.<sup>34</sup> The rest of the scenes on the bottom left and right-hand side show miracles that occurred as a result of Bembo's advocacy: he helped a blind girl by name of Gabriella de Ronconelli regain her sight (left) and resuscitated a baby girl (right).

What is of interest here is the documentary aspect (Pallucchini says »popular«)<sup>35</sup> of this pictorial account that is so often missing from similarly conceived pictorial hagiographies on altarpieces. The Lives of Saints typically center on the exemplary nature of a saint's life at the expense of direct references to people and places. This, however, is not a narrative that envisions Bembo's place in the grand tradition of Venetian state-sponsored pictorial hagiographies in San Marco. The *inventio* of Bembo's body is depicted as a real-time event with no salvific, political, or otherwise didactic overtones. On the entire cover the institutional presence is registered only in the figure of the bishop present at Bembo's death. Miracle scenes have a beneficiary's name clearly spelled out, registering the hagiography in the making and not a previous hagiographical



model. The audience depicted is not from the year 1207 but rather, Venetians from 1321 who frequented his tomb and reconnected with their saint through his miracle-making remains, which is the pivotal element of this narrative. The scene focuses on laymen's immediate reactions to the body of the blessed: one lifts his arms in amazement, one leans to look closely (left group), one points to his intact body and comments to his friend while the other leans casually on the rim of the sarcophagus (right group).

In late fifteenth century Venice would-be sacred-bodies were publicly mummified, causing no apparent surprise<sup>36</sup> and indicating that important changes had taken place regarding both the production and representation of sainthood. In the depictions such as those dedicated to Leone Bembo or Blessed Guiliana di Collalto, the fourteenth century's acute awareness of the corporeality of the sacred body becomes apparent, giving a different meaning to the »humanization of the supernatural« observed on a stylistic level<sup>37</sup> in Veneziano's paintings. Here, the humanistic content is evident in artists' willingness to assume the standpoint of the lay audience focused on the corporeality of the saint.

In all previous examples the artist maintains very little representational distance from the corpse; the documentary aspect is strong and unambiguous. Babies reach for the body, people point and lean forward to see more closely, each expressing their curiosity. The probing of the tomb is where all of the narrative's formulaic content falls apart, defying in the process »the proper way of seeing«<sup>38</sup> and, with it, anything other than communal possession and control of the body.

In the earlier (written and monastic) hagiographical tradition there was a concept analogous to the »humanization of the supernatural« noted in these images. The sacred corpses were known to have been publicly humiliated in a public expression of dissatisfaction with their performances. In the *Dialogues on Miracles*, Ceasarius of Heisterbach reports that saints often complained that pilgrims spit, vomited, scraped mud off their clogs, and otherwise behaved irreverently at their shrines. Although such uninhibited familiarity was never depicted in medieval manuscript illumination, what is analogous to our gatherings around the tomb is how emotional reactions were depicted as subjective. Emotional response ranged from *admiration* – the type of response Gregory the Great, in his *Dialogues*, considered an invaluable didactic tool,<sup>39</sup> to the simplest (non-committal) form of subjective engagement: curiosity. The eye of Paolo Veneziano (and like-minded artists) was on the audience, documenting ways of seeing, but not prescribing them.

### Saint Mark's Holy Tomb, Lost and Found

Reason: The nature of things cannot be overcome by human artfulness, and often, the greater the effort to stress or hide this nature, the more it comes forth and shows itself, as if angered to have been provoked. *The innate foulness of your miserable mortal carcass cannot be changed by colors or by scents—it just will become more evident or more strongly implied.*

Joy: I am adorned with precious jewelry.

Reason: *Place a pallid corpse into a golden coffin, and surround it with gems and purple, the greater the adornment the greater is the horror. Lest you take offense at what I say – consider the origin of the word »cadaver«, which derives from the Latin cado, to fall, to expire. (italics mine)*<sup>40</sup>

The well-designed cult sites, with bodies imported and dispersed across the map of Venice, competed with Saint Mark in terms of their presence and visibility among pilgrims who were fully aware that there was no »pallid corpse in a golden coffin« in San Marco (to use Petrarch's tongue-in-cheek term). Not surprisingly then, the issue of Saint Mark's whereabouts was reopened in the mid-Trecento during the office of Doge Andrea Dandolo. In 1345, Paolo Veneziano and his sons Giovanni and Luca were commissioned by Andrea Dandolo to paint the shutters known as *Pala feriale* for the famous Pala d'Oro (Fig. 7), thus renewing »the saint's presence amongst his community.«<sup>41</sup>

