



Architectural Influences on

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Abstract

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tural designs long after the Middle Ages during the height of Gothic architecture and spread far beyond France and across Europe. This widespread reach, especially in areas where Gothic architecture merged with other architectural styles, has complicated how art historians define "Gothic". This complexity is seen at the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, Italy, which has largely been regarded as a Venetian Gothic building, despite its strong architectural influences from the Middle East. By analyzing the Gothic and Middle Eastern qualities of the Palazzo Ducale, I argue the building highlights issues with the traditional definitions of Gothic architecture, which adhere to typical French models. The Palazzo Ducale, and its hybrid architectural design, shows that Gothic is a dynamic architectural style that supports influences from nonwestern cultures.¹ One might ask what makes this building Gothic, let alone Venetian Gothic, if its forms are so heavily influenced by non-western architectural styles. With these Middle Eastern forms, the Palazzo Ducale does not represent the stereotypical design most associate with European Gothic structures. When compared to the French models, the Palazzo Ducale is a secular building, rather than religious, and contains unique design elements traditionally unseen throughout mainland Europe. For a building that strays from the archetype of Gothic structures, it is curious how the Palazzo Ducale has long been considered a Gothic building. The implications of this characterization not only redefines how one thinks of Gothic architecture but it also begs one to question what is Gothic architecture and what makes a building truly Gothic.



Figure 1. Palazzo Ducale south façade, 1340-1438. Venice, Italy. ArtStor.

Figure 2. Palazzo Ducale west façade, 1340-1438. Venice, Italy. Personal photograph.

To understand why the Palazzo Ducale strays from the typical Gothic style of the period, one must first look at the history of Venice. Venetian history provides much insight into the context of the cross-cultural exchange between the visual cultures of the Middle East and Europe, for it was Venice's position as a significant trading post that facilitated the transmission of Middle Eastern architectural design to the Palazzo Ducale.

In determining whether this building is truly Gothic, a compare and contrast analysis must be made between the architectural features of the Palazzo Ducale to those in both the Middle East and mainland Europe. First looking to the east, specific elements of the Palazzo Ducale will be compared to possible precedents to uncover the extent to which the architects relied upon the East as inspiration. Looking at traditional Gothic structures in Europe, specifically Gothic cathedrals, one can determine the extent to which the Palazzo Ducale maintained traditional Gothic forms. This will in no way be an exhaustive list of both the Gothic and Middle Eastern influences at the Palazzo Ducale. One could go into great detail about Middle Eastern and European influences in the interior design and spatial layout of the Palazzo Ducale. However this paper will remain in the realm of exterior architectural design and decoration of the Palazzo Ducale facing the Piazzetta and Molo.

Taking into consideration the architectural influences from the Middle East and mainland Europe that were adopted into the architectural design of the Palazzo Ducale, it will be clear that this structure does not fit entirely into the traditional framework of Gothic architecture. The Palazzo Ducale, whose architectural influences are non-traditionally Gothic, impacts the way one thinks of Gothic architecture and changes what it means for a structure to be truly Gothic.

A History of Trade: Venice and the East

The history of Venice with the East provides important insight and context for the presence of Middle Eastern architectural styles at the Palazzo Ducale. The transmission of visual material from the Islamic world to Venice was a result of the city's prominence as a leading trader between the East and Europe. Yet a significant amount of interaction with a different culture does not necessarily translate into

adopting the foreign architectural style so easily. Art historian Deborah Howard notes certain similarities must be present between the two cultures to facilitate the transmission of one architectural style to another. During the Crusades, she argues there was a desire in Venice to find a new voice, which they found in the Islamic world. The similar forms between the two cultures are a reflection of their similar cultural conditions, specifically Islam's role as a successor to the Byzantine model and Venice's already heavy influence from Byzantine architectural forms.² These similarities helped facilitate the implementation of Islamic visual material to Venetian architecture.

Founded AD 421, Venice became the westernmost point of eastern Christendom at the fall of the Roman Empire. This coastal city served as an outpost of Byzantium and interacted heavily with the eastern Mediterranean worlds, gradually increasing its trade with the East throughout the centuries. Beginning in the eight-century, the Umayyads, an Islamic caliphate, expanded into the Byzantine Empire and became increasingly close to Venice. Taking advantage of this proximity, the Venetians established trading contracts with the Muslim world to gain access to trading empires further east, like Central Asia and India.

