

Giorgio da Sebenico and the Workshop of Giovanni Bon

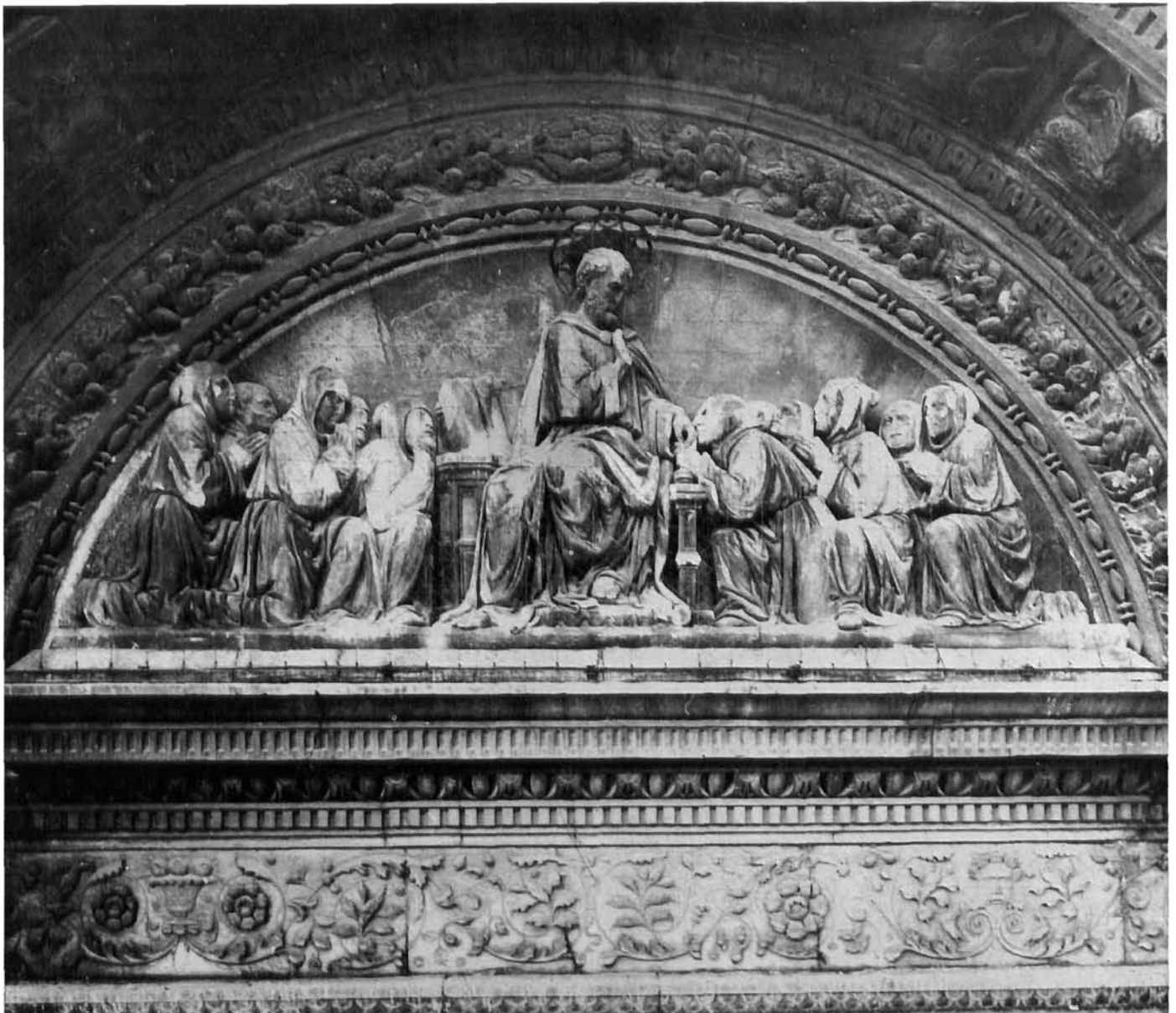
In the course of the preparation of a study on the sculpture of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon I was also obliged to consider their assistants and apprentices, among whom Giorgio da Sebenico is often mentioned. Although a period of apprenticeship in the workshop of the Bon is not confirmed by archival documents, Giorgio's connections with Venice are well documented. Born at Zadar, a Venetian colony from 1409, Giorgio apparently emigrated to Venice in his youth. There he married Elisabetta, daughter of Gregorio da Monte, a Venetian carpenter.¹ When, in 1441, Giorgio was summoned to Šibenik in order to take charge of the construction of its Cathedral, he was resident in Venice. The contract of June 22, 1441 with the procurators of the Cathedral records Giorgio's promise to move to Šibenik at the end of August and to take up residence there for six years. The six years were to be measured from the day on which he departed from Venice to which he would return to fetch his family.² In the contract of September 1, 1446 in which his tenure as *Protomaestro* of the Cathedral was renewed for another ten years, Giorgio was granted permission to remain in Venice for two months every two years on condition that he did no work there except on his own house.³ The house, which had come to Giorgio from his mother-in-law, Pasqualina, as the dowry of his wife, was located in the parish of S. Marciliano, on the Rio della Misericordia.⁴ Additional evidence of Giorgio's presence in Venice comes from the *Mariegola* of 1377—1546 of the Scuola di S. Cristoforo at the Madonna dell'Orto. Among the list of members of the confraternity a »Ser Zorzi di mathio taiapiera« appears two times.⁵ The proximity of the *scuola* to Giorgio's house and its prominence in the school of Bartolomeo Bon,⁶ whom we hope to prove an associate of Giorgio, support the identification of this »Zorzi di mathio« with our Giorgio da Sebenico. Unfortunately, the membership lists are not dated. Very probably Giorgio joined the confraternity before 1441, for after his assumption of the office of *Protomaestro del Duomo* the epithet, »da Sebenico«, generally follows his name in Italian documents.

Given Giorgio's residence in Venice at the beginning of his career, critics naturally assumed that Giorgio had been employed in the most flourishing sculptors' workshop of the time — that of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon. This hypothesis was sustained by the evident re-

semblance of the Porta della Carta, a documented work of the Bon's erected between 1438 and 1443, to Giorgio's portal of S. Francesco at Ancona. Critics traced his scroll-bearing putti on the exterior of the apse of the Cathedral at Šibenik and the frieze composed of a double row of leaves blown horizontally which appears in practically every one of Giorgio's buildings, to comparable motives on the Porta della Carta. More ambitiously, scholars also sought to identify specific Venetian works by Giorgio, supposing rightly that without having given proof of mastery, Giorgio would not have been entrusted with so demanding an office at such a high rate of pay, as that of *Protomaestro* of the Cathedral at Šibenik. For the most part, research concentrated on the Porta della Carta, as that work in progress immediately preceding Giorgio's departure for Šibenik. With a certain hesitation Hans Folnesics proposed to attribute to Giorgio the half-length figure of *St. Mark* on the Porta della Carta.⁷ The attribution produced no echo. A very different fate, however, attended the attribution to Giorgio of the shield-bearing putti⁸ and the putti on the gable of the Porta della Carta.⁹ Adolfo Venturi assigned to him the capital with its wind-blown foliage beneath the two shield-bearing putti on the right pier of the portal.¹⁰ Recently Ileana Chiappini di Sorio ascribed the statues of *Temperance* and *Fortitude* to Giorgio.¹¹ Michele d'Elia gave to Giorgio the capitals surmounting the piers of the second-story loggia of the west wing of the Ducal Palace that looks on to the *cortile*, embellished with heads emerging from foliage.¹² On the basis of its frieze and capitals, Folnesics was inclined to attribute to Giorgio the Porticato della Carta, the 6-bay corridor which leads from the Porta della Carta to the courtyard of the Ducal Palace whose construction succeeded that of the Porta probably in the 1440s.¹³ Elena Bassi suggested that Giorgio might have had a considerable share in the execution of the Arco Foscari, built at the other extremity of the Porticato della Carta from ca. 1445 to ca. 1480.¹⁴ In Bassi's wake, Giuseppe Marchini attributed to Giorgio the continuation of the Arco Foscari with a double order of large niches, which constitutes the west face of the Cortiletto dei Senatori.¹⁵ First to look outside the Ducal Palace, Cvito Fisković defined as a work of Giorgio's maturity, the bust of *St. Gregory* in relief above the lateral portal of S. Vidal.¹⁶

Where execution by Giorgio himself is either unlikely or cannot be discerned, as in architectural details,¹⁷ it seems futile to argue the question of attribution. Until documentary proof of authorship comes to light, who can say whether Giorgio invented or borrowed a motif? This does not hold true, however, for the attribution of sculpture where comparison with documented works enables us to refute every one of the attributions of Venetian sculpture made to Giorgio hitherto. In the flowing locks of the beard of *St. Gregory* there is a superficial resemblance to the head of God the Father in the keystone of the vault of the Baptistry at Šibenik, but the technique of the carving of the eyes and drapery is not Giorgio's. Indeed, the disproportionately enlarged hands of *St. Gregory* and his vastly elongated

index finger, rigidly extended in order to prolong the axis of the wings of the Holy Dove, are such patently artificial devices that I suspect we are dealing with a late 16th century work. The morphology of the heads of the columns of the *piano nobile* of the Ducal Palace contrasts with that of heads executed by Giorgio. The chasm that separates the shield-bearing putti of the Porta della Carta from the scroll-bearing putti of the Cathedral at Šibenik is one of quality as well as style. The triangular shape of the Venetian putto, produced in part by its stance and in part by tumid hips, abdomen and thighs, causes the center of gravity of the figure to sink so, that its movement resembles the ponderous plodding of an obese person. By contrast, the bud-like shapes produced by the outlines of Giorgio's putti, their leng-



1. Giorgio da Sebenico, *St. Mark enthroned among members of the confraternity of San Marco* from the main portal, Scuola di San Marco, Venice.



2. Giorgio da Sebenico, detail, *St. Mark enthroned among members of the confraternity of San Marco* from the main portal, Scuola di San Marco, Venice.



3. Giorgio da Sebenico, detail, *St. Mark enthroned among members of the confraternity of San Marco* from the main portal, Scuola di San Marco, Venice.

thened legs and shortened torsos, the contraction of their hips and thighs, so elevate their center of gravity that their feet seem to exert no pressure on their base. Typical of Giorgio's rendering of anatomy is his tendency to turn individual forms as nearly into self-contained spheres as it is possible to do and to mark their abutment by a seam. Even the stretching poses and everted gestures of his figures which determine the course of their silhouettes, express the urgency of the artist's search for the comprehensive and generalizing stereometric form. The attribution to Giorgio of *Temperance* and *Fortitude* cannot be refuted on the grounds of quality, but a comparison with *S. Chiara* (Fig. 7) from the portal of *S. Francesco alle Scale* at Ancona makes evident how different an artistic sensibility informs the veer of *S. Chiara's* head or elbow, the blade-sharp edges of straight folds and contours, or the preservation of the frontal plane of the cubic block of stone.

