

AND OTHER HUMANITIES

Edited by
VIRGINIA AMOROSI
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HISTORY OF LAW AND OTHER HUMANITIES: VIEWS OF THE LEGAL WORLD ACROSS THE TIME

Edited by
Virginia Amorosi
and
Valerio Massimo Minale

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LAW, JUSTICE, AND ARCHITECTURE IN MODERN VENICE: THE RECTORS' PALACES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MAINLAND

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The architecture of the institutions in the Republic of Venice is a topic that deserves deep study and careful consideration. Sculptural and architectural elements, indeed, are important not only because of their artistic value, but also for the role they had in the affirmation of central power. This paper aims to investigate the connection between the territorial expansion, the political and legal system and the architectural heritage in the territories of modern Venice¹.

The early Venetian ambitions of expansion were directed toward the acquisition of maritime dominions in the Adriatic sea and eastern Mediterranean. Only in the late middle age Venice turned its attention to the mainland. After the occupation of Treviso in 1339, the year 1405 marked the beginning of a rapid conquest: Feltre, Belluno and Vicenza gave themselves to the Republic; a few months later, Verona and Padua too came through conquest under Venetian rule. In 1420 the territory of Friuli was acquired. In 1426 and 1428 respectively the Venetians conquered Brescia and Bergamo; the subsequent war between Venice and the Duchy of Milan, however, lasted for many years until the signing of the Peace of Lodi in April 1454, setting the Western boundary along the river Adda. Finally, at the end of the century, the Venetians came into possession of parts of the Po delta area².

In December 1508 the major European powers, worried by the Venetian expansion, met secretly in Cambrai and decided to enter into an alliance against the Republic. The following year, after the defeat of Agnadello, the Venetian army retreated from the mainland and Venice temporarily lost the territories recently conquered. The war continued until 1516: at the end the *status quo* existing before the conflict was restored almost entirely³.

¹ On this topic see the studies carried out by Zucconi (1989), pp. 27-49 and Viggiano (1996), pp. 529-575.

² About the conquest of the mainland: Cozzi, Knapton (1986), pp. 3-98 and Mallet (1996), pp. 181-244.

³ For more details: Lenci (2002); Gullino (2009); Varanini (2012), pp. 99-116.

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Therefore in the early modern age Venice found itself managing a State in which different cultures and traditions coexisted. In order to enforce direct political control, the central government followed the policy of sending its representatives, called rectors, to the centres of the *Terraferma*.

In the major cities, such as Padua and Verona, there were two rectors who held the role respectively of *podestà* and *capitanio*: the former was responsible for keeping social peace, supervising finances, and most importantly administering civil and criminal justice, while the latter was in charge of public order, military defence and the training of troops. In small towns, such as Treviso, Belluno and Rovigo, these functions were performed by a single representative who gathered in his own hands civil, judicial and military duties⁴. The tasks of the rectors were detailed in acts called commissions, by which the elected representatives must swear to abide before they left Venice to take office in the cities of the mainland.

Among the numerous duties of the rectors, the administration of justice was certainly of chief importance⁵: in the exercise of this function, the Venetian representatives were assisted by a variable number of assessors, also called judges. The assessors must be citizens of the Republic, provided with a degree in law and experienced in legal practice⁶.

The means of cooperation between the rectors and their judges varied from city to city. At the beginning of the 18th century Gaspare Morari, in his work titled *Prattica de' Reggimenti in Terraferma*, explained that the primary office among the assessors was that of the *vicario pretorio*, the deputy of the podestà⁷. In criminal justice, instead, an important role was played by a judge called *giudice del maleficio*, who had relevant duties at each stage of the criminal procedure⁸. The *podestà* and the assessors worked side by side and performed civil and criminal jurisdiction in the cities entrusted to the Venetian rectors.

⁴ On these topics see in particular: Cozzi, Knapton (1986), pp. 205-220; Pezzolo (1988), pp. 57-65 and Bonfiglio Dosio (1996).

⁵ An overview in Passarella (2014).

⁶ The role of the assessors in the courts of the mainland has been studied by Povolo and Viggiano: see *L'Assessore*. *Discorso del Sig*. *Giovanni Bonifaccio* as Povolo (1991) and Viggiano (1985), pp. 67-74.

⁷ Morari (1708), pp. 19-22.

⁸ This judge had relevant responsibilities: he inspected the crime scene, questioned the offenders, oversaw the use of torture and expressed his vote on the proposed sentence after the *vicario pretorio*; MORARI (1708), pp. 22-28.