Interaction with the East only expanded as a result of the Crusades, giving the Venetians an opportunity to set up trading colonies in the eastern Mediterranean. Not only were goods coming into Venice more rapidly but the Venetian people also experienced the Middle Eastern visual culture first hand and brought their impressions back to the city. Spoils imported from the Fourth Crusade of 1204 brought in a massive amount of visual material to Venice.³

While the eastern Mediterranean Islamic caliphates had a strong impact on the architectural design of Venice, including the Palazzo Ducale, trade along the Silk Road brought information and objects to Venice from Persia. The Silk Road improved trade all across Central Asia, from the Pacific Ocean through India and the Middle East into the Mediterranean, a lucrative connection between Europe and the East. Venice's ever increasing presence along the Silk Road brought further exposure to the visual culture and monuments of the Ilkhanids, the Mongol rulers of Persia from 1258 to 1335.⁴ Trade with Persia and other groups intensified from 1320 to 1343, the same time as construction on the Palazzo Ducale began. This was a result of a papal ban on Mam-

luk trade in Egypt and Syria.⁵ Papal opposition to trade with the Middle East may have been one factor motivating an affinity for Islamic architecture and incorporating it into the architectural landscape of Venice. The time of construction for the Palazzo Ducale also marks a point in Venetian history when the city was trying to assert its independence as a great trading power. The incorporation of so many Middle Eastern influences in the Palazzo Ducale could have been in defiance of the Papacy and to assert its own independence as a great trading power.⁶

There are two things that must be briefly noted in analyzing Venetian interaction and assimilation with eastern cultures. The first is in regards to the interactions other European powers had with the East and the second is the way in which visual material was transmitted to Venice. The relationship between Venice and the East was very different from those of other European areas, most notably Sicily and Spain. The relationship between Venice and the East was based off trade, whereas regions like Sicily and Spain had a political component to their relationship. Muslim cultural borrowings in Venice were discretionary and by choice, instead of imposed like the architecture seen in both Spain and Sicily. With regards to the transmission of Middle Eastern architectural designs to Venice, it is possible Venetian architects drew upon hearsay when incorporating these architectural styles, looking at sketches and relying upon the descriptions from other individuals. There was also a significant amount of objects from the East coming in and out of Venice for over five centuries. These objects included panels depicting mihrabs and other architecturally significant monuments.⁷ The mode in which the visual material was transmitted to Venice has a significant impact in the execution of the eastern motifs on buildings like the Palazzo Ducale. Though the interaction between Venice and the East is obvious, one must note how this information was transmitted for it impacts the extent to which these elements were adopted faithfully.

Middle Eastern Influences

The significant interaction between Venice and the East manifested itself in several ways in the design of the Palazzo Ducale. Many specific elements including the window design, arches, and stonework of the palazzo derived from Middle Eastern monuments across a vari-

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ety of periods and regions to the east. Yet the representation of these influences is not always clear at the Palazzo Ducale. This is most obvious when analyzing which architectural elements are Byzantine-influenced and which are from specific eastern cultures. Though a direct connection may not always be made with Byzantine architecture, this does not mean Byzantine influences do not exist at the Palazzo Ducale. In fact there was a period of Veneto-Byzantine architecture from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries that heavily impacted the visual landscape of Venice, especially the design of building facades. Byzantine architecture became ingrained in Venetian architecture long before the construction of the Palazzo Ducale and it was the Veneto-Byzantine period that allowed Gothic forms to develop in Venice during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Also, since many Islamic architectural styles grew out of Byzantium, there are several elements shared by both Byzantine and Islamic architectural styles. However, there are some forms present at the palazzo that are solely Islamic, with no derivation from Byzantium. Regardless of the complex nature of analyzing the origin of Byzantine influences at the Palazzo Ducale, it does not diminish their presence or significance in the design and the inherently eastern architectural design of the structure.

Looking at the overall design of the Palazzo Ducale, a major sign of Middle Eastern influence can be seen in the lack of fortification for the structure. The façade of the building is open and exposed to the Venetian waterfront facing the south and to the Piazzetta facing the west. This is highly uncharacteristic compared to other Italian palaces from the period, which typically had some fortification around the structure. The open façade though is similar to the models in Alexandria, Egypt, specifically the Mosque of St Athanasius of Alexandria, Egypt (fig. 3).⁹ Like the Palazzo Ducale, the Mosque of St Athanasius was open to a piazza and did not display any of the fortifications commonly seen among Italian palaces.

