

A rare document on Giorgione

by RENATA SEGRE

ON 25TH OCTOBER 1510, Isabella d'Este, wife of Francesco II Gonzaga, marchese of Mantua, had already heard that 'Zorzo da Castelfrancho' was dead and wrote to her agent Taddeo Albano in Venice asking if he could obtain a picture of a night scene ('nocte'), which she very much wished to install in her studiolo. Albano replied on 8th November, confirming that the artist had died of plague some days ago ('più di'), but that the painting Isabella wanted could not be found among his possessions ('non essere in dicta eredità tal pictura').¹ While the exact date of Giorgione's death is not known, it can be placed in the autumn of 1510 (between September and the beginning of October) on the basis of contemporary documents,² during one of the first terrible outbreaks of plague that hit Venice in the course of the sixteenth century. Yet, if we can fix his date of death with some certainty, it would be extremely risky to pinpoint his date of birth. We know that he was probably born in the mid-1470s, given that Vasari claimed that he died aged thirty-four.³ But it is precisely such uncertainty and his tragic death from plague at an early age, as well as the marvel of his painting, that have created a sense of mystery around Giorgione and fed the myth of an enigmatic and indecipherable character. There is an equal fascination in some of his most famous works, from the *Three philosophers* to *The tempest*, and controversy continues to surround them. Near contemporary accounts of his life have also contributed to the legend, most notably Vasari's, who described him as a frequenter of the beau monde, who delighted in musical companions and beautiful women and claimed that it was from his involvement with a 'madonna' (or prostitute) that he caught the illness that killed him. Further complicating matters are the supposed connections with the Jewish milieu that certain art historians have read into some of his works, from the decoration

on the interior of the casa Marta in his natal Castelfranco to some of the characters in his paintings.⁴

A newly discovered document in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (see Appendix below) does not help to solve questions as to his artistic activity but provides some other facts: his surname and his father's name and some details of his family in Castelfranco and its social status. Moreover it provides a picture of his economic circumstances and domestic life that can be read through the everyday objects in his house in Venice. It is an inventory of Giorgione's goods that were found in Venice after his death, a legal document compiled by order of a judge of the Venetian magistrature (named *Giudice del proprio*),⁵ at the request of an heir of Giorgione's. In the document the painter is named Georgio, not Zorzi, its Venetian variant, which is found in contemporary Venetian documents, and not Giorgione, the name under which he has become famous after his death⁶ and which I shall use here for convenience.

We can start with the information that the inventory does *not* provide: we do not know where the house was or how it was laid out and there is no indication of who lived there other than the painter. After Giorgione's admission into the Lazzaretto nuovo (the island in the Venetian lagoon used to quarantine those in contact with plague victims) where he later died, nothing should have been removed from his house: laws decreed that the houses of plague victims should be sealed, but we know that the fear of contagion was not enough to prevent them from being ransacked. The suggestion that some objects had been removed is strengthened not only because there are no works of art or artists' materials in the inventory, but also because of the Mantuan agent's reply to Isabella d'Este that there was no work by Giorgione for sale, that the friends and patrons of the artist were

I would like to thank Sylvia Ferino who encouraged me to publish this document and introduced me to THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE. All the documents cited are in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, except for those in the Sezione di Archivio di Stato di Bassano del Grappa (hereafter cited as SASB) and the Biblioteca comunale at Castelfranco Veneto. The abbreviations in the quotations and in the Appendix have been spelt out.

¹ A. Luzio: 'Isabella d'Este e due quadri di Giorgione', *Archivio storico dell'arte* 1 (1888), p.47.