For the duration of their assignment (sixteen months on average), the rectors resided in the city they were in charge of governing: for that reason many public buildings were totally or partially renovated and became the residence of the Venetian representatives and their staff. The transformation of public architecture is an element of great importance in order to understand the relationship between Venice and its dominions. In this context, the rectors' palaces, strategically located in the town centre, had a clear political meaning: they conveyed the image of a strong central government by which the capital controlled its dominions⁹.

Another important architectural element was the lion of Saint Marcus, exported from Venice into the whole territory of the State, in the overseas possessions as well as all over the mainland dominions. The spread of the famous symbol has been studied by Alberto Rizzi, whose essays and papers have significantly enlarged our knowledge of the matter¹⁰. Rizzi noted that in the Venetian dominions the lions were carved or painted with big fangs and accentuated whiskers, in order to make them more intimidating to the subjects of the State¹¹.

Unfortunately, only comparatively few originals have survived until today: most of the lions indeed were victims of iconoclastic fury by the enemies of the Republic¹². The first wave of 'lion hunt' took place during the war of Cambrai: in that period one of the most damaged centres was Feltre near Belluno¹³. Once peace was restored, however, the public buildings were renovated and the spread of the lions became even more pervasive. A second wave took place at the end of the 18th century during the Napoleonic wars. The lions' effigies located in the overseas possessions, only slightly touched by Napoleon's extirpations, were partially damaged during the communist era (third and last destructive wave).

The city of the *Terraferma* with the highest number of lions is Belluno, where is also located a wonderful rectors' palace which is now the seat of the prefecture. According to the studies carried out by Marco Perale, the first plan

⁹ Zucconi explains that «L'architettura, e in modo particolare l'architettura delle istituzioni, riassume il legame tra Venezia e i centri veneti: nella sua configurazione e nella sua localizzazione, essa incapsula gli intendimenti politici ed esprime, più di qualsiasi altro elemento, le ambizioni dei governanti e le aspirazioni dei governati». Zucconi (1989), p. 27.

¹⁰ Rizzi (2001-2012).

¹¹ Rizzi (2001-2012), vol. I, p. 34.

¹² Rizzi (2001-2012), vol. I, pp. 75-111.

¹³ Rizzi (1997), pp. 28-30 and 49-56.

to build a palace for the Venetian representatives goes back to 1409¹⁴. The project involved the enlargement of a pre-existing building and the addition of another one, which would become the residence of the rectors: we find a brief description of this first palace in the famous diaries of Marin Sanudo, who visited the old town of Belluno in 1482¹⁵. Eight years later, in 1490, a second project was presented: the new construction site opened at the end of the century, but suffered a forced interruption during the war against the League of Cambrai. Construction work was only completed in 1536 under the rectory of Girolamo Arimondo¹⁶. In the following years the beautiful clock tower, placed at the extreme left of the palace, was also completed¹⁷.

During the 17th century the facade of the palace was decorated with busts and coats of arms of the rectors. Interior spaces too appear meaningful, with particular reference to the great hall on the second floor: it is a room of considerable importance, reflecting the institutional role played by the Venetian rectors in the modern period.

Their assignment was so important that the cities of the mainland usually organized a ceremony celebrating the arrival of the new rector. The predecessor publicly handed over to his successor the symbols of government and made him privately aware of the situation and problems related to the management of the territory. Likewise, the outgoing chancellor informed his colleague on the state of justice and delivered him his case files, a procedure which shows the key role played by jurisdiction in the government of the *Terraferma*. The next morning the new rector met the nobility of the city and went to the cathedral (or to another church according to the use of the place) to attend the religious function. Within the following eight days, he also had to visit the prisoners, if any, and ask their lawyers the reason of their detention and the state of the proceedings. The rector also recommended to the prison's guard a diligent security associated with a human treatment¹⁸.

Despite some common procedures, there were no strict ceremonial rules: every town indeed had its own customs and traditions. In Treviso, for instance, in the three days following the arrival of the new rector, the famous

¹⁴ PERALE (2000), pp. 14-15.

¹⁵ Sanudo (1847), pp. 122-124.

¹⁶ PERALE (2000), pp. 31-36.

¹⁷ The reference model was the wonderful clock tower erected in Venice in Piazza San Marco between the late 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. Perale (2000), pp. 37-41.

¹⁸ Morari (1708), pp. 38-53.

'breast fountain', originally located in the heart of the city near the palace of the *podestà*, poured out red and white wine, from each nipple respectively, which was offered to the people in order to celebrate the new rector¹⁹.