The body of Saint Mark was last seen at the beginning of the twelfth century when it was dressed in ecclesiastical costume and exposed to the veneration of the people for five months.<sup>42</sup> After that he was present only pictorially through a series of mosaics. In these mosaics it was established that his body had arrived, had been received, and did in fact enter the church; according to the *Deposition* mosaic on the church façade above the door of St. Alypius, the body crossed the threshold of San Marco. The body of Saint Mark *within* San Marco appeared to audiences only through his reliquary pier as indicated by the *Apparition* mosaic (south transept, west wall, 1260–1265). Paolo Veneziano's shutters, however, may be the only scene among sixty-one<sup>43</sup> representations of Saint Mark where the audience's devotion to the saint in his problematic tomb *within* San Marco was recorded; every instance and effect of Saint Mark's life, death, and his translation from Alexandria was documented in previous mosaics except the actual location of the body itself. The pictorial advertisements for the relic were insistent and effective but also dispersed in space; the body of Saint Mark was simultaneously omnipresent and elusive.

In the lower register of *Pala feriale* (which narrates the life of Saint Mark), the center scene shows Mark's martyrdom directly below the iconic representation of Christ as *homo patiens*, establishing a parallel between the crucified body of Christ and Mark's martyred body – now an iconic focus and center of particular devotion. From that point on the narrative logically explains the posthumous powers contained in the body: Mark's body is seen charged and effective during his translation to Venice. Next, it reveals itself in the *Apparition* scene, depicted for the first time since the 13<sup>th</sup> century mosaic. Significantly, the *apparition* (the self-revelation of Saint Mark during the 11<sup>th</sup> century consecration of Saint Mark's church) was for the first time written up during the dogeship of Andrea Dandolo.<sup>44</sup>

Veneziano's version of *apparition*, however, notably differs from a previous depiction in the thirteenth century mosaic. In the previous version the reliquary pier was miraculously opened by »the sheer power of a hidden force« (i.e. the body of Saint Mark) in a type of miracle that reminded everybody



7. Paolo Veneziano and his sons Giovanni and Luca, *Pala Feriale*, Museo Marciano, Venice, 1345  
*Paolo Veneziano i sinovi Giovanni i Luca, Pala feriale, Muzej Marciano, Venecija, 1345.*

of Christ's resurrection.<sup>45</sup> The miracle disclosed the location of the body but did not reveal the body itself. The empty pier also testified to the fact that, as a contemporary panegyric admitted, the body had been »partially« reduced to dust. Nevertheless, Mark's body in such a reduced state was considered a potent vehicle of the Holy Spirit and a force that shattered »the hardness of the heart.«<sup>46</sup> Veneziano's version, on the other hand, claimed that the pier contained a well-formed body, lending credence to the presence of the body in a closed sarcophagus in the final scene.

Finally, the last of the eight scenes shows the *Pilgrims at Saint Mark's Tomb* in a scene very much like those in Giuliana di Collalto's altarpiece fragment, Leone Bembo's tomb cover, and Saint Lucy's altarpiece, except that the tomb is closed.<sup>47</sup> The laymen are gathered at this all-important tomb and the subject of their prayer is inscribed on the arch above the presbytery: »Mark, protect like a lion, with your doctrine and with your tomb, in peace and in war, Italy, Africa (and) the Venetians (italics mine)«.<sup>48</sup>

The key statement on *Pala feriale* is that the body was inside, at a location near the high altar above the crypt, and to that effect Veneziano painted a baldachin over the sarcophagus mimicking the baldachin over the high altar. Thus, everyone from Dandolo through Veneziano had disclosed the location of the body that, as the doge boasted in his *Chronicon*, he was the only one to know.<sup>49</sup> The high altar of San Marco effectively became Mark's tomb since Saint Mark's tomb as depicted in the scene, elevated and supported by columns did not, in fact, exist.<sup>50</sup> That not even the crypt was equipped for viewing testifies to Fabri's notes from 1480 stating that he was unable to view the body of Saint Mark because he believed it had been stolen by a monk who took it to Reichenau<sup>51</sup> where yet another cult of Saint Mark had already developed.