² The recent quincentenary of Giorgione's death gave rise to some important new publications. These include E.M. Dal Pozzolo and L. Puppi, eds.: exh. cat. *Giorgione*, Castelfranco (Museo Casa Giorgione) 2009–10; and E.M. Dal Pozzolo: *Giorgione*, Milan 2009. Two other recent publications are worthy of note: G. Nepi Sciré and S. Rossi, eds.: exh. cat. *Giorgione. Le meraviglie dell'arte*, Venice (Gallerie dell'Accademia) 2003; and E.M. Dal Pozzolo, ed.: *Giorgione a Montagnana, Atti del Convegno (Montagnana 2003)*, Padua 2004. However, it was the first two publications that helped me in this work in a field that, for an historian, seems like a minefield. Most of the relevant documents on Giorgione in Castelfranco may be found in the work of two scholars, Giovanni Chiuppani and Giacinto Cecchetto; see G. Chiuppani: 'Per la biografia di Giorgione da Castelfranco', *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Bassano* 6 (1909), pp.73–81; and G. Cecchetto: 'Castelfranco tra la fine del XV secolo e i primi decenni del XVI: "mappe urbane" e i paesaggi del contado',

in Dal Pozzolo and Puppi, *op. cit.*, pp.63–67.

³ In fact Vasari did not provide his precise date of birth, only that of his death (and even that may not be very precise); see G. Vasari: *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue, insino a' tempi nostri*, ed. L. Bellosi and A. Rossi, Turin 1991, II, p.557.

⁴ See R. Segre: 'Ebrei a Montagnana e Castelfranco negli anni di Giorgione', in Dal Pozzolo 2004, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.91–106, and the subsequent debate.

⁵ This magistrature originally had a far larger area of jurisdiction, but was progressively reduced to a few sections, including landed property (construction, restoration and boundaries) and dowries (the restitution of dowries to widows or to their heirs after the ending of a marriage, or by *ab intestato*, or in the case of there being no will). 'Archivio di Stato di Venezia', abstract of vol.IV of the *Guida Generale degli Archivi di Stato Italiani*, Rome 1994, p.988. In this case the jurisdiction is due to Alessandra's dowry claims on Giorgione's inheritance.

⁶ He appears with the name of Zorzi ('*maistro Zorzi da Chastelfrancho depentor*') in the rare documents already published relative to the years 1506–08 which record his activity in Venice; the same name appears in Isabella d'Este's letter (see note 1 above) and in Marcantonio Michiel's *Notizia d'opere di disegno*; see Dal Pozzolo 2009, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.32–38. Other instances of his being called Zorzo or Zorzi da Castelfranco are given in G. Gronau: 'Zorzon da Castelfranco: la sua origine, la sua morte e tomba', *Nuovo Archivio veneto* 6, VII, pt.I (1894), pp.450–51.

not willing to part with the works they already owned and that in any case there was none in his 'eredità'.⁷ It almost seems from the letter that a distinction is being made between the belongings that his heirs would eventually inherit (which were of no interest) and his true – artistic – inheritance which may have been kept elsewhere, perhaps in his studio, which, according to some, was at S. Silvestro.⁸

Unlike other similar deeds, often drawn up by a notary, this is not a proper inventory in which the objects would be described room by room, but a list of household goods belonging to the dead painter: one gets the impression that this is a household in considerable disorder, with items not properly stored, but muddled up with pieces of furniture: beds, benches, a table, a few domestic objects and kitchen equipment. The small amount of clothing was in a bad state, mostly in drab and dark colours; and the mention of a few shirts ('camise') and a woman's satin dress are not enough to prove that a woman was living in the house, still less a family. But the list of Giorgione's effects drawn up on 14th March 1511 is not complete; seven months later, on 13th October, a valuable red gown lined with fox fur was added to the inventory, and the Ufficio di sanità was urged to return the belongings Giorgione used during his quarantine at the Lazzaretto nuovo.⁹

Perhaps it is worth recalling that in order to rein in the greed of those who managed the property of plague victims, the *Provveditori alla Sanità* (three Venetian patricians appointed on a rotating system) imposed complex systems for the inventorying and guarding of goods. The law required that persons who had been in contact with plague victims in Venice had to spend a period of quarantine in the Lazzaretto nuovo to prove that they were not carrying the disease. Therefore, in theory at least, once

the forty days of the quarantine were over and they were declared healthy ('*neti et sani*'), they would be allowed to return to their normal life and take possession of their property once more. In consequence, unlike those who were known to have the plague (housed in the '*hospedali de li amalati*' at the Lazzaretto vecchio), their possessions were not automatically burned,¹⁰ but disinfected and stored.¹¹