These characteristics are evident in a work which has never before been linked with Giorgio: the lunette of the main portal of the Venetian Scuola di San Marco (Figs. 1—5). The portal may be assumed to date from the construction of the new *scuola* at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, begun in the second half of 1437 and finished by April 25, 1438.¹⁸ In spite of the absence of documents regarding the portal, the origin in the workshop of the Bon of the sculpture of the lunette and the

figure of *Charity* crowning it cannot be doubted. The resemblance of the figure of *Charity* to that of *Justice* from the *Porta della Carta* and to that of the *Madonna* in the relief from the Scuola Vecchia della *Misericordia*, a certain of undocumented work, has been noted many times. In his guidebook of 1581 Francesco Sansovino wrote: »Le figure di marmo poste sopra la porta nel frontispitio, & ricuperate dall'incendio, furono scolpite dal sopradetto Bartolomeo«, namely, Bartolomeo Bon.¹⁹ Indeed, the statue of *Charity* bears many scars caused by the fire of March 31, 1485,²⁰ and a document of April 1, 1490 records the reinstallation of the relief of *St. Mark venerated by the members of the confraternity of S. Marco* above the door after the rebuilding of the facade supervised by Pietro Lombardo and others.²¹ Accurate in regard to the fire, Sansovino errs slightly in his attribution of the sculpture to Bartolomeo Bon. I believe, instead, that the statue of *Charity* is a work of Bartolomeo's father, Giovanni, and that the relief was executed by a collaborator of his, Giorgio da Sebenico.

The authorship of the relief has been the cause of much perplexity. Following Sansovino's attribution, a large number of scholars attributed the relief to Bartolomeo Bon.²² But already in 1855 Jacob Burckhardt observed that the style of the relief was more advanced than that of the *Madonna della Misericordia*.²³ Its absolute diversity from the other works produced in the



4. Giorgio da Sebenico, detail,
*St. Mark enthroned among
 members of the confraternity of
 San Marco* from the main portal,
 Scuola di San Marco, Venice.

workshop of the Bon induced Giuseppe Fiocco to assign it to the Florentine Pietro Lamberti — an attribution to which he remained faithful even after it was demonstrated that Lamberti had died two years before the building of the *scuola*.²⁴ Perhaps under his influence, Giovanni Mariacher recently gave it to a Tuscan sculptor not more precisely identified.²⁵ Even among those, like Pietro Paoletti and Gino Fogolari, who adhered to the traditional attribution to Bartolomeo Bon, the reservation of a possible retouching was advanced.²⁶ Leo Planiscig, alone, may be credited with having glimpsed the right solution: perceiving resemblances between the composition of the relief and that of the *Misericordia*, he attributed its design to the Bon workshop. But its execution he assigned to a talented anonymous assistant of whose work he knew no other example.²⁷ In fact, this is the unique contribution to the works which issued from the shop of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon, of Giorgio di Matteo da Sebenico.

The relief shows St. Mark enthroned, interrupted at the reading of his Gospel. With his right hand he blesses ten kneeling figures, portraits of the members of the Banca of the confraternity. One of them, distinguished from his fellows by his bare head, presses his lips to St. Mark's hand. He is the *Guardiano Grande*, Zoffredo da Brazza.²⁸ The relief has reached so advanced a state of disintegration that a mere touch of the surface causes it to flake away. More serious losses are visible in all the faces and in the blessing hand of St. Mark.

Like St. Augustine from the portal of St'Agostino at Ancona (Fig. 6), St. Mark (Fig. 2) displays an exaggerated twist in which legs point sharply left while the head in profile is twisted to the right. In both it is a means of introducing drama into a fundamentally undramatic scene. The linking of a relatively small head and short neck with a tall frame endows each figure with a mo-

numentality that is accentuated by the lowness of its seat or throne. The shoulders are not particularly broad but, being square, are very prominent. In both, the legs especially are lengthened. A similar twist occurs in the figure of *S. Chiara* from the portal of S. Francesco (Fig. 7) where an identical turn and downward tilt of the head contrasts with legs pointing in the opposite direction. In both figures, this sudden rotation in space is combined with a relief-like treatment, evident particularly in their upper halves. In St. Mark one arm is extended laterally while the other is pressed so flatly against his chest that not only does it occupy a single plane itself, but it hardly projects beyond the plane of the drapery beneath it. Indeed, the coincidence of the lower border of the figure's arm with the line of the waist visually amalgamates two elements that in nature are spatially distinct. This tendency to preserve intact the original outer face of the block of stone does not debar sudden scattered excavations which, entrapping shadows, variegate the surface. But it does preclude cantilevered folds or jutting limbs carved in the round. At either side of the figure, drapery, like a frame, both records and terminates the two dimensional extension of the figure with a straight, continuous border. Even where the drapery of the leg revolves, as in the right leg of St. Mark and the left leg of *S. Chiara*, another independent vertical fold emerges, rimming the entire contour of the limb. In the carving of both figures as well as the kneeling members of the *scuola*, there is evidence of rapid and impatient execution in which large tools are manipulated forcefully. The result is synthetic forms reduced in number because increased in size. Folds produced thus are long and straight. Their strongly projecting upper surfaces form smooth facets and their sides are sharply canted, sometimes at right angles. Even where folds do not form tables, they do not merge with one another. The cour-



5. Giorgio da Sebenico, detail, *St. Mark enthroned among members of the confraternity of San Marco* from the main portal, Scuoladi San Marco, Venice.

se followed by these idiosyncratic folds is often vertical or vertically oblique and parallel folds of identical extension are often densely concentrated. The application to the mantle of these straight, oblique folds impresses upon the upper portion of the figure the regularity of a triangle, for which the head — carefully posed so that its highest point occurs mid way between the corners of the base — provides an apex. These straight diagonal folds give proof of being stretched so tautly that they permit the figure to produce a more intense sensation of rotation than is actually warranted by the disposition of its members. The very different configuration of the folds clustered about St. Mark's leg can be compared to the folds of St. Augustine's left sleeve (Fig. 6). Here the cloth adheres in patches, following the contour of the limb. But now and then a fold emerges, less faceted than is usual, but separated at its base from the smooth expanse of cloth by a sharp incision. The fold traverses the limb along a path which is too much of a V to be quite a catenary curve. Such curving folds reappear at intervals during Giorgio's career, as, for instance, in the *Flagellation* in the predella of the Shrine of St. Anastasius in the Cathedral at Split, where the inorganic but dramatic torsion of the central figure and the bold zig-zagging pattern produced by the angles of bent limbs are familiar to us already from the figure of St. Mark. In this, and all the other predella panels of the Shrine of St. Anastasius, as well as in the lunette relief, Giorgio creates relief by attaching to the smooth background figures sliced off flatly in the rear but otherwise apparently, if not actually, carved in the round.²⁹ Thus whatever impression of depth is produced is done so primarily by overlapping, only secondarily by foreshortening and not all by those illusionistic devices whose application, derived from painting, was generally considered a special advantage

of relief. This may seem paradoxical in an artist who so often viewed the front face of his figures in terms of low relief, but however planar the facades of his figures may be, they are always endowed with sides of considerable depth. It is rather that Giorgio preserved the pristine shape of the dressed block of stone than that he made relief of statuary.

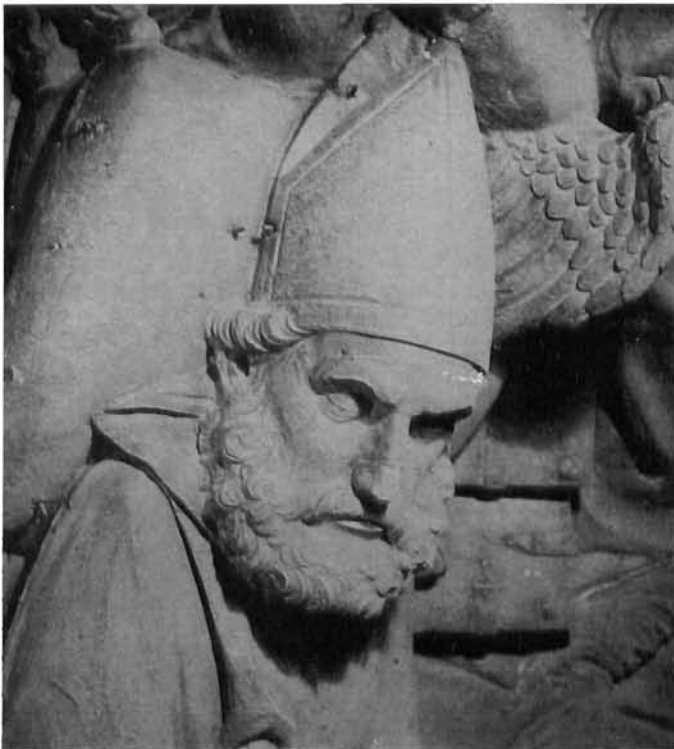
The facial type employed for the figure of St. Mark (Fig. 3) is a commonplace of Giorgio's oeuvre. It reappears in the effigy and figure in relief of St. Rainerius from the saint's shrine at Kaštel Lukšić (Fig. 8) and in the statue, probably of *St. Mark*, which originally flanked the north portal of the Cathedral at Šibenik and is currently exhibited in the museum of the city (Fig. 9). The head of the saint immediately to the left of the *Flagellation* in the Shrine of St. Anastasius resembles that of St. Mark as closely as a head hardly two inches high can possibly resemble a life-size one (Fig. 10). A severe expression bespeaks in each a high seriousness of purpose. Both are middle-aged, heavily bearded and mustachioed, with a bald pate but a thick fringe of hair on the forehead and a massive wreath of curls ringing the base of the crown. In both, the heads are nearly cubic in form. In proportion, the faces are short. Both possess a low and slightly concave forehead bordered by a hairline that dips lightly in the center. In both, there is a fairly pronounced indentation at the temples. The cheeks are neither fleshy nor gaunt: the protruding cheekbone is rapidly succeeded by a hollow which invades the greater area of the cheek, halted only by a fold of flesh running diagonally downwards from the center of the nose. Beneath the fold a hollow is formed in which the nostril is embedded. The bridge of the nose is pinched and the nose's tip extends far below the upward and outward flaring nostrils. The wide mouth with its thin unparted lips which turn neither up nor down, and the



6. Giorgio da Sebenico, *St. Augustine displays the book of truth* from the portal, St'Agostino, Ancona.



7. Giorgio da Sebenico, *St. Clare* from the portal, S. Francesco alle Scale, Ancona.



8. Giorgio da Sebenico, detail, *Effigy* from the Shrine of St. Rainerius, St. Mary of the Assumption, Kaštel Lukšić.

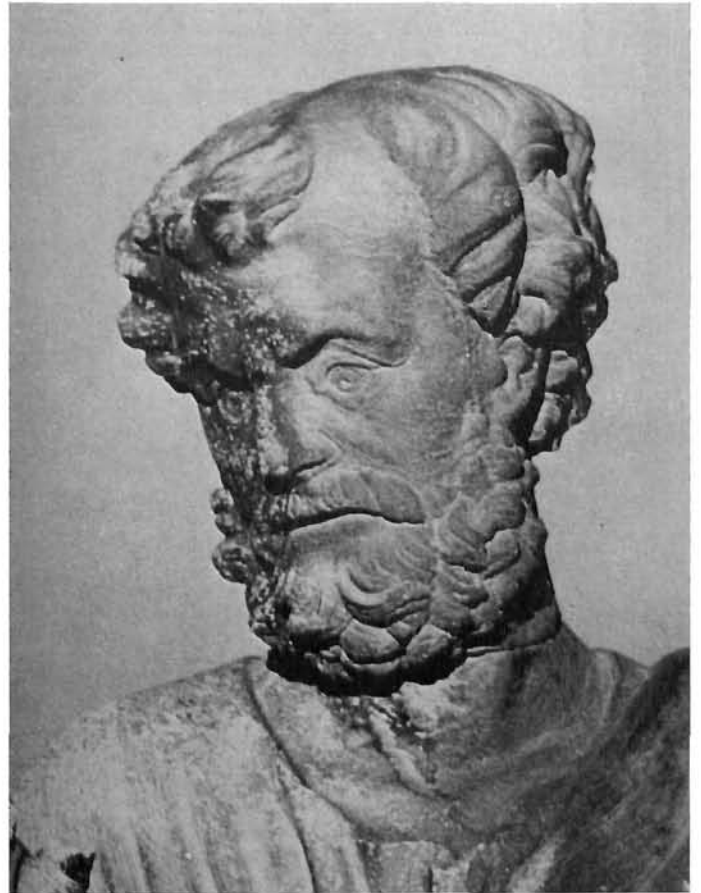
small ear pressed back into the mass of hair and beard are similar in both. The eyes of St. Mark are replicated in the eyes of *St. Bernardino* from the portal of S. Francesco at Ancona. In both, the fleshy, beetling brow closely overhangs a deeply embedded, yet extremely protuberant, eyeball. The entire eyeball is tipped back into the socket in order to give direction to the downward glance. The borders of the socket are indicated by a continuous circular groove. The mouth of St. Mark reappears in the figure of *Fortitude* from the facade of the Loggia dei Mercanti at Ancona. In both, the lips are long and narrow. Facets, whose edges are extremely sharp, constitute the lips. In Giorgio's idiosyncratic treatment of the mouth the contours of the upper and lower lips are not distinguished: two broad and flattened arcs which, meeting in the center of the mouth, cause a contraction of the width of the lip, define equally the borders of upper and lower lips. Upper and lower lips do not converge at the corners of the mouth. From the corners, marked neither by drill holes nor by furrows, grooves, denoting creases in the flesh, descend obliquely.