Significantly as well, the renewed presence of Saint Mark among the Venetians was not envisioned in the mid-Trecento as a state miracle, but rather, through the lens of the community and through the presence of lay witnesses whose testimony has been found crucial in the three examples discussed so far

(Saint Lucy, Guliana Collalto and Leon Bembo) and in pictorial narratives elsewhere in Italy.<sup>52</sup> The interest of the state and the gaze of a layman overlap in the scene of *Pilgrims at Saint Mark's Tomb* precisely at the point where the audience is accustomed to having its attention directed toward the tomb--at the conclusion of the hagiographical narrative. The overlapping of motifs and the inter pictorial<sup>53</sup> component of these works, as Cynthia Hahn would say, was meant to cue the audience that the body of Saint Mark is as real as all other Venetian famous *corpi sancti*.

### For the Benefit of the State

Andrea Dandolo's views on the matter were a crucial motivation for the increased visibility of relics, in reality and in art. His *chef d'oeuvre*, the orchestration of the cult of Saint Isidore, is a case in point. Isidore's body was translated from Chios in two attempts: once in 1125 and a second time in 1627 since; for reasons unknown, the head was not brought on the first trip.<sup>54</sup> Andrea Dandolo managed the *inventio* (that is, the finding) of Isidore's body and dedicated the chapel in 1348. At that time Isidore's relics were publicly shown.<sup>55</sup> Dandolo reconfirmed the importance of relics in state cults, particularly those of Saint Mark and Saint Isidore. The mosaics accompanying Isidore's tomb assert the presence of the corpse during the translation, while the tomb of Saint Isidore contains another Venetian Trecento innovation, the effigy of the saint which makes the body unequivocally present in its tomb. (A full discussion of the development of the effigy on holy tombs in Trecento Venice will be discussed in a separate study.)

A scholar, historian, literate, and friend of Petrarch, Andrea Dandolo was not, his humanistic inclinations notwithstanding, unsympathetic to the world of miracles and relics.<sup>56</sup> On the contrary, he deemed them *nobilem materiam*, that is, as subject matter worthy of artistic ennoblement and prominent staging. That politics and relics were two chief interconnected preoccupations of this doge is evident from Dandolo's chronicle and



symbolically expressed in the Baptistery of San Marco where Dandolo's tomb is located. There, a block of granite was found that was believed to be a relic of the stone on which Christ stood and preached. It was undoubtedly a key component, in fact, the supporting evidence to the grand claim expressed pictorially--that of the Venetian missionary and political expansion in the Orient contained in the Pentecost mosaic and recognized as the baptistery mosaic program.<sup>57</sup>

We should thus conclude that Venice, with its incorruptible bodies, accompanying altarpieces, painted tomb covers, nude relics, and reliquaries presented itself to a devout tourist in yet

another of its mythological incarnations – as a second Holy Land and heir to its rich treasures of relics. Venice catered to its own state myth but also to a specific audience: to pilgrims with diverse backgrounds who were nonetheless united in the desire to devote four years of their lives to the study of the *loca sancta* and their relics. As a point of departure to the Holy Land, in fact the only jumping-off point for such pilgrimages in the period from 1380 to 1530's, Venice was in a position to situate itself as a prime destination for sacred treasures that were visually better staged and produced in Venice than in the Holy Land itself.<sup>58</sup>

## Notes

1  
RODOLFO GALLO, Reliquie e reliquiari veneziani, offprint, *Rivista di Venezia* (May, 1934), 7; ANTONIO NIERO, Reliquie e corpi di santi, in: *Culto dei Santi a Venezia*, ed. Silvio Tramontin, Venezia, 1965, 187. FRANCESCO SANSOVINO provides a list of circa fifty-four *corpi* in: *Trattato delle cose notabili che sono in Venetia quale con ogni verità fidelmente si descrivono... tutti li corpi santi. Numero delle parocchie. Con la origine di esso città...*, Venetia, 1575.

2  
ROBERT C. DAVIS, Pilgrim-Tourism in Late Medieval Venice, in: *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, eds. Paula Findlen, Michelle M. Fontaine, Duane J. Osheim, Stanford, 2003, 121.

3  
Ibid, 123.

4  
This list does not cover all the sites, but these are specified and their relic content carefully listed by Santo Brasca, see: *Viaggio in Terrasanta di Santo Brasca*, 1480: *Con l'itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista*, 1458, ed. Anna Laura Momigliano Lepschy, Milano, 1966, 50–51. At these sites he listed all the body parts he saw and touched, and distinguished six entire bodies: that of Saint Theodore martyr (provided for San Salvatore in 1267), Saint Helen (arrived from Constantinople in 1211), Saint Maxim bishop (an Istrian martyr), Santa Barbara, Saint John the Martyr, duke of Alexandria (body transferred from Constantinople in 1216), and Saint Eustachio, patriarch of Constantinople.