Taken as a whole, Giorgione's belongings were not of great worth: they were valued at eighty-nine ducats in total, of which twelve were down for the fur-lined gown, not included in the first inventory. This would suggest that the inventory is incomplete. With his belongings valued at less than ninety ducats, Giorgione's life in Venice could not have been easy. For comparison, Giovanni Bellini was paid fifty ducats for a portrait, one of his assistants would earn between two and four ducats a month, while a collaborator of the stature of Carpaccio received five ducats.¹² Giorgione himself, for frescoing the façade of the Fontego dei Tedeschi on the Grand Canal, received 130 ducats, which was also to pay for the painting materials he had bought.¹³ Therefore it is understandable why, many years after his death, Vasari was still echoing the impression, current in Venice, of an extraordinary artist, who was not rich but lived on a modest income and was 'born of the most humble stock' ('*Quantunque elli fusse nato di umilissima stirpe*').¹⁴

We now turn to the new biographical material that can be gleaned from the document. We have finally ascertained that Giorgione died of plague on the Lazzaretto nuovo, but we do not know if he was buried in a communal grave.¹⁵ I would like to imagine that he shared the hopes of another victim of plague, the painter Francesco di Santacroce, who in his will of barely two years earlier expressed the wish to be buried in the church of S.

⁷ Lionello Puppi also deduces this from the exchange of letters between Isabella d'Este and her agent in Venice, giving a picture that is sadly rather too imaginative compared to the snapshot provided by the new inventory: '*del defunto [Giorgione], restava lo spazio fisico dove aveva abitato e lavorato allorché s'ammalava: la casa, dunque, l'atelier, dove stavano disposti gli oggetti mobili che li arredavano, comprendendo l'armamentario dell'attività pittorica – cavalletti, tele, carte, pennelli, spatole, tavolozze, vasi e vasetti di colori; e dipinti finiti e già pronti per il commercio con altri appena sbazzati o in attesa degli ultimi ritocchi –, ma anche dei sollazzi musicali; e libri e – chissà – qualche piccolo reperto archeologico*'; L. Puppi: 'Tracce e scommesse per una biografia impossibile', in Del Pozzolo and Puppi, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.22.

⁸ No musical instrument appears in the inventory despite the fact that Isabella d'Este suggested that her agent ask for the help in the quest for the painting of the musician Marchetto Cara (much esteemed by the Gonzaga court) and of the master-carver of musical instruments Lorenzo [Gusnasco] da Pavia, who probably belonged to Giorgione's musical circle; see note 1 above. Marchetto, who stayed in Venice between 1500 and 1510, was back in Mantua in late 1510; see C. Casellato: 'Cara, Marco', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome 1976, XIX, pp.286–87.

⁹ An island in the north of the Lagoon, also sometimes called Vigna murata, with orchards and vineyards, from which the Prior of the Lazzaretto nuovo earned a large income. By pure coincidence in 1507 the lease-holder was a compatriot of Giorgione's, Alvixe de Piero da Castelfranco. *Provveditori alla Sanità*, registro 725, fol.121v. See also, for its copious documents and illustrations: exh. cat. *Venezia e la peste, 1348–1797*, Venice (Palazzo Ducale) 1980, esp. pp.87 and 105–07, for the distinction between the Lazzaretto nuovo and vecchio.

¹⁰ *Provveditori alla Sanità*, registro 725, fols.84v–85r, 20th March 1504. The procedure was as follows: the doctor or the parish priest ('*pievano*') indicated which houses were plageridden and which were suspected of being so, supplying the relative addresses to two officials of the *Sanità*: one was in charge of holding the records, distinguishing between the sick and the possibly contagious, and to their hospitalisation ('*de le persone vien mandate ai Lazareti a tempo de morbo [. . .] tenir scontro de inventarii de le robe sono mandate li, cussi de quelle che vien brusate come de le altre [. . .] et etiam per saper le*

contrade et caxe dove occorreno morbo, per esser netade et custodite et non siano causa de infestar li populi'), and the other official was responsible for their belongings (see note 11 below), while it was up to the employees of the Lazzaretto to disinfect the houses ('*quelli vano a netando le caxe amorbate*'). *Ibid.*, fol.73r, 22nd May 1503; fol.75r, 3rd June 1503; fol.78r, 31st July 1503; fol.78v, 9th August 1503. Unfortunately the decisions of the *Provveditori alla Sanità* for the period 1509–15 are missing, so we have to rely on those of a little earlier, which may not be identical, but are probably similar.