While none of the heads of the kneeling adorers finds an exact counterpart among the works of Giorgio, the realism of the portraits recalls the more authentic of the heads from the exterior of the apse of the Cathedral at Šibenik.

Among the kneeling members of the confraternity around St. Mark motives derived from the relief of the *Madonna della Misericordia* from the Scuola Vecchia della Misericordia, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London can be seen. The pose and arrangement of drapery of the central kneeling figure on the



9. Giorgio da Sebenico, detail, *St. Mark* from the north portal of the Cathedral, Muzej grada, Šibenik.



10. Giorgio da Sebenico, detail, *Saint Petrus* from the Shrine of St. Anastasius, Cathedral, Split.

left may be compared with the figure kneeling at the left of the *Madonna della Misericordia*; the drapery over the projecting knee of the figure at the extreme right of the relief of *St. Mark* is similar to that of the last figure on the left of the *Misericordia* relief; the drapery over the raised knee of the *Guardiano Grande* recalls that of the figure to the right of the *Madonna* whose hand is on his chest. Although the relief of the *Misericordia* is commonly considered a work of the son, Bartolomeo, there are persuasive reasons for its attribution to the father, Giovanni, and its dating ca. 1425 instead of towards the middle 1440s. The replications of motives from the relief of the *Misericordia* in the relief of the *Scuola di S. Marco*, therefore, suggests the probable intervention of Giovanni Bon, as superintendent of the work, in the initial design of the lunette. Moreover, the disposition of the drapery covering *St. Mark's* legs resembles, more than any work of Giorgio's, the drapery of the *Justice* from the *Porta della Carta* — in my opinion, the last work of Giovanni Bon's. One notes in both the abundance and disordered complication of the drapery, the heaping up of folds at the bottom of the figure causing convolutions at the hem, the multiple layers of pendant folds undercut at their borders, the constant movement of the surface. The decoration of *St. Mark's* throne with a double series of recessed panels recurs in the bases of the lateral piers of the *Porta della Carta* as well as in the Cathedral at Šibenik.

The evident influence of Giovanni on the design of the relief and the long tradition that associates it with the name of Bartolomeo Bon strongly suggest that Giorgio executed the relief as an assistant in the workshop of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon. The relief's significance and the competence of its execution demonstrate that at this time — 1437 to 1438 — Giorgio was no longer very young and that he probably worked, not as a simple *garzone* or apprentice, but as a *compagno* or independent associate. In fact, it is likely that he entered the shop already a trained and mature master. This one can deduce from the fact that, outside of architectural details, there is little that Giorgio learned from his master. In the physiognomies of his saints and prophets there exists some slight reflection of Giovanni's art. In the head of Giorgio's effigy of *St. Rainerius* from the saint's shrine at Kaštel Lukšić (Fig. 8), the sharply furrowed brow cantilevered over small, deeply recessed diamondshaped eyes, the long nose, the gaunt cheeks, the luxuriant growth of beard and moustache, recall Giovanni's prophets from the relief of the *Scuola della Misericordia*. But beyond this, Giorgio's sculpture owed very little to the art of Giovanni or Bartolomeo Bon or to any other Venetian sculptor of the time. Indeed, his is so personal a style that up till now it has not been possible to indicate its source, either within Italy or elsewhere.

- 1 Dagobert Frey, »Der Dom von Sebenico und sein Baumeister Giorgio Orsini«, with an appendix of documents by Vojeslav Molé, *Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Institutes der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*, vii, 1913, p. 132, docs. 19, 20; p. 161, doc. 146.
 - 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 131f, doc. 16.
 - 3 Petar Kolendić, »Stube na crkvi sv. Ivana u Šibeniku«, *Starinar*, series 3, i, 1923, p. 76.
 - 4 F. A. Galvani, *Il re d'armi di Sebenico*, Venice, i, 1883, p. 160, n. 2.
 - 5 Archivio di Stato, Venice, Scuole piccole suffragi, 406, S. Maria e S. Cristoforo, pp. 76r, 76v, published by Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni Veneziane*, Venice, vi, pt. 2, 1853, p. 871.
 - 6 Bartolomeo's name appears three times in the list of members: ASV, Scuole piccole suffragi, 406, pp. 30v, 31r, 75v. In 1460 he was commissioned to construct the portal of the Madonna dell'Orto at the expense of the confraternity: Rodolfo Gallo, »L'architettura di transizione dal gotico al rinascimento e Bartolomeo Bon«, Venice. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti. *Atti* (Classe di scienze morali e lettere), cxx, 1961—62, p. 203, doc 2. A Giovanni Bon, stonecutter of the parish of S. Canciano, was also recorded as a member of the school: Giuseppe Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, Venice, 1970, p. 119. Since this is the only time that the parish of S. Canciano is mentioned in connection with Giovanni Bon, his identification with Bartolomeo's father cannot be certain.
 - 7 Hans Folnesics, »Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur und Plastik des XV. Jahrhunderts in Dalmatien«, *Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Institutes der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*, viii, 1914, p. 63.
 - 8 Folnesics, *ibid.*, p. 60 pointed to what he considered striking similarities between the shield-bearing putti and those of Giorgio da Sebenico from the apse of the Cathedral at Šibenik, but did not attribute them to Giorgio. Alessandro Dudan, *La Dalmazia nell'arte italiana*, Milan, ii, 1922, pp. 213f attributed to Giorgio a role in the creation of the putti but did not specify its nature or extent. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, viii, pt. 2, 1924, p. 304 ascribed the putti reggiscudi to Giorgio. With greater or lesser degrees of hesitation he was followed by: Gino Fogolari, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Milan, n. d., p. oppos. pl. 6; Giuseppe Fiocco, »I Lamberti a Venezia — iii, Imitatori e seguaci«, *Dedalo*, 1927—28, p. 438; Milan Prelog, »Dva nova 'putta' Jurja Dalmatina i problem renesansne komponente u njevoj skulpturi«, *Peristil*, iv, 1961, pp. 51f; Edoardo Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, Venice, 1970, pp. 243, 250. Michele d'Elia, »Ricerche sull'attività di Giorgio da Sebenico a Venezia«, *Commentari*, xiii, 1962, p. 215 and Ileana Chiappini di Sorio, »Proposte e precisazioni per Giorgio da Sebenico«, *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, ii, no. 3, 1973, pp. 18f were favorably disposed to the hypothesis of the authorship of Giorgio, but did not commit themselves to an attribution of the putti.
 - 9 Folnesics, *op. cit.*, *Jahrb. Zentralkomm.*, 1914, p. 60 pointed to what he considered striking resemblances between these putti and those of Giorgio but did not attribute them to Giorgio. Dudan, *op. cit.*, ii, 1922, pp. 213f attributed to Giorgio a role in the creation of the putti but did not specify its nature or extent. With some degree of hesitation they have been assigned to Giorgio by Fogolari, *op. cit.*, p. oppos. pl. 6; Fiocco, *op. cit.*, *Dedalo*, 1927—28, p. 438; Elena Bassi in Alvise Zorzi, Bassi Terisio Pignatti, Camillo Semenzato, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Turin, 1971, p. 59. Without quite committing themselves to an attribution, D'Elia, *op. cit.*, *Commentari* 1962, p. 215 and Chiappini, *op. cit.*, *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, ii, 3, 1973, pp. 18f wrote favorably of the attribution of the putti to Giorgio. Prelog, *op. cit.*, *Peristil*, 1961, p. 51 rejected the attribution of the putti on the gable to Giorgio.
 - 10 *Storia*, viii, pt. 2, 1924, p. 304.
 - 11 *Op. cit.*, *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, ii, 3, 1973, pp. 21ff. Unbeknownst to Chiappini, Folnesics, *op. cit.*, *Jahrb. Zentralkomm.*, 1914, p. 78 had already proposed, very tentatively, an attribution of the Fortitude to Giorgio.
 - 12 *Op. cit.*, *Commentari*, 1962, pp. 217f. Cvito Fisković, »Prilog Jurju Dalmatincu«, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, xv, 1963, pp. 40f, seconded by Lionello Puppi, »Appunti su Giorgio da Sebenico architetto«, *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, xvii, 1970, p. 156, was extremely dubious of the attribution. The attribution was reviewed favorably by Cesare Gnudi, *Nuove ricerche su Niccolò dell'Arca*, Rome, 1973 (Quaderni di *Commentari*, ed. Mario Salmi, iii), p. 29 and Chiappini, *op. cit.*, *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, ii, 3, 1973, p. 20; accepted by Giuseppe Marchini, »Per Giorgio da Sebenico«, *Commentari*, xix, 1968, p. 217 and reflected by Arslan *op. cit.*, p. 256, n. 201.
 - 13 *Op. cit.*, *Jahrb. Zentralkomm.*, 1914, pp. 58, 59, n. 69.
 - 14 »Il Palazzo Ducale nel '400«, Vicenza. Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio. *Bollettino*, vi, pt. 2, 1964, p. 182 and idem in Zorzi, Bassi's hypothesis was supported by Marchini, *op. cit.*, *Commentari*, 1968, p. 216 but greeted sceptically by Puppi, *op. cit.*, *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, 1970, p. 156.
 - 15 *Op. cit.*, *Commentari*, 1968, p. 215 greeted sceptically by Puppi, *op. cit.*, *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, 1970, p. 156.
 - 16 *Op. cit.*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 1963, pp. 42ff received sceptically by Chiappini, *op. cit.*, *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, ii, 3, 1973, p. 20.
 - 17 Documentation regarding Giorgio's architectural work at Šibenik and Ancona amply proves that such work was regularly entrusted to assistants who worked from the master's design, but otherwise quite independently, often at the quarry itself.
 - 18 Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Cod. it., Cl. VII, 56 (=8638), Marcantonio Erizzo (?), *Cronaca veneta* (with events up to 1495), n. p.
 - 19 Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIII. libri*, Venice, 1581, p. 102a.
 - 20 Pietro Paoletti, *La Scuola Grande di San Marco*, Venice, 1929, p. 17.
 - 21 Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento*, Venice, 1893, ii, p. 103, doc. 72 and p. 223.
 - 22 Giannantonio Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia*, Venice, 1815, i, pt. 1, p. 177; Antonio Diiedo in Leopoldo Cicognara, Diiedo, Giannantonio Selva, *Le fabbriche e i monumenti cospicui di Venezia*, Venice, ii, 1820, »La Scuola di S. Marco«, n. p.; Ermolao Paoletti, *Il fiore di Venezia*, Venice, ii, 1839, p. 223; F. Zanotto, »Descrizione della città«, in *Venezia e le sue lagune*, Venice, 1847, ii, pt. 2, p. 388; P. Selvatico and V. Lazari, *Guida artistica e storica di Venezia*, Venice/Milan/Verona, 1852, p. 118; R. Fulin and P. G. Molmenti, *Guida artistica e storica di Venezia e delle isole circrovicine*, Venice, 1881, p. 214.
- The guidebook, Giovambattista Albrizzi, *Forestiere illuminato intorno le cose più rare, e curiose, antiche, e moderne della città di Venezia*. Venice, 1740. p. 135 confused the issue by attributing the work to Bartolomeo (Bon) Bergamasco, the 16th century architect of Scuola di S. Rocco, with whom our Bartolomeo Bon was frequently confused through the early 19th century. Albrizzi was followed by Marco Sebastiano Giampiccoli, *Notizie interessanti, che servono a far conoscere in tutti i suoi sestieri l'inclita città di Venezia*, Belluno, 1779, p. 22; *L'antiquario istoriografo, diario patrio per Venezia nell'anno MDCCCVI*, Venice, 1806, p. 71.
- The attribution to Bartolomeo Bon has been sustained in recent times by: Pietro Paoletti, »Bono, Bartolomeo di Giovanni«, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden*