Both the materials and design used to decorate the upper level of the Palazzo Ducale is one of the more obvious references to Middle Eastern design (fig. 4). White Istrian stone and red Verona marble were used to decorate the upper level façade. The juxtaposition of the red and white colors is reminiscent of structures in Constantinople, which similarly used of red and white stone to create elaborate geometrical

motifs.¹⁰ The thirteenth century Byzantine Palace of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in Istanbul used red and white stone to form a pattern in the façade of the building (fig. 5). The similar use of these two colors to construct a decorative design in the façade of each building suggests a direct influence from Byzantine architecture. It is also possible the façade design may have come from Islamic sources. The alternating white and red bricks create a lozenge pattern seen in a variety of Middle Eastern structures. Geometric wall patterns constructed using brickwork was first implemented by the Iranian Seljuks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, yet they appear in a wide range of cultures in Central Asia, specifically Iraq and Iran, well into the Timurid period of the fifteenth century.

The lozenge pattern seen on the Palazzo Ducale shares a striking resem-

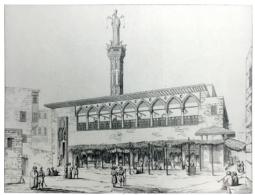


Figure 3. Mosque of St Athanasius, Alexandria, Egypt. Illustrated in Deborah Howard, Venice and the East (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 176.



Figure 4. Detail of the Palazzo Ducale, 1340-1438. Venice, Italy. ArtStor.

blance to the dome design of the Great Mosque in Yazd, Iran (fig. 6). The construction of the Great Mosque took place between 1325 and 1334 during the Ilkhanid period, only a few years before construction began on the Palazzo Ducale. The Great Mosque dome contains the same repeating diamond pattern as the palazzo with two diamonds inside a larger exterior diamond pattern that repeats across the façade. Though the Great Mosque of Yazd was located in one of the more distant centers of the Ilkhanid period, there were many buildings farther west in Tabrix and Sultaniyya that exhibited the same design pattern, though there are no longer any surviving buildings to draw a direct connection.¹¹

Moving from looking at the Palazzo Ducale as a whole to

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more specific elements within the structure, the series of arches along the second floor arcade indicates Middle Eastern influence in design (fig. 7). With a continuous curve in each arch transitioning from convex to concave, these ogee arches are rarely found in European architecture. Its origin dates back to the Buddhist Kushans of the second to third centuries AD, but they are seen throughout the Islamic world in both a secular and religious context.¹² Ogee arches are found in several structures throughout Syria and Jerusalem, two regions where the Venetians traded heavily. One example of ogee arches in the Middle East is

at the minbar of Nur al-Din Mosque at Hama, Syria that was built by Seljuks in 1163 (fig. 8). It is possible the ogee arch design made its way to Venice through the portable objects traded between the Venetians and the Islamic world. Objects such as Fatimid woodwork, ivory, and ceramic panels depicted arabesque designs reminiscent of the ogee arches seen throughout the Middle East (fig. 9).

The windows of the Palazzo Ducale also exhibit elements found in Islamic religious structures. The windows of the Palazzo Ducale are made of multicolored circular glass disks put together to form a window frame (fig. 10). This composition is reminiscent of the geometric designs found on qibla walls in mosques that indicated the direction of Mecca (13). Windows composed of multicolored circular disks is not commonly found outside of Venice. This design was inherent to Venetian architecture. Traditionally Italian Gothic structures have oculi windows, which were circular and divided into rectangular glass panels often decorated with stained glass.

Fatimid mosques in Egypt dating back to the twelfth century may have served as inspiration for the crenellations surrounding the roofline of the Palazzo Ducale (fig.



Figure 5. Byzantine, Palace of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, late 13thcentury. Istanbul, Turkey.



Figure 6. Ilkhanid, Great Mosque, 1325-34. Yazd, Iran.

4). Though no direct sources remain in Egypt or Northern Africa, the geometric form of the crenellation resembles those seen on Egyptian mosques and Umayyad palaces. The crenellations on the Palazzo Ducale are highly ornamented with a decorative border and shaped in the form of an ogee arch. Though battlemented rooftops were common among Italian palace architecture during the fourteenth century, there are no examples of crenellations with the same level of ornamentation and detail. The Palazzo Ducale crenellation is more similar to those of the Khirbat al-Mafjar, an Umayyad palace constructed from AD 739-744 in Syria (fig. 11). It is possible Venetian merchants encountered buildings like the Khirbat al-Mafjar in Syria and Egypt, with detailed crenellations, when trade flourished with the Mamluk Syrians from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

From the Seljuk-inspired lozenge pattern of the exterior façade to the Fatimid-inspired crenellations along the roofline at the Palazzo Ducale, the presence of Eastern architectural styles is undeniable. Tak-



Figure 7. Detail of Palazzo Ducale, 1340-1438. Venice, Italy. Personal photograph.

ing sources from a wide range of regions across several centuries, the architects of the Palazzo Ducale certainly looked to the East to design the exterior of the Palazzo Ducale.