¹¹ '*. . . sia presente al trar de le robe de le caxe amorbate vien mandate li a Lazareto nuovo a sborar et netar de tempo in tempo, fazendo li inventarii et quelli, ogni volta seranno mandate le robe, li mandi la copia a vui prior, la qual, zonte le robe, ve sconterete, presente do testimonij, salverete apresso de vui azò che, al tempo de la restitution, se possi far el medesimo et che quelli a chi le aspeta non siano defraudati*'. *Ibid.*, fol.78v, 9th August 1503.

¹² See Dal Pozzolo 2009, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.87.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.20–21, relative to a dispute that was finally settled late in 1508.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.50. See Vasari, in his *Vite* of 1550, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.557.

¹⁵ As Puppi, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.21, suggested, it was the most efficient and rapid system of disposing of the bodies, but perhaps not the most effective to evade the risk of contagion. In this case too a distinction was made between those who died at the Lazzaretto nuovo and vecchio.

¹⁶ *Notarile*, Testamenti, busta 585, notaio Pietro de Imprestitis, cedola cartacea 21, 28th October 1508. It is not possible to say how long this outbreak of plague lasted because it was already recorded in 1508 and was still raging in 1512. To avoid contagion, public assemblies, auctions, markets, even sermons were banned; Marin Sanudo indicates that there were countless deaths in 1510, and in the deeds of a canon of St Mark's, the notary Gregorio Trina, there is a very high number of wills drawn up at the request of the plageridden ('*ob infirmitatem*') in these years; (*Notarile*, Testamenti, buste 958–60).

¹⁷ This theory is based on a series of deeds found by Giovanni Chiuppani a century ago: a woman called Altadonna (a spelling that is preferable to that of Alta Donna) is identified as the mother of Giorgione who sold a property at Castelfranco to pay for

Giobbe of the Franciscan minims and in their manner (*'more pauperrimo'*), closed in a disinfected coffin with his head and feet laid on a stone.¹⁶

Sadly the document offers minimal information on Giorgione's family, but at last we know his father's name. Contrary to what has been believed up to now, it seems certain that Giorgione's surname was Gasparini and that his father's name was Giovanni: the fact that he did not use his surname does not signify he did not have one, but that perhaps he did not need to, given that he was the only famous painter who came from Castelfranco. It has been suggested that he was a natural son and only his mother was known, thereby explaining the silence over his surname. In fact it cannot be excluded that his mother was called Altadonna and that the documents that link her to Giorgione are correct.¹⁷ The new document only indicates that Alessandra, widow of his father, Giovanni, had not yet managed to recover her dowry, which had been inherited by her husband's son, Giorgione, who in the meantime had also died. Therefore Alessandra was not Giorgione's mother, but his stepmother. Further, it seems to be explicit in the last will of her husband, Giovanni, that she had a claim on the assets of Giovanni's only son and heir to recover all or part of her dowry.¹⁸

If it is curious that the names of the woman generally believed to be Giorgione's mother, Altadonna, and that of his stepmother, Alessandra, are so similar, more surprising is that their compatriot Francesco Fisolo acted as proxy (*'procuratore'*) in the first case;¹⁹ and as the heir in the second. A notarial deed of 1489 recorded that 'Altadonna [. . .] widow of the late Giovanni, son of the former sir Gasparino' (*'domina Altadonna [. . .] relicta quondam ser Iohannis quondam ser Gasparini'*) acted in 'her name and in the name of her son Giorgio, son and heir of the late Giovanni'

(*'nomine suo ac nomine Georgii filii sui ac filii et heredis dicti quondam ser Iohannis'*);²⁰ but in the new document we read: 'Giorgio [painter], son and heir of the late Giovanni Gasparini' (*'Georgii [pictoris] filii et heredis dicti quondam ser Ioannis Gasparini'*), while there is no mention of his relationship with Alessandra. It would mean that by 1511 Giovanni Gasparini had already been dead for twenty-two years, and in all probability he had also married Alessandra, Altadonna having died. The simplest solution would be to suggest that Altadonna and Alessandra were the same person: sadly, our document suggests otherwise.²¹

Before mentioning a few more issues that may help to explain Giorgione's relationship and family ties with his natal town, I would like to recall the name of another painter, Francesco Bissolo, who, according to the Venetian sources, was born in Castelfranco and was a near contemporary of Giorgione's;²² they may possibly have even worked together at an early stage in their careers.