- den Künstler, ed. U. Thieme and F. Becker, Leipzig, iv, 1910, p. 315 and idem, »Bono, Giovanni di Bertuccio«, *ibid.*, p. 317; idem, *La Scuola Grande di San Marco*, p. 14; Leo Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921, p. 29; Giulio Lorenzetti, *Venezia e il suo estuario*, Venice, 1926, p. 322; Gino Fogolari, »Per il nostro Bartolomeo Bon, scultore veneziano«, *Gazzeta di Venezia*, clxxxviii, no. 114, April 25, 1930, p. iii and other articles; Michelangelo Muraro, *Nuova guida di Venezia e delle sue isole*, Florence, 1953, pp. 236f; Angelo M. Caccin, *La basilica dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia*, Venice, 1961, p. 15; John Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1964, i, p. 342; Franca Zava Boccazzi, *La basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia*, Padua, 1965, p. 28; Arslan, *op. cit.*, rom, 244.
- 23 *Der Cicerone*, Basel, 1855, p. 619b. He nevertheless considered it a work of Bartolomeo Bon's. Finding in it the freedom of the Lombard and Bregno, Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, with W. Bode, Leipzig, 1884, ii, 2, pp. 427df, ascribed it to Bon's last period.
- 24 *Op. cit.*, *Dedalo*, 1927—28, p. 370; idem, »La lunetta nel portale della Scuola Grande di San Marco«, *Rivista di Venezia*, vii, 1928, pp. 177ff. In 1929 Erice Rigoni, »Notizie di scultori toscani a Padova nella prima metà del quattrocento«, *Archivio veneto*, series 5, vi, 1929, p. 130, doc. 3 published a document which proved that Lamberti was dead by December 7, 1435. Not deterred, Fiocco, »Ancora di Bartolomeo Bon scultore veneziano«, *Gazzetta di Venezia*, clxxxviii, no. 143, May 24, 1930, p. iii and idem, Review of E. Rigoni, »Notizie di scultori toscani a Padova...«, *Archivio veneto*, 1929 in *Rivista d'arte*, xii, 1930, pp. 158ff explained away the inconvenient fact by stating that the lunette must have been made for the previous building of the confraternity at S. Croce.
- 25 »Bono, Bartolomeo«, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, xii, 1970, p. 280. It is also Fiocco's influence that accounts for the attribution of the relief to an anonymous Tuscan by Carlo Gamba, *L'opera di Pietro Lamberti*, *Il Marzocco*, (Florence), xxxv, no. 22, June 1, 1930, p. 2 and idem, »L'opera di Pietro Lamberti (a proposito di arte e di influssi fiorentini a Venezia)«, *Rivista di Venezia*, ix, 1930, pp. 257ff. Much earlier, Max Semrau, *Venedig*, Stuttgart/Berlin/Leipzig, 1890, p. 242 had explained its unvenetian character by its Florentine author.
- 26 Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento*, i, p. 40 and ii, pp. 223, 225; Gino Fogolari, »Gli scultori toscani a Venezia nel quattrocento e Bartolomeo Bon, veneziano«, *L'arte*, xxxiii, 1930, pp. 448f.
- 27 »Die Bildhauer Venedigs in der ersten Hälfte des Quattrocento«, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n. F. iv, 1930, p. 99.
- 28 Gino Fogolari, »Ancora di Bartolomeo Bon scultore veneziano«, *L'arte*, xxxv, 1932, pp. 30ff.
- 29 No longer visible is the white and blue streaked marble (*bardiglio*) of the background, described by Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento* i, p. 40, to which the figures were affixed.

Cijeloga svoga života Juraj je održavao veze s Venecijom. Oženio se kćerju jednog venecijanskog drvodjelje i posjedovao je kuću u predjelu S. Marciliano. U ugovoru od 1. rujna 1446, u kojemu je Juraj bio imenovan glavnim mešтром katedrale u Šibeniku, izričito mu se dopušta da svake dvije godine odlazi u Veneciju na dva mjeseca, uz uvjet da radi jedino u vlastitoj kući. Dosad nepoznat dokaz o Jurjevoj nazočnosti u Veneciji nalazimo u pravilu Scuole di S. Cristoforo gdje se dva puta pojavljuje stanoviti »Ser Zorzi di mathio taiapiera«.

Najznačajniji Jurjev boravak u Veneciji zbio se vjerojatno na početku njegova djelovanja. Dana 22. lipnja 1441. — tako je datirana prva vijest koju o Jurju posjedujemo — on je stanovao u Veneciji: tada je obećao da će se s obitelji i svim stvarima preseliti u Šibenik da bi radio na katedrali. Nije nevjerojatno da je Juraj u Veneciji radio u radionici braće Bon, tada najznačajnijoj u gradu. Njihov se utjecaj doista i osjeća u Jurjevim radovima. Stoga je shvatljivo da su povjesničari umjetnosti tražili među kipovima Bon one koji bi mogli otkriti Jurjevu ruku. Na Porti della Carta Duždeve palače, dokumentiranoj između 1438. i 1443, pripisano je Jurju poprsje sv. Marka, puti štitoonoše, puti na pročelju i likovi Umjerenosti i Snage. Pažljivo ispitivanje autentičnih Jurjevih djela dopušta nam da opovrgnemo te atribucije. Jednako se mogu odbiti i ostali venecijanski radovi pripisani Jurju, kao što su kapiteli stupova prema dvorištu lode »gospodskoga kata« na zapadnom krilu Duždeve palače i poprsje sv. Grgura na pobočnom portalu crkve S. Vidal.

Usprkos tome moguće je otkriti Jurjevu ruku na jednome djelu izvedenom u radionici Bon. U kolovozu 1437. Giovanni Bon sklopio je ugovor za portal Scuole di S. Marco. Kipovi na portalu nisu dokumentirani, ali ih duga predaja pripisuje Bartolomeu Bonu. Stil lika Milosrda nad lunetom odaje, k tome, da je riječ o djelu Giovannijsa Bona. Sveti Marko komu se klanjaju bratimi bratovštine, prikazan u luneti, uvijek je zbunjivao znanstvenike različitošću svoga stila. Po mojemu mišljenju on je djelo Jurja Matejeva. Lice svečevu slično je glavi jednoga sveca s predele oltara sv. Anastazija; pokret lika može se usporediti s pokretom sv. Augustina na portalu istoimene crkve u Ankoni; kiparska tehnika i oblici naborā bliski su onima na sv. Klari na ankonitanskom portalu S. Francesca; realizam bratimskih glava podsjeća na glave s apside šibenske katedrale. No može se ustanoviti da kompozicija klečećih likova i raspored nabora otkrivaju vjerojatni zahvat Giovannijsa Bona koji je nadzirao rad na početnom nacrtu lunete.

Mora se ipak priznati da pronalazak vlastoručnog Jurjeva djela, izvedenog dok je surađivao u radionici braće Bon, nije dostatan za objašnjenje porijekla njegova plastičkog stila. Od braće Bon izveo je svakako poneki ikonografski element, osobito u fizionomijama pojedinih likova i oblicima nekih arhitektonskih ukrasa; što se ostalog tiče, treba tražiti izvan radionice Giovannijsa i Bartolomea Bona, što više izvan Venecije, pa možda i izvan Italije.

N. B. This paper forms part of a larger study entitled »The Sculpture of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon and their Workshop«, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 68, Pt. 3, 1978, Philadelphia (81 pp., 77 figs.).

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- Miro Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac i njegov krug*, Zagreb, 1967
- Giuseppe Praga, *Alcuni documenti su Giorgio da Sebenico*, *Rassegna marchigiana*, vii, 1928—29, pp. 73—80
- Idem, *Documenti su Giorgio da Sebenico, architetto e scultore del secolo xv*, *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, xii, 1932, pp. 522—531
- Giorgio, son of Matteo, was born at Zadar. (Galvani, *Il re d'armi di Sebenico*, i, p. 159, n. 1.) The surname Orsini, commonly assigned to Giorgio, is not documented before March 29, 1514, long after his death. (Ibid., p. 162, n. 2.) Giorgio's father, Matteo, was dead by June 22, 1441. (Frey—Molé, p. 131, doc. 16.) Giorgio was married to Elisabetta, daughter of Gregorio da Monte, a Venetian carpenter. (Frey—Molé, p. 132, doc. 20 and p. 161, doc. 146.) She died after March 11, 1486. (Fosco, *La Cattedrale di Sebenico*, p. 52.) Giorgio's brother-in-law, Giovanni Pietro da Monte, was a stonemason who can be traced in Šibenik not long after Giorgio takes up residence there. (Frey—Molé, p. 132, doc. 20.) For many years Giovanni Pietro and Giorgio were associated in a spice business in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 143, docs. 58, 59 and p. 150, doc. 88; Praga in *Rassegna marchigiana*, 1928—29, p. 80.) Another brother-in-law, Benedetto, was a priest in Venice. (Frey—Molé, p. 132, doc. 20.) Giorgio's only son, Paolo, apparently practised no craft. (Fosco, *La Cattedrale di Sebenico*, p. 52.) One daughter, Elena, was married to the painter, Giorgio Schiavone already in 1463. (Frey—Molé, p. 158, doc. 123. Kolendić in *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 1920, p. 132, no. 14.) Another daughter, Natalina, was married to Gian Battista Buffalei. (Fosco, *La Cattedrale di Sebenico*, p. 51.)

CATHEDRAL, ŠIBENIK

June 22, 1441 Contract made at Šibenik between Giorgio and the deputies of the Council of Nobles of the city and

the procurators of the Cathedral of S. Giacomo Maggiore, Šibenik, in which Giorgio is named »Protomagister« of the Cathedral for six years. The Cathedral had been begun in 1430 by Francesco di Giacomo da Venezia. (For the history of the construction of the Cathedral before the arrival of Giorgio see Petar Kolendić, *Šibenska katedrala pre dolaska Orsinijeva (1430.—1441.)*, *Narodna Starina*, (Zagreb), series 8, iii, no. 2, 1924, pp. 154ff.) Giorgio, then living in Venice, promises to move to Šibenik by the end of the coming August and to take up residence there continuously for six years. This period of time is to be measured from the day on which he departs from Venice, where he must return to fetch his family. During his tenure Giorgio is obligated to supervise the workers, provide them with measurements and designs and point out their mistakes as well as to build and carve with his own hands. Giorgio is further obligated to visit the quarries as often as necessary and there to supervise the quarrying and dressing of the stone. Giorgio may undertake no other work without the permission of the procurators and noble deputies. Whenever it may appear to the procurators and noble deputies that Giorgio is not performing his duty, he may be fired by them, providing that they have the consent of the bishop and count. In exchange, Giorgio is to receive a salary of 115 gold ducats in monthly instalments, in addition to his lodging and the expenses of moving his family and possessions from Venice to Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, pp. 131f, doc. 16.) Before May 29, 1441 Giorgio had apparently entered into negotiations with the procurators of the Cathedral envisaged the extension of the east end of the church. (Frey—Molé, pp. 132f doc. 21.)