In this town the palace used as a home for the rectors was built at the end of the 15th century: on the upper floor was the residence of the *podestà*, on the lower floor a beautiful *loggia*, known as *Loggia degli Incanti*, with three arches closed by iron gates. In the first half of the 16th century an astronomical clock was placed over the central arch. Subsequent restorations radically changed the structure of the palace: the *loggia* was walled up, the clock removed and the building raised²⁰.

The city of Padua too organized an official ceremony in order to celebrate the handover between the rectors, as evidenced by the famous painting of Pietro Damini, currently displayed in the town hall²¹. In this painting the focus is on the symbols of power: the rectorial sceptre and the keys of the city lying on the tray held by the young man standing on the right beside the rectors, who are at the centre of the canvas. In the background we can see the facade of the Palazzo del Capitanio. Originally the painting hung in the main hall of this palace, one of the most important architectural elements in the cityscape of modern Padua.

This building comprises two sections: the palace of the *capitanio* proper in the south wing and the palace of the *camerlenghi* in the north wing²², separated by a majestic clock tower. The two sections were built between 1598 and 1605 under the rectory of Antonio Priuli and Stefano Viaro, whose names are mentioned in the epigraphs engraved on the facade of the palace. Both wings are arranged on three levels, marked by series of windows²³.

Angelo Portenari, in his book Della felicità di Padova published in 1623,

¹⁹ NETTO (2000), p. 521.

²⁰ About this palace: Altarui (1977), pp. 27-32.

²¹ The famous painting of Pietro Damini has been recently studied by Franco Benucci: according to the author, the ceremony depicted by the painter represents the handover related to the city of Este between Zaccaria Valier and Lorenzo Foscarini, which took place in Padua on 8th December 1629. If the hypothesis proposed by the scholar is correct, the painting would be the last or one of the last works of Pietro Damini, who died in 1631. Benucci (2010), pp. 157-202.

²² On the Venetian mainland, the *camerlenghi* were responsible for the collection, the conservation and the distribution of the public taxes. Ferro (1845), vol. I, p. 312.

²³ For a detailed study about the construction of the palace: Bresciani Alvarez (1977), pp. 142-147 and Lamon (2011).

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explained that the palace was decorated with the emblems of the rectors sent to administer the city²⁴. Thus in the 17th century the facade was certainly ornamented with coats of arms and epigraphs; today, however, few remains of such heraldry survive²⁵.

At the base of the clock tower is the arch erected by Giovanni Maria Falconetto in the first half of the 16th century (1532). A Venetian lion rests on the trabeation over the arch: the current lion is a copy of the original destroyed at the arrival of the French in 1797²⁶. Above it we can see the famous clock dial and its astronomical and astrological references: in the centre of the mechanism is the earth, around which the sun and the moon rotate, according to the Ptolemaic system. In the next circles there are the zodiac signs, a blue band with the fixed stars, and a circle marking the hours in roman numbers²⁷.

In the city of Padua there are other traces of the Venetian domination, with particular reference to the Palazzo della Ragione, which was the ancient seat of the city courts²⁸. Its wonderful hall was entirely frescoed since before the Venetian conquest. At the bottom of the walls are painted the animals marking the seat of each judge: for instance the court of the peacock, who acknowledged extrajudicial agreements, or the court of the goat, who judged the requests for the return of the dowry in case of adultery²⁹. In the modern period many lions and other reminders of the Venetian power were carved and painted inside and outside the palace, sometimes obliterating older representations.

As part of the policy adopted after the Cambrai war, a great number of Venetian marks were installed throughout the mainland: in the heart of almost every city centre, for instance, was erected a column topped by a majestic

²⁴ Portenari (1623), pp. 104-105.

²⁵ Benucci (2009), pp. 10-13.

²⁶ Rizzi (2001-2012), vol. II, p. 164.

²⁷ BILLANOVICH (1989), pp. 39-66.

²⁸ For a historical and architectural analysis of this palace: Vio (2008).

²⁹ RIGOBELLO, AUTIZI (2008). About the connection between the administration of justice and the pictorial representations inside the palace: Gasparini (2017), pp. 33-43. In the Padua State Archive are preserved some documents that illustrate a prospect of civil judgments in the XVIII century. These sources explain how justice was administered in Padua in the late modern age, and which kind of disputes were assigned to the rectors, the assessors and the local magistrates: Archivio di Stato di Padova, *Foro civile*, b. 36, P. VI 859, *Prospetto della giudicatura summaria civile esistente all'epoca 1796 p.mo Genn.o* and *Prospetto della giudicatura civile forense che procedeva a p.mo Genn.o 1796*.

lion³⁰. Rizzi noted that before 1509 only a few cities had a similar column. Among them was Vicenza: in the second half of the Fifteenth century a column surmounted by a lion was erected in the Piazza dei Signori. The Venetian symbol was destroyed in 1509 by the imperial troops and replaced by the eagle: the lion we see today, survivor of later iconoclastic fury, dates back to 1520³¹.