As we do not have the wills of either Alessandra or of her husband, Giovanni, we must make do with the scant information that the inventory provides.²³ It gives the impression that relations between Giorgione and his stepmother were distant, even cold. But the uncertainty that surrounds the artist's date of birth and his relations with his maternal family, allow me to suggest that his birth fell in the mid-1470s which, for Castelfranco, was a period of grave disorder and violence, with clashes between the two powerful local families, the Tempesta and the Callegari. Francesco and Michele Tempesta, associates of Angelo Guidozzi, had killed Baldassare Callegari; in his turn, Francesco Callegari led an assault on the district of the Tempesta family, while for three days henchmen of the two factions roamed around the town, fighting in the main square.²⁴ The

the release of her son who was imprisoned in Venice. But the identification of Altadonna as Giorgione's mother is also complicated by the new document: it would seem that after the death of his first wife, Giorgione's father remarried. On the other hand it would seem from a fiscal document of the *Estimo* of Castelfranco that Altadonna also remarried; see Chiuppani, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.76–77; and note 21 below.

¹⁸ Puppi, *op. cit.* (note 7), p.23, merely says that '*non v'ha indizio di eredi legittimi o presunti*'.

¹⁹ Chiuppani, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.77; '*Domina Altadonna relicta quondam ser Iohannis Barbarele*' gave '*ser Francesco Fixolo*' general power of attorney to retrieve all her money and estate. SASB, *Notai di Castelfranco e Asolo*, busta 9 A, notaio Dionisio Saxacher senior, fasc. 9, 26th August 1485.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 21st October 1489. In the margin of the document is a notary's annotation from which it appears that Altadonna acted in '*nomine heredum* [note the plural, not *heredis*] *quondam ser Iohannis Barbarelli*'. A week later, with an act drawn up before the Venetian podestà Natale da Canal, Ser Antonio Tempesta refused to accept the guardianship of the heirs, offered him by Giacomo Barbarella, notary and brother of the deceased Giovanni. (For the suggestion of a connection with local factions and Tempesta's role in our document, see notes 24 and 25 below and the Appendix.) SASB, *Notai di Castelfranco e Asolo*, busta 9 A, notaio Giovanni Ferro, fasc. 2, fol.138v, 28th October 1489. Giacinto Cecchetto has summarised the documents and brought them up to 2009 with new material (although he admits that he has not been able to sort them out in a convincing way), using a source that was not available to Chiuppani: the fiscal documents of the *Estimi* of Castelfranco, held in Archivio Storico di Castelfranco Veneto (at the Biblioteca comunale). In 1493 the census listed '*in Castello* [. . .] '*donna Altadonna e Zorzi suo fiol*' (*Estimi*, registro 37, fol.128v), who, on 30th September 1500, were exempted from paying taxes since they did not live in the town any more; moreover, in *Estimo 1505–1508* (registro 38, fol.111v, 1505) it appears that Altadonna, recorded among the '*Conzorzi forestieri*', had married Zuane Pepolo, and was later widowed (*'Alta Donna relicta quondam ser Zuan Pepolo*'), see Cecchetto, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.69.

²¹ '*Georgio quondam Iohannis Barbarella civi Castrifranchi*' was in Castelfranco on 29th

September 1497; see Chiuppani, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.77. '*Domina Altadonna relicta quondam ser Zuan Barbarelo*'. *Estimi*, registro 36, fol.159r, 1489.