5  
ROBERT C. DAVIS (n. 2), 124.

6  
*Viaggio in Terrasanta* (n. 4), 48. Neither Felix Fabri paid much attention to the architecture and painted images; FELIX FABRI, *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, Vol. 7, reprint from 1887–1879 ed., New York, 1971, 108–109. Among them, Pierre Barbatre provides the most exhaustive description of the interior of Saint Marc; PIERRE BARBATRE, *Le voyage de Pierre Barbatre a Jérusalem en 1480: Edition critique d'un manuscrit inédit*, in: *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1974, 97–101.

7  
FELIX FABRI (n. 6), 85–86.

8  
Her body came to Venice in 1213, during the office of the doge Pietro Ziani; ANDREA DANDOLO, *Chronica per extensum descripta aa.*

46–1280 d. C., ed. Ester Pastorello, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Bologna, 1938–1958, 285.

9  
FELIX FABRI (n. 6), 97.

10  
Barbatre does not specify in which church they saw it except to say that it was »une eglise parrochiale«; PIERRE BARBATRE (n. 6), 103; FELIX FABRI (n. 6), 100. Andrea Dandolo says that the body was brought to Venice at the time of Pietro II Orseolo in 1005 and transferred from Saint Marc to the convent of Saint John the Evangelist of Torcello (in fact, on Burano island) in 1009: *hoc tempore, ad suplicacionem Felicie abbatisse, corpus sancte Barbare virginis de ecclesia sancti Marci su[m]ptum, ex conlaudacione populi, in monasterio sancti Iohannis Evangeliste de Torcelo cum reverentia translactum est*; ANDREA DANDOLO (n. 8), 203.

11  
»a une chapelle, a destre soubz une table en ung autel y sont les corps de cent Innocents, aulcuns toulx entiers, en chair et en os, rengés l'ung sur l'autre; on en voit de grans, de petis, les testes, bras, mains, jamps, dens, le petit vit d'un petit, tout entire je ne les sçaroit conter«; PIERRE BARBATRE (n. 6), 104.

12  
The decrees of the State dated 1422 and 1446 forbid the deacquisition of these relics and bodies to individuals, RODOLFO GALLO (n. 1), 5.

13  
The instructions for display and preservation of the relics are contained in a manual written in 1592 by Mons. Antonio Grimani, bishop of Torcello. Excerpts can be found in PIETRO PAZZI, *Il tesoro della chiesa di Santa Maria dei Servi di Venezia: itinerario di oreficeria veneziana attraverso la documentazione visiva di capolavori scomparsi*, in: *Oro di Venezia. Sa mostra dell'oreficeria, gioielleria, argenteria: antichi argenti veneti*, Venezia, 1981, 104–105.

14  
»Dove si trovino corpi intieri, siano con molta pietà conservati in Arca di Marmoro, ò Pietra viva politamente fabbricata, & siano posti in luogo di prospettiva, ò in qualche Capella ben ornata, non però, dove viene custodito il santissimo Sacramento. Et affinché detti corpi Santi & le Sante membra siano ad ogni ingiuria conservate incorrotte, dentro dell'Arca di pietra sia una Cassa di stagno dorata, ovverosia l'Arca foderata di panno pretioso, & col medesimo panno siano coperte, & sia tal panno del colore, che ricerca le Reliquie con le loro iscrizioni.« The source distinguishes between bodies and relics (membri, ossisacri). The latter should be in a cupboard (armario).

Principal limbs (*membri principali*), i.e., heads and arms (*capo, braccio & altri simili*) should be covered in silver. Other relics can be in crystal vases (*vasi cristallini*), and all unidentified relics should be in a crystal vase. A cleric who takes home a relic gets suspended for a year; the theft should be punished with excommunication. Pazzi believes that the manner of displaying relic did not change much over the centuries. Of some interest is the mention of head reliquaries, although Venetian treasuries do not have any in mimetic shape before the seventeenth century, only numerous arms and legs; PIETRO PAZZI (n. 13).

15

PIETRO PAZZI (n. 13), 105.