European Gothic Influences

Though the Palazzo Ducale

was built during the Gothic period, this does not automatically mean the building was constructed in the Gothic style. In fact, a substantial amount of Italian architecture was not affected by Gothic art during the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Yet the Palazzo Ducale's continual classification as a Venetian Gothic building suggests this Middle Eastern-inspired building must have some Gothic derivations. Looking away from the East, the main European Gothic influences at the Palazzo



Figure 8. Seljuks, Minbar (destroyed) from Mosque of Nur al-Din, 1163. Hama, Syria.

Ducale can be found in the sculptural program of the building's capitals and the Porta della Carta.

It is impossible to analyze the influence of Gothic architecture on the Palazzo Ducale without looking to the work of John Ruskin. His



Figure 9. Fatimid, Woodcarving, 11th century. Wood.



Figure 10. Ca' d'Oro; 'bottle-glass' window. Glass, iron and lead in wooden window frame. Venice, Italy. ArtStor.

works, The Stones of Venice and The Seven Lamps of Architecture, had a significant impact in the understanding of Venetian and Gothic architecture. According to Ruskin, the Palazzo Ducale fully expresses the power of Gothic architecture. In determining the building's Gothic elements, he compares details of the Palazzo Ducale with those from the church of the Frari, also in Venice, which was constructed around 1330. The Frari church, which derives many of its forms from the Gothic mainland, served as a model for the Palazzo Ducale. Along the broad and long arcade of the Palazzo Ducale, the architects adopted a similar tracery design from the Frari with two important modifications. The size and thickness of the quatrefoil tracery was enlarged and placed between the arches, instead of above the arch at the Frari (fig. 7).¹⁵ The design of the quatrefoils and their placement between the arches is also seen in French Gothic cathedrals such as Amiens Cathedral (fig. 12). Though not as decorative as the Palazzo Ducale, the same quatrefoil pattern between the arches is preset along the arcade of Amiens, a mainland European Gothic structure.

The Porta della Carta, which marks the northwest corner of the Palazzo Ducale, incorporates several key characteristics of Gothic architecture (fig. 13). Overall the design of the portal is Gothic in character with its intricate ornamentation and deep-set portal framed by a high pointed arch. The design composition

above the portal entrance is reminiscent of many Gothic cathedrals, though adapted with its own Venetian flair. The design is similar to Amiens with its pointed archivolt beneath a steep gable and flanked by highly decorative niches and pinnacles (fig. 12). Though the gable of the Porta della Carta has an ogee shape, the overall composition of the structure is reminiscent of Amiens and its French counterparts. Even the pinnacles of the Porta della Carta are similar to those at Amiens. The pinnacles in both structures have large detailing along the edges, specifically a floral pattern for the pinnacles on the Porta della Carta.

The subjects of the capitals at the Palazzo Ducale can be sourced to traditional Gothic portal sculptures. The thirty-eight capitals on the ground level of the Palazzo Ducale depict traditional Gothic subjects, including the Signs of the Zodiac and the Several Liberal Arts. Chartres Cathedral, which was constructed between 1145 and 1155, represents some of the earliest portal sculptures to solidify the attitude of the Middle Ages in sculptural form. Making its way from France into the Italian Peninsula through the work of Nicolo Pisano, several Italian buildings, including the Florentine Campanile and Fontana Maggiore in Perugia, serve as precursors for the design at the Palazzo Ducale. These structures share a similarity in promoting their civic identity within the broader framework of religious iconography.¹⁶ Looking at the Fontana Maggiore in Perguia, the sculptural program is composed of relief panels depicting scenes from Genesis, figures of prophets and saints, the Labors of the Months, and the Liberal Arts. These scenes, created by Nicolo Pisano, were designed to elevate Perugia into God's universal sphere.¹⁷ This is similar to the sculptural programming at the Palazzo Ducale. The capitals at the Palazzo Ducale depict scenes of the mestieri, or professions, along the second floor arcade. The capitals along the second-floor of the southwest arcade depict figures demonstrating the trajectory of the sun and the location of the polar star. This is similar to the sculptural program at the Fontana Maggiore. Yet, this implication of this sculptural program is much greater. When looking at the sculptural program as a whole, the capitals declare Venice as the center of God's creation, elevating its status much higher than the works in Perugia and Florence had intended.¹⁸