May 29, 1443 Work is in progress on the Baptistry of the Cathedral. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 73.) December 11, 1444 The baptismal font in the Baptistry is finished. (Ibid., p. 73.) March 1, 1452 The fabric of the Baptistry, at least, is standing. (See the contract of that date for the construction of the sacristy of the Cathedral: Frey—Molé, p. 152, doc. 97.)

August 3, 1443 Master Giorgio Zanchota obligates himself to deliver to Giorgio da Sebenico between 200 and 220 pieces of dressed red stone from the quarries at Rab by the end of the coming September. (Frey—Molé, p. 134, doc. 24.) September 29, 1443 Festive inauguration of the building of the apse. (See the inscription on the last buttress of the north face of the Cathedral: Frey—Molé, p. 19.) May 27, 1447 At Korčula Giorgio takes delivery of some stone and orders blocks for the walls of the apses of the Cathedral. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 77.) March 23, 1444 Contract between a procurator and a canon of the Cathedral, on the one hand, and some citizens of Šibenik, on the other, for the construction of nine chapels at a cost to the citizens of 73 ducats each, in the side aisles of the church. The chapels,

designed and adorned by Giorgio, are to be constructed at the expense of the church within three years, up to, but exclusive of, the leaf cornice. (Frey—Molé, pp. 135f, doc. 30.) June 30, 1447 The brothers, Divinich, the owners of the fifth chapel on the left, pay Giorgio the second installment of the 73 ducats owed him for their chapel, due when the stones had been prepared. Giorgio obligates himself to finish their chapel within a year. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 77.) July 1, 1447 Giorgio is paid the second installment for the last chapel on the left by Maria Koseglavich, widow of Pribislavich. (*Ibid.*, p. 77.) June 8, 1448 Giorgio Radoslavich pays 73 ducats for his chapel, the second on the left. (*Ibid.*, p. 78.)

September 13, 1445 Giorgio Radoslavcich commissions the cornices, balustrades, a coat of arms and colonnettes to go over his chapel in the Cathedral at a cost of 40 ducats. (Frey—Molé, p. 149, doc. 78.) December 31, 1448 Radoslavcich pays Giorgio the first installment of 20 ducats. (Frey—Molé, p. 149, doc. 78. Cf. Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 78.)

September 1, 1446 The procurators of the Cathedral renew and prolong Giorgio's contract as »Protomagister« even though his first contract has not yet expired. Giorgio is hired for a period of ten years to be counted from the day on which the previous contract will expire (September 1, 1447). His salary, which will now be paid every six months, is raised by 5 ducats. He is permitted to leave Šibenik for one month each year in order to attend to his other work, but for the period of his absence he will not be paid. He is also permitted to remain in Venice without pay for two months every two years on condition that he do no work there except on his own house in the parish of S. Marcelliano (given him as a marriage gift by his mother-in-law, Pasqualina). He is authorized to keep three apprentices at the expense of the church. He will continue to receive the house in which he is living or another one if he so chooses. Giorgio obligates himself to work devotedly on the church, to supervise and direct the masters and, if necessary, to travel outside Šibenik, for which he will be compensated separately. He further promises to keep accounts for each master. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 76.) September 30, 1446 Giorgio receives 30 ducats of his salary. (*Ibid.*, p. 76, n. 50.) January 18, 1447 He receives 46 ducats. (*Ibid.*, p. 76, n. 50.)

April 27, 1442, September 29, 1443, February 27, 1444 Documents attest to Giorgio's presence in Šibenik. (Fosco, *La Cattedrale di Sebenico*, p. 52; Frey—Molé, pp. 134f, docs. 25, 29.) Soon after April 16, 1444 Giorgio goes to Brač. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 74.) June 27, 1444 Giorgio is back again in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 136, doc. 31.) October 19, 1444 A carved wooden *ancona* with tracery, to be painted by Doimo q. Marino da Spalato and Antonio da Spalato for the executors of the testa-

ment of Francesco di Domenico da Sebenico, is in the shop of Giorgio da Sebenico. (Molé in *Jahrb. Zentralkomm.*, 1912, Beiblatt, col. 146, doc. 10.)

CHAPELS IN S. FRANCESCO, ZADAR

October 9, 1444 Contract made at Zadar between the friars and the procurators of the monastery of S. Francesco, Zadar, and Giorgio da Sebenico for the construction in the center of the church of a platform with three apsidal chapels with columns, bases, capitals, foliage and other corresponding things according to a drawing on paper. The work is to be finished within three years. Everything, except the platform and apses, is to be of polished white stone. At its own expense, the monastery is obligated to erect the wall behind the rear of the chapels, to make the foundations for the columns and to adapt certain walls of the church, should they prove insufficient. The monastery must provide the wood for the scaffolding, the pumice stone for the apses, lime and sand. They must have the hewn stone transported from the port at Zadar to the church at their own expense. All the rest of the work must be done at Giorgio's expense. For his work Giorgio is to receive 285 gold ducats. (Praga in *Rassegna marchigiana*, 1928—29, pp. 77f) May 6, 1445 Biagio Pribislavich declares that he received in Giorgio's name 20 gold ducats from a procurator of the monastery of S. Francesco for the construction of three chapels in the church. At this time Giorgio is residing in Šibenik. (Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, p. 159, n. 314.) October 19, 1445 Giovanni Pietro da Monte receives 60 gold ducats for Giorgio for the same work. (See the transcription by Giuseppe Praga: *Bibl. Marc.*, MS. it., CL. VI, 528 (=12322), c. 65 reported with errors by Chiappini in *Notizie di Palazzo Albani*, ii, no. 3, 1973, pp. 25f.) January 3, 1446 Giovanni Pietro da Monte receives 40 gold ducats for Giorgio. (Praga in *Bibl. Marc.*, MS. it., Cl. VI, 528 (=12322), cc. 66, 67.) September 15, 1449 At Zadar Giorgio declares having received on two occasions a further 74 gold ducats. (Praga in *Rassegna marchigiana*, 1928—29, pp. 78f) The chapels are no longer preserved although two consoles above the arches located behind the high altar of the church probably belonged to them. April 14, 1452 Giorgio mentions capitals which he had had carved in the convent of S. Francesco, Zadar. The capitals are not preserved. (See the contract of that date with Andrea Aleši for the execution of portions of the facade of the Loggia dei Mercanti, Ancona: Frey—Molé, p. 154, doc. 98.)

TOMB OF ST. RAINERIUS, S. BENEDETTO, SPLIT

1444 Giorgio is commissioned to build a chapel with its altar and tomb dedicated to St. Rainerius in S. Benedetto, later S. Eufemia, in the cloister of the Benedictine nuns in Split. Funds

had been provided by Martin Ohmović, citizen of Split, and Restoje, »prothovestarius« of the Bosnian kingdom. When Ohmović died, the executors of his will, Toma Rapalić and Rajner Lavrentiev, selected Giorgio da Sebenico to take charge of the work in return for 320 gold ducats. Giorgio obligates himself to complete work on the chapel with its tomb and altar within two years, according to his own design. (Kukuljević, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, iii, pp. 254f.) August 4, 1445 Giorgio receives 90 ducats in Split. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 74, n. 39.) July 1447 Giorgio authorizes Paolo degli Aureli da Montona to receive money at Split for him from the executors of Ohmović's will and from Restoje's representative. (Kukuljević, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, iii, p. 254.) September 28, 1447 Giorgio confirms having received 76 ducats via Paolo degli Aureli for work on the chapel which he has yet to complete. Frey—Molé, p. 139, doc. 44. The names of the executors are given here as Thoma de Papallis and Marco Picinichio.) On two other occasions, Paolo receives 40 ducats more for Giorgio. (Kukuljević, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, iii, pp. 254f.) January 4, 1448 Andrea Aleši is commissioned to construct the chapel of St. Catherine in S. Domenico, Split according to the model of the Chapel of St. Rainerius. (*Ibid.*, i, p. 4) June 27, 1448 Giorgio receives another 9 ducats, 20 soldi in settlement of his account. Rapalić and Lavrentiev declare before the count of Split that they are well satisfied with the chapel, which had been executed in the manner and in the time in which Giorgio was obligated to do it. (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 255.) In spite of the destruction of the church, the Chapel of St. Rainerius survived as the chapel of the military hospital which occupied the former cloister of S. Benedetto. The tomb was moved to the parish church of B. D. Marije uznesene na nebo at Kaštel Lukšić in 1835 and installed the following year. (Folnesics, p. 195.)

SARCHOPHAGUS OF NICOLO AND STEFANO DRAGANICH, S. FRANCESCO, ŠIBENIK

January 5, 1447 Masters Lorenzo Pincino da Venezia and Andrea Butcich da Sebenico undertake the execution of a tomb for Ser Nicolo Draganich and his brother, Stefano, to be finished by the coming Lent, according to the design of Giorgio da Sebenico, for 46 lire. Intended for the Chapel of St. Martin in S. Francesco, Šibenik, the sarcophagus is currently located in the cemetery of Pirovac near Šibenik. (Miagostovich in *Il nuovo cronista di Sebenico*, 1897—98, pp. 276f.)

January 14, 1447 to January 10, 1448 Documents at fairly frequent intervals attest to Giorgio's presence at Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, pp. 138ff, docs. 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 47, 51; Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 79, n. 68.) May 18 and 27, 1447 Giorgio is in Korčula. (*Ibid.*, p. 77.) He probably went there

soon after March 21, 1447. (*Ibid.*, p. 77.) June 21, 1447 He is back in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 139, doc. 41.)

TOMB OF ST. ANASTASIUS, S. DOIMO, SPLIT

June 30, 1448 In a contract made at Split with the procurators of the Cathedral of St. Domnius, Giorgio undertakes the execution of the Chapel of St. Anastasius with its altar. The chapel is to occupy the site of the former chapel of St. Anastasius which is to be demolished. Stone from the old chapel may be used for the new chapel. Three stones in the possession of the church are also put at Giorgio's disposal with the exception of the paintings. The new chapel is to conform in appearance to the Chapel of St. Domnius (constructed in 1427 by Bonino da Milano) to the right of the high altar. The vault of the Chapel of St. Anastasius is to be made of tufa. Stone, iron and lead are to be supplied at the expense of the sculptor. For the work, which is to be finished within two and a half years (December 30, 1450), Giorgio is to receive 306 gold ducats. (Frey—Molé, pp. 141f, doc. 55.)

November 20, 1448 An apprentice is accepted by Giorgio, his brother-in-law, Giovanni Pietro da Monte, and Jacopo Nicolini, associates in Nicolini's spice shop. (Frey—Molé, p. 143, doc. 58.) December 9, 1448 The three men wind up a spice business which had lasted for nine years: half belongs to Nicolini and half to the brothers-in-law. (Frey—Molé, p. 143, doc. 59.) November 29, 1449 and August 18, 1450 Jacopo Nicolini sells cloth in Giorgio's name. (Frey—Molé, p. 147, doc. 71; Praga in *Rassegna marchigiana*, 1928—29, pp. 79f.)