16

An important factor in development of the Venetian hagiography was *Legendae de sanctis*, the work of the first of the Venetian hagiographers, the Dominican Pietro Calo (d. 1348); SILVIO TRAMONTIN, *Breve storia dell'agiografia Veneziana*, in: *Culto dei Santi*, 19–21. To the hagiographical altarpieces by Paolo Veneziano and his circle, the fourteenth century mosaics of Saint Isidore in San Marco, we could add the fourteenth century illustrated *sacramentarium* with sixty-three miniatures illustrating Masses of Saints. Most of them are scenes of martyrdom. For the *sacramentarium* see, RANEE KATZENSTEIN, *Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in mid-Trecento Venice*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1987.

17

For examples and the practice of nude relic ostentations, in part or as entire bodies in liturgy, as a frequent occurrence or on »special occasions« such as the elevation of the relics, see NICOLE HERRMANN – MASCARD, *Les reliques des saints: Formation coutumière d'un droit*, Paris, 1975, 206–216. Post-Tridentine stipulations were even more lax. Canon 2 of the council in Bourges (1584) provides for ostentations outside the containers according to the customs of individual churches, »ex solempni more et ritu alicujus ecclesiae id fiat.« *Ibid.*, 216.

18

Illustrated in MICHELANGELO MURARO, *Paolo da Venezia*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1970, 144–145.

19

Muraro attributes it to the workshop of Paolo Veneziano; MICHELANGELO MURARO (n. 18), 56, 111. Attributed to Paolo Veneziano by: VINKO ZLAMALIK, *Paolo Veneziano i njegov krug*, Zagreb, 1967, 27–32; MAURO LUCCO, *Pittura del Trecento a Venezia in: La pittura in Italia: Il Duecento e il Trecento*, Vol. 1., Milano, 181; R. PALLUCCHINI, *La pittura Veneziana del Trecento*, Venezia, 1971, 27–28. Most recently, Igor Fisković, as well as Francesca Flores d'Arcais consider it a work of Veneziano's immediate circle: *Stoljeće gotike na Jadranu – Slikarstvo u ozračju Paola Veneziana: The Gothic Century on the Adriatic – Painting in the Perspective of Paolo Veneziano and His Followers*, ed. BISERKA RAUTER PLANČIĆ, Zagreb, 2004, 78–81; *Il Trecento adriatico: Paolo Veneziano e la pittura tra Oriente e Occidente*, ed. FRANCESCA FLORES D'ARCAIS, Milano, 2002, 24–25. None of these sources, however, approach it from the point of view of Lucy's iconography or hagiography. The list of pictorial representations of Saint Lucy in Venetian art can be found in GIOVANNI MUSOLINO, *Santa Lucia a Venezia: Storia-Culto-Arte*, Venezia, 1961, 45–58. The dating of some examples that the author mentions is, however, inaccurate.

20

For illustrated Lives of Saint Lucy, see CYNTHIA HAHN, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century*, Berkley, 2001, 90–128.

21

The Benedictine abbey church at Jurandvor dates to 1100, but there is very little data that could shed some light on its activity in the

fourteenth century. The altarpiece was there in 1617. V. ŠTEFANIĆ, *Opatija sv. Lucije u Baški i drugi benediktinski samostani na Krku*, in: *Croatia Sacra* (11–12), 1935, 1–86.

22

ANTONIO NIERO (n. 1), 198–199; GIOVANNI MUSOLINO, *Feste religiose popolari*, in *Culto dei Santi a Venezia*, Venezia, 1965, 229–230; SILVIO TRAMONTIN, *Il 'kalendarium veneziano'*, in: *Culto dei Santi a Venezia*, Venezia, 1965, 323; DAVID SOX, *Relics and Shrines*, London, 1985, 117–120. The iconography of the first of the Incorruptibles is vast and widespread, especially in Venice, Veneto, and Syracuse where a fifth century tombstone noting the feast day of Saint Lucy marks the beginnings of her cult. Supposedly, Constantinople acquired her body in 1039 having recaptured Syracuse from the Arabs; it was subsequently transferred to Venice in 1204, first to San Giorgio Maggiore. Both bodies of Saint Lucy and Saint Agatha were brought from Constantinople. Agatha's went to Sicily. However, a separate tradition claims that both bodies resided in Venice as early as 1028. The eleventh century chronicle notes the transfer to Constantinople, but no subsequent information on her cult in Constantinople exists; GIOVANNI MUSOLINO (n.19), 67, n. 1. Andrea Dandolo makes Constantinople provenance official; ANDREA DANDOLO (n. 8), 31. The incorruptible body of Saint Lucy was translated to the Annunziata in 1280. Four bishops and the Doge Giovanni Dandolo carried her body (lacking an (entire?) arm, that stayed at San Giorgio Maggiore) on their shoulders. The church of Annunziata was rededicated to Saint Lucy in 1343. During Napoleonic suppressions her church was closed and her body was finally transferred to San Geremia in 1860. Her cult flourished in the nineteenth and twentieth century and several translations within the church occurred and new altars were erected.