In Vicenza we can also admire the *Loggia del Capitaniato*, an architectural masterpiece designed by Andrea Palladio in 1565³². This *loggia* consists of two levels: a magnificent portico of three arches on the ground floor, and a big hall, frescoed probably by Giovanni Antonio Fasolo, on the upper floor. In the trabeation we can read the inscription «Jo. Baptistae Bernardo praefecto» in honor of the *capitanio* Giovanni Battista Bernardo, in charge at that time, who economically contributed to the realization of the palace. This building indeed is also known as *Loggia Bernarda*.

One side of the building is decorated with statues, low reliefs and coats of arms. The two statues on the ground floor, personifications of the cities of Venice and Vicenza, represent respectively naval victory and peace achieved: the work indeed was completed shortly after the victory reported by Venice in Lepanto in October 1571. The other side remained unfortunately unfinished: according to the original project, the *loggia* should have had a greater number of arches, but construction work was interrupted in 1572 and never resumed. Despite this, the Palladian *loggia* contributed to the city of Vicenza being declared Unesco World Heritage Site in 1994.

Another famous architect active in the Venetian mainland was Michele Sanmicheli, also employed by the Republic as a military engineer³³. In 1533 Sanmicheli designed the new portal of the palace of the *podestà* located in the heart of Verona: this masterful work was celebrated by the art historian Giorgio Vasari³⁴.

From 1405 to 1509 a frescoed lion could be seen above the original portal of the palace, but, when Verona was conquered by the imperial troops, it was replaced by the imperial emblem. The task was entrusted to the painter Girol-

³⁰ Rizzi (201-2012), vol. I, pp. 65-72.

³¹ Rizzi (2001-2012), vol. II, pp. 182-183.

³² VENDITTI (1969).

³³ For a list of works carried out by the famous architect as an engineer at the service of the Venetian Republic between 1526 and 1559 see Tosato (2016), pp. 24-27.

³⁴ Vasari (1855), vol. XI, p. 126. For further details refer to Davies, Hemsoll (2004), pp. 360-361.

amo Dai Libri who, referring to the new insigna, was said to comment: «Durabunt tempore curto». Overheard, he excused himself explaining that the quality of the pigments was so poor that the fresco would not withstand the weather, thus hiding his enduring allegiance to Venice. The painter's prophecy turned out to be true: after the war of Cambrai, the palace was once again the residence of the Venetian representatives, and the imperial insigna was removed³⁵.

A few years later the *podestà* Giovanni Dolfin commissioned the architect Michele Sanmicheli to build the new entrance portal. Above the portal was carved another lion, which in 1797 was subject to iconoclasm: the majestic winged lion we see today, indeed, is but an imitation, put there less than a century ago in 1929³⁶.

Over the centuries the palace was affected by numerous restorations. In the modern age the facade must have been richly decorated: unfortunately the 'enemy fury' chiselled out not only the lion, but also any other symbol of the Venetian domination³⁷.

In Verona there are other architectural elements referring to the Venetian government: for instance, near the palace of the *podestà*, stands another building which was the seat of the most important judicial offices. On the side wall of this palace there is a stone face in bas-relief with its mouth open, in which the subjects of the Republic could secretly put their-denunciations; into this particular 'mouth' were delivered denouncements about usury contracts. This method – adopted both in Venice and on the mainland – represented an important instrument in the administration of justice: the phenomenon of secret complaints, described by legal writers in their books, was a characteristic institution of Venetian criminal justice³⁸.

In Rovigo too there are references to the Venetian authority. In this city is located an octagonal church, called the *Rotonda*, famous for its pictorial decorations which celebrate the rectors³⁹. The *Rotonda* was built between 1594

³⁵ Lenotti (1954), p. 14. See also Varanini (2012), p. 110.

³⁶ Rizzi (2001-2012), vol. II, p. 189.

³⁷ Lenotti (1954), pp. 10-11.

³⁸ Nowadays other stone faces are preserved in Venice and in some centres of the mainland: in Treviso for instance there is a 'mouth' for secret complaints against criminals, while in Vicenza there is another 'mouth' for denouncements relating to health. On this topic see in particular the studies carried out by Paolo Preto: Preto (2003), pp. 271-279.

³⁹ BOCCATO, PASQUALINI CANATO (2001). A new monograph dedicated to the famous

and 1606 as a votive temple dedicated to the Virgin. The project was realized by Francesco Zamberlan, a pupil of Andrea Palladio. The church also had an important political role, because here took place the ceremonies for the arrival of the new rector and the departure of his predecessor⁴⁰.