May 2, 1449 to May 24, 1449 Four documents attest to Giorgio's presence in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 145, docs. 65, 66, 67; Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 79, n. 68.) August 23, 1449 Giorgio decides to go to Pula. (*Ibid.*, p. 80.) September 6 and 7, 1449 Giorgio is at Cres. (*Ibid.*, p. 80.) September 20, 1449 He is in Šibenik again. (Frey—Molé, p. 147, doc. 70.)

TOMB SLAB OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF ZADAR

Between November 16, 1449 and December 2, 1449 At Zadar, the priest Bogdan commissions a certain Master Giorgio to carve the tomb slab of the archbishop. The beginning of the contract is missing. The remainder states that in its second hand, the effigy is to hold the staff customarily carried before the archbishop and at its feet, books are to be carved. Running across the bottom and top of the tomb slab there are to be two slabs as long as the main slab and one and a half feet high. In each of the secondary slabs there are to be two nude putti in either corner holding a scroll. In the lower scroll the epitaph of the

archbishop is to be inscribed. Around the whole thing there is to be a stone frame one palm wide carved with a vine and other ornaments, according to the best judgment of the sculptor. The slab is to be carved of unblemished white stone. It is to be finished and installed by the coming Lent. The sculptor is to receive 45 gold ducats for the monument and his labor. (Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, p. 159, n. 319 with a date of the end of 1448. The date given above comes from the transcription of the document made by Praga: Bibl. Marc., MS. it., Cl. VI, 528 (=12322), cc. 497f.) Bogdan was executor of the testament of the Archbishop of Zadar, Lorenzo Venier. (Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, p. 52.) Venier died in 1449. (The tomb slab of Archbishop Venier with its effigy in the Cathedral of St. Anastasia at Zadar was described, and its epitaph transcribed, by Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, Venice, v, 1775, p. 117.) The fragments of the Venier tomb slab preserved in the Narodni muzej, Zadar, do not betray Giorgio's hand. The sculptor referred to in the contract could be Giorgio Milosevich, called Livaza, stonemason from Zadar, who was active there in the 1440s.

December 9, 1449 to February 26, 1450 Documents at frequent intervals attest to Giorgio's presence at Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, pp. 147ff, docs. 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80.)

NEW CITY OF PAG

December 19, 1449 Contract between the community of Pag and Giorgio da Sebenico. (Galvani, *Il re d'armi di Sebenico*, i, p. 159, n. 1. The document is no longer preserved.) In 1443 the citizens of Terra Vecchia on the island of Pag had decided to abandon the old town and to rebuild the main city of the island in another place. December 19, 1449 The contract, according to which Master Rado Radostich was to execute certain works for Giorgio for the new city of Pag, is annulled. Rado promises not to undertake any other work of stonemasonry there. Should he nevertheless do so, he is obligated to pay Giorgio 1 ducat per foot of length of wall. (Frey—Molé, pp. 147, doc. 73. Cf. Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 80, n. 83.) December 19, 1449 Contract made at Šibenik between Giorgio and the stonemasons, Giovanni Strelch and Vuchasino Marcovich, in which the latter promise to execute the city walls with a tower which the community of Pag had commissioned from Giorgio. One third of the expenses are Giorgio's; the other two thirds are to be borne by the stonemasons. Giorgio is to supply lime and sand and to have the foundations of the walls excavated as he is obligated to do by the community of Pag. The 5½ ducats per fathom of constructed masonry for which Giorgio is to be paid by the community of Pag is to be divided in the following manner: Giorgio is to keep half a ducat and the remainder is to be divided into three equal por-

tions for Giorgio and the two masons. The masons are not allowed to undertake any work for Pag without the prior permission of Giorgio. If they should do so nevertheless, they are obliged to give Giorgio half a ducat for every fathom of constructed masonry. Likewise, Giorgio must give them the same amount if he should undertake to construct another building there. The contract is valid only if the work is finished within the time limit assigned to Giorgio. Finally, the associate of Strelch and Marcovich, Giovanni Franulov, must erect a wall there 3 braccia high. February 6, 1451 The contract is annulled because it cannot be observed. (Frey—Molé, p. 148, doc. 75. Cf. Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 80, n. 83.) January 8, 1463 Giorgio owes Alegreto di Nicolo da Cataro 25 lire for transporting a stone from the island of Brač to Pag. (Frey—Molé, p. 158, doc. 117.)

SACRISTY OF THE CATHEDRAL, ŠIBENIK

March 6, 1450 Contract between Giorgio and the procurators of the Cathedral, Šibenik recorded in a contract of March 1, 1452 for the construction of the sacristy. In execution of the first contract, Giorgio went to Brač where he quarried and worked a great quantity of stone destined for the sacristy. (Frey—Molé, pp. 151f, doc. 97.) November 2, 1450 The procurator of the Cathedral gives Giorgio the right to 507 lire, 10 soldi which the Cathedral was expecting to receive. (Frey—Molé, p. 149, doc. 81.) January 13, 1451 Giorgio receives the money. (Frey—Molé, p. 149, doc. 81.) November 24, 1451 Two contracts are made at Šibenik between Giorgio and the stonemasons, Luca Radoevich da Ragusa and Antonio Vukoslavich da Sebenico respectively, for the working of ten large pieces of dressed stone on Brač for the sacristy, according to the terracotta model made by Giorgio. Luca Radoevich promises, in addition, to carve 100 pieces of colonnette shafts for the sacristy. (Frey—Molé, pp. 150f, docs. 92, 94.) March 1, 1452 Contract made at Šibenik between Giorgio and the procurators of the Cathedral for the construction of the sacristy to be erected next to the Baptistery. The contract of March 6, 1450, as well as all contracts made after that, are annulled. Giorgio assumes a debt of 2043 Lire, 6 soldi to the church which the overseers had disbursed for dressed stones, but the stones then pass into Giorgio's possession. The plan, elevation and measurements of the sacristy are described. The work is to be done according to the terracotta model, at Giorgio's expense, with stones quarried at Brač. Giorgio is to receive 600 gold ducats for the work. He is also to receive two large iron chains for the vault, lead, lime, wood for scaffolding and rope which he is obliged to give back afterwards. The work is to be finished within 20 months (November 1, 1453), after which time Giorgio is at liberty for the following

six years. During that period, although under no obligation to the Cathedral and drawing no salary from it, Giorgio may continue to use the house, storeroom and workshop that the procurators had placed at his disposal, without paying rent. At the end of six years Giorgio is obligated to resume his contractual obligations to the Cathedral which will last for another seven years. Giorgio and his heirs are given the right to quarry stone at the Cathedral's quarry at Brač without payment whenever they may wish. (Frey—Molé, pp. 151ff, doc. 97.) April 17, 1452 A contract is made at Šibenik between Giorgio and Master Antonio Busato for the dressing of ten large stone slabs for the sacristy to be done at Brač according to the terracotta model. (Frey—Molé, p. 154, doc. 99.) February 18, 1454 The payment of Giorgio's salary from the Cathedral is due. (Frey—Molé, p. 156, doc. 104.) March 16, 1454 Act of approval and final accounting with Giorgio for the construction of the sacristy. Giorgio remains in debt to the church for 27 lire, 11 soldi. (Frey—Molé, pp. 155f, doc. 104.)

PORTAL OF S. FRANCESCO ALLE SCALE, ANCONA

November 24, 1451 Two contracts made at Šibenik between Giorgio and the stonemasons, Pietro Drassoievich and Rado da Ragusa in the one case, and the stonemasons, Antonio Vukoslavich and Luca Ratchovich in the other, concerning the quarrying and working at Brač of 90 fathoms (according to the measure of Korčula), and 400 feet, respectively, of round stone steps. (Frey—Molé, pp. 150f, docs. 93, 94.) These commissions must apply to the portal of S. Francesco alle Scale, Ancona, which is known to have been preceded by a flight of rounded steps. (Frey—Molé, pp. 96f.) The original contract for the portal must pre-date the contracts of November 24, 1451. It must also pre-date the contract of October 22, 1451 for the Loggia dei Mercanti, Ancona, at the writing of which Giorgio was absent only two months later upon his arrival in Ancona. The contract for the portal could date from 1450. The chronicles of Ancona of Lazzaro Bernabei (to 1497) and Lando Ferretti (to 1532 with one event dating from 1557) state that Giorgio arrived in Ancona ca. 1450. (Gianuzzi in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1894, p. 417, n.) Between March 6, 1450 and November 2, 1450 Giorgio's name is not recorded in the documents of Šibenik or elsewhere. Between November 2, 1450 and November 24, 1451 Giorgio's name is recorded at Šibenik at fairly frequent intervals. April 18, 1452 Contract made at Šibenik between Giorgio and Master Giovanni Pribislavlich according to which Giovanni is to carve certain architectural details according to Giorgio's measurements and a drawing on parchment. The building is not specified but can be deduced to be S. Francesco. The architectural elements

are: a cornice with leaves to be placed above the doorway; four capitals below the cornice; all the other capitals and finials above the hood; the cornice beneath the hood; the completion of the hood which Giorgio will give roughhewn to Giovanni; the cornice carved »ad botum ad folia« above the hood; two window parapets. The dressed stone is to be supplied by Giorgio. The work of Giovanni and his *garzoni* is to be done in Šibenik with the exception of the hood and three pinnacles which are to be carved on Brač. Giovanni is to be paid 144 gold ducats for his work. As part of his salary, Giovanni receives a payment of 392 lire, 9 soldi. (Frey—Molé, p. 155, doc. 101; corrected by Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, n. 83, n. 101.) July 9, 1453 Pietro Drassoievich drew up an account with Giorgio indicating that some work had been done on the stairs. (Frey—Molé, p. 155, doc. 102.) July 11, 1453 Giovanni Pribislavlich received an installment of his salary. (Frey—Molé, p. 155, doc. 103.) July 1, 1455 Contract made at Šibenik between Giorgio and Giovanni Pribislavlich apparently concerning the continuation of the aforementioned work. The following architectural elements are mentioned: three finials in the gables above the hood; the projecting fields above the hood between the cornice made of leaves and the cornice made of moldings; 4 middle-sized finials (?; there is a lacuna in the document here) above the pinnacles; 4 capitals of the niches containing the figures; 2 pinnacles above the tabernacles containing the figures; the rest of the large central pinnacle. Giovanni is to carve those 23 pieces that are at the top where the upper figures must stand. He must still receive for the completion of the work 15 ducats, 4 lire, 12 soldi. Giovanni is to go to Ancona with Giorgio to finish these works and promises to stay there as long as Giorgio remains and to help Giorgio finish certain works that Giorgio must do there. In return, Giorgio promises to provide Giovanni with a house there for which he need not pay rent, a certain quantity of grain and 22 soldi for every day of work, to be paid every 15 days. He further promises to provide work for Giovanni's apprentices. (Frey—Molé, pp. 156f, doc. 109; corrected by Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, pp. 86f, n. 124.) December 6, 1458 Giorgio on the one hand, and the two syndics and overseers of the construction of the convent and church of S. Francesco, on the other, promise to put the disagreement which had arisen between them during the work on the portal before three arbiters. (Gianuzzi in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1894, pp. 420f, doc. 2.) December 21, 1458 Decision in which the church is condemned to pay Giorgio the remainder of 660 gold ducats promised him in the commission for the portal. Giorgio is required to finish the work. He is also required to give back the three columns which he had borrowed from the church and employed in the work; to pay for the stone which he had received from the monastery and used

in the portal, the value of which is to be determined by an expert; to pay the monastery 15 ducats for the transportation of the unworked stone from the depot at the harbor to the building site and for the deterioration of the wood of the scaffolding. (Ibid., pp. 421ff, doc. 3.) February 6, 1459 Election of three new arbiters to adjudicate an appeal of the first verdict advanced by both sides. (Ibid., p. 424, doc. 4.) March 1, 3, 4, 1459 Both sides urge the arbiters to come to a decision. (Ibid., pp. 425f, docs. 5, 6, 7, 8.) March 14, 1459 Second decision with which the first verdict is confirmed. In addition, the stone which Giorgio had received from the monastery and for which he was required to pay, by the first sentence, is evaluated at 5 ducats. (Ibid., pp. 426ff, doc. 9.) September 26, 1459 Decision according to which 180 ducats of the money to be paid to Giorgio by the authorities of S. Francesco which had been sequestered for the benefit of the commune of Ancona, is to remain in the hands of the syndics and overseers of S. Francesco until Giorgio returns to Ancona and settles his account with the captain of the port of Ancona or sends a fidejussor to guarantee that Giorgio will pay whatever sum will be imposed by the judicial sentence. (Ibid., p. 431, doc. 12.)