23

Item: in the Church of Saint Lucia is the body of Saint Lucia; OGIER, SEIGNEUR D'ANGLURE, *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage of Ogier VIII, Seigneur d'Anglure*, transl. Roland A. Browne, Gainesville, 1975, 16. His voyage to Holy Land (through Venice was undertaken in 1395. For a 1480 description of the state of preservation of Lucy's body, see PIERRE BARBATRE (n. 6), 103.

24

*Ibid.*, 103, n. 2.

25

*Ibid.*, 103.

26

DAVID SOX (n. 22), 118.

27

A case in point is the body of Saint Clare in Assisi. A recent examination of her body, protected in her glass case and behind an iron grate, speaks of an interesting, probably medieval Italian practice. Until recent examination, Saint Clare was thought to be a mummy. When the whole setting was dismantled, a composition consisting of »a silver mask and a silver mannequin of the saint« containing her bones held with silver wire, cloth, and pitch was discovered. HEATHER PRINGLE, *The Mummy Congress: Science, Obsession, and the Everlasting Dead*, New York, 2001, 266. The current silver mask was made by Minotto Marcello in 1956. PAOLA BIN, *la Chiesa dei SS. Geremia e Lucia*, Venezia, 2002, 67.

28

Attributed to Venetian painter of the second half of the Trecento, MICHELANGELO MURARO (n. 18), 154. The author was identified as Donato by R. PALLUCCHINI (n. 19), 196. Beata Giuliana Collalto was first buried in the cemetery of the monastery she founded (that of Santi Biagio e Cataldo), but because of many miracles that occurred her body was transferred to the church (destroyed in 1810) some thirty years after her death. ANTONIO NIERO (n. 1), 204.

29

GIOVANNI MUSOLINO (n. 22), 230.