Inside the *Rotonda*, next to the paintings devoted to the Virgin, there is a celebratory sequence which has as protagonists the rectors sent to Rovigo in order to administrate the city between 1619 and 1682. In a painting, for instance, is represented the *podestà* and *capitanio* Girolamo Priuli, in charge from December 1619 to May 1621. In this canvas, behind the rector we can see the Adige River, which was a resource for the city, but could also cause damages during its floods: the Venetian rectors in charge of administering the city had to monitor the state of the rivers in order to avoid situations that could become catastrophic⁴¹. In another painting is depicted Benedetto Zorzi, who ruled the town from June 1654 to December 1655. The rector is represented in the foreground surrounded by four female figures who are the personifications of abundance, justice, virtue and prudence⁴².

Thus, not only architecture, but also painting played an essential role in the celebration of the rectors sent by Venice to the cities of the mainland in the modern period⁴³. Another example is the famous canvas painted by Vittore Carpaccio in the first half of the 16th century (1517) depicting the entry into Koper of the *podestà* and *capitanio* Sebastiano Contarini⁴⁴. The perspective adopted by the artist is that of the bishop Bartolomeo da Sonica who is

church located in Rovigo was recently published: Rovetta (2017); for a description of the paintings located inside the Church see in particular Transello (2017).

⁴⁰ BOCCATO, PASQUALINI CANATO (2001), vol. I, p. ix.

⁴¹ The canvas of Girolamo Priuli is placed in the sacristy of the Church. Boccato, Pasqualini Canato (2001), pp. 23-37.

⁴² Boccato and Pasqualini Canato report Vittorio Sgarbi's opinion that the *Glorification of Benedetto Zorzi* can't be attributed to Antonio Servi, but it is the work of an anonymous painter. Boccato, Pasqualini Canato (2001), p. 326.

⁴³ The paintings in the *Rotonda* are not unique in their kind: in the Vicenza art gallery, indeed, are preserved a series of paintings originally exhibited in the hall of the *palazzo del podestà*. These paintings, which glorify the good government of the Venetian rectors, were realized in the XVII century. The rectors represented in these canvases are Gaspare Zane, Girolamo Priuli, Alvise Foscarini, Tommaso Pisani, Vincenzo Dolfin and Girolamo Bragadin. For further details refer to Musei civici di Vicenza, *Pinacoteca Civica di Vicenza*, II, *Dipinti del XVIII e XVIII secolo*, pp. 149-160 and pp. 192-195.

⁴⁴ See the analysis proposed by Francescutti (2005), pp. 128-132 and also the information sheet written by Lugato (2015), p. 145.

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waiting to receive the Venetian representative inside the cathedral. Contarini, who assumed his office in January 1516, is represented in the foreground: the rector stands out from the other figures for his golden coat and the stole on the right shoulder.

On the left side of the painting is depicted the pretorian palace⁴⁵. The building originally consisted of two separate palaces that were devastated by a fire in 1380. During the subsequent reconstruction works, it was decided to join the buildings, since in the meantime the rector gathered in the same person the duties of *podestà* and *capitanio*. Sanudo, who visited the city in 1483, wrote in his diaries that he saw the palace still being completed⁴⁶. In the 17th century other renovations were carried out: in 1664 the rector Vincenzo Bembo decided to build a battlement and place in the main body of the palace a statue representing Justice. Below this statue there is a lion holding between its two paws an open book with the inscription: «Pax in hac civitate et in omnibus abitantibus in ea»⁴⁷.

The pictorial, sculptural and architectural elements still extant on the Venetian mainland, as well as in its overseas possessions, constitute precious documents in order to investigate and analyse the intricate relationship between Venice and its dominions.

There is a close link between the control of a territory and the architectural policy adopted on that geographical area. The Republic of Venice was no exception: the Venetian conquest, indeed, had significant consequences not only on the political and legal systems, but also on urban planning and, through it, on social history. The decision to build new palaces or to renovate pre-existing buildings is the result of a specific and conscious political choice.

From this perspective, architecture becomes an instrument of affirmation of central government that characterizes the history of Venice from the dawn of modernity until the arrival of the French troops at the end of the 18th century.

⁴⁵ Alisi (1932), pp. 6-15.

⁴⁶ SANUDO (1847), p. 148.

⁴⁷ According to Alberto Rizzi, the facade of the pretorian palace is an exceptional historical document for its inscriptions, busts of the rectors and lions' representations. Rizzi (1990-1991) and also Rizzi (1994).

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