One of the most important elements to any Gothic cathedral is the need to incorporate light into the design of the structures in both weight and in color. Like many of the elements previously mentioned, the Palazzo Ducale incorporates the principles of light but in their own uniquely Venetian way, deviating from the traditional French Gothic cathedrals. The large wall of the Palazzo Ducale, which extends above

the columns and arcades, is the same height as the lower two open stories, creating an effect of thinness and lightness that is accentuated by the two-dimensional design of the stonework.¹⁹ The material used in the exterior design of the Palazzo Ducale, when viewed in conjunction with its environment, also intensifies the effect of light. The bright colors of the building, from the white marble columns to the red and white stones, are highly reflective. They easily reflect the light from the sun when it shines directly onto the building and creates a fragmentation of light reflecting from the water of the lagoon along the south façade.

Gothic architecture from mainland Europe played a significant role in the sculptural design of the Palazzo Ducale. From the composition of the Porta della Carta to the sculptural program of the building's capitals, Gothic architecture was fused with the previously mentioned architectural forms from the East to create a truly cross-cultural building.



Figure 11. Umayyad, Khirbat al-Mafjar, c. 739-44. Syria.



Figure 12. Cathedral of Notre Dame west façade, 1220-1269. Amiens, France. ArtStor.

The Impact on Gothic Architecture

When looking at a building like the Palazzo Ducale, whose architectural elements are both Middle Eastern and Gothic, one must consider the ease to which these architectural elements assimilated into Venetian architecture. According to Deborah Howard, the similar cultural

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conditions between the East and European Gothic architecture helped facilitate an easy transition from one style to another. The history of Venice ran parallel to Islamic civilizations. The first Doge was elected only sixty-five years after the death of the Prophet in 697 AD and the continual military and economic competition between Venice and the eastern world connected these two cultures.²⁰ Essentially, these Middle Eastern influences would not have been incorporated into the Palazzo Ducale, or any other Venetian building, if it were not for an already existing similarity between the two regions.

This idea can be applied not only to the historical similarities between the two regions but also to their architectural similarities. Both Middle Eastern and European Gothic architecture have several inherent elements that overlap. Components such as the pointed arch so heavily seen in Gothic structures, both in France and in Italy, originally appeared in the East. Many of the elements typically considered essential for a building to be Gothic are derived from, or first appeared, in Middle Eastern structures. Saint Denis, largely considered to be the "original" Gothic building, contains pointed arches both in its interior and exterior. Yet, pointed arches can be found extensively in Abbasid monuments such as the Ibn Tulun Mosque of 879 AD, nearly two hundred years before Abbot Suger began to rebuild St. Denis. (fig. 14).²¹ The

similarities between European Gothic and Middle Eastern architecture go far beyond pointed arches. Both architectural forms are also highly decorative in nature and emphasize the use of light and space

in the design of the structure.

With a strong mix of both mainland European and Middle architectural Eastern designs in the Palazzo Ducale, one must question the implications this has on the building's designation as a Venetian Gothic structure. The shared similarities between both Gothic and Eastern architec- Figure 14. Abbasid, tural forms proves this question Ibn Tulun Mosque, has no simple answer. Just be-



AD 879. Cairo, Egypt.



Figure 13. Porta della Carta, 1438. Palazzo Ducale, Venice, Italy.

cause the Palazzo Ducale, or any other Gothic building, exhibits influences from outside the Gothic movement, it does not mean the building is no longer Gothic. While the numerous Gothic elements, including the tracery and capital decorations, prove the Palazzo Ducale is Gothic, the Middle Eastern components of the building shows the palazzo is its own variation of a Gothic structure. It is a form that, while maintaining the many principles inherent to the movement, has been able to make Gothic architecture unique and its own variation of the style, hence its common designation as a Venetian Gothic building.