- 30  
Venezia e Bisanzio, eds. Italo Furlan, Giovanni Mariacher et al., Milano, 1974, cat. no. 74.
- 31  
Ibid.
- 32  
Describing San Sebastiano relic holdings ca. 1643, Paolino Fiamma specifies the whereabouts of Leone Bembo: »Sopra l'altare della beatissima vergine ... in una casa marmorea con antico coperto della cassa vecchia vi riposo il corpo di San Leon Bembo.« Fiamma, however, also states that the »paliotto« (i.e. the altar antependium) made in 1321 can still be seen in San Sebastiano, which makes it uncertain whether Veneziano's piece comes from the front or the lid of the tomb. PAOLINO FIAMMA, *La vera origine delle chiese de gloriosi martiri San Lorenzo, et San Sebastiano nelle isole dette Gemine, & gemelle, & Zimole; con il inventario delli corpi santi, & reliquie de Apostoli & martiri, che in S. Lorenzo riposano, 1645*, 18, 36. For the style analysis and attribution to the precursor of Paolo Veneziano, see VINKO ZLAMALIK (n. 19), 12–19. Pallucchini argued for attribution to Paolo Veneziano; R. PALLUCCHINI, *Venezia e Bisanzio*, Milano, 1974, cat. no. 86; MICHELANGELO MURARO (n. 18), 155–156.
- 33  
A painter, Gaetano Grenzler, acquired a number of holy corpses (including Bembo's from the church of S. Sebastiano and S. Lorenzo in Venice) and moved them to Vodnjan. This and other displacements of Venetian sacred bodies, relics and reliquaries were the result of deacquisitions and devastations of Venetian church treasures during and after the Napoleonic era, which allowed private citizens to acquire corpses and accompanying art; see RODOLFO GALLO (n. 1), 9–10.
- 34  
The accompanying inscription reads, »Qualiter corpus beati fratris leoni positum fuit in arca sub porticu presbiterorum ... ut apte in ipsa ecclesia collocaretur et circa anno domini mcccvii fuit repertum.«
- 35  
Venezia e Bisanzio (n. 30), cat. no. 86.
- 36  
Barbatre explains that in a monastery located half way between Venice to Murano (probably on the island of Saint Michael) he saw the corpse of a man who had died sixty-nine years previous to his account and which was positioned »above«. The body was intact, retaining all its members, skin and bones. The body was exposed to the rain and sun in order to shrink it and preserve it in its entirety. It became referred to as »a pilgrim«, supposedly because the body produced three miracles.
- 37  
MICHELANGELO MURARO (n. 18), 35.
- 38  
This concept was found to be paramount in the pictorial Lives of Saints prior to Trecento. On the dynamic between the medieval vision and the didactic and ethic component see especially CYNTHIA HAHN (n. 20), 54–55.
- 39  
Ibid., 14.
- 40  
PETRARCH, *Petrarch's Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul. Book 1, Remedies for Prosperity*, transl., Conrad H. Rawski, Vol. 1, Bloomington, 1991, 60.
- 41  
THOMAS E. A. DALE, *Stolen Property: St. Mark's First Venetian Tomb and the Politics of Communal Memory*, in: *Memory and Medieval Tomb*, 208.
- 42  
The account was written by a Benedictine monk of San Nicolò del Lido; BRUNO BERTOLI, *Le storie di San Marco nei mosaici e le ragioni dell'agiografia* in: *La Basilica di San Marco: Arte e Simbologia*, Venezia, 1993, 114–115.
- 43  
SILVIO TRAMONTIN, *Il culto di San Marco* in: *Ommagio a San Marco: Tesori dall'Europa*, Milano, 1994, 19.
- 44  
During the dogeship of Andrea Dandolo, the cult was flourishing and was enriched by a text dedicated to the apparition of Saint Marc's body; MICHELANGELO MURARO (n. 18), 47, 79 n. 129. For a discussion and bibliography on the development of the *apparitio* theme, see OTTO DEMUS, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*, Washington, 1960, 12–14. The *apparitio* of Saint Mark is in Demus' opinion a thirteenth century Dominican fabrication in the context of the Venetian »state-controlled mythogenesis«. Although Demus does not discuss Veneziano's shutters, it is obvious that Andrea Dandolo's chronicle (which provides a more complete version of *apparitio* legend) bears a direct influence on *pala feriale*.
- 45  
The references to Christ's resurrection were contemporary in the panegyric read at the anniversary of the event; BRUNO BERTOLI (n. 42), 118.
- 46  
Ibid.
- 47  
For Pala d'Oro see GREGOR MARTIN LECHNER, *Iconografia di San Marco*, in: *Ommagio a San Marco: Tesori dall'Europa*, Milano, 1994, 80, 83 n. 126; N. DI CARPEGNA, *La »coperta« della Pala d'oro di Paolo Veneziano*, in: *Bollettino d'arte* (36) 1951, 55–66. Notes on iconography can be found in MICHELANGELO MURARO (n. 18), 46–51. None of these authors analyzed the iconography. An insightful iconographical analysis was offered by RONA GOFFEN, *Paolo Veneziano e Andrea Dandolo: una nuova lettura della pala feriale*, in: *La Pala d'Oro*, eds. H.R. Hahnloser e R. Polacco, Venezia, 1994, 173–194.
- 48  
»ITALIAM LIBIAM VENETOS SICUT LEO MARCE DOCTRINA TUMULO REQUIE FREMITUQUE TUERIS«, BRUNO BERTOLI (n. 42), 89.
- 49  
ANDREA DANDOLO (n. 8), 219. Describing the »colocacio corporis sancti Marci Evangeliste«, that is the consecration of the church in 1094, Dandolo says that the body was secretly deposited with its location unknown except to him, the procurator of San Marco and the doge.
- 50  
The crypt of San Marco is a rather barren place and his tomb undistinguished. It was only in 1835 that the patriarch Jacopo Monico solemnly exhumed the relics from the crypt where, ostensibly, the relics always were, and deposited them in the altar; SILVIO TRAMONTIN, *San Marco*, in: *Culto dei santi a Venezia*, Silvio Tramontin, ed. Venezia, 1965, 59.
- 51  
FELIX FABRI (n. 6), 103.
- 52  
In case of Margaret of Cortona and other cults, »images were used extensively as evidence, portraits, and cult substitutes for a visible body«, CYNTHIA HAHN (n. 20), 327.



53

CYNTHIA HAHN, Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses of Stephen, Martial, and Valerie, in: *Image and Belief*, Colum Hourihane ed., Princeton, New Jersey, 1999, 110–120.