LOGGIA DEI MERCANTI, ANCONA

July 30, 1451 The Council of Ancona empowers the *Regolatori* to consult with the *Anziani* concerning measures to be taken in regard to the building of the Loggia dei Mercanti, all but the facade of which had been completely restored in ca. 1443. (Ibid., p. 413, n. 1.) October 22, 1451 Giorgio is commissioned by the commune of Ancona to erect the facade of the loggia for a price of 900 gold ducats. Giorgio is to follow a drawing on paper in the possession of the commune. The work is to be performed at the expense of the sculptor, with the exception of rope and wood for the scaffolding, sand, lime, lead and copper, which the commune will supply. In addition, the commune will provide two carved columns which are to be found inside the loggia. Life-size statues, a large horse, and the arms of the commune in relief are specified. Work is to be finished within two or three years measured from the date of the first installment of Giorgio's pay. Giorgio is to have arrived at the level of the balconies (second floor) by the end of one year. When finished, the loggia is to be judged by the officials of the loggia along with Giovanni di Biagio, Nicolo di Leonardo and Dionisio di Giovanni (Benincasa). Giorgio was not present at the writing of this contract. Dionisio di Giovanni who, we may infer, conducted negotiations with Giorgio, promises that Giorgio will come to Ancona by the end of December and will accept all the conditions contained in the contract and will promise to observe them under a penalty of 100 ducats. Giorgio did, in fact, arrive before the end of December and accepted the contract.

(Ibid., pp. 413ff, doc. 1.) According to Lazzaro Bernabei and Lando Ferretti, it was Giorgio who, having conceived the desire to erect a new facade, made a drawing or model of it. He was then brought by Dionisio Benincasa before the *Anziani* and *Regolatori* to whom he showed it and his design was approved. But since the commune lacked the funds for its construction, it was paid for by Dionisio and other merchants who subsequently reimbursed themselves with customs' fees. (Ibid., pp. 417f, n.) April 14, 1452 Contract made at Šibenik between Giorgio and Andrea Aleš. Andrea promises to execute the following architectural and sculptural elements on the basis of a drawing in Giorgio's possession, for a building which is not specified but which can be deduced to be the Loggia dei Mercanti. The measurements of the building are given. The elements to be carved by Andrea are (starting at the top): the finials of the piers, the main cornice with leaves carved above in the manner of a gutter; windows, each of which is to have two tendrils of leaves over a tracery opening, carved both inside and out; the polishing and finishing of four figures five feet high which Giorgio will give to Andrea roughhewn; the cornice carved with leaves; three archivolts carved inside and out; a square pilaster the height of one of the middle columns. Andrea is not obligated to carve two columns (which are probably those supplied by the commune), but only their bases and capitals which are to imitate the capitals which Giorgio had made for the convent of S. Francesco, Zadar. Nor is Andrea obligated to carve the smooth central field for which a horse and rider are destined. The work is to be done on the island of Brač. All stones up to the first cornice are to be carved by the end of the year. All the work is to be finished within two years and consigned to Giorgio at Brač. Giorgio promises to supply all the necessary stone and to pay Andrea 220 ducats. (Frey—Molé, pp. 153f, doc. 98.) December 28, 1454 Giorgio receives 50 ducats for the Loggia, apparently the final payment. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 84, n. 108.)

March 1, 1452 to May 18, 1452 Documents at close intervals attest to Giorgio's presence at Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, pp. 151ff, docs. 97, 98, 99, 101.) July 1452 Giorgio visits Dubrovnik. (Fisković in Dubrovnik. JAZU. Historijski Inst., *Analī*, 1952, p. 145.) January 20, 1453 Giorgio is present in Zadar. (Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, p. 160, n. 324.) July 9 and 11, 1453 Two documents attest to Giorgio's presence at Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 155, docs. 102, 103.)

January 7, 1454 The executors of the estate of Pria, widow of Francesco Cognevich, commission Giorgio to build a chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross in the Cathedral of Šibenik. It is finished by March 5, 1455. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, pp. 84f.)

March 16, 1454 Giorgio is present at Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, pp. 155f, doc. 104.)

STONE FOR S. FRANCESCO, RIMINI

June 1, 1454 Giorgio meets with the representative of Sigismondo Malatesta, Matteo de' Pasti, at Fano. On this occasion, record is made of the complaint that Giorgio has failed to observe a contract made, through the mediation of Matteo de' Pasti, with Sigismondo, according to which Giorgio promised to bring from Istria to Rimini a certain quantity of stone within a certain period of time for the chapels which Malatesta was constructing. Sigismondo was forced to request marble from Verona. (Grigioni in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, 1910, pp. 90f.) Apparently, Giorgio did send some stone to Rimini. (Praga in *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, 1932, p. 530.)

December 8, 1454 Giovanni Brasola, a former assistant of Giorgio's, presents a petition in the court at Split. Having heard the petition and Giorgio's defense, the count and judges decree that both men should betake themselves to the quarry at Brač where, by Epiphany, they should voluntarily recognize their differences concerning the quarry to the extent possible. Giovanni must prove his charges against Giorgio by Epiphany and in the meantime, Giorgio, who has been charged with owing money to Giovanni, must give a pledge of 60 ducats to be paid by a guarantor. (Ibid., p. 529, doc. 1.) January 14, 1455 Giorgio replies to the charges, at Split. From his reply we can deduce that the quarrel between the two men had begun over a year earlier. We also learn that Giovanni had demanded among other things, 200 ducats for stone which Giorgio had transported to Rimini and Ancona plus wages for five days work done by him and three apprentices. Giorgio denies all Giovanni's charges and petitions, in turn, to be reimbursed for his expenses occasioned by Giovanni's charges, in traveling from Šibenik to Split and Brač where he remained until Epiphany. Giorgio also asks to be reimbursed for having been made to detain boats on two occasions. Finally he asks to be freed of the pledge of 60 ducats, since Giovanni has not yet been able to prove any of his charges against him. (Ibid., pp. 529ff, doc. 2.)

June 30, 1455 Giorgio receives a loan of 620 lire from the procurators of the Cathedral of Šibenik after having been paid 200 ducats by them. (Frey—Molé, p. 156, doc. 108; Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 86.) June 30, 1455 As a guarantor of the loan, Giorgio names Jacopo Nicolini, his partner in the spice business. In return for his guarantee, Giorgio promises Jacopo not to demand any accounts from the business for the duration of the guarantee. (Ibid., p. 86.) June 30, 1455 Giorgio further promises to return from Ancona in a year's time and sooner if he can, in order to work on the Cathedral in

accordance with his contract. (Frey—Molé, p. 156, doc. 108.) June 30, 1455 Giorgio purchases a house in the parish of S. Gregorio at Šibenik. November 1, 1457 An installment is paid on it. May 7, 1467 The final payment for it is made. (Frey—Molé, p. 156, doc. 107; Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 86.) July 1, 1455 Giorgio is still in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, pp. 156f, doc. 109.) August 5 and 31, 1456 Giorgio is once again in Šibenik. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 87.) By September 5, 1456 he had left again, apparently because of the plague. (Ibid., p. 87.) August 21, 1457 The procurators of the Cathedral at Šibenik name Giorgio procurator in order that he may seek in Trogir, Split, Zadar, Korčula, Hvar and Brač the stonemasons, Giovanni Pribislavlich, Matteo Stoislavlich, Radmilo Ratchovich, Alegro Stipagnich and Pietro Bercich who had apparently scattered on account of the plague, and to force them to execute the work for the Cathedral with which they had been charged on October 8, 1456 or else to find their replacements. (Frey—Molé, p. 157, doc. 112.) November 1, 1457 to March 16, 1458 Documents at very frequent intervals attest to Giorgio's presence in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 156, doc. 107; Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 88, n. 141.) June 22, 1458 Giorgio and his brother-in-law, Giovanni Pietro da Monte, have business relations with Antonio da Cremona, spice merchant at Split. (Praga in *Rassegna marchigiana*, 1928—29, p. 80.)

December 6, 1458 to March 14, 1459 Documents at fairly frequent intervals attest to Giorgio's presence in Ancona. (Gianuizzi in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1894, pp. 420ff, docs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9.) June 8, 1459 Giorgio buys a house situated in the parish of S. Maria del Mercato at Ancona. (Ibid., p. 429, doc. 10.) Not long before September 26, 1459 Giorgio was in Ravenna where he made Don Pietro da Venezia, abbot of the monastery of S. Apollinare in Classe, his procurator. (Ibid., p. 431, doc. 12. See also Frey—Molé, p. 124, n. 139.)

PORTAL OF St. AGOSTINO, ANCONA

June 28, 1460 Giorgio is commissioned by the monks of S. Agostino, Ancona and two commissioners delegated by the *Consiglio comunale* to make the portal of the church. The work is to be finished within three years. The portal is to be executed according to a drawing on parchment in Giorgio's possession. It is to be as wide as the portal of S. Francesco alle Scale. Its summit is to reach the part underneath the large oculus already existing on the facade of the church. The work is to be done at Giorgio's expense and under his direction. The church is to supply the wood for the scaffolding, the iron implements plus lead, lime, bricks and rope as well as an open area for unloading stone and a house where the workers on the portal may stay without paying rent. For his work Giorgio is to receive 650 gold ducats of which part is to be paid with a house in the parish of S. Pietro,

Ancona equal in value to 300 ducats. (Gianuzzi, *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1894, pp. 432ff, doc. 13.) July 3, 1460 Giorgio takes possession of the house. (*Ibid.*, p. 435, doc. 14.) September 16, 1465 Through his procurator Giorgio rents the house for three years to Ludovica Bonarelli at 6 ducats per year. (*Ibid.*, pp. 437f, doc. 16.) June 23, 1487 Paolo, son and heir of Giorgio, names a procurator in his lawsuit against the monks, syndics and overseers of S. Agostino. (*Ibid.*, p. 441f, doc. 20.) August 14, 1493 Michele di Giovanni da Milano and Giovanni Veneziano are commissioned to complete the portal of S. Agostino begun and left incomplete by Giorgio, for a price of 250 ducats. They are to follow Giorgio's designs with the following additions: a lion at the bottom of either side of the portal, like the lions on the portal of the convent of S. Domenico at Recanti; two putti above these lions; above the putti a vase with a vine as designed (by Giorgio) which goes up to the cornice already placed on the portal. Above the vine the two sculptors are to install a frieze with foliage with its tabernacle reaching to the cornice, as designed. There should be installed red or black stones from the foot of the lower pier up to the first cornice in the space between the columns and the pilasters. The two figures over the columns (SS. Monica and Nicola da Tolentino) should be finished according to the measurements with which they were begun by Giorgio. The tabernacle already made should be used for one of the figures. The second tabernacle of stone should be executed as designed. The figures of the Virgin Mary and the Annunciate Angel are to be finished and placed above the arch of the door. Above the cornice that will be placed over the figures of the Annunciation, a cornice made by Giorgio should be installed. And above this cornice there should be carved the inscription that appears in the said drawing (NL EXCEPTO IIIIX TIBI VNO FVIT SIMILIS IVENCTVS). Above the inscription there should be an astragal consisting of a double band of leaves as drawn and above the astragal, the figure of St. Augustine with the tent and the two angels, one finished, the other going to be finished, should be installed; above the tent a head with leaves as it appears in the drawing. From the foot of the door to the oculus there should be an astragal with leaves as designed and an astragal with leaves around the oculus; within the oculus small stone arches; above the oculus a half-length figure of God the Father approximately four Venetian feet high on a flowered bracket. The work is to be finished within a year from the coming September. The two masters promise to finish the figures or the heads begun, but not finished, by Giorgio (probably Beato Agostino Trionfi da Ancona on the spectator's right and S. Velerio, Bishop of Ippona on the left.) The stone should be joined so that no seams are visible. (*Ibid.*, pp. 442ff, doc. 21.)