²² Bissolo (born c.1475; active 1492; died 1554) turns out to have been born at the same time and in the same place as his famous colleague. After working on the decoration of the Doge's Palace for Giovanni Bellini in 1492, he was again back in Venice some fifteen years later, and in trouble with the law in 1512. In the proclamation that condemned him and some accomplices to perpetual exile from Venice for having taken part in an act of rebellion against the Venetian Republic at Oderzo (a village about thirty kilometres from Treviso), he was named '*maistro Francescho depentor da Castelfrancho, solito habitar in Uderzo*'. *Consiglio dei Dieci*, Proclami, filza 1, fol.102, 21st October 1512. Six years later, however, he was back in Venice: '*Francesco Bissuol, pitor a santa Giustina*' and '*fio de ser Vetur*'. *Notarile*, Testamenti, busta 50, notaio Gerolamo Bossi, cedola cartacea 19, 8th July 1518; *ibid.*, busta 255, notaio Cristoforo Colonino, cedola cartacea 28, 4th August 1518. See M.M. Palmegiano: 'Bissolo, Francesco', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome 1968, X, pp.704–05; and P. Carboni: 'Profilo di un pittore: Francesco Bissolo (1475c–1554)', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 145 (1986–87), pp.235–56. I thank Francesca Del Torre for supplying me with the relevant bibliography on Bissolo.

²³ It is a great pity that the letter of 8th March 1511 to which the document in the Appendix alludes has not so far been traced; it could perhaps shed light on this matter.

²⁴ '*. . . qui, pro et cum parte contrascriptorum de Tempestis, tribus diebus continuis, armati coracinis, lorcis et alio diverso genere armorum, tam offensibilium quam defensibilium, se adunarunt in domibus Victoris de Tempestis et fratrum in terra Castrifranchi, et qui, mandato sibi facto fieri per dominum potestatem Castrifranchi, quod arma deponerent, parere contempserunt, eundo sic armati, tam per terram quam per mercatum Castrifranchi, ut est dictum*'. *Quarantia criminale*, busta 19, fol.25r. The charges against the brothers Lazzaro, Cristoforo, Francesco and Stefano Callegari sound very much the same: '*. . . qui, tribus diebus continuis, de quibus, ultra armati diverso genere armorum tam offensibilium quam defensibilium, se adunarunt in domibus suprascriptorum de Callegariis, et mandato sibi facto, quod arma deponerent, parere neglexerunt, eundo cum maximo tumultu et pessimo exemplo, sic armati, publice tam per terram Castrifranchi quam per mercatum*'; *ibid.*, fol.25v.

Venetian authorities had great difficulty in restoring order to the town, and the sentences they gave out were exceptionally mild, evidence of the local high standing of the two warring parties: Vettore and Marco Tempesta were condemned to three months in prison in Treviso, their brother Antonio was cleared.²⁵ And it was Antonio who, in his role of lieutenant (*'luogotenente'*) of the podestà, wrote to the Venetian authorities asking them to have an inventory drawn up of the painter's possessions. No member of the powerful Barbarella family (with whom Giorgione was frequently associated) appears to have taken part

in these events. Yet at the end of the quattrocento Giacomo Barbarella, brother of the late Giovanni (the husband of Altadonna?) was prominent in political circles in Castelfranco, a follower of the Franciscan friar Bernardino da Feltre and a founder of the Monte di Pietà,²⁶ which the friar had advocated in order to eradicate Jewish 'usury' from the town. In all this turmoil Giovanni Gasparini continues to elude us. Could there be some link between the uncertainties surrounding Giorgione's infancy and his parentage and the unstable state of Castelfranco at the time?

Appendix

Inventory of the belongings of Giorgione da Castelfranco, deceased, drawn up at the request of Francesco Fisolo, the heir of Alessandra, widow of the painter's father, the late Giovanni Gasparini. (*Giudice del proprio*, Mobili, registro 1, fols.46v-47r, 14th March and 13th October 1511).