54

The 1125 translation is discussed in PAOLO CHIESA, Santità d'importazione a Venezia tra reliquie e racconti, in: *Oriente Cristiano e Santità: Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. Sebastiano Gentile, Venezia, 1998, 107–115. For a full account of the transfer of the head from Chios see RODOLFO GALLO (n. 1), 4. The relics transferred from Chios in 1125, however, were »dormant« until Andrea Dandolo gave a new, state value to his cult.

55

OTTO DEMUS (n. 44), 17.

56

For Dandolo's patronage, DEBRA PINCUS, Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354) and Visible History: The San Marco Projects, in: *Art and*

*Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250–1500*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg, Notre Dame, 1990, 191–206; RANEE KATZENSTEIN (n. 16), 232–252. Katzenstein should be credited here for noting that »relics seem to have particularly inspired Dandolo's devotion and for this reason a martyrdom scene (namely the decapitation of Saint Isidore) is represented on his tomb«. Ibid., 247–248.

57

TIMOTHY VERDON, Il battistero: arte e teologia, in: *La Basilica di San Marco: Arte e Simbologia*, Venezia, ed. Bruno Bertoli, 1993, 76. The block of granite was stolen from the Holy Land during the same expedition that brought Saint Isidore to Venice; PAOLO CHIESA (n. 44), 107.

58

Special thanks to The State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg for sending me the photograph of the icon with *Four Scenes from the Life of Beata Giuliana di Collato* and giving me permission to reproduce it in this article.

### Sažetak

## Ana Munk

### Umjetnost kulta relikvija u Veneciji trečenta: *corpi sancti* kao slikovni motiv i umjetnička inspiracija

Venecija je tijekom stoljeća sistematski sakupljala pa i otimala svetačke moći i iz pobožnih, državnih i ekonomskih razloga. Kao što svjedoči *Chronica extensa* dužda Andree Dandola, odredbe iz 1422. i 1446., te upute kapetanima brodova gdje i koje relikvije nabaviti, orkestracija kultova relikvija, tj. njihova nabavka, prenošenje i čuvanje, bila je od državne važnosti. Od 1380. do 1530. Venecija drži monopol u prijevozu hodočasnika u Svetu Zemlju, pa oni borave duže vrijeme u obilasku i čašćenju svetih tijela po brojnim venecijanskim crkvama i o tome pišu u svojim dnevnicima.

Njima Venecija udovoljava i pruža mogućnost da izravno dožive svetačke moći i tako kasnije posvjedoče o Veneciji kao svetom mjestu koje po broju svetih tijela nadmašuje po tome nekoć slavnu, ali opljačkanu carsku riznicu u Konstantinopolu. Tako nije slučajno da su prizori zadivljenih hodočasnika pri svetačkim grobovima postali učestali sredinom trečenta, pa se pojavljuju i u djelima Paola Veneziana, koji je bio najbliži Dandoloju shvaćanju relikvija kao plemenite materije i plemenitog sadržaja za likovno oblikovanje.

Poliptih svete Lucije, Pokrov groba Blaženoga Leona Bemba, fragment oltarne pale s prikazima iz života blažene Giuliane

di Collalto, te *Pala feriale* rađena za glavni oltar Crkve svetog Marka djela su Paola Veneziana ili umjetnika iz njegova kruga. Zajedničko im je da se slikovna hagiografija tih blaženika i svetaca obogaćuje suvremenim prizorima vjernika, često prikazanih uz otvorene grobove. Time se signalizira stvarna prisutnost posebno čašćenih cjelovitih tijela i obnavlja svijest o pristutnosti sveca u kolektivnom sjećanju vjernika. Njihove emotivne reakcije Veneziano realistično bilježi na pokrovu groba blaženog Leona Bemba. Narativna koncentracija na *corpus sanctus* naročito je naglašena na *Pali feriale*, djelu Paola Veneziana i njegovih sinova Luce i Giovannija. Središnja scena mučeništva svetog Marka izjednačuje se s tijelom Krista, čime se i Markovu tijelu daje ikonična vrijednost predmeta posebne pobožnosti. U nastavku legende objašnjava se posmrtna snaga i učinkovitost toga tijela. Tijelo je otkriveno samo prilikom posvećenja crkve, nakon čega se smatralo da je izgubljeno. Naposljetku, sam je grob predmet obožavanja hodočasnika, što je prvi put prikazano.

*Ključne riječi:* relikvije, štovanje svetaca, Paolo Veneziano, hodočasnici, *Pala feriale*, grob, 14. stoljeće, San Marco, Venecija