September 25, 1460 Giorgio is in Šibenik where the procurators of the

Cathedral beg him to inspect their quarry at Brač. (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 90.) June 16, 1461 Giorgio mentions a contract made previously at Ravenna. (*Ibid.*, p. 89.) October 16, 1462 Francesco Squarcione, living at Padua, names a procurator in order to recover from Giorgio Schiavone, living at Zadar, the money and objects described in a sentence pronounced at Padua by two arbiters, Pietro da Milano and Giorgio da Sebenico (who had probably been named arbiter by his son-in-law, Giorgio Schiavone). (Lazzarini and Moschetti in *Archivio veneto*, 1908, p. 286, doc. 49.) December 18, 1462 to April 18, 1463 Documents at very frequent intervals attest to Giorgio's presence in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 158, docs. 116, 118, 119, 122; Kolendić in *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 1920, pp. 132f, doc. 14; idem in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 90, n. 160.) October 22, 1463 to November 17, 1463 Documents attest to Giorgio's presence at Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 159, docs. 124, 125; Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 90, n. 160.) March 12, 1464 and May 2, 1464 Giorgio is present in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 159, docs. 127, 128.)

DUBROVNIK

June 5, 1464 The council of Dubrovnik decides to hire Giorgio da Sebenico and discusses the terms to be offered him. (Fabriczy in *JPK*, 1904, Beiheft, p. 106; Frey—Molé, p. 85, n. 95; Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, p. 39.) This decision followed the serious burning of the Palazzo dei Rettori on August 8, 1463 and the rejection on May 5, 1464 of the designs for the reconstruction of the palace submitted by Michelozzo who had been at work at Dubrovnik as state engineer since June 8, 1461. (Folnesics, p. 194, doc. 67; Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, pp. 37ff.) June 23, 1464 Giorgio enters the service of the commune as »Ingeniaricus« for four months at a salary of 600 hyperpers per year. (See the document of November 2, 1464: Fabriczy in *JPK*, 1904, Beiheft, p. 106.) July 3, 1464 The *campanile* of S. Caterina is to be built according to Giorgio's drawing or model. (Folnesics, p. 194, doc. 70; Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, p. 39. This document is dated June 8, 1464 by Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, p. 93.) July 19, 1464 The Torre Mincetta, built under Michelozzo's supervision and according to his model, is to be completed according to Giorgio's opinion and design. (Fabriczy in *JPK*, 1904, Beiheft, p. 106; Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, p. 39.) September 25, 1464 Proposals made to extend Giorgio's contract for another eight months or a year at various salaries. The term of eight months is accepted. (Folnesics, p. 194, doc. 74. Cf. Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, p. 40.) November 2, 1464 Giorgio's contract is prolonged for eight months beyond its date of expiration (October 23, 1464.) (Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, p. 95 gives this date as

September 28, 1464.) Giorgio is to receive his former salary. (Fabriczy, *JPK*, 1904, Beiheft, p. 106.) November 10, 1464 The decision is made to demolish what was left standing of the facade and the tower of the Palazzo dei Rettori and to reuse the stones for the palace which was then being reconstructed. (Folnesics, pp. 194f, doc. 75.) Repairs were finally completed by Salvi di Michiele in 1468. March 25, 1465 The council of Dubrovnik gives Giorgio permission to go Šibenik with the proviso that he return in 15 days. (Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, p. 41. Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, p. 95 gives this date as March 29, 1465.) March 28, 1465 The small council of Dubrovnik decides that the statue of S. Biagio, the patron saint of the city, which was to be made for the city gate at the port, be decorated according to Giorgio's own decision and the proposal he had presented to the *Rettore* and small council. (Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, p. 40; Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, p. 95.) This is probably the statue formerly in the garden of the Hospice of the Domus Christi, Dubrovnik and now in the Historijski institut, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Lapad (Dubrovnik). June 5, 1465 The decision is made to build the *campanile* of S. Caterina according to Giorgio's opinion. (Folnesics, p. 195, docs. 76, 77; Beritić, *Utvrdjenja grada Dubrovnika*, p. 96. Cf. Montani, *Juraj Dalmatinac*, p. 41.) November 1465 An outbreak of the plague causes Giorgio to flee Dubrovnik. (Caplow in *JSAH*, 1972, p. 114.)

March 15, 1465 At Šibenik Giorgio pays the stonemason, Pietro Dragissa, the final installment of his salary for work done with Giorgio on the island of Brač up to that date. (Frey—Molé, p. 159, doc. 130. The document does not occur in its proper chronological sequence in the series published by Frey—Molé and given Giorgio's occupation at Dubrovnik at this time, I suspect that the date is mistaken.)

March 23, 1466 Letter from Battista Sforza at Urbino to the *Priori* of Siena in response to their letter seeking »maestro Giorgio schiavo«. She informs them that he is working at Gubbio for her husband, Federigo da Montefeltro, and she promises to inform Federigo of their request as soon as he returns from Milan. (Gino Franceschini, *Figure del rinascimento urbinate*, Urbino, 1959, p. 84, n. 44.) There is no proof that the »maestro Giorgio schiavo« referred to is Giorgio da Sebenico. Indeed, it would be the only instance in which the sculptor is referred to in this way.

July 14, 1466 Giorgio is present at Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 159, doc. 131.)

NEW CITY OF PAG

1466 Antonio Palčić, Bishop of Osor, makes a contract with Giorgio for the manufacture, for the new Palazzo Ves-covile at Pag, of ten columns with

capitals and bases of good stone carved with foliage to resemble those of the Palazzo dei Pretori at Pag, to be placed in the courtyard, and two balconies of better quality than those of the Palazzo dei Pretori, with the bishop's arms over the arches. The work is to cost 230 gold ducats. One balcony and the ten columns were never erected. (Zagreb, *Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, Archive, MS., Marco Laurus Rnić, *Delle riflessioni storiche sopra l'antico stato civile ecclesiastico della città et isola di Pago osia dell'antica Gissa. Fasse a diversi autori, privilegi et altre carte pubbliche e private*, i, 1779, pp. 252f quoted by Fisković in *Ljetopis jugoslavenske akademije*, 1949—50, p. 63, n. 24.) 1466 Giorgio contracts with Giorgio de Missolis, procurator of S. Maria, Pag, to execute the frontispiece above its main chapel. (Rnić, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 252f quoted by Fisković in *Ljetopis jugoslavenske akademije*, 1949—50, p. 63, n. 24.) 1467 Giorgio is commissioned by Giorgio de Missolis to construct for him the Chapel of S. Niccolò in the convent church of S. Margherita. Giorgio promises to send his pupil, Radmillo Ratchovich from Hvar to perform the work in his stead. (Rnić, *op. cit.*, i, p. 262 quoted by Fisković in *Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije*, 1949—50, pp. 63f, n. 25.) May 26, 1472 Giorgio speaks of monetary claims in Città Nova (presumably Pag). (Kolendić in *Starinar*, 1923, p. 89.) March 11, 1486 Elisabetta, widow of Giorgio, makes a testament in which she orders that her heirs complete the facade of S. Maria in Cittanova (Pag) which had been begun but not completed by her husband. (Kukuljević, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, iii, p. 262. See also Folnesics, p. 87.) September 9, 1491 Giorgio's son, Paolo, offers to complete the construction of the facade of S. Maria, Pag, underkaten by his father. His offer is rejected. (Frey—Molé, p. 163, doc. 156.)

January 19, 1467 Giorgio is absent from Šibenik. (Kolendić in *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 1920, p. 133, doc. 15.) February 17, 1467, April 11, 1467 and February 8, 1468 Documents attest to Giorgio's presence in Šibenik. (*Ibid.*, p. 133, doc. 16; Fosco, *La Cattedrale di Sebenico*, p. 43; Frey—Molé, p. 160, doc. 135.) January 12, 1469 Giorgio is present in Ancona. (Gianuizzi in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1894, p. 438, doc. 17.)

May 17, 1470 Giorgio is requested to go to Rome by Canon Giovanni Procopovich and Giovanni Dubrovich, procurators of the Cathedral of Šibenik, in order to represent them before Pope Paul II or any other ecclesiastical or civil court or judge in the litigation concerning the charitable contributions collected for the building of the Cathedral by Urbano Vignaco, Bishop of Šibenik, who had died in 1468 in Porto near Rome. (Kukuljević, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, iii, p. 261. See also C. von Fabriczy, »Giovanni Dalmata, neues zum Leben und Werke des Meisters«, *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxii, 1901, pp. 224f.) May 22, 1470 Gi-

gio is still in Šibenik. (Kukuljević, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, iii, p. 261.) June 1470 Giorgio is present in Ancona. (Gianuizzi, *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1894, p. 439, doc. 18.) April 23, 1471 Giorgio is mentioned in Ancona for the last time. (*Ibid.*, p. 439, doc. 19.) August 25, 1471 Giorgio is back in Šibenik. (Frey—Molé, p. 160, doc. 138.) December 9, 1471, May 22 and 26, 1472 and December 8, 1472 Documents attest to Giorgio's presence in Šibenik. (Kukuljević, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, iii, pp. 216f; Fosco, *La Cattedrale di Sebenico*, p. 44.) April 20, 1472 Giorgio is mentioned as the owner of a large ship. (Galvani, *Il re d'armi di Sebenico*, i, p. 160, n. 4.) May 26, 1472 Giorgio appoints Nicolo Alegreti, doctor of law, to represent him in Civitanova in the Marches (?) before the legal authorities. (Kukuljević, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*, iii, p. 262.) July 1472 A »Georgius de Sebenico de partibus sclavonie« purchased a large quantity of cheese in Palermo. (Filippo Meli, »Costruttori e lapicidi del Lario e del Ceresio nella seconda metà del Quattrocento in Palermo«, *Arte e artisti dei Laghi Lombardi*, (Società archeologica comense. Convegno sugli artisti del Lario e del Ceresio, 2nd, Varenna, 1957), Como, 1959, i, p. 217; *idem*, *Attività artistica di Domenico Gagini in Palermo [1459—1492]*, *ibid.*, i, pp. 255f.) This is most unlikely to be our Giorgio da Sebenico. May 20, 1473 Giorgio is mentioned alive for the last time in a document of Šibenik. (Kolendić in *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 1920, p. 126, n. 2.) October 10, 1473 Giorgio died. (Giorgio was dead by May 25, 1474: *ibid.*, p. 135, n. 32. The anniversary of his death was celebrated on October 10th: Frey—Molé, p. 162, doc. 153.)