Die 14 martii 1511. Mandato dominorum iudicum²⁷ ac in executione litterarum domini Antonii Tempesta, vicegerentis domini potestatis Castrifranchi, diei 8 instantis officio directarum, ad instantiam ser Francisci Fisoli civis Castrifranchi, uti heredis quondam domine Alexandre uxoris quondam ser Iohannis Gasparini de Castrofranco, cupientis satisfieri de dote ipsius quondam mulieris sive de residuo dotis huiusmodi, prout in ipsis litteris plenius, retulit ser Zaninus Ioannis, preco et minister palatii, estimasse bona infrascripta tamquam bona quondam magistri Georgii pictoris [word crossed out and rewritten below] filii et heredis dicti quondam ser Iohannis Gasparini, iuxta dictarum litterarum requisitionem, et illa appreciasse ducatos septuaginta auri, que bona sunt in [= ut] in presenti inventario continentur.

Et primo diexe linzuoli, una camisa francese straza, una camisa cum colaro de meza vita, una camisa frusta a la franzosa, 3 camise da dona de meza vita, do intemelle²⁸ cum cordelle de fil ruzene, un mantileto de tralixe,²⁹ un mantil frusto, una tovaia, una tovaia cum cavi vergadi,³⁰ una camisa da dona, vinti tovaiaoli, una tovaia cum cavi

vergadi, un mantileto de tralixe, un fazuol³¹ de bombaso, do fazuoli de tella vechi, do grembiali, una intemella cum cordelle bianche, un linzuol de caruola,³² quatro mantileti da descho quadro, do peze da man, un fazuol furlan, una sedola,³³ uno tapedo da una roda,³⁴ un razo a foiaime,³⁵ una antiporta a figure, un pezo de spaliere³⁶ a foiaime, un zipon³⁷ de fostagno roano³⁸ a la franzosa, un razo a figure, tre barete vechie, una schiavina vechia, un celon³⁹ vergà, una coltra biava⁴⁰ fodrà de verde, un tapedo peloso, una fodra de cendà⁴¹ vechio, un cellon verde ebretrin,⁴² un saion roan listà damaschin, un saion pavonazo fodrà de vari,⁴³ una vesta pavonaza fodrà de vari e dossi,⁴⁴ do antiporte nove cum do fontanelle, 3 pezi de banchali,⁴⁵ una vesta de rassa⁴⁶ beretina da dona, una spaliera a verdure, un pezo de spaliera, quatro spaliere verde eberetine, un banchal verde eberetin, un rubon de pano pavonazo, una fodra de volpe, un capel negro cum le poste, una tella da camin verde, una bareta a la francese, 5 quarti de sarza,⁴⁷ do cappe beretine, una cappa negra, do libri, un sacheto cum scripture, un mazo de bambaso⁴⁸ et uno de aze, una campanella, do cortelli, una tovaia, sie seradure.

Die 13 octobris 1511. Ad instantiam utsupra, retulit idem preco estimasse unam vestem pani pavonazi de grana fulcitam vulpibus ducatis decem novem, computatis ducatis septem quos dare debet Officium sanitatis pro nonnullis rebus dicti quondam magistri Georgii pictoris retentis ad hospitale Nazareth⁴⁹ Venetiis.

²⁵ '... alias retentus pro presenti casu et non repertus culpabilis'; *ibid.* Ser Antonio Tempesta and his brother Ser Michele Tempesta are both recorded in the *Estimo* of Castelfranco (Antonio, in registro 37, fol.132r, 1493, and registro 38, fol.86v, 1505; Michele, in registro 37, fol.134r, 1493); see note 20 above. In 1480 the other Tempesta brother, Vettore, was proxy of 'ser Joanne Barbarella filio quondam ser Gasparini notario et cive' (SASB, *Notai di Asolo e Castelfranco*, busta 9A, notaio Giovanni Ferro, fascicolo 8, fol.110r, 30th August 1480) which brings us back to the vexed question of the Barbarella-Gasparini relationship.

²⁶ On 27th April 1493 the local Council decided to inaugurate a Monte di Pietà, when the podestà was the Venetian patrician Andrea Paruta; the next day, Giacomo Barbarella and Francesco Piacentino were sent to Venice to petition the doge for the necessary consent. On 20th May 1493, among the other 'conservatori' of the Monte were Vettore and Antonio Tempesta, while the notary was Francesco Piacentino. Biblioteca Comunale di Castelfranco Veneto. Ms Q 5 MS 264, *sub data*. See note 25 above; and V. Meneghin: *Bernardino da Feltre e i monti di pietà*, Vicenza 1974, pp.411-17.

²⁷ Between the autumn of 1510 and the following spring the *collegio* comprised Nicolò Bondumier, Gerolamo da Canal and Gerolamo Bono; see *Giudice del Proprio*, *Lezze e giudice delegato*, registro 17, fols.2r and 6r, 30th October 1510, 4th April 1511.

²⁸ Pillowcase; see D. Durante and G. Turato: *Dizionario etimologico veneto-italiano*, Padua 1975, p.246, under 'intimela'.

²⁹ 'Coarse, hardwearing material made of hemp, jute and cotton' and/or 'light, thin material woven with light coloured thread'; see S. Battaglia: *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, Turin 2002, XXI, p.141, under 'traliccio'.

³⁰ Striped; see M. Cortelazzo and P. Zolli: *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, Bologna 1988, V, p.1426, under 'verga'.

³¹ A. Vitali: *La moda a Venezia attraverso i secoli. Lessico ragionato*, Venice 1992, pp.187 and 263, under 'faziol' and 'ninziolo', dwells at length on the 'fazuol' in its meaning both as women's clothing and as a kerchief or scarf.

³² It usually means a chariot, but here it is more likely to be a small bed on wheels that was normally found under the main bed and was 'used in case of illness to transport the sick person'; see Battaglia, *op. cit.* (note 29), Turin 1962, II, p.802, under

'carriola'; see Durante and Turato, *op. cit.* (note 28), p.82, under 'carriola'.

³³ Is this a chair?

³⁴ Perhaps the size of a wheel or wheel shaped, with a hole in the middle.

³⁵ Tapestry with foliage decoration.

³⁶ Usually used for a bed, but sometimes also to indicate a short mantle/blanket to cover the shoulders; see Battaglia, *op. cit.* (note 29), Turin 2000, XIX, pp.684-85, under 'spalliera'.

³⁷ Heavy cloak; see Vitali, *op. cit.* (note 31), pp.448-49, under 'zupa'.

³⁸ Black reddish colour, rusty; *ibid.*, p.455. Usually, but not in this case, a blanket, originally for horses; see Cortelazzo and Zolli, *op. cit.* (note 30), IV, p.1099, under 'roano'.

³⁹ 'A cloth of several colours that was laid on tables or beds, a kind of striped carpet material (*'vergà'*); see Battaglia, *op. cit.* (note 29), II, p.955, under 'celone'.

⁴⁰ Deep blue; see G. Boeri: *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, Venice 1856, p.79, under 'biavo'.

⁴¹ Silk velvet; see Cortelazzo and Zolli, *op. cit.* (note 30), V, p.1464, under 'zendado'. On its use, see also Boeri, *op. cit.* (note 40), p.158, under 'cendà'.

⁴² Grey or cinder coloured, in this case grey-green; *ibid.*, p.187, under 'berettino (anche berettino)'. According to Vitali, *op. cit.* (note 31), p.455, it is dark brown.

⁴³ Fur.

⁴⁴ Animal skin; see Battaglia, *op. cit.* (note 29), III, p.973, under 'dosso'.

⁴⁵ A bench with a back, but in this inventory sometimes used for a fine piece of cloth to cover a bench; see Battaglia, *op. cit.* (note 29), II, p.33, under 'bancale'.

⁴⁶ Cloth made of low-quality wool; see Vitali, *op. cit.* (note 31), p.321, under 'rassa, rascia'.

⁴⁷ Cloth made of light wool used to cover furniture or for cloaks; see Battaglia, *op. cit.* (note 29), XVII, p.580, under 'sargia'.

⁴⁸ Unspun cotton; see Cortelazzo and Zolli, *op. cit.* (note 30), I, p.109, under 'bambagia'; for contrast 'aze' could mean 'azaio' (see under 'acciaio', *ibid.*, p.11), in Venetian dialect 'azal'; see Durante and Turato, *op. cit.* (note 28), p.15; or flax/hemp thread; see Vitali, *op. cit.* (note 31), p.42, under 'azza'.

⁴⁹ Lazzaretto (nuovo).