Yet this still leaves unanswered the question of what a Gothic building truly is. If the Palazzo Ducale is a fusion between European Gothic and Middle Eastern architectural styles, but is still considered to be a Gothic structure, this can change the way one thinks about Gothic architecture. To answer this question, one must consider the perspective of Michael T. Davis, who asserts the quest for a universal idea of Gothic architecture cannot be based on the French paradigm for it is not possible, meaningful, or desirable.²² A Gothic building, depending on its location and when it was constructed, can come in all shapes and sizes. A Gothic building in Poland, like Mary's Basilica, looks very different from the Palazzo Ducale and other more traditional Gothic structures, like Chartres Cathedral in France. Despite being so visually distinct from one another, these are a few among hundreds of Gothic buildings. This is because there are no temporal or regional bounds to Gothic architecture.²³ The fact that a building such as the Palazzo Ducale can be significantly influenced by another architectural culture but can remain Gothic in spirit proves there is no set standard to what is and is not Gothic, though admittedly there are certain elements which are very clearly not Gothic.

What distinguishes Gothic from other architectural movements is it is not a static movement. Gothic architecture is able to accommodate and fuse with other regional styles. The ability for Gothic buildings, like the Palazzo Ducale, to contain multiple references to entities beyond itself is what makes Gothic architecture unique and able to transcend geographical and temporal boundaries unlike many other architectural movements.²⁴ The confusion of architectural classifications, like what has been addressed with Palazzo Ducale, stems from a larger issue about the tendency to categorize architectural movements and label

what something is and is not. This is an approach that does not work with Gothic architecture. In 1438 when the Palazzo Ducale was completed, the Early Italian Renaissance had already begun in Florence and other parts of Italy. This does not mean the Palazzo Ducale is an Italian Renaissance building because it was built at a time when the Renaissance was beginning to develop in Italy. Even after parts of Europe had moved on from Gothic architecture, the Palazzo Ducale was still being constructed. This idea is best shown with the Gothic Revival of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. Almost three hundred years after the Palazzo Ducale was completed, buildings were being constructed that are just as "Gothic" as any building constructed during the Middle Ages.

The Middle Eastern influence of the Palazzo Ducale proves there is complexity behind what it means for a building to be "Gothic". As a Venetian Gothic building, the Palazzo Ducale is one example of many structures that change the way one understands Gothic architecture as a movement. For something to be Gothic it does not have to follow the standard prototype of French Cathedrals. It can have many of the same components, like the Palazzo Ducale, but it can also be dynamic and intriguing. Gothic architecture has the ability to support influences from cultures and regions outside the Gothic norm. As evidenced by the Palazzo Ducale, Gothic buildings are not static and do not have a standard formula for what is and is not Gothic. Rather, it is a dynamic architectural style with the potential to transcend temporal and regional boundaries.

1. Islamic refers to both religious and political Islam. Though most references to Islamic structures will be in a religious context, the term will also be used to describe the Islamic governments of the Middle East and Africa.

2. Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: the Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1.

3. Ibid., 1.

4. The trade relationship between Venice and the Ilkhanids was strong, as evidenced by the presence of Venetian consuls in Tabriz and Tana, Iran.

5. Howard, Venice and the East, 179-180.

6. Deborah Howard, "Venice and Islamic in the Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence," *Architectural History* 34, (1991): 68.

7. Howard. *Venice and the East*, 156.

8. Ibid., 141.

9. Howard. *Venice and the East*, 175.

10. Ennio Concina, *A History of Venetian Architecture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 84.

11. Howard. *Venice and the East*, 179.

12. Ibid., 143.

13. Ibid., 155.

14. Louis Grodecki, *Gothic Architecture*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977), 350.

15. John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1851-3), 234.

16. Daniel Savoy, "The Exterior Sculptural Decoration of the Palazzo Ducale: A Comprehensive Vision of Venetian Ideals," master's thesis, Florida State University, 2002, 22.

17. Ibid., 22.

18. Ibid., 25.

19. Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 286.

20. Howard, "Venice and Islamic in the Middle Ages," 59.

21. Howard. Venice and the East, 143.

22. Michael T. Davis, "Sic et Non': Recent Trends in the Study of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 417.

23. Stephen Murray, "Slippages of Meaning and Form," *The Artful Mind*, ed. by Mark Turner, (2006): 191.

24. Ibid., 194.

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Figure 5: Illustrated in Ennio Concina, *A History of Venetian Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 83.

Figure 6: in Illustrated in Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 179.

Figure 8: Illustrated in Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 144.

Figure 9: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Illustrated in Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 144.

Figure 11: Illustrated in Howard, Deborah. "Venice and Islamic in the

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Figure 13: Illustrated in Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 23.

Figure 14: Illustrated in Